



CANADIAN Social Trends

SPRING NO. 76
2005



FEATURES

I am Canadian

Becoming Canadian

*Older couples'
relationships*

Rural self-employment

Chinese in Canada

\$12 Canada • Catalogue no. 11-008



Statistics
Canada

Statistique
Canada

Canada

How to REACH us

Editorial Office

E-mail: cstsc@statcan.ca
Fax: (613) 951-0387
Write: Editor-in-Chief,
Canadian Social Trends
7th floor, Jean Talon Building
Statistics Canada
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0T6

For service to subscribers

E-mail: infostats@statcan.ca
Phone: 1 800 700-1033
Fax: 1 800 889-9734
Write: Circulation Management
Dissemination Division
Statistics Canada
120 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0T6

How to order Statistics Canada publications

E-mail: infostats@statcan.ca
Phone: 1 800 267-6677
Fax: 1 877 287-4369
Online: www.statcan.ca/english/IPS/Data/11-008-XIE.htm
In person: At any Statistics Canada Regional Centre or from
authorized agents and bookstores.

Need more information about Statistics Canada products?

E-mail: infostats@statcan.ca
Phone: 1 800 263-1136
Online: www.statcan.ca
TTY Line: 1 800 363-7629

Standards of service to the public

Statistics Canada is committed to serving its clients in a prompt, reliable and courteous manner and in the official language of their choice. To this end, the Agency has developed standards of service which its employees observe in serving its clients. To obtain a copy of these service standards, please contact Statistics Canada at 1 800 263-1136.

Note of appreciation

Canada owes the success of its statistical system to a long-standing partnership between Statistics Canada, the citizens of Canada, its businesses, governments and other institutions. Accurate and timely statistical information could not be produced without their continued cooperation and goodwill.



CST

Editor-in-Chief
Susan Crompton

Editors
Warren Clark
Anna Kemeny

Research Officer
Gilbert Mansour

Production Manager
Cynthia Fortura

Production Co-ordinator
Shirley Li

Marketing/Dissemination
Alex Solis

Art/Printing Direction
Dissemination Division
Statistics Canada

Design
Creative Services
Statistics Canada

Review Committee
M. Boyd, J. Jackson, D. Norris

Acknowledgements
R. Bollman, S. Haseem, L. Jantzen,
M. Justus, L. Ruddick

Canadian Social Trends

March 2005

(Catalogue no. 11-008-XPE; aussi disponible en français, n° 11-008-XPF au catalogue) is published quarterly.

Subscription rates:

Paper version: CAN \$12.00 per issue, CAN \$39.00 for one year subscription. Students: 30% discount (plus applicable taxes in Canada or shipping charges outside Canada)

Electronic version available on Internet (Catalogue no. 11-008-XIE): CAN \$9.00 per issue, CAN \$29.00 for a one-year subscription (plus applicable taxes in Canada)

Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada. © Minister of Industry, 2005. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission from License Services, Marketing Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1A 0T6.

Indexed in the Academic ASAP, Academic Search Elite, Canadian Periodical Index, Canadian Serials, Expanded Academic ASAP, PAIS International, Periodical Abstracts, Periodical Abstracts Research II, ProQuest 5000, Proquest Research Library and available on-line in the Canadian Business and Current Affairs Database.

ISSN 0831-5698
(Print)

ISSN 1481-1634
(Electronic)



Features

2 "I am Canadian"

by Derrick Thomas

8 Becoming Canadian: Intent, process and outcome

by Kelly Tran, Stan Kustec and Tina Chui

14 Marital satisfaction during the retirement years

by Lee Chalmers and Anne Milan

18 Self-employment activity of rural Canadians

by Valerie du Plessis and Melissa Cooke-Reynolds

24 Chinese Canadians: Enriching the cultural mosaic

by Tina Chui, Kelly Tran and John Flanders

Also in this issue

33 Keeping track

35 Social indicators

36 Lesson plan: "I am Canadian"

"I am Canadian"

by Derrick Thomas

The people of Canada have a long tradition of identifying themselves according to the land or nation of their sometimes remote ancestors. Over the past few decades, however, a rapidly growing number have begun describing themselves in the census as Canadians. The proportion of the population claiming some element of Canadian ethno-cultural ancestry climbed from fewer than 1% in 1986 to nearly 40% in 2001, making it by far the most common ethno-cultural ancestry reported on the census. Moreover, more than half of the 11.7 million persons who reported 'Canadian' described their ancestry as *exclusively* Canadian without mentioning any other ethnic connection.

What lies behind these changing views of ethnicity? Why do people who not so long ago claimed an English or French ancestry, for example, now report that they are Canadian? Using data from the censuses of population, this article explores the potential reasons behind these changes. It begins by discussing our understanding of ethnicity and how it has changed over time. The article then reviews some of the meanings attached specifically to Canadian ethnicity and follows by examining the characteristics of individuals who, according to the 2001 Census, reported having a Canadian ethnic background.

The evolution of 'ethnicity'—then and now

Some type of question concerning 'origins' has appeared in virtually every census since Confederation. Census takers have asked variously about 'origins,' 'race,' 'ethnic group,' and most recently 'ethno-cultural



ancestry.' The word 'ethnic' first appeared in 1946.

Ethnicity means different things to different people. While it has always referred to the categorization of people or the formation of groups, the specific definitions have evolved over time. Traditionally, observers have viewed ethnic groups as made up of people with shared characteristics. They have often disagreed, however, about the importance of different characteristics in defining these groups.¹

Some have emphasized inherited, or what might be considered comparatively permanent, traits, such as common geographic origins or historical experiences. Sometimes ethnicity has been seen as a matter

of racial or genetic characteristics. More recently, membership in an ethnic group was considered a question of a shared language, culture, traditions, values or sense of belonging.

Broadly over the last half century, however, people have come to understand ethnic groupings as fluid constructs that change according to the social context. A person's beliefs about who is inside or outside their group may change as they assess their social environment, build networks, make alliances or choose sides in issues or debates. Increasingly, people have come to understand the role that ethnic categorizations can play in personal self-esteem and the life chances of individuals.

GST What you should know about this study

The Census of Population provides residents of Canada with an opportunity to describe their ethnic origins. The data, collected every five years, allows us to track the growing popularity of the 'Canadian' response.

Changes in question format and processing have affected the comparability of ethnic origin data between censuses. Although it is likely that data for all ethnic groups have been influenced to some extent by these changes, counts for some groups have been affected more than for others. The increases in the reporting of multiple responses and of 'Canadian' are the most noticeable results of changes.

Along with the changes to the ancestry question, two new related census questions have been added to get at some of the more objective aspects of ancestry. A "population group" question was included beginning in 1996 in order to support employment equity legislation by identifying members of visible minority groups. And for the first time in 30 years, a question was added in 2001 about the birthplace of each parent of each respondent. It is this data along with information on the respondent's own birthplace or immigration status that is used to separate subjects into first-, second- and third-generation residents.

If information on the birthplace of grandparents or great-grandparents were available, it is likely that more of the variation in the reporting of 'Canadian' would be explained.

The following is question number 17 on the 2001 Census of Population:

*While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada's diverse population. Therefore, this question refers to the **origins of the person's ancestors**.*

17 To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's **ancestors** belong?

For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.

Specify as many groups as applicable

questionnaire themselves. Then, beginning in 1981, respondents were able to report multiple ancestries, whether through the male or female (or both) lines of descent; in fact, respondents are now encouraged to "specify as many [ancestral] groups as applicable." Finally, in 1986, the ethnic origin question dropped the phrase "on first coming to this continent," leaving respondents to determine for themselves how far back to trace their ancestors when answering the question.

Throughout this period, there was also a transition away from pre-defined, check-off categories toward blank spaces where respondents could write in their own unprompted response. Because it was so frequently written in by respondents to the 1991 Census, 'Canadian' was included as one of a list of example answers in 1996. Perhaps partly as a result, it became the most frequently reported origin and now leads the list of examples provided on the census form.

One of the main effects of these changes was to give more freedom to Canadians to define their own ethno-cultural origins.^{2,3} They now decide for themselves how far back in their family tree and along which branches to trace their ancestors. And, at least among those whose ancestors have been in Canada for many generations, the census question about ethnic origin has begun more and more to be interpreted as a question about individual identity.

What do people mean when they tell us they are Canadian?⁴

By choosing an identity, individuals situate themselves according to social dimensions that are relevant to them, and define themselves with labels likely to enhance their prestige.⁵ But who they distinguish themselves from may be as important as who they affiliate themselves with. The identity claims of individuals should, therefore, be considered in the context in which they were made.

Asking the 'ethnicity' question

In response to the evolving concepts of ethnicity, the content, wording and presentation of the census questions dealing with this topic have undergone significant changes over the years. Historically census respondents were actively discouraged from describing their origins as Canadian. This was done to avoid confusing current nationality or citizenship with

ancestry. Enumerators instructed people to report 'Old World' or 'Native Indian' ancestries and were allowed to record Canadian only if the respondent "insisted."

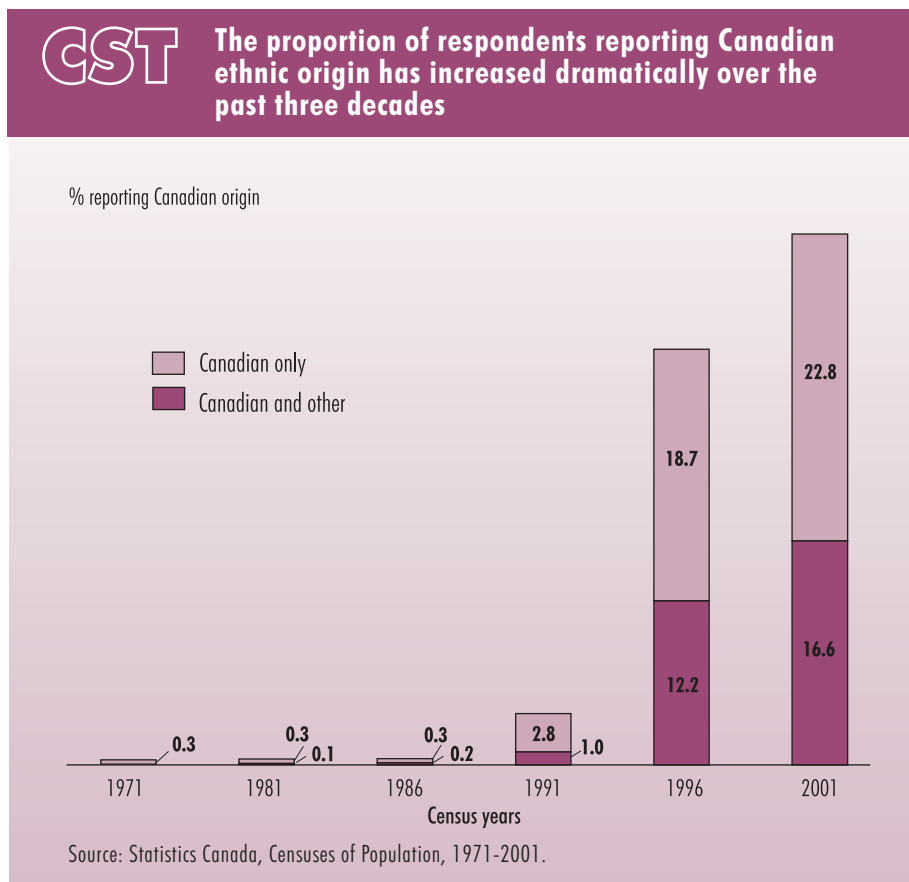
Starting in 1971, however, there have been a number of changes to the census questionnaire and the ethnicity question. First, with the introduction of self-enumeration, respondents completed the census

When they describe themselves as such, Canadians first of all distinguish themselves from the peoples of their ancestral homelands. It was seemingly the French-speaking settlers of the Saint Lawrence valley who first claimed to be 'Canadiens.' Especially when cut off from their mother country by the British Conquest, they began to distinguish themselves from all Europeans. One of their first British Governors said of his French subjects: "... it seems to be a favourable object with them to be considered as a separate Nation; *La Nation Canadienne* is their constant expression..."⁶ As English-speaking settlers also adopted the label 'Canadian,' the prefixes 'French' or 'English' began to be used as qualifiers.

Perhaps the dominant view of the 'Canadian Identity' is that it emerged in opposition to the 'American Identity.'⁷ Contrasting and comparing ourselves with Americans is a much-mentioned and constant preoccupation of Canadians.⁸ For many Canadians, Americans seem to be *the* relevant outgroup.⁹ By claiming to be Canadian in the period just following the emotional debate over free trade in 1991, Census respondents may have been asserting their national distinctiveness from the United States.

The label 'Canadian' can also be used to distinguish established residents from newcomers. In fact, some experts see in the growing popularity of the 'Canadian' response a fundamental ethnic realignment. Traditional distinctions between French and English are giving way, they argue, to a dichotomy based on period of settlement. According to this view, longer settled European groups adopt the Canadian label in order to distinguish themselves from the more recently arrived immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America.¹⁰

Others argue that there is no necessary connection (and claim to have found no empirical association) between attachment to Canada and



tolerance or support for multiculturalism.¹¹ In fact, their supposed multiculturalism and tolerance of diversity are among the dimensions along which Canadians habitually compare themselves favourably with Americans. The new willingness to identify themselves as Canadian may reflect a patriotism that has less to do with the preservation of a culture than with citizenship, adherence to their particular institutions and the protection of more recent collective achievements like the charter of rights and the Medicare system.^{12,13}

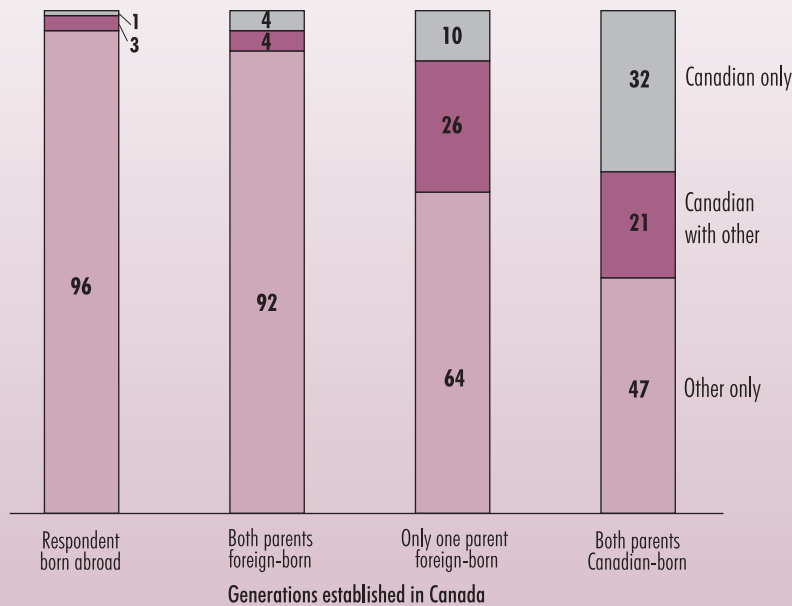
'Canadian' response more likely as number of generations born in Canada increases

It appears that census respondents are indeed answering the question posed with respect to their ethno-cultural ancestry. Those born in Canada of Canadian-born parents are increasingly reporting 'Canadian' instead of the origins of their more distant ancestors. Indeed, 53% of these individuals are claiming some

element of Canadian ancestry. They constitute the great majority (almost 90%) of those who do. Not surprisingly, this group is also far more likely than any of the others to report an exclusively Canadian ancestry. It is likely that if more information were available about, for example, the birthplace of grandparents and great grandparents, the effect of the number of generations in Canada on the 'Canadian' response would become even clearer.

