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Parents with adult children living at home

by Martin Turcotte

arents playing host to their adult children has become a more common living arrangement in recent years. Media, television and movies often portray this situation, depicting the difficulties that many parents have telling their kids that they should leave the nest. In many of these scenarios, the picture drawn is one of frustrated parents enduring a situation they had neither planned nor prepared for.

As is often the case, part of the popular view about adult children living at home is probably not without foundation. Some parents might feel trapped in an unwanted living arrangement, in which their adult children take advantage of their hospitality without offering much in exchange. But these portraits are probably exaggerated; many parents enjoy the company – and sometimes help – of their adult children; others might feel, for any number of reasons, that they have a duty to help their children during this particular period in their lives.

And parents who value family ties as much (or more than) economic independence may prefer that their children continue to live with them until some other rite of passage into adulthood such as marriage is marked.

So, who are the parents whose adult children still live at home? Are they less likely to have higher incomes and more likely to be immigrants? And how do these parents view their

coresidence experience? This study uses data from the 2001 General Social Survey to compare parents whose adult children are still at home with those whose adult children do not live with them anymore. It then examines whether or not coresidence is associated with significant negative outcomes, particularly in terms of conflicts within couples. It also contrasts parents whose adult children never left the house and those whose children returned to the nest after living independently for a time.

Parents who live in CMAs are more likely to live with at least one of their children

It is not news that young adults are more likely to live with their parents now than 20 years ago. In 2001, 57% of young men and women aged 20 to 24 were living with their parents; in 1981, the proportion was only 41%. Generally speaking, young adults who live with their parents are much more likely to be single, to attend school full time and to have lower income than young adults who are not living with their parents².

However, less is known about their parents. A number of characteristics are associated with the likelihood that parents coreside with their adult child or children. For example, parents born in Asia were three times more likely to coreside with their adult children than Canadian-born parents (73% compared with only 26%); similarly,

parents whose youngest child was in their early 20s were three to six times more likely to have an adult child at home than those whose youngest child was in their early 30s. (The table presented in the appendix illustrates these associations.)

In order to identify the relative importance of these different factors to the probability that parents coreside with their adult children, a multivariate statistical analysis was conducted. Only parents whose youngest child was between 20 and 34 years old were included in the analysis;³ of this group, 32% of parents lived with at least one of their adult children.

Holding the effects of other characteristics constant, the place where the parent lived had a significant impact on the likelihood that at least one of their adult children lived with them. Specifically, parents who resided in the largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs) were more likely to have an adult child at home: 41% of parents in Vancouver, 39% in Toronto, 34% in Ottawa and 28% in Montréal. In contrast, only 17% of parents living in rural areas or small towns shared their house with at least one of their adult children.

These results do not necessarily mean that parents who reside in smaller places are more reluctant to accommodate their adult children. Most postsecondary institutions are located in larger cities and for university or college students whose