Most likely to report 'Canadian' in addition to another ethno-cultural ancestry were, not surprisingly, persons of mixed Canadian-born and foreign-born parentage: 26% versus 21% of individuals with two Canadian-born parents, for example. Marriages between Canadian-born and foreign-born individuals tend to complicate narratives about ancestry and may encourage people whose forebears have been in Canada for some time to report 'Canadian' on the census.¹⁴

% reporting various ancestries



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Younger respondents more likely to report Canadian ancestry

In general, those who indicated their ethnic origin as Canadian appear to be younger than other census respondents. For example, about 40% of persons in their twenties responded 'Canadian' to the census ethnic question compared with about 30% of those in their eighties.

Those who identify as Canadian generally have somewhat lower levels of education than persons who do not. Perhaps this is related to the differing age structure of the two groups. The association between education and a Canadian ethnic background is also influenced by generations in Canada. For example, about one in five immigrants and their children hold university degrees, compared with one in seven of those who have been in Canada for three or more generations.

There is some evidence that may point toward more secular or cosmopolitan attitudes among those who claim Canadian ethnic affiliation. These individuals are more likely to report having no religion, to be divorced, separated or living in a common-law relationship and are less likely to live in families with more than four persons. They are also a little more likely to live in an urban area.

Canadians are drawn from English and French ethnic groups

A large number of respondents who reported a Canadian ethnic origin in 2001 are persons who declared different ethno-cultural affiliations on previous censuses. Perhaps prompted by the sample answers provided, some respondents have simply reported Canadian as a multiple ethnicity along with their usual choice(s). But well over half (57%) of those who responded Canadian in 2001 chose to mention no other ethnic group.

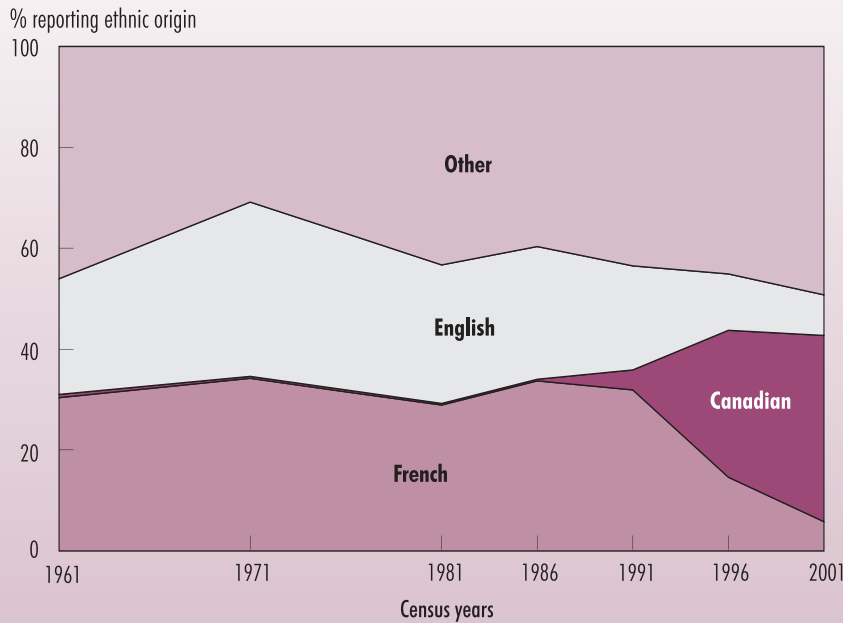
In contrast, immigrants—regardless of their place of birth, how long they had lived in Canada or at what age they arrived—seldom reported Canadian ethnic ancestry (less than 4% in 2001).

French speakers and residents of Quebec are more likely than others to respond 'Canadian/Canadien'

At least since 1996, those who grew up in French-speaking households have been more likely to describe their ethno-cultural ancestry as Canadian/Canadien. In 2001, some 52% of individuals with a French mother tongue claimed a 'Canadian only' ethnic origin compared with 18% of those with an English mother tongue. Similarly, residents of Quebec (69%) and to a lesser extent of the Atlantic provinces (52%) are more likely to claim a Canadian heritage (Canadian only or Canadian with other ethnic background) than are residents of Ontario (30%). Residents

of the Western provinces are least likely to do so (25%). The pattern, in short, seems to roughly reflect the stages in which the country was settled and, consequently, the number of generations that the families of respondents have been in Canada.

A number of other factors linked with the reporting of Canadian ethnicity are also connected with generations in Canada. Members of visible minority groups, for instance, are more likely to be immigrants or descendants of immigrants within relatively few generations. The same is true for non-citizens, naturalized Canadians and those who profess a faith other than Christianity or Judaism. Not surprisingly, all of these groups are less likely than average to identify their ancestors as Canadian. According to the 2001 Census, for example, some 8% of visible minority individuals claimed some element of Canadian ethnicity compared with 46% of other respondents.



Note: Data between census years were interpolated.
 Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1961-2001.

By and large, these single-response Canadians were the people who in previous censuses had checked off English or French as their ethnic origin.^{15,16,17} Between 1986 and 2001 the number of people claiming French ancestry fell by over 3.4 million and the number reporting English dropped by 3.3 million. This would seem to entirely account for the 6.7 million persons who claimed Canadian ancestry alone in 2001.¹⁸

Interestingly, however, other similarly long-established groups such as Aboriginal people, Irish, Scots, Germans and Ukrainians continue to report their original ethnic affiliations. These groups did not experience any decline in their numbers over the past decades, although more of them are reporting Canadian as a second ethnicity. Many of these groups draw inspiration from long-standing struggles for ethnic survival and recognition in their ancestral homelands.¹⁹ In some

cases their identities or independence as peoples have been recovered only recently.

In contrast, the English and French have exported their culture on a global scale. Research undertaken by social psychologists suggests that identification with one's group increases in proportion to the degree of perceived threat to the group's survival.^{20,21} While French Canadians may fear that their culture is at risk, neither the English nor the French as such would seem to have cause to feel this way. In fact, of the reduced proportion who continues to report 'French', almost half also report 'Canadian' suggesting, perhaps, that it is French Canadian rather than French culture they are interested in preserving.

In addition, there are good reasons why persons of mixed, complex or unknown ancestry might have checked off 'English' or 'French'

in previous censuses, when the 'Canadian' answer was not available. English and French have historically represented the poles of ethnic conflict in Canada. They also correspond to our official languages and both groups were accorded constitutional guarantees with respect, for example, to education. Perhaps, as a consequence, people with mixed, unknown or weak ethnic attachments had chosen to identify with the "mainstream" or official language, which they or their ancestors happened to have adopted.²² Today 'Canadian' may represent an easier choice for such people. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the English and French answers of the past are any more accurate or descriptive of the ethno-cultural lives of respondents than the Canadian responses of 2001.

Another factor related to the reporting of Canadian ethnic roots also appears to be at work. Americans, Australians, Mexicans and Métis — that is people with new-world or more complex identities — are more likely to report Canadian as an additional ancestry than are the members of other groups. Perhaps this is because new-world groups are more often of mixed ancestry or divided by many generations from their old-world connections.

Summary

The large increase in the number of persons who describe their ethno-cultural ancestry as Canadian has been mainly due to changes in the census question which, in turn, reflects society's evolving concepts of ethnicity and identity. Because they are no longer told that foreign ancestries are the only correct ones, many people whose parents and perhaps more distant ancestors were born in Canada answer 'Canadian.' This choice may also be popular with those whose ancestries are complicated by intermarriage or migration through several homelands.

It is clear that the likelihood of reporting 'Canadian' increases with the number of generations the respondent's family has spent in Canada. The long-established French speakers and other residents of Quebec, for instance, are more likely than others to identify their ethnic origin as Canadian. British groups also report 'Canadian' quite frequently. Of these, many respond 'Irish' and 'Scottish,' along with 'Canadian.' Persons reporting Canadian as their sole ancestry, however, appear to be drawn almost entirely from among those who previously described their background as English or French.

Many established European groups are reporting a Canadian background, while the newer groups from Asia and Africa tend to state their original ethnic ancestry. As a result, it may appear that an ethnic realignment is indeed underway. It is not clear, however, that people who answer 'Canadian' do so to distinguish themselves from recent newcomers. Those whose families have been established in Canada for generations may simply be reporting, in the absence of any instruction to the contrary, what they regard as their true ancestry. Canadians may also be anxious to distinguish themselves from Americans and to protect their particular democratic institutions and what they may regard as collective achievements like universal publicly funded health insurance and the charter of rights.



Derrick Thomas is a senior analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

1. Isajiw, W.I. 1993. "Definition and dimensions of ethnicity: A theoretical framework." In *Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality*. Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity, April 1-3, 1992. p. 407-427. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2. Prior, E.T., G.J. Goldman, M. Sheridan and P.M. White. 1992. "Measuring ethnicity: is 'Canadian' an evolving indigenous category?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15, 2.
3. Kralt, J. 2003. "Country of birth of parents and ethnic origins – A comparison of reporting patterns in the 2001 Census." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, 1.
4. It is seemingly in the *Relation of the Jesuit Pierre Biard* in 1616 that the name 'Canadian' was first applied to a people. He simply has attached the name given to the country by Cartier in 1535 to its Aboriginal inhabitants, without much consideration for their various nations and tribal identities. Thwaites, R.G. (trans.). 1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France: 1610-1791*. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. vol. III, p. 26.
5. Tajfel, H. and J.H. Turner. 1986. "The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour." S. Worchel and C.W. Austin (eds.). *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
6. Ouellet, F. 1980. *Economic and Social History of Quebec: 1760-1850*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. p. 218.
7. Morton, W.L. 1972. *The Canadian Identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
8. Adams, M. 2004. *Fire and Ice: The United States, Canada and the Myth of Converging Values*. Toronto: Penguin Canada.
9. Lalonde, R.N. 2002. "Testing the social identity-intergroup differentiation hypothesis: 'We're not American, eh!'" *British Journal of Social Psychology* 41: 611-630.
10. Li, P. 2003. "Visible minorities in Canadian society: Challenges of racial diversity." D. Juteau (ed.). *Social Differentiation Patterns and Processes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
11. Berry, J.W. and R. Kalin. 1995. "Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 National Survey." *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 27, 3: 301-320.
12. Nevitte, N. 1996. *The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-National Perspective*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
13. Bégin, M. 2003. "'I am Canadian!': From beer commercials to Medicare: In search of identity." C.Gaffield and K.L.Gould (eds.). *The Canadian Distinctiveness into the XXIst Century*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
14. Kalbach, M.A. and W.E. Kalbach. Summer 1999. "Becoming Canadian: Problems of an emerging identity." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 3, 2: 1-19.
15. Pendakur, R. and F. Mata. 1998. "Patterns of ethnic identification and the 'Canadian' response." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Summer) 30, 2: 125-139.
16. Boyd, M. and D. Norris. 2001. "Who are the 'Canadians' — Changing census responses, 1986-1996." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, 1.
17. Kralt, J. 2003.
18. The relatively small drops among other groups can be explained by the decline of wider identities in favour of more specific ones. Real world events such as the breakup of the Soviet, Yugoslav and Czechoslovakian federations played a role. Paradoxically, increased immigration to Canada has also contributed toward the decline of some of the more generic groups. Many 'Blacks' for instance are now spread over a number of more particular African identities which now contain sufficient numbers to allow publication.
19. Ryder, N.B. December 1956. "The interpretation of origin statistics." *Estadística*. IASI. p. 655.
20. Grant, P.R. and R. Brown. 1995. "From ethnocentrism to collective protest: Responses to relative deprivation and threats to social identity." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58, 3: 195-211.
21. Lalonde. 2002.
22. Kalbach, M.A. 2000. "Ethnicity and the altar." M.A. Kalbach and W.E. Kalbach (eds.). *Perspectives on Ethnicity in Canada: A Reader*. Toronto: Harcourt Canada. p. 111-120.

Becoming Canadian: Intent, process and outcome

by Kelly Tran, Stan Kustec and Tina Chui



Canada has a large and varied immigrant population, a diverse culture and vast distances. But whether individuals are Canadian citizens by birth or by naturalization, they are granted the same rights and responsibilities. Canadian citizenship may thus be viewed as something that creates a shared sense of belonging or an indication of allegiance to Canada. For the foreign-born, acquiring citizenship may be symbolic of the final stage of the migration process, their inclusion into the electoral process and a declaration of their commitment to Canada, their adopted homeland.

As a country built on accepting people from around the world, Canada is home to many different ethnic and cultural groups. Over the past 100 years, waves of immigrants from diverse countries have come here to forge a new life for themselves and their families. In the process, they have helped to shape the rich cultural and ethnic diversity that is Canada today. While the early part of the 1900s saw the vast majority of immigrants arriving from Europe, the end of the 20th century witnessed a shift to newcomers largely from Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

CST What you should know about this study

While data in this study come mainly from the 2001 Census of Population, previous censuses were also used to compare the citizenship take-up rates over time. In addition, supplementary data were used from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) and administrative data from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) which links the records of citizenship applications from the Citizenship Registry System (CRS) to those of permanent residency applicants from the Permanent Resident Data System (PRDS). The PRDS contains detailed information on immigrant landing characteristics, while the citizenship registry yields data on the citizenship process, such as date of application and the granting of citizenship.

Citizenship refers to the legal citizenship status of the respondent. Canadian citizenship is obtained either by birth or by naturalization. A small number of individuals who were born outside Canada to at least one Canadian parent are considered Canadian citizens by birth. Only those landed immigrants who have met certain criteria are eligible for Canadian citizenship by naturalization.

Since 1977, Canada has recognized multiple citizenships, that is, Canadian citizens have the right to hold citizenship of another country. Immigrants who obtain Canadian citizenship also have the right to retain their previous nationality. Similarly, Canadian citizens who become citizens of another country do not lose their Canadian citizenship. In the 2001 Census, those who were citizens of more than one country were instructed to provide the name of up to two other countries of which they were citizens.

Landed immigrants, or 'immigrants', are those who have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for many years, while others have arrived only recently.

Citizenship bestows certain benefits and privileges not enjoyed by non-citizens, such as the right to vote, hold public office, be employed in the public service and carry a Canadian passport. However, not having citizenship does not bar an individual from moving freely inside Canada, nor from obtaining education, employment or government services (such as health care). Still, citizenship acquisition is a choice made voluntarily by some and not by others. This study explores the characteristics associated with becoming a Canadian citizen among immigrants who have resided in Canada for various periods of time.

The decision to naturalize happens soon after arrival

Several factors influence citizenship intentions, such as the anticipated length of residence (whether or not

one intends to settle permanently in Canada or eventually move to another country); rules in the source country governing dual citizenship; attachment to both the source and the host countries; source country tax regimes and legislation on the transfer of assets; time, cost and knowledge of the process of naturalization. In addition, those wanting to obtain Canadian citizenship must demonstrate some knowledge of Canada's history, geography, and the rights and responsibilities of being a Canadian citizen, as well as an ability to converse in at least one of Canada's official languages.

The decision to naturalize appears to be one that is considered early on in the migration process. Even after just 6 months of residence, before becoming eligible for citizenship, and at a time when many are still adjusting to their new country, the

vast majority of immigrants indicate their intention to naturalize once they become eligible. In fact, according to data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), more than 9 in 10 (92%) immigrants who arrived in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001 intended to become Canadian citizens. The remaining were not sure, or did not intend to naturalize. A comparable survey in Australia found that 81% of recent immigrants wanted to become Australian citizens after just a few months of residence.¹

More than 8 in 10 eligible immigrants have become Canadian citizens

The vast majority of people residing in Canada (95%) are Canadian citizens—81% by birth and 14% by naturalization. The remaining 5% are



Eligibility requirements vary from country to country

	Canada	United States	Australia	United Kingdom
Residency requirement	3 of the 4 years prior to application	5 years of continuous residence (i.e. no more than one year absent, resided in one state for at least 3 months)	2 years of permanent residence	5 years of residence, with the last year being continuous
Language requirement	Knowledge of basic English or French	Ability to read, write, speak and understand ordinary English	Understanding of basic English	Sufficient knowledge of English, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic
Knowledge requirement	Basic knowledge of Canada — geography, history, government	Knowledge and understanding of U.S. history and government	Knowledge and understanding of the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship	N/A
Dual citizenship for naturalized citizens	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Foreign-born as a percentage of the population	18%	11%	22%	8%
Percent of naturalized citizens among eligible immigrants	84%	40%	75%	56%

Sources: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Statistics Canada, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, U.S. Census Bureau, Australian Citizenship Council, Australian Bureau of Statistics, and British Home Office: Immigration and Nationality Directorate.

Moving from permanent resident status to Canadian citizen may be interpreted as an indicator of integration into society in general, and the labour market in particular. According to the 2001 Census, some socio-economic characteristics of naturalized citizens resembled more closely those of the general population than the characteristics of their non-naturalized counterparts.

In 2001, the employment rate for naturalized citizens aged 25 to 54 was 84%, while the rate for those who were eligible, but did not have Canadian citizenship, was 80%. In comparison, the employment rate for the general population was 85%. Similarly, the unemployment rate was higher among those who did not naturalize: 6.9% versus 5.7% among the population who became citizens.

Nonetheless, the occupations of naturalized Canadians were similar to the occupations of those who were eligible, but have not yet taken up citizenship. Among the top occupations in 2001 for naturalized Canadian citizens were clerical, sales and service, and professional occupations in natural and applied sciences. For those who did not have Canadian citizenship, the most frequent occupations

comprised clerical, sales and service, and machine operators in manufacturing.

Naturalized citizens had higher income levels than those who did not have citizenship. For example, about 20% of naturalized Canadian citizens had a personal income under \$10,000 in 2000, compared with 26% of those who were eligible, but did not have Canadian citizenship. Correspondingly, naturalized Canadian citizens were more likely to have personal incomes of at least \$60,000 in 2000 than those who did not have citizenship: 11% versus 8% respectively. The income profile of naturalized citizens more closely resembled that of the total population (10% of the total population over the age of 15 years had an income of \$60,000 or more).

Naturalized Canadian citizens had a small edge in terms of educational attainment. Nearly one-quarter (23%) had a university degree or higher, compared with 21% of those who did not have citizenship. This level of educational attainment is likely related to the immigration program, which has increasingly emphasized human capital, such as education, as a part of the entrance criteria into Canada.

either not yet eligible for citizenship, are eligible but have not taken the steps to naturalize, or they are non-permanent residents. Based on the 2001 Census, some 84% of all eligible immigrants (those who have resided in Canada for at least three years) are Canadian citizens.

The proportion of eligible immigrants who naturalize is larger in Canada than those of other major immigrant-receiving countries. For example, in Australia, where a minimum two years of residency is required for eligibility for citizenship, 75% of eligible immigrants are naturalized. In the United States, where a five-year residency requirement is in effect, 40% of foreign-born residents are American citizens.² Finally, in the United Kingdom, 56% of immigrants who have resided there for at least five years are British citizens.

Younger immigrants more likely to become citizens

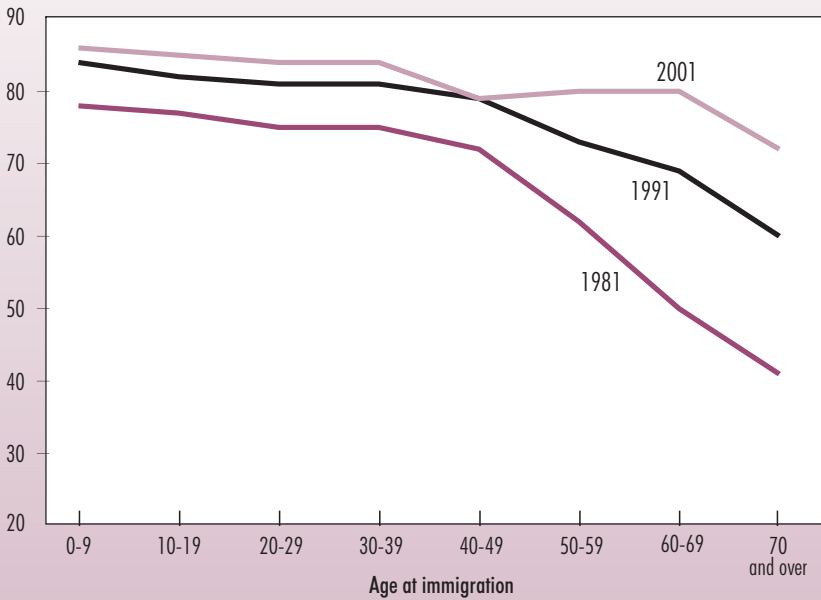
Younger immigrants have more to gain from the benefits that citizenship provides than their older counterparts. For example, younger immigrants are more likely to be in the labour market and so may be attracted to citizenship because it can give them access to certain occupations that are available only to Canadian citizens. In addition, younger immigrants have more time to integrate into society. Conversely, older immigrants, whose language skills are often weaker and who may not be in the labour force, may view citizenship as less important. According to some researchers, immigrants who are older at the time of entry do not have as much time to enjoy the benefits of citizenship and, consequently, are not as likely to embrace it.³ As a result, the rate

of naturalization is higher among immigrants who arrived in Canada at a younger age: about 85% of those aged less than 20 years at the time of entry are now citizens versus 72% of those aged 70 years or over.

The longer newcomers stay in Canada, the more likely they are to become citizens

In addition to the age at immigration, the length of residence in Canada also affects naturalization rates. Time affords more opportunity for acquiring citizenship and adapting to or integrating into the cultural, economic and social landscape of the country. Indeed, in 2001, the proportion of immigrants who had become Canadian citizens increased from 57% of those who had been residents for 4 to 5 years to 79% of 6- to 10- year residents to 90% of immigrants who had been in the country for 30 years or more.

% of immigrants who are Canadian citizens



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001.

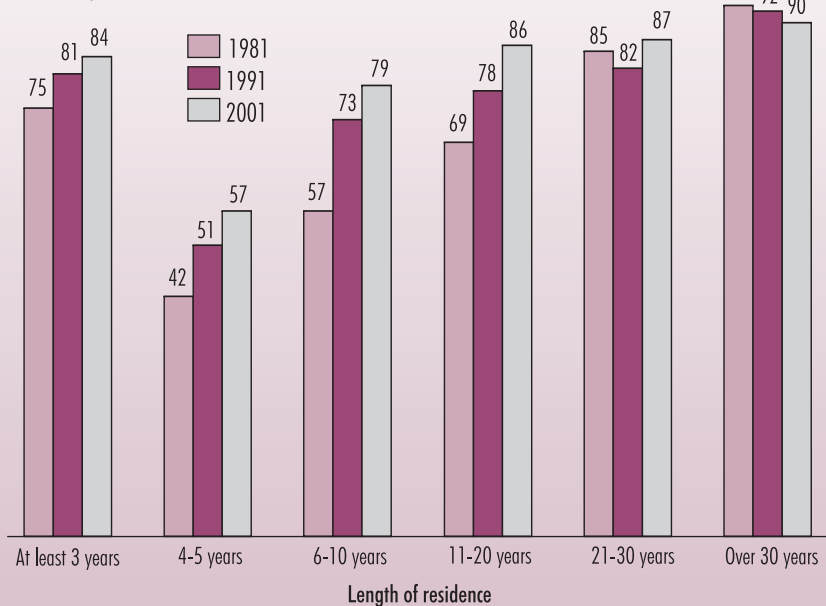
It is interesting to note that recent groups of newcomers are taking less time to become citizens than previous groups. In addition, the proportion of eligible immigrants who naturalize is higher for recent than for earlier groups of immigrants. For example, 57% of newly eligible immigrants (those who have resided in Canada for 4 to 5 years) became citizens in 2001, compared with 51% of their counterparts in 1991 and 42% in 1981. This trend may be a result of the countries of origin of immigrants, whereby more recent groups tend to be from regions with a higher propensity to naturalize.

Immigrants from different origins naturalize at different rates

Recent immigrants have very different origins than those who had landed in earlier years. Newcomers entering Canada in the last decade were more likely to have been born in Asian countries such as China, India or the Philippines. Conversely, those who came before the 1960s tended to be from the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and other European countries.

Data from the Census of Population shows that newly eligible immigrants from Africa or Asia are more likely to become Canadian citizens than those from Europe and the United States. According to the 2001 Census, 38% of those who were born in the United Kingdom and 48% of those born in the United States who had arrived in Canada in 1996 or 1997 were citizens by 2001. The proportion increases to about 50% after 6 to 10 years of residence. These source countries are politically democratic and economically capitalist with social, political and economic structures similar to those of Canada.

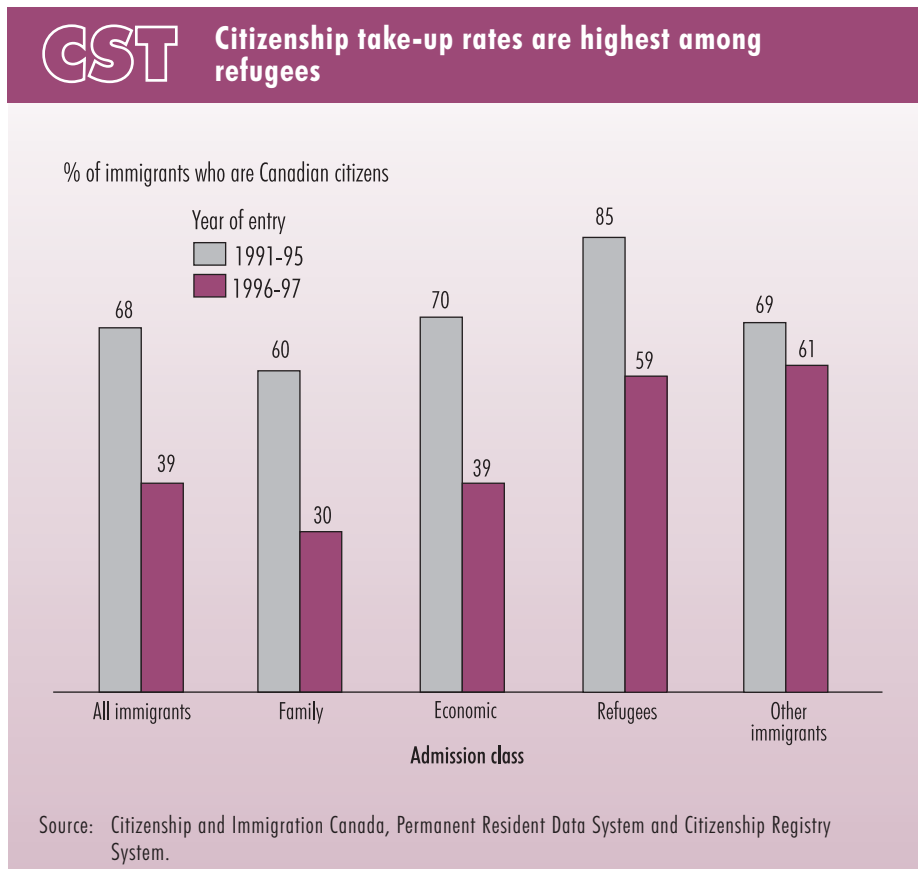
% of immigrants who are Canadian citizens



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001.

On the other hand, immigrants from China were more likely to have taken up Canadian citizenship by 2001: 62% of 4- to 5-year residents and nearly 90% of 6- to 10-year residents. Similarly, newcomers from Africa had high naturalization rates. In 2001, some 64% of newly eligible immigrants and 86% of 6- to 10-year residents were Canadian citizens. It appears that immigrants who came from countries with developing economies, and political and social systems different from Canada's, are becoming Canadians at a higher rate, perhaps because they are more likely to want to settle in Canada permanently.

Although immigrants from less economically developed countries tend to naturalize faster and in greater proportion than other immigrants, as the length of residence in Canada increases, the citizenship rates of immigrants from all regions of the world rise and converge.



Who does not take up citizenship?

While the vast majority of eligible immigrants in Canada have naturalized, 16% have yet to take up Canadian citizenship. The reasons for not becoming a citizen are complex and varied. They may be related to laws in the source and the adopted countries prohibiting dual citizenship. Emotional or economic ties, such as taxation or property ownership in the source country, may also sway the decision one way or another, as may barriers such as language ability, time, financial cost or lack of general knowledge of the process.

Citizens of economically developed countries such as Japan or the United States, which do not allow dual citizenship, also tend to retain their pre-migration citizenship status and do not become naturalized

Canadian citizens:⁴ about 4 in 10 individuals from these countries who were eligible to become Canadian citizens have not done so. Indeed, even after more than 30 years in Canada, United States-born residents of Canada continued to be the least likely to hold Canadian citizenship (in 2001 32% were non-citizens). In contrast, citizens of developing countries or countries with different political systems that do not allow dual citizenship (i.e. Viet Nam, the People's Republic of China) tend to renounce their former citizenship status and become Canadian citizens. In 2001, 93% of immigrants from Viet Nam and 89% from the People's Republic of China who were eligible for Canadian citizenship had adopted it.

Refugees most likely to become Canadian citizens

Citizenship take-up rates differ depending on the admission class (family, economic or refugee) at time of landing. Refugees who arrived between 1991 and 1995 (6 to 10 years in Canada in 2001) recorded a citizenship take-up rate of 85%; those who landed in 1996 or 1997 had a take-up rate of 59% by 2001. In contrast, family class immigrants — who tend to be older at the time of landing than other immigrants — recorded the lowest citizenship take-up rates: 60% among those who have lived in Canada for 6 to 10 years and 30% among the newly eligible.

The differences in take-up rates by admission class can be explained in large part by the source countries, the circumstances leading to immigration, and age at admission. For instance, the vast majority of refugees come from developing countries, and are most likely to become naturalized Canadians. As well, immigrants who enter as refugees are likely to leave their source country under adverse conditions and hence are more likely to migrate on a permanent basis. Becoming Canadian could be seen as the final step of their migration.

Summary

Migrants first choose their destination and eventually decide whether or not to become citizens of their adopted homeland. While a number of factors come into play with both choices, the majority do become Canadian. By doing so, they obtain the rights, privileges and responsibilities associated with being Canadian and, in a sense, make the symbolic transition from permanent resident to citizen. Citizenship take-up rates, however, vary by admission class, place of birth, age at immigration and length of residence in Canada. Naturalization occurred the fastest and take-up rates were the highest among refugees, who came mostly from developing countries. In terms of age, younger immigrants were more likely to become citizens than their older

counterparts. And finally, those who had lived in Canada for a longer period of time had higher citizenship take-up rates than more recent arrivals. Those who do not acquire Canadian citizenship, despite being eligible, tend to be older or from countries with comparable economic or social structures.



Kelly Tran is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada; **Stan Kustec** is a research officer with the Strategic Research and Statistics Division, Citizenship and Immigration Canada; and **Tina Chui** is a senior analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

1. VandenHeuvel, A. and M. Wooden. 1999. *New Settlers Have Their Say – How Immigrants Fare over the Early Years of Settlement*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Government of Australia.
2. In the United States, census data are available only on foreign-born individuals, rather than documented immigrants who were granted permanent residency status. Data for the other countries are for immigrants who have been granted the right to live and work in that country.
3. Yang, P.Q. Autumn 1994. "Explaining immigrant naturalization." *International Migration Review* 28: 3.
4. The Southern Cross Group. April 2002. "Which countries allow/prohibit dual citizenship?" *Frequently Asked Questions on Dual Citizenship*. http://www.southern-cross-group.org/dualcitizenship/faq_II.html (accessed March 11, 2004).

Need more information from Statistics Canada?

Call our National enquiries line:

1 800 263-1136

To order publications:

National order line: 1 800 267-6677

Internet: infostats@statcan.ca

National TDD line: 1 800 363-7629

Statistics Canada has 8 regional reference centres to serve you:

Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island

Halifax, Nova Scotia: (902) 426-5331

Fax number: (902) 426-9538

Quebec and Territory of Nunavut

Montreal, Quebec: (514) 283-5725

Fax number: (514) 283-9350

Ontario

Toronto: (416) 973-6586

Fax number: (416) 973-7475

Manitoba

Winnipeg: (204) 983-4020

Fax number: (204) 983-7543

Saskatchewan

Regina: (306) 780-5405

Fax number: (306) 780-5403

Alberta and Northwest Territories

Edmonton, Alberta: (780) 495-3027

Fax number: (780) 495-5318

British Columbia and Yukon

Vancouver, British Columbia: (604) 666-3691

Fax number: (604) 666-4863

National Capital Region

(613) 951-8116

Fax number: (613) 951-0581

Standards of service to the public

To maintain quality service to the public, Statistics Canada follows established standards covering statistical products and services, delivery of statistical information, cost-recovered services and service to respondents. To obtain a copy of these service standards, please contact your nearest Statistics Canada Regional Reference Centre.

If you're on the move...

Make sure we know where to find you by forwarding the subscriber's name, old address, new address, telephone number and client reference number to:

Operations and Integration Division
Circulation Management
Statistics Canada, 120 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0T6

or by phone at (613) 951-7277 or 1 800 700-1033; or by fax at (613) 951-1584 or 1 800 889-9734; or by Internet at infostats@statcan.ca.

We require six weeks advance notice to ensure uninterrupted delivery; so please keep us informed when you're on the move!

Marital satisfaction during the retirement years

by Lee Chalmers and Anne Milan

The aging Canadian population and overall decline in the average age of retirement since the 1970s suggest that retirement is becoming an immediate issue in the lives of more Canadians. As do most other events in life which mark a transition, the years leading up to retirement may confront people with new challenges as well as opportunities. In addition to health, finances and several other factors, family relationships in general and satisfaction with marriage in particular greatly influence couples' experience of these years.

This article uses data from the 2001 and 1995 General Social Surveys (GSS) to examine older couples' (aged 50 to 74 years) perceptions of their relationship during retirement or the years leading to retirement. Specifically, the analysis looks at couples' employment or retirement status, each individual's relative contribution to household income and the presence of adult children in the home as they relate to the quality of their relationship.

Older couples generally report good relationships

Experts often disagree about the link between the quality of relationships and retirement as well as the factors that influence this link. Some researchers have proposed that retirement increases marital satisfaction by reducing competition from other roles and thereby increasing opportunity for marital companionship and intimacy.¹

Alternatively, the rise in marital interaction resulting from retirement can be viewed as an invasion of privacy that results in tension and disruption.² A third possibility is that retirement does not disrupt long-established patterns even though the couple may experience some lifestyle changes.³

While the type and number of indicators used to measure marital quality (satisfaction with one's marital relationship and one's spouse⁴) vary from one study to another, most researchers agree that marital quality has both positive and negative dimensions. For the purposes of this analysis, indicators of communication, conflict, and happiness with the relationship were combined to form a "relationship quality scale," which can be used to measure how couples rate their relationship and their partners at one particular point in time.



According to the GSS, couples between the ages of 50 and 74 years are generally satisfied with each other. On the relationship quality scale, which assigns a value of 9 to the lowest and 35 to the highest quality, the average score was 30 for both men and women in 2001, virtually unchanged from 1995. In addition, the older men and women were, the more likely they were to rate their relationship high, particularly in 1995.

Couples fare better when they are both retired

Over the past decade, industrial restructuring and reshaped employment patterns have contributed to increased pressures on the relationships of older couples. Some of today's adults may be facing retirement earlier and in a less financially secure position than they had intended. Continuing increases in women's labour force participation have meant that more and more couples are entering the retirement transition as members of dual-earner households with the associated challenges of balancing work and family commitments and synchronising retirement timing given differences in pension eligibility.⁵

Older couples where both partners were working or looking for work (a synchronous pattern) reported the lowest relationship quality—significantly lower than couples where both partners were retired/housekeeping, with scores of approximately 29 versus 31, respectively. This difference held for men and women

Data in this article come from the 1995 and 2001 General Social Surveys (GSS). Both cycles focus on family and monitor the changes in Canadian family structures. The sample in each cycle was drawn from the population aged 15 and over who lived in private households in the 10 provinces. The 1995 GSS and the 2001 GSS interviewed about 10,800 and 24,300 individuals respectively. The sample for this analysis is based on men and women who were part of a heterosexual couple (married or common-law) and between the ages of 50 and 74, resulting in almost 1,800 respondents (about 1,000 men and 800 women) in 1995 and almost 4,700 respondents (roughly 2,500 men and 2,200 women) in 2001. The 50 to 74 age range was selected to capture the vast majority of those going through the retirement transition process. In addition, all analyses have been conducted separately for men and women, as the retirement transition is a gendered process.

The dependent variable is relationship quality. Nine indicators were combined to form a relationship quality scale, providing a more robust measure than would a single indicator. Scale items included measures of communication

(frequency of laughing together, and having calm discussions), conflict (frequency of arguments about chores, leisure, money, affection, children, and in-laws), and degree of happiness with the relationship. Combining the items resulted in a numerical variable ranging from 9 (lowest quality) to 35 (highest quality).

Differences in perceptions of relationship quality were examined separately for men and women for each of the survey years using one-way analysis of variance. Ordinary least squares regression analyses were performed for men and women in both survey years to assess the extent to which various characteristics of the couple (age and education differences between respondent and partner, synchronous/asynchronous employment pattern, relative contribution to household income, and presence of respondents' children at home) accounted for variation in perception of relationship quality scores beyond that accounted for by various characteristics of the individual respondent (age, education, religiosity, and importance to one's happiness of having a paying job).

in both 1995 and 2001. In addition, women in 2001 who were in the labour force and whose partner was retired/housekeeping (an asynchronous pattern) reported significantly lower relationship quality on average than women in the "both retired/housekeeping group," scores of 29 versus 31, respectively. Indeed, this is the only employment activity category where the average scores for women decreased from 1995 to 2001.

The connection between lower relationship quality and asynchronous retirement patterns has been established with considerable consistency across studies.⁶ Previous research has shown that the husband retired/wife employed pattern is especially likely to be associated with lower marital satisfaction, challenging as it does gender expectations that husbands provide while wives keep

house.⁷ However, in this analysis the impact of labour force activity on relationship quality disappears when controlling for other factors.

The higher women's contribution to household income, the lower they rate their relationship

While relative contributions to household income made little difference to relationships for men and women in 1995 or for men in 2001, it did have a significant impact for women in 2001. Although traditional gender-role attitudes may be weakening over time,⁸ some still appear to prevail in the relationships of couples aged 50 to 74 years.⁹

Women who contributed over 75% of household income rated their relationship significantly lower than those who provided less than 50%. While the majority of women continued to bring home less than 50%

of household income, a greater percentage contributed 75% or more in 2001 than six years earlier (12% in 2001 versus 7% in 1995). This suggests that increased labour force participation and greater bread-winning responsibilities take a toll on relationships for women. However, after accounting for other variables, contributions to income lose their statistical significance for women, indicating that other factors are having a greater impact on the quality of relationships.

In contrast, in 2001 men who provided less than 50% of household income rated their relationship higher than men who contributed at least 75%, after controlling for other factors. Perhaps sharing bread-winning responsibilities with their wives has been a welcome development for some men.

Individuals aged 50 to 74 rated their marriage significantly higher when both partners were retired than when both were in the labour force

	1995		2001	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Average score on relationship quality scale (min=9, max=35)				
Respondent's and partner's main activity				
<i>Both retired/housekeeping</i>	31.2	30.6	30.7	30.9
Both in the labour force	28.9 *	28.9 *	29.5 *	29.2 *
Respondent in labour force, partner retired/housekeeping	30.5	30.3	30.2	29.4 *
Respondent retired/housekeeping, partner in labour force	30.0	29.6	30.5 *	30.2 *
Respondent's income as percentage of household income				
<i>At least 75%</i>	30.4	29.5	30.0	29.0
Between 50% and 75%	30.2	29.9	30.0	29.8
Less than 50%	29.6	29.6	30.6	30.1 *
Do not know, not stated	30.2	30.4	30.2	30.3 *
Number of children living at home				
<i>None</i>	30.9	30.5	30.7	30.5
One	29.6 *	29.0 *	29.8 *	29.4 *
Two or more	28.8 *	27.3 *	28.6 *	28.3 *

Reference group shown in italics.

* Indicates statistically significant difference from the reference group for each category.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995 and 2001.

Adult children at home associated with lower relationship quality

An increasingly unstable job market for young people has meant that more couples about to retire or already retired are facing the challenges of a “cluttered” or “refilled” nest.¹⁰ Given that men and women in 2001 were significantly more likely than in 1995 to report having children at home, stay-at-home and “boomerang” children may figure into the retirement transition of an increasing number of Canadian couples.

While these adult children undoubtedly benefit from staying in or moving back to the family home, the benefit to their parents is more questionable. Both in 1995 and 2001, men and women with children present in the home rated their

marriage quality lower than those who had no children at home (scores of approximately 31 for those with no children compared with 30 or less for those with one adult child). With two or more children in the house, the quality of relationship reported by parents fell even lower (to scores of 28 or less). This pattern persisted, even when controlling for other factors.

Of course, this is not to say that parents and adult children cannot live together without negative consequences. Many couples, in fact, have reported positive experiences with their still-at-home and “boomerang” adult children.¹¹ Perhaps it is not so much the fact of adult children living with their parents, but the reasons behind this situation that are responsible for the drop in

relationship quality. According to research, when the child-launch delay is rooted in the young person’s labour market difficulties (e.g. unemployment) and accompanied by economic dependency, the impact on family relationships, including marital quality, is more likely to be negative.¹²

Age differences between partners do not affect relationship

Previous research found that individuals whose partner’s age, religiosity (i.e. frequency of attendance at religious services) or education were substantially different from their own were less satisfied with their marriage than couples who were similar to each other in terms of these characteristics.¹³ However, the results of this study show that most of these differences had no effect on the quality of relationships.

Age differences between partners, for example, had no influence on how they rated their relationship. In 2001 only, men whose formal education consisted of at least one more year of study than their partner’s were slightly less satisfied with their marriage than men who studied for the same number of years as their wives. Attendance at religious services did not significantly affect the quality of relationship for either men or women in 1995 or 2001.

Finally, the importance attached to having a paying job did not influence men’s perceptions of their relationship in 1995, but it did so significantly in 2001. Specifically, men aged 50 to 74 who felt that having a paid job was very important or important scored lower on the relationship quality scale than those for whom having a paid job was not important.¹⁴ Women in 2001 who believed it was important to have a paying job were significantly more likely than those who believed it was not very important or not at all important to report lower relationship quality.¹⁵

Summary

Older people generally rate the quality of their relationship highly and the older men and women are, the more likely they are to feel positively about their relationship. However, having adult children at home is negatively associated with relationship quality for both women and men, even after controlling for other factors. These findings confirm the importance of taking linked lives and divergences from what is considered a standardized life course (go to school, work and raise a family, launch the children, retire) into account when considering the retirement process. In addition, the research can be extended to explore the interconnections between couples' retirement transition and the presence of still-at-home or boomerang children.

The logo for the Gerontological Society of Toronto (GST) features the letters "GST" in white, bold, sans-serif font, centered within a dark purple oval. The oval is flanked by two curved, light purple lines that sweep upwards and outwards, resembling a stylized wave or a pair of wings.

Lee Chalmers is an Associate Professor with the Department of Social Science at the University of New Brunswick, and **Anne Milan** is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends*.

1. Seccombe, K. and G.L. Lee. 1986. "Gender differences in retirement satisfaction and its antecedents." *Research on Aging* 8: 426-440.
2. Keating, N.C. and P. Cole. 1980. "What to do with him 24 hours a day?: Changes in the housewife role after retirement." *Gerontologist* 20: 84-89.
3. Keith, P.M., R.R. Wacker and R.B. Schafer. 1992. "Equity in older families." M. Szinovacz, D.J. Ekerdt, and B.H. Vinick (eds.). *Families and Retirement*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage. p. 189-201.
4. Jeong, G., S.R. Bollman and W.R. Schumm. 1992. "Self-reported marital instability as correlated with the Kansas marital satisfaction scale for a sample of Midwestern wives." *Psychological Reports* 70: 243-246.
5. Frenken, H. Winter 1991. "Marriage, money, and retirement." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* 3,4. (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE).
6. See review in Szinovacz, M. 1996. "Couples' employment/retirement patterns and perceptions of marital quality." *Research on Aging* 18, 2: 243-268.
7. Lee, G.R. and C.L. Shehan. 1989. "Retirement and marital satisfaction." *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences* 44: S226-S230.
8. Nelson, A. and B.W. Robinson. 2002. *Gender in Canada*, 2nd edition. Toronto: Pearson Education Canada Inc.
9. In this regard, results from the 1995 GSS revealed that 44% of men and 46% of women agreed or strongly agreed with the item that a "job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children." Ghalam, N.Z. Autumn 1997. "Attitudes toward women, work and family." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 16. For the present group of 50- to 74-year-olds from the 1995 GSS, 63% of the men and 62% of the women agreed or strongly agreed with this item, and 41% of the men and 36% of the women agreed or strongly agreed that "a man's role is to bring enough money home." These gender-role attitude items were not included in the 2001 GSS.
10. Mitchell, B.A. 1998. "Too close for comfort? Parental assessments of "boomerang kid" living arrangements." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 23, 1: 21-46.
11. *ibid.*; Mitchell, B.A. and E.M. Gee. 1996. "Boomerang kids' and midlife parental marital satisfaction." *Family Relations* 45: 442-448.
12. Mitchell. 1998; White, L. 1994. "Coresidence and leaving home: Young adults and their parents." *Annual Review of Sociology* 20: 81-102.
13. For example, couples in marriages dissimilar in either age or education are more likely to separate or divorce. See Tzeng, M. 1992. "The effects of socioeconomic heterogamy and changes on marital dissolution for first marriages." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 54: 609-619.
14. Bivariate analysis revealed that the percentage of men indicating that having a paying job was "very important" increased from 39% in 1995 to 68% in 2001 and the percentage saying it was "not very important" or "not at all important" declined from 12% to 7%.
15. The percentage of women indicating that having a paying job was "very important" increased from 12% in 1995 to 32% in 2001 and the percentage saying it was "not very important" or "not at all important" declined from 47% to 34%.

Self-employment activity of rural Canadians

by Valerie du Plessis and Melissa Cooke-Reynolds

Self-employment is more common in rural than urban Canada. In 2001, about one in four workers in rural areas, villages and small towns earned at least some of their income from self-employment, compared with only one in six in Canada as a whole.

Of course, farming is a key element explaining high self-employment rates in rural and small town Canada. But although farm self-employment remains a key source of income and employment for many, its importance has declined and self-employment activity on the non-farm side has been increasing rapidly.

Other, less well-understood characteristics that also influence self-employment include "metro-adjacency" and low population density. Simply put, greater distances from larger urban centres mean there is less access to the jobs, markets and employment-related services that tend to be concentrated in bigger towns. Thus, researchers suggest, some rural workers may be self-employed out of necessity, because paid employment or job choice is lacking, whereas others may see an opportunity to provide products and services that their

community would not offer otherwise.^{1,2} As well, the low population density of smaller towns and villages may produce greater levels of self-employment due to scale. Because local businesses employ fewer people, the ratio of self-employed entrepreneurs to their paid workers is higher than it would be in cities, where every law office, restaurant, retail store and trucking company would have a larger workforce.

The forces driving self-employment in smaller labour markets may be complex, but there

is no doubt that entrepreneurship is thriving in rural Canada, despite the waning importance of farm self-employment. This article uses data from the Census of Population to describe non-farm self-employment among workers aged 20 to 64 living in Canada's rural areas and small towns. Because it is not uncommon to hold more than one job,³ this article uses the concept of self-employed *activity* rather than *job* to identify workers who earn at least some of their income from self-employment.



GST What you should know about this study

This analysis is based on data from the 1981 to 2001 Censuses of Population. The age group 20 to 64 was selected because this group tends to have a stronger attachment to the labour market than workers under 20 or over 64; in fact, it represented 92% of all workers aged 15 and over in Canada in 2001. Data about the respondent's job or business refer to the week prior to the Census, while sources of income data refer to the previous year. However, this does not affect the rate of self-employment or the contribution of self-employment to the worker's income. The Census collects self-employment income in two categories only: net farm income and net non-farm income from an unincorporated business or professional practice. However, if self-employed working owners of an incorporated business reported that it was their main job, they were included in this study.

Self-employment activity includes all workers who are self-employed in their main job, as well as employees who reported earning self-employment income from a farm, unincorporated business or professional practice on their Census questionnaire. Those earning income from an

incorporated business outside their main job could not be included because this type of income is not itemised by the Census.

Self-employed workers: Working owners of incorporated or unincorporated businesses, with or without paid help, and individuals working without pay for a relative in a family business or farm.

Main job: For a person with more than one job, the main job refers to the job at which he or she worked the most hours.

Rural and small town (RST) labour market: The labour market that exists *outside* the main commuting zones of larger urban centres of 10,000 or more people.

RST small towns: Towns and villages in the RST labour market with populations of 1,000 to 9,999 people.

RST rural areas: The RST labour market *outside* small towns and villages of 1,000 or more people.

Larger urban centres: The combined populations living in census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs).

Self-employment activity is most common in rural areas

About 2.5 million workers aged 20 to 64 were living in Canada's rural and small town (RST) labour market in 2001. They comprised 1.6 million workers living in rural areas, and 840,000 in small towns and villages. Twenty-three percent of these workers engaged in at least some self-employment activity, compared with the Canada average of 16%.

Within the RST labour market itself, though, the rate of self-employment activity was almost twice as high for workers in rural areas as in small towns — 28% versus 15%. The principal reason for this

difference is farming, which is dominated by self-employment and is concentrated in the rural countryside. But proportionally more workers in rural areas are now engaged in non-farm than farm self-employment activity — 16% versus 12% in 2001 — representing a major shift since the early 1980s.

Small towns have not been so reliant on farming jobs, and farm self-employment activity rates remained below 2% during the study period from 1981 to 2001. However, this part of the RST labour market also recorded a rise in non-farm self-employment activity from 11% to 14% in 2001.

Who are the non-farm self-employed in RST Canada?

In some respects, they are really no different than workers engaged in self-employment activity on the farm. Nine in 10 self-employed RST workers lived with their immediate family (that is, spouse and/or children) whether their work was done on or off the farm. Interestingly, farming families were marginally more likely to include children: 57% compared with 53% of non-farm self-employed workers lived with their spouse (or common-law partner) and their children. Of those workers who did not live with family, most were living alone.

On the other hand, non-farm self-employed workers are significantly better educated. Sixty per cent had at least some education beyond high school, compared with 47% of

workers self-employed on the farm. This gap may reflect the age distribution of people in farming.⁴ In fact, people self-employed on the farm were more likely to be in their

50s or early 60s — almost 39% compared with 33% of non-farm self-employed workers.

One-third of non-farm self-employed workers in the RST labour market were new to the area. According to the 2001 Census, some had moved from a larger urban centre (12%) or another RST area (7%) within the past five years, while 14% had moved within the RST labour market itself. In contrast, only 16% of people self-employed in farming had changed addresses.

Highest growth in non-farm self-employment is among older workers

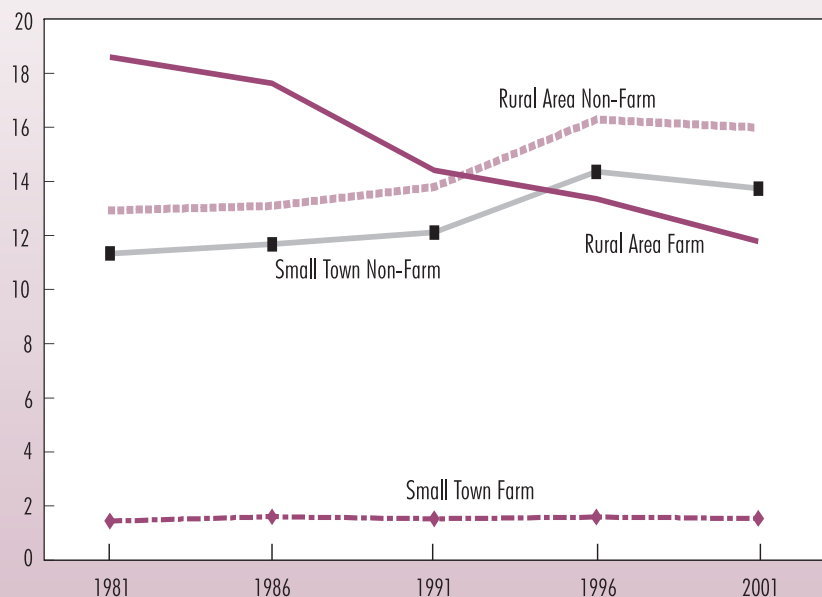
Men and women in their 50s and 60s have been at the forefront of the shift to non-farm self-employment. In rural areas, they experienced greater increases in non-farm self-employment activity than workers in younger age groups. (Concurrently, they reported greater losses on the farm side.) Between 1981 and 2001, non-farm self-employment rates for men aged 50 to 64 increased from 16% to 23%, while rates for younger men remained flat. And although rural women in every age group recorded gains, those aged 50 to 64 experienced the greatest increase, with non-farm self-employment rates rising from less than 12% to 17% over the period.

In the workforces of small towns and villages, it is also older workers who have recorded the greatest gains. Among workers aged 50 to 64, non-farm rates increased from 17% to 22% for men and from 9% to 16% for women. The growth experienced by women under age 50 was much smaller, while rates for younger men declined slightly over the period.

Although high growth in non-farm self-employment among older workers is consistent with the national trend, in RST areas affected by the decline in farming, it may also speak to falling demand for farm labour. It is possible that some workers in their 50s and 60s started non-farm businesses after retiring from

GST More rural workers were engaged in non-farm than farm self-employment activity by the mid-1990s

% of RST workers aged 20 to 64 engaged in self-employment activity



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001, custom tabulation.

GST Self-employment activity is most common in rural areas

	Canada	Rural and small town areas		
		Total	Rural areas	Small towns
'000s				
All workers (aged 20-64)	13,522	2,500	1,660	840
% of all workers				
All self-employment activity	16	23	28	15
Self-employed in main job	13	19	22	12
Income from self-employment	3	5	6	3
Non-farm self-employment activity	14	15	16	14
Self-employed in main job	11	13	14	12
Income from self-employment	2	2	3	2
Farm self-employment activity	2	8	12	2
Self-employed in main job	1	6	8	1
Income from self-employment	1	3	3	1

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, custom tabulation.

farming, or in addition to their regular farming operations.⁵ Switching careers would be entirely feasible since many of the skills required in modern-day farming, such as

computer operation and business management, as well as the type of equipment and facilities farmers own, are generally transferable to other industries.^{6,7,8}

Why is non-farm self-employment activity growing?

A variety of reasons account for the steady rise in non-farm self-employment while farm self-employment falls. Among them is the fact that the number of census farms has declined and that productivity is higher among those operations that remain. Both factors reduce the requirement for farm labour. But according to a 2002 Statistics Canada study, another element should also be taken into account: the sharp rise in demand for non-farm labour that provided more off-farm employment opportunities, especially for farmers' spouses, during the late 1990s.⁹

The 2001 Census data support this suggestion. Only 69% of RST workers engaged in self-employed farming activity said that farming was in fact their main job. This indicates that many workers in rural and small town labour markets found there was something to be gained working off the farm.

Most non-farm self-employed workers operate businesses in the service sector

Where are self-employed people in rural and small town Canada finding non-farm business opportunities? Although the majority have carved out niches in the service sector, fully 29% are operating businesses in the goods sector.¹⁰ This is a substantially larger proportion of the self-employed workforce than in Canada as a whole (21%) and reflects mainly a greater concentration of self-employed workers in the forestry, fishing and hunting industries. Like farming, these are primary industries whose activities are based in the rural countryside and are characterized by a high incidence of self-employment.

A smaller share of the non-farm self-employed RST workforce has built businesses in the services sector — 71% compared with 79% nationally — reflecting lower demand for this kind of work outside urban centres. For example, in 2001, only 17% of self-employed persons in the RST

GST Are self-employed workers running businesses in the city?

At the same time that rates of non-farm self-employment activity have been growing in rural and small town Canada, people have been moving into these areas. A 2002 Statistics Canada study documents the migration into rural areas throughout the 1970s, 1980s and into the 1990s. Specifically, the study notes the "small but noticeably higher rate" of RST in-migration among the 55 to 64 age group.¹

Of course, one of the attractions of self-employment is the freedom to choose one's place of work. In the era of the Internet and telework, many potential entrepreneurs may dream of working from home. One must therefore ask if some of the growth in non-farm self-employment, especially among those workers aged 50 to 64, can be attributed to people who live in the country but actually conduct their business in larger urban centres.

According to the 2001 Census, about 12% of non-farm self-employed RST workers were recent arrivals, that is, they had been living in an urban centre five years before (1996). Proportionally more had moved from the city to small towns (13%) than to rural areas (11%). One in 10 were actually running their businesses in the city, but fewer from small towns were commuting into the city to work (7% versus 11% living in RST rural areas). This probably reflects entrepreneurs who moved to the rural countryside but commute back and forth to larger urban centres to work.

1. Rothwell, N., R.D. Bollman, J. Tremblay and J. Marshall. March 2002. "Migration to and from rural and small town Canada." *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin* 3, 6 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE).

One in 10 RST workers engaged in self-employment activity run their business in the city

Residence in 2001	Total ('000s)	% working in a larger urban centre	% residing in a larger urban centre in 1996
Workers aged 20-64 engaged in non-farm self-employment activity			
RST Total	380	10	12
Men	233	10	11
Women	147	10	13
Small towns	115	7	13
Men	68	8	12
Women	48	6	13
Rural areas	265	11	11
Men	165	11	11
Women	100	12	13

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, custom tabulation.

labour market were working in producer services, compared with 27% in Canada as a whole. On the other hand, proportionally more were working in distributive services, suggesting that self-employed RST workers have found demand for their skills in those industries.

Looking at self-employment rates within each individual industry enriches the story further, because it identifies whether individuals operating small business are helping to meet the needs of the market. The RST non-farm self-employment rate is considerably higher than the national average in the following industries: wholesale and retail trade;

transportation and warehousing; business, building and other support services; information, culture and recreation services; accommodation and food services; and other services.¹¹ These are areas of the economy that might easily lend themselves to exploitation by local entrepreneurs since they are largely dependent for their success on intimate knowledge of the area, its markets and its development potential. Furthermore, each of these sectors can be served by smaller firms, meaning that the ratio of self-employed owners to paid workers would be higher in these industries.

Majority of non-farm self-employed earn their main living operating their business¹²

Over half — 53% — of self-employed non-farm workers in rural and small town Canada earn at least 75% of their income from their own unincorporated business. This is somewhat lower than the national figure of 57%. However, the overall figure masks the fact that average earnings can vary substantially, depending on the industry in which an individual works. Self-employed workers in producer services, for example, have much higher average earnings relative to those in “other services” or the goods sector.¹³

As is the case among paid workers, a gap in earnings exists between women and men. Men running an unincorporated business were considerably more likely to earn more than three-quarters of their total income from non-farm self-employment: on average, 58% of men compared to 47% of women in the RST labour market. There are many reasons why women generally earn less than men from self-employment, among them the fact that women more typically work in lower-paying industries; they more often work part-time, especially in rural and small-town Canada; and they are much less likely than men to employ paid workers, which is generally associated with larger enterprises and higher income.¹⁴

Summary

Self-employment has always been more common in rural and small town Canada than in larger urban centres. This has historically been due to the effect of farming, but it remains true as the importance of the non-farming economy strengthens. During the past two decades, non-farm self-employment activity has become increasingly important as a source of employment and income.



Rates of non-farm self-employment in distributive services and producer services are higher in RST labour markets

	Canada	Rural and small town areas		
		Total RST	Rural areas	Small towns
Self-employed as % of non-farm employment (aged 20-64)				
All non-farm industries	12	14	15	12
Goods sector	11	13	15	9
Forestry, fishing and hunting	26	29	32	20
Mining, oil and gas extraction, utilities	4	6	8	5
Construction	26	29	30	26
Manufacturing	5	5	7	4
Services sector	12	14	15	13
Distributive services	11	16	17	13
Wholesale trade	9	12	13	10
Retail trade	12	17	18	14
Transportation and warehousing	13	17	19	14
Producer services	19	23	25	21
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	9	11	11	9
Professional, scientific and technical	27	34	36	32
Business, building and other support	19	28	30	25
Social, cultural and professional services	9	11	12	10
Educational services	3	3	3	3
Health, care and social assistance	11	9	8	10
Informational, cultural and recreational	14	19	21	15
Accommodation and food services	10	16	18	13
Other services	23	32	34	29

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, custom tabulation.

Older workers have been at the forefront of these changes, reporting the greatest increases in rates of non-farm self-employment and, on the farm side, the greatest losses.

In 2001, about one-third of non-farm self-employed workers in the RST labour market operated businesses in the goods sector. However, fully two-thirds of non-farm business owners worked in the service sector, with high representation in the distributive services and other services industries.

A slim majority of RST entrepreneurs running an unincorporated business earned at least three-quarters of their annual income from self-employment in 2000, with men more likely than women to be making their main livelihood running their own business.



Valerie du Plessis is a project officer with the General Social Survey, Housing Family and Social Statistics Division, and **Melissa Cooke-Reynolds** is research assistant for the Canadian Health Measures Survey, Statistics Canada.

1. Freshwater, D. 1997. "Policy alternatives for stimulating rural employment" in *Rural Employment – An International Perspective*. R.D. Bollman and J.M. Bryden (eds.). New York: CAB International in association with the Canadian Rural Restructuring Foundation. p. 353.
2. Findeis, J.L., L. Jenson, and G. Cornwell. 1997. "Rural employment alternatives: Wage work versus self-employment among rural households" in Bollman and Bryden (eds.). p. 286.
3. About 5% of workers held more than one job in 2001; this rate of multiple jobholding has been fairly stable since 1987. Marshall, K. April 2002. "Duration of multiple jobholding," *Perspectives on Labour and Income* 3, 4 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE): 5-11.
4. Generally speaking, the average age of farmers has been climbing over the last two decades. The median retirement age is now 66, compared with 62 years for the overall workforce. Bowlby, G. February 2002. "Farmers leaving the field." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* 3, 2 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE): 13-18.
5. *ibid.* In 1998, people employed in agriculture reported one of the highest multiple job-holding rates of any industry – 15% held another job off the farm.
6. Statistics Canada. Autumn 1997. "The self-employed as employers." *Labour Force Update* 1, 3 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71-005). p. 12.
7. In 1998, over half of farmers who held multiple jobs worked in transportation and warehousing, manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade, health care and social assistance, or educational services. Bowlby. 2002.
8. Reimer, B. 2000. "IWG—self-employment component II: statistics summary." *A Report for the New Rural Economy Project of the Canadian Rural Restructuring Foundation*. Montréal: Concordia University. p. 8.
9. Bowlby. 2002.
10. The Census provides information about the type of industries in which people are self-employed in their main job. This definition is somewhat more limited than the concept of self-employment activity used earlier in this article, but it remains very useful.
11. The industry category "other services" includes car repair and maintenance, repair of household goods, personal care services, funeral services, laundry and dry cleaning, and pet care, as well as services provided by non-government organizations.
12. Census information about income from non-farm self-employment activity is not complete because respondents report only net income from any unincorporated businesses they operate. Income earned from incorporated businesses, which generally report higher revenues, is excluded, meaning that the estimates may be biased downward. Nevertheless, data are available for 65% of rural and 59% of small town non-farm self-employed workers who engaged in non-farm self-employment activity in 2000.
13. Statistics Canada. 1997. p. 31.
14. Hughes, K.D. 1999. "Gender and self-employment in Canada: Assessing trends and policy implications." CPRN Study No. W/04. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Chinese Canadians: Enriching the cultural mosaic

by Tina Chui, Kelly Tran and John Flanders



It was gold in the 1800s that lured Chinese immigrants to settle in North America, first in California, then British Columbia. Chinese arrived by the hundreds in 1848 for the gold rush at “Gam Saan”, or Gold Mountain, as they called California. A decade later, when news spread about a Fraser River discovery, groups of Chinese headed north to British Columbia in search of a Canadian *Gam Saan*.

The first Chinese community in Canada was founded in Barkerville, B.C. By 1860, Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia combined had an estimated population of 7,000 Chinese. The first settlers worked the gold fields. But when the gold began to run out, they moved on to other occupations in domestic service and agriculture, and then as railway builders.

Canada’s Chinese community has come a long way since these first settlers struggled for a foothold more than a century ago. According to the 2001 Census, Chinese in Canada now comprise the country’s largest visible

CST What you should know about this study

This analysis uses data mainly from the 2001 Census of Population to examine the language, religion and settlement patterns of Chinese in Canada. Respondents identify themselves as belonging to the Chinese population group by checking a mark-in category on the questionnaire. This type of question, used to identify visible minorities,¹ was first introduced in the 1996 Census.

Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities were derived from responses to the ethnic origin question, in conjunction with other ethno-cultural information, such as language, place of birth and religion. Readers should exercise caution in comparing visible minority data between censuses which used different methods of collecting data.

Data on reasons for coming to Canada were obtained from the first wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) provides landing records of all immigrants coming to Canada since 1980. These records provide information on such characteristics as admission class, country of last permanent residence and place of birth for all immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1980 and 2001.

1. The *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” The visible minority population includes the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese and Korean.

minority group, surpassing one million for the first time, following successive waves of immigration. They are a diverse group, reporting a variety of countries of birth, mother tongues, home languages and religious affiliation. But they are linked by a common ethnicity.

Earlier Chinese immigrants came as manual labourers; recent arrivals tend to come with education and human capital, entering Canada either as skilled workers or to join their family. The children of Chinese immigrants comprise a large proportion of the population as well. Today, the Chinese in Canada are better educated, work in a much wider variety of occupations and are a growing source of skilled and highly-skilled workers.

Today's Chinese Canadian communities are vibrant. These communities have strong infrastructure serving members who come to Canada from different parts of the world. They have a strong presence especially in major cities and have played a role in Canada's cultural mosaic. While some historic Chinatowns have been abandoned, new neighbourhoods, such as the Chinese community in Markham, Ontario, or Richmond, British Columbia, have sprouted in major cities across the country.

This article examines the history of the Chinese in Canada, its diverse population and its contribution to the nation's rich multicultural mosaic.

Early Chinese immigration: working on the CPR and enduring discrimination

A major wave of Chinese immigration to Canada occurred when thousands of young Chinese were brought to Canada to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. The hardships that the Chinese work gangs endured in helping to link Canada coast-to-coast are well-documented. Many were killed in dynamite blasting accidents; some were buried alive when tunnels

collapsed, while others drowned in the Fraser River. After Donald A. Smith drove home the last spike of the CPR in November 1885, most Chinese workers were simply let go.¹

For decades following the railway's completion, Chinese immigration was discouraged through restrictive policies, such as the *Chinese Immigration Act*. This act essentially excluded any Chinese person from entering the country and controlled those already in Canada. Some returned to the People's Republic of China, while those who remained worked in industries such as forestry, fishing canneries, sawmills and coal mines. Many moved east in search of other job opportunities. As a result, Chinese communities established themselves across the country.

Although the *Chinese Immigration Act* was repealed in the late 1940s, the number of Chinese immigrants coming to Canada remained relatively small.² In fact, between 1921 and 1960, fewer than 30,000 immigrants of Chinese origin arrived in Canada. Nevertheless, the repeal did allow Chinese residents who were not already Canadian citizens to apply for citizenship.

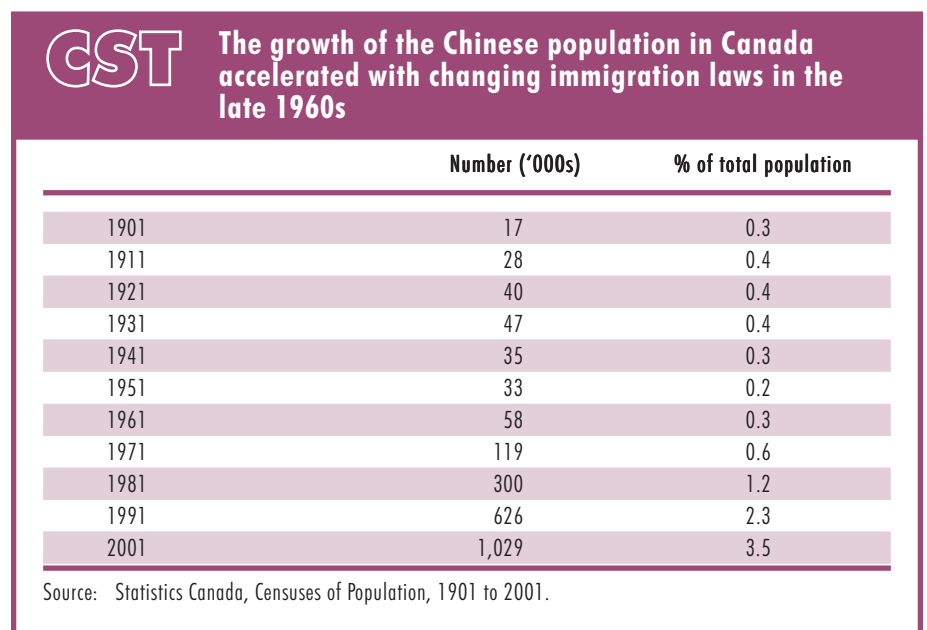
Europe and the United States continued to be the main sources of immigrants to Canada until the 1960s. However, Canada's immigration policy changed significantly in the late 1960s. The universal points system was introduced, and race or national origin was removed as a selection criterion.

With this change, which emphasized skills and educational attainment, many immigrants, Chinese included, arrived with educational and occupational backgrounds that were quite different from those of earlier arrivals.³

Immigration during the past two decades

The level of Chinese immigration to Canada took off during the mid-1980s. Chinese immigrants came mainly from three areas: China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. During the two-decade period from 1981 to 2001, an average of 35,400 immigrants arrived from these three sources each year.

The number of immigrants from Hong Kong increased significantly in the mid-1980s and early 1990s as concerns mounted about the



GST Chinese exclusion and the Head Tax

After completion of the Canada Pacific Railway, the 1885 *Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration* was the first in a series of exclusionary legislation aimed at limiting Chinese immigration to Canada. This act introduced the \$50 "head tax" which was required of any person of Chinese origin who entered Canada, although diplomats, consular representatives and merchants were exempted. This tax was subsequently increased to \$500.¹

The 1923 *Chinese Immigration Act* further prevented Chinese from entering Canada, and placed more restrictions on those already living in the country. Chinese residents were denied the right to vote, obtain citizenship and work in certain occupations.² During the exclusionary period, the population declined from 46,500 in 1931 to 34,600 in 1941.

Exclusionary legislation also delayed the growth of the Chinese second generation and led to a grossly imbalanced sex ratio: in 1911, the census recorded about 28 Chinese

men for every woman. Because it was difficult or impossible to sponsor wives or family members, many of the men already in Canada during this period lived as bachelors. Married life was limited mainly to wealthier Chinese merchants. The situation today is much different – 98% of married immigrants were living with their spouse in 2001.

It was after the repeal of the *Chinese Immigration Act* in 1947 that wives and children of Chinese residents were permitted to enter Canada. Eventually, immigration policies shifted from a focus on origin or ethnicity toward occupations and humanitarian grounds, thus making way for the increased presence of the Chinese in Canada.

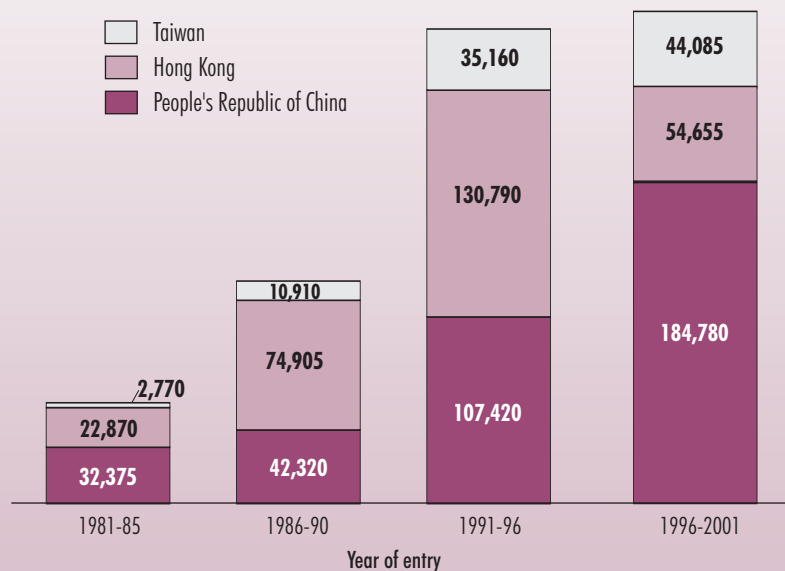
1. Anderson, K.J. 1995. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. McGill-Queen's University Press. Montréal.
2. Li, P.S. 1998. *Chinese in Canada: 2nd Edition*. Oxford University Press. Toronto.

colony's return to the People's Republic of China. Immigration from Taiwan also increased throughout the 1990s. But between 1991 and 2001, the People's Republic of China was the top source country of newcomers to Canada; nearly 197,400, or 11% of all landed immigrants, were born there.

For some Chinese, immigration to Canada was secondary migration. About 5%, or 35,000, of immigrants who were born in China, Taiwan or Hong Kong had been a permanent resident elsewhere before landing in Canada between 1981 and 2001.⁴ As well, some Chinese from Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos arrived in the early 1980s, as Canada accepted an unprecedented number of refugees who had fled Southeast Asia.

In the early 1980s, just over half of Chinese immigrants were admitted under the "family" class of immigration. But during the 1990s, this proportion declined as the share of "economic" immigrants increased. In

GST Immigrants born in the People's Republic of China now make up almost two-thirds of Chinese immigrants



Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

the late 1990s, four in 10 immigrants born in the People's Republic of China, Taiwan or Hong Kong arrived in the economic class. A similar share came as their spouses or dependents. Chinese who arrived under the refugee category represent less than 2% of newcomers during the past two decades.

The Chinese population in Canada grew substantially in the last two decades of the 20th century. In 1981, the census enumerated about 300,000 Chinese living in Canada. By 2001, this population had more than tripled to 1,029,400, or 3.5% of Canada's total population. Chinese formed the country's largest visible minority group in 2001.

Across the generations: One-quarter of Chinese in Canada native-born

Although immigration has been the main spur to the growth of the Chinese population in Canada, the Chinese have been settled in Canada for over a century. As a result, they are one of the few visible minority groups with a fairly high proportion of individuals born in Canada.

In 2001, 25% of Chinese in the country were Canadian-born. This was still well below the proportion of 65% among Japanese in Canada and 45% among Blacks, the other two visible minority groups with a long immigration history.

Today's Chinese mainly live in Toronto and Vancouver

The majority of Chinese immigrants settled in the nation's biggest cities. As a result, almost three-quarters of the Chinese population in Canada lived in either Toronto or Vancouver in 2001.

Recent Chinese immigrants found Vancouver especially welcoming. During the 1990s, they helped double the size of the existing community. By 2001, the Chinese community accounted for 17% of Vancouver's total population, compared with 9% a decade earlier.

Recent immigrants also contributed to a 50% increase in the size of Toronto's Chinese community. In 2001, 9% of Toronto's total population was Chinese, up from 6% a decade earlier.

Immigrants offered varied reasons for settling in any given region. However, their chief rationale was that family and friends already lived there, which was reported by more than half of the Chinese newcomers who arrived in 2000/01. About one-quarter who settled in Toronto did so because of job prospects, while in Vancouver, many said the reason was simply the climate.⁵

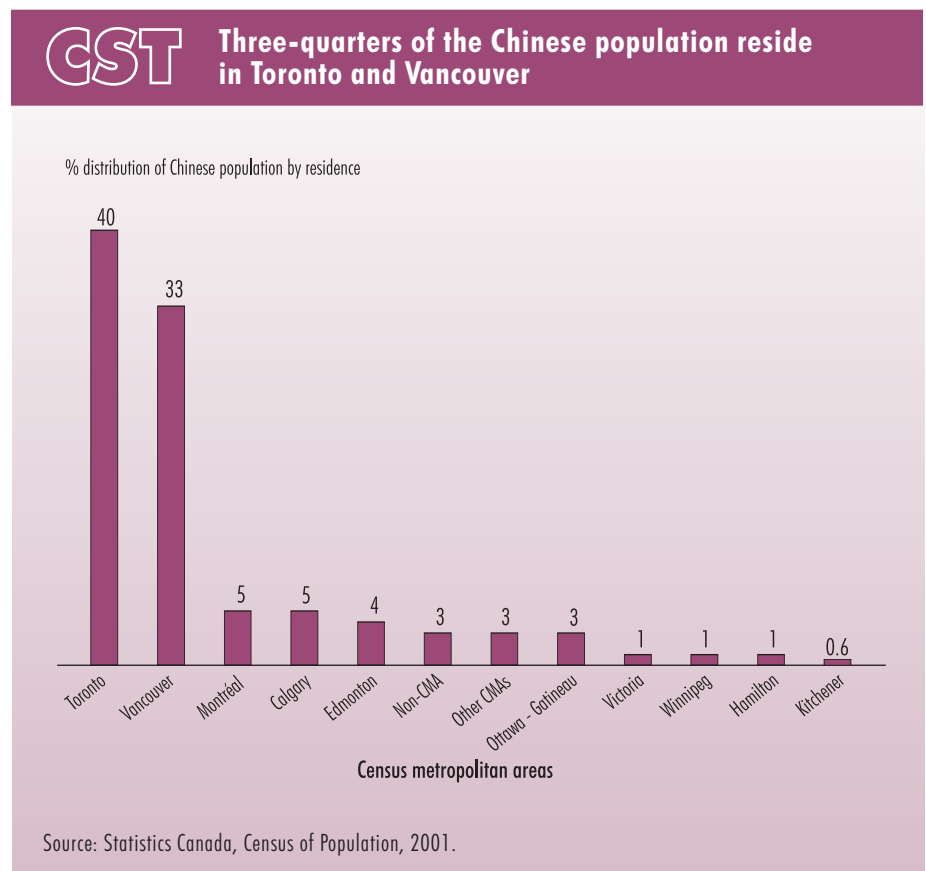
Within the major urban centres, traditional Chinatowns – areas in the city core characterized by Chinese architecture, restaurants, shops and heavy use of Chinese dialects – are now joined by new communities. In Toronto, Chinese communities have spread beyond the traditional Chinatowns into the suburbs. For example,

three in 10 residents of Markham were Chinese in 2001, as were slightly over one in five Richmond Hill residents.

In the Vancouver region, almost four in 10 residents in Richmond were Chinese, the area with the highest Chinese concentration in Canada. Most Chinese residents in Richmond were born in Hong Kong, the majority (65%) having arrived in the 1990s. In the city of Vancouver, 30% of the population was Chinese, as was 26% of the population of Burnaby.

Better educated, more highly skilled

Overall, today's Chinese in Canada are better educated than their predecessors. Nearly one-third (31%) of Chinese, whether they were foreign-born or Canadian-born, had a university education, almost double the rate of 18% among the general population.



The first Chinatown in Canada was in Victoria, British Columbia, where many immigrants from China set up tents and mud huts on Cormorant Street in 1858.¹ In Vancouver, Canton and Shanghai Alleys were bounded by Carrall, Pender and Main streets.² And in the east, the site of Toronto's current city hall once housed the first Chinese laundries and restaurants in the city.³

The development of a Chinatown is argued to be the result of the discrimination and exclusion during the early days of Chinese settlement. Chinatowns in those days were characterized by a population consisting predominantly of men, who worked as laundrymen, domestics or cooks. Chinatowns served as a cultural gathering point, where people with common language or dialect, background and experiences with discrimination and harsh treatment could live and work together.

Over the years, some Chinatowns grew and expanded into different parts of a city, while others became extinct. With the completion of the CPR in the late 1800s and the subsequent restrictive immigration policies, many of the first Chinatowns on Canada's west coast were abandoned.

However, when immigration policies were reversed and Canada began to open its doors to more immigrants, the Chinese population began to increase. As a result, Chinatowns grew to encompass a wide variety of businesses to meet the needs of this population.

Although some urban centres still retain their historic Chinatowns, new commercial areas that cater to ethnic Chinese sprouted all over Canada's major cities, especially Toronto and Vancouver. This was due to the increasing need for Chinese merchandise and services for the growing community.

Today's Chinatowns are a far cry from those that served earlier settlers. Instead, they are places of business or commerce, where traditional Chinese food or goods unique to the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong or Taiwan are sold. As well, many Chinese shopping areas are not located in the traditional downtown cores. The relatively new Chinese retail areas were established to serve the clientele in nearby residential neighbourhoods.

In addition to serving the needs of the Chinese community, Chinatowns retain an exotic appeal that continues to attract non-Chinese and tourists.

1. Lai, D.C. 1988. *Chinatowns: Towns Within Cities in Canada*. UBC Press. Vancouver.
2. Ng, W.C. 1989. *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-1980: The Pursuit of Identity and Power*. UBC Press. Vancouver.
3. Thompson, R.H. 1989. *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community*. AMS Press Inc. New York.

Chinese work in a wide variety of occupations. In 2001, about one-fifth of prime working-age Chinese (aged 25 to 54) were in sales and service occupations, and another fifth in business, finance and administrative occupations.

About 16% were in natural and applied sciences occupations, more than twice the share of 7% for the general population. Another 13% of Chinese were in management occupations, and 11% in occupations in processing, manufacturing and utilities.

Challenges in the labour force

The Chinese see themselves as hard-working, industrious people. They have had an impact on the development of Canada's labour force during the 1990s. A total of 303,800 Chinese aged 15 to 64 came to Canada in the 1990s, representing roughly 22% of the growth in the labour force population during that period.

However, as have many other newcomers, some recent Chinese immigrants experienced difficulties entering the labour market. According to the 2001 Census, prime working-age Chinese who immigrated in the 1990s had an employment rate of

61%, lower than the level of 80% for the total population. Many reasons lie behind the challenges to economic integration, but the recognition of foreign qualifications was reported by many Chinese as a major issue.⁶

The employment situation of Chinese born in Canada was comparable to that of the total population. The employment rate of Canadian-born Chinese men aged 25 to 54, at 86%, was the same as that for all Canadian-born men. Meanwhile, the rate for native-born Chinese-Canadian women, at 83%, was in fact higher than the proportion of 76% for all Canadian-born women.

	Total population	Chinese-Canadian population			Other visible minorities
		Total	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	
Total population ('000)	29,639	1,029	754	252	2,954
			%		
Education, population aged 15 and over					
Less than high school graduation	31	30	31	25	27
High school graduation and/or some postsecondary	25	24	22	29	26
Trades certificate or diploma	11	4	4	4	8
College certificate or diploma	15	11	11	11	13
University certificate diploma or degree	18	31	32	31	26
Experienced labour force, population aged 15 and over¹					
Paid workers	88	87	86	94	91
Self-employed	12	13	14	6	9
Labour force activity, population aged 25 to 54					
Employment rate	80	71	70	84	74
Unemployment rate	6	7	7	5	9
Occupation, population aged 25 to 54					
Management	12	13	13	14	9
Business, finance and administration	19	20	20	26	18
Natural and applied sciences and related	7	16	15	16	8
Health	6	5	4	9	7
Social science, education, government service and religion	9	6	5	9	6
Art, culture, recreation and sport	3	2	2	4	2
Sales and service	19	20	21	14	22
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related	15	6	7	5	12
Primary industry	3	1	1	1	1
Processing, manufacturing and utilities	7	11	12	2	14

Note: Excludes non-permanent residents.

1. Experienced labour force comprises workers, employed or unemployed, who worked for pay or in self-employment since January 1, 2000.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Language: Cantonese the main dialect

Chinese characters are generally used as the written language among members in the community. However, Chinese people speak different dialects, depending on the region from which they originated.

Taken together, the Chinese dialects represent the third most common mother tongue reported in the 2001 Census, after English and French. About 3% of the population,

or 872,400 people, reported a Chinese language as their mother tongue, that is, the language (or one of the languages) that they learned as a child and still understand.

More than 320,000 people reported that their mother tongue was Cantonese. Of these Cantonese speakers, 44% were born in Hong Kong and another 27% in the People's Republic of China. However, 18%, or more than 60,000, were Canadian-born.

The second most common Chinese dialect language was Mandarin, the mother tongue of more than 103,200 people. Fully 85% of these individuals were born in the People's Republic of China or Taiwan, while an additional 7% were born in Canada and 2% in Malaysia. Almost, three-quarters (74%) arrived in Canada in the 1990s.

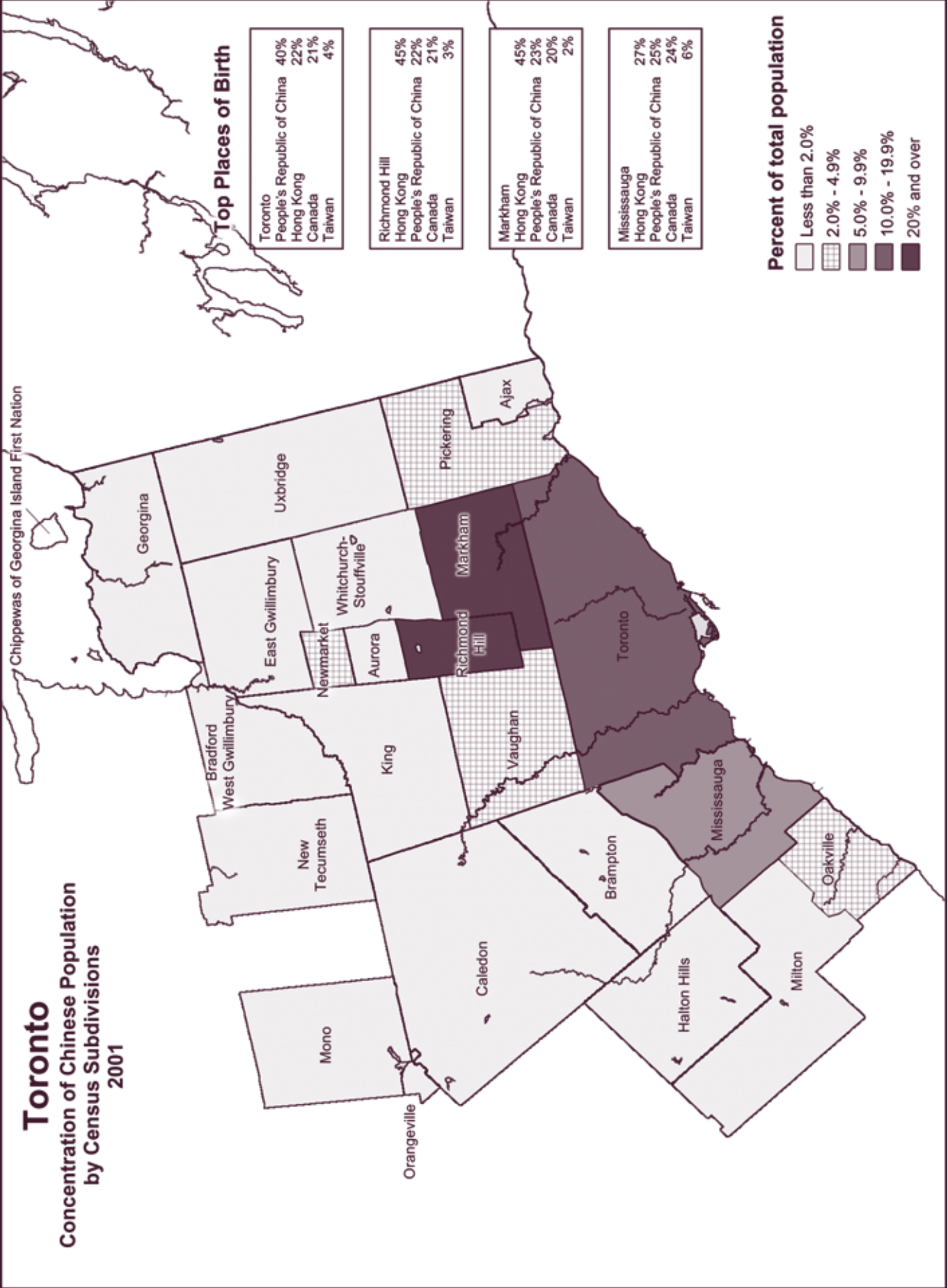
However, only about 790,500 people reported speaking a Chinese language at home on a regular basis,

continued on page 32

Toronto

Concentration of Chinese Population by Census Subdivisions 2001

Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation



Vancouver

Concentration of Chinese Population by Census Subdivisions 2001

Top Places of Birth

Richmond	38%
Hong Kong	26%
People's Republic of China	16%
Canada	13%
Taiwan	

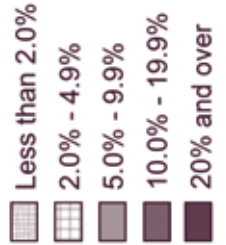
Vancouver	37%
People's Republic of China	24%
Canada	22%
Hong Kong	8%
Taiwan	

Burnaby	29%
People's Republic of China	23%
Hong Kong	21%
Canada	17%
Taiwan	

Greater Vancouver RDA	57%
People's Republic of China	12%
Canada	12%
Taiwan	11%
Hong Kong	

Coquitlam	31%
Hong Kong	20%
People's Republic of China	19%
Canada	17%
Taiwan	

Percent of total population



81,900 fewer than those who reported having a Chinese mother tongue. This suggests some language loss has occurred, mainly among the Canadian-born who learned Chinese as a child, but who may not speak it regularly or do not use it as their main language at home.

Although language retention is an important component of cultural diversity, knowledge of an official language is of particular importance for social and economic integration, especially for immigrants. In 2001, 85% of Chinese reported that they had conversational knowledge of at least one official language. About 15% reported they could speak neither English nor French.

Not surprisingly, half of those who could not speak an official language were immigrants who came to Canada in the 1990s, while more than one-fifth (22%) had come earlier in the 1980s. These immigrants were more likely to be in the older age groups. In contrast, the vast majority (89%) of prime working-age Chinese immigrants reported knowledge of at least one official language.

Most reported no religious affiliation

In general, six in 10 Chinese reported no religious affiliation in 2001, compared with only 16% of the total population. Religious affiliation varied with the region from which immigrants originated. Of those who were born in the People's Republic of China, 71% reported no religious affiliation, as did 58% of those born in Hong Kong and 48% of those in Taiwan.

Members of the Chinese community who did hold religious beliefs tended to report Buddhism, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as their religious affiliation. About one-third of Taiwanese immigrants indicated they were Buddhist, whereas one-third of immigrants born

in Hong Kong reported they were Roman Catholic, Protestant or members of some other Christian denomination.

Chinese families have strong presence

Although the majority of earlier Chinese immigrants came to Canada and lived here while their families remained in China, today's Chinese families have a strong presence. In 2001, some 93% of Chinese resided in a family household, compared with 87% of the general population.

Almost half (46%) of the Chinese were a spouse in a census family, compared with one-fourth of the total population.⁷ And nearly 38% of Chinese were children in a family, as opposed to one-third (33%) in the general population.

Traditional Chinese culture emphasizes respect for the elderly and the taking care of aging parents as a family responsibility. It is not uncommon for Chinese households to consist of several generations living together under one roof.

Among the Chinese who were aged 65 or older, 16% were non-census family members living with relatives. This proportion was four times higher than among the same age group in the general population. Indeed, only one in 10 senior Chinese Canadians lived alone, compared with almost three in 10 non-Chinese seniors.

Summary

The Chinese population has undergone a tremendous transformation in Canada since the first settlers arrived here 150 years ago: from a group that numbered barely 17,000 in 1901 to the largest visible minority group at about one million in 2001. The Chinese community, comprising immigrants and the Canadian-born, is a key player in Canada's multicultural mosaic. Today's Chinese Canadians have a

vastly different socio-economic profile than their predecessors. Many brought a range of skills and experience from their countries of origin. Although, in general, recent arrivals faced challenges in economic integration, Chinese who were born in this country have made significant headway.

A history that began with hard work, commitment and perseverance continues, as each Chinese Canadian searches for his or her own *Gam Saan* in the 21st century.



Tina Chui and **Kelly Tran** are senior analysts with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, and **John Flanders** is senior media advisor in Communications Division, Statistics Canada.

1. Lee, W.M. 1984. *Portraits of a Challenge: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Canadians*. Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario. Toronto.
2. Immigrants arriving shortly after the Second World War were mainly "displaced persons" from European countries such as the Netherlands, Poland and Hungary.
3. Li, P.S. 1988. *Chinese in Canada: 2nd Edition*. Oxford University Press. Toronto.
4. Based on administrative records of immigrants born in Hong Kong, Taiwan or People's Republic of China who reported a different country of last permanent residence.
5. Data on reasons for settlement choice were collected by the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada for those who landed in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001.
6. Chui, T, K. Tran and J.L. MacDonald, "Landing a job: the role of foreign qualifications". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Population Society, June 2-5, 2004.
7. A census family consists of either married or common-law couples living with or without children, and lone-parent families.

KEEPING TRACK

Use of hospital emergency rooms



Some 3.3 million people, or one out of every eight Canadians, aged 15 or older, had their most recent contact with a health professional, or treatment for an injury, in a hospital emergency room in 2003, according to the Canadian Community Health Survey.

Among both sexes, the most likely to do so were aged 15 to 24. About 20% of men and 18% of women in this age range received treatment for a serious activity-limiting injury, or contacted a health professional, in an ER. ER use for most recent contact of health professionals declined for both sexes, falling to 11% among seniors.

Household income was a factor in ER use. About 13% of people in the highest income group had received their most recent treatment in an ER, compared with 18% of people in the lowest income group.

People who reported having a "regular" doctor were just as likely to report ER use as those who said they did not have a regular physician. However, 21% of those who had consulted a doctor more than five times during the year before the survey reported using an ER, almost double the proportion (12%) for those who went to the doctor less frequently.

Health Reports Vol. 16, no. 1

Catalogue no. 82-003-XIE

University tuition fees



Undergraduate university students expect to pay 3.9% more on average in tuition fees, which is the smallest increase in three years. However, this average includes four provinces that have capped tuition fees: Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, Quebec, and Ontario.

They will pay an average of \$4,172 for the 2004/05 academic year, up from \$4,018 the year before. This is almost triple the average of \$1,464 in 1990/91, the result of significant increases during the 1990s.

The biggest increases will again be for students in law and medicine. However the most expensive program remains dentistry. The biggest increase among the faculties is medicine, where undergrads will pay 9.2% more than the previous fall, an average of \$9,977.

International students also face tuition hikes. At the undergraduate level, average tuition fees for international students will increase to \$11,903 and graduate fees will increase to \$11,307 on average.

The Daily September 2, 2004

Catalogue no. 11-001-XIE

E-commerce



An estimated 3.2 million Canadian households placed orders online in 2003, up from 2.8 million the year before. These households accessed the Internet from various locations, not just home. In total, they placed 21.1 million orders, up from 16.6 million the previous year.

An additional 1.7 million households reported that they used the Internet only to window-shop, virtually unchanged from 2001. This group browsed online catalogues to narrow their purchasing decisions, but did not place orders or make purchases online.

More Canadian households were paying for their goods and services online. Paradoxically, many shoppers indicated concerns about security aspects of the Internet, but they were still willing to use their credit cards online. In fact, the proportion of electronic commerce households that paid for their Internet orders online rose from 79% in 2001 to 85% in 2003.

Internet Use in Canada

Catalogue no. 56F0003XIE

Earnings of couples with high and low levels of education



The gap in earnings between couples who are highly educated and couples with much lower levels of schooling has widened considerably during the past two decades, according to a new study.

Couples consisting of two university graduates have seen their employment income rise substantially. On the other hand, those with high school education or less have struggled to maintain their standard of living.

The study, based on census data, showed that in 2000, Canadian-born couples in which both spouses had a high school diploma or less had annual earnings for the most part that were no higher than those of their counterparts in 1980.

In contrast, Canadian-born couples where both partners had a university degree earned 14% to 22% more than their counterparts did two decades earlier. In 2000, these couples accounted for 10% of all Canadian-born couples, more than twice the rate of 4% in 1980.

Business and Labour Market Analysis Division

Catalogue no.
11F0019MIE2004230



*Where business leaders
start their week ...*



Infomat

Statistics Canada's online magazine



Each Tuesday, Infomat examines the issues that influence Canadians. From health to manufacturing, from labour to arts and culture, you'll have the knowledge to see and react to the forces affecting your business.

» *Why should you subscribe to Infomat?*

It saves time!

An instant e-mail notification is sent to your inbox, announcing the release of each issue of *Infomat*. No more waiting for delivery!

It's reliable!

Benefit from Statistics Canada's proven experience and expertise. Count on relevant and dependable Canadian statistical information.

It has many rewards!

With your subscription, you get access to previous issues, upcoming releases, the latest statistics, new product information and much more.

» *With Infomat you get:*

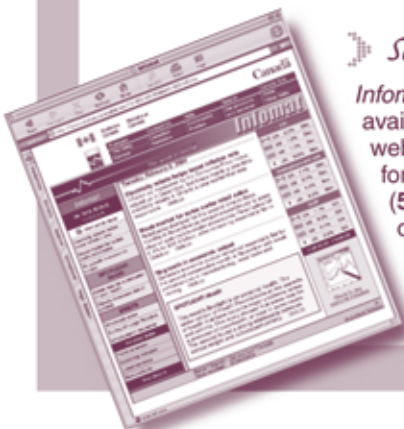
- Weekly updates of the newest Statistics Canada data releases.
- Straightforward analysis of emerging social and economic conditions.
- Easy-to-read charts and graphs let you see trends at a glance.
- Major indicators—Gross Domestic Product, Unemployment rate, Consumer Price Index—that allow you to monitor trends.
- Spotlight—a weekly feature that zeroes in on key issues in greater detail.
- A snapshot of the six key economic indicators for the last three years.

» *Subscribe TODAY!*

Infomat (Cat. No. 11-002-XIE) is available on the Statistics Canada website in a convenient HTML format. The annual subscription (**50 issues**) can be yours for only \$100 + taxes—a real bargain considering the wealth of information you get!

» *Get Infomat right now!*

Obtain it directly from the Statistics Canada website at www.statcan.ca or call us at 1 800 263-1136 to find out more information.





SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
INCOME¹									
Average market income									
Economic families ²	55,800	56,000	56,200	57,900	60,700	61,900	64,600	66,000	65,900
Unattached individuals	21,300	21,700	21,300	21,400	22,300	23,700	24,400	25,200	25,600
Average total income (includes transfer payments)									
Economic families ²	63,700	63,700	64,100	65,600	68,300	69,100	71,600	73,400	73,200
Unattached individuals	27,400	27,400	26,800	26,900	27,900	28,900	29,500	30,400	30,900
Average income tax									
Economic families ²	12,500	12,600	12,600	13,000	13,700	13,300	14,100	13,100	12,800
Unattached individuals	4,900	5,000	4,800	4,700	5,000	5,300	5,300	5,000	5,000
Average after-tax income									
Economic families ²	51,200	51,000	51,500	52,600	54,600	55,800	57,600	60,300	60,500
Unattached individuals	22,400	22,500	22,100	22,200	22,800	23,600	24,100	25,300	25,900
Average after-tax income by quintiles for families									
Lowest quintile	19,800	19,700	19,100	19,100	19,800	20,600	20,800	22,400	22,300
2nd	34,400	34,000	33,600	33,900	35,000	36,300	37,000	38,600	39,000
3rd	46,800	46,000	46,600	47,000	48,400	49,600	50,800	53,100	53,600
4th	60,800	60,300	61,200	62,200	64,300	66,000	67,700	70,300	71,200
Highest quintile	94,200	95,100	97,100	101,000	105,500	106,400	111,500	117,300	116,400
Earnings ratios (full-year, full-time workers)									
Dual-earners as % of husband-wife families	60.3	60.5	61.3	63.0	63.4	63.8	65.0	66.4	66.7
Women's earnings as % of men's (full-time full year workers)	69.7	73.0	72.8	69.2	72.1	69.4	71.7	71.0	71.3
Prevalence (%) of low income after tax (1992 low income cut-offs)									
Families with head aged 65 and over	2.5	2.1	3.0	3.8	3.6	2.7	2.9	2.2	2.7
Families with head less than 65	10.6	11.3	11.9	11.2	9.6	9.5	8.7	7.3	7.7
Two-parent families with children	8.3	9.7	9.7	9.3	7.4	7.6	7.4	5.9	5.4
Lone-parent families	42.1	42.5	45.3	41.3	35.5	34.1	29.5	26.7	30.1
Unattached individuals	30.7	30.6	33.7	33.0	30.5	30.2	28.5	26.1	24.8
FAMILIES									
Marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.9	--
Crude divorce rate (per 1,000 population)	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	--
Total number of families ('000) ^{3,4}	7,778	7,876	7,975	8,039	8,096	8,151	8,214	8,284	8,358
% of all families									
Husband-wife families	86.1	85.8	85.5	85.2	84.9	84.6	84.2	83.9	83.6
with children	51.1	50.9	50.6	50.4	50.1	49.9	49.7	49.4	49.2
without children	35.0	34.9	34.9	34.8	34.7	34.7	34.6	34.5	34.4
Lone-parent families	13.9	14.2	14.5	14.8	15.1	15.4	15.8	16.1	16.4
% of husband-wife families									
with children	59.4	59.3	59.2	59.1	59.1	59.0	59.0	58.9	58.8
% of lone-parent families headed by women	82.8	83.0	83.1	83.2	83.3	83.4	83.5	83.6	83.6

-- Amount too small to be expressed.

1. All incomes are in 2002 constant dollars.

2. An economic family consists of two or more people who live in the same dwelling and are related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

3. A census family is referred to as immediate or nuclear family consisting of married or common-law couples with or without children, or lone parents and their children, whereas a child does not have his or her own spouse residing in the household.

4. Excluding the territories.

Sources: *Income in Canada* (Catalogue no. 75-202-XPE), *Income Trends in Canada* (Catalogue no. 13F0022-XCB), *Annual Demographic Statistics* (Catalogue no. 91-213-XPB) and *Divorces* (Catalogue no. 84F0213-XPB).

LESSON PLAN

Suggestions for using *Canadian Social Trends* in the classroom

"I am Canadian"

Objectives

- To explore the concept of ethnicity and its relevance to our lives.

Curriculum areas: civics, history, geography, sociology, anthropology, psychology.

Classroom instructions

1. Have the students conduct a survey to find out how they would answer the census question, "To which ethnic or cultural group did your ancestors belong?"
2. Discuss why, in response to this question, some people indicate a Canadian origin, while others with similar ancestral backgrounds do not.
3. Invite the students to share their views on what it means to be Canadian. Are Canadians different from Americans?
4. The article, "I am Canadian," states that "ethnicity means different things to different people." Discuss with the students their own definitions of ethnicity and have the class choose one that best incorporates all their views.
5. Belonging to an ethnic group may result in advantages or disadvantages. Have the students debate the consequences of a utopian world without ethnicity or one where ethnic distinctions cease to be made. What would be the plusses and minuses?
6. According to "I am Canadian," some people report multiple ethnic backgrounds such as, for example, Canadian along with another ethnicity. Discuss why some ethnic groups are more likely to do this than others.

Using other resources

Use E-STAT (at <http://estat.statcan.ca>) to obtain data on the population from any town, village, or municipality in Canada who responded Canadian to the ethnic origin question on the census. You can use the data to generate a map showing the proportion of Canadian respondents.

Educators

You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.



Statistics Canada's **Canadian Economic Observer (CEO)** delivers the most thorough, monthly economic briefing available. Each month as a subscriber you receive current and reliable information to help you stay abreast of the economic performance of the country, your province and the specific economic sectors in which you're interested.

CEO is presented in two parts:

CEO—The Magazine

- Sector-by-sector analysis of economic indicators
- Developments in provincial and international economies
- Highlights of economic events in Canada and around the world
- A summary table of current economic conditions
- Feature articles spotlighting major issues and industry sectors

CEO—The Statistical Summary

- Detailed figures in tabular form on markets, prices, industrial sectors, international and domestic trade, and much more
- More than 1,100 economic indicators covering: market sectors, imports, exports, demographics, unemployment, and much more
- User-friendly tables and graphs



What's in a typical issue?

Statistical charts and tables are blended with expert commentary to provide a quick, concise, wide-ranging overview of the economy.

NEW – CEO now available in an electronic format!

Enjoy the complete print edition in an electronic format (PDF) for 25% less than the cost of the print version. Subscribing to the electronic format also gives you access to our archives of articles. Visit our website at www.statcan.ca to download it today!

Your annual subscription to the CEO print version includes:

- 12 issues of *Canadian Economic Observer*, your source for the latest trends, analyses and data on Canada's economy.
- A **FREE** edition of *CEO's Annual Historical Supplement*—a fact-filled compendium, putting at your fingertips the economic trends that have characterized Canada's development from as far back as 1926 right up to the present... all in one easy-to-use volume.

Subscribe to the Canadian Economic Observer

Canadian Economic Observer (Cat. No. 11-010-XPB)

Order 1 year subscription: \$243.00

Order 2 year subscription: \$388.80 **Save 20%**

Order 3 year subscription: \$510.30 **Save 30%**

In Canada, please add **either** GST and applicable PST **or** HST. Print version: no shipping charges for delivery in Canada. For shipments to the United States, please add \$6 per issue or item ordered. For shipments to other countries, please add \$10 per issue or item ordered. (Federal government clients must indicate their IS Organization Code and IS Reference Code on all orders.)

www.statcan.ca

Visit our website

Use one of four convenient ways to order:

CALL Toll-free 1 800 267-6677

FAX Toll-free 1 877 287-4369

MAIL Statistics Canada, Dissemination Division, Circulation Management, 120 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0T6, Canada

E-MAIL order@statcan.ca

Or contact your nearest Statistics Canada Regional Reference Centre at 1 800 263-1136.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

Unparalleled insight on Canadians

Subscribing to *Canadian Social Trends* means...

...GETTING THE SCOOP ON TOPICAL SOCIAL ISSUES

What's happening today? Each quarterly issue of *Canadian Social Trends* explores the realities that we are dealing with now.

... BEING ON THE FOREFRONT OF EMERGING TRENDS

Canadian Social Trends gives you the information you need to understand and prepare for what's coming down the road.

... OBTAINING THE MOST ACCURATE DATA AVAILABLE ON CANADA

Experts analyze data collected by Statistics Canada, *the* first-hand source of information on Canada.

You can rely on this data to be the latest and most comprehensive available. *Canadian Social Trends* offers you insights about Canadians that you can use to develop pertinent programs, must-have products and innovative services that meet the needs of 21st century Canadians.



Take advantage of this opportunity today!

Subscribe now by using any one of the following methods:
 Call toll-free 1 800 267-6677
 Fax toll-free 1 877 287-4369
 Email infostat@statcan.ca
 Contact the Regional Reference Centre nearest you
 by calling 1 800 263-1136.

Canadian Social Trends is \$39/year for a print subscription. In Canada, please add **either** GST and applicable PST **or** HST. No shipping charges for delivery in Canada. Please add \$6 per issue for shipments to other countries. Visit our Web site at www.statcan.ca for more information about ordering the online version of **Canadian Social Trends**. (A one-year electronic subscription is \$29 plus taxes.)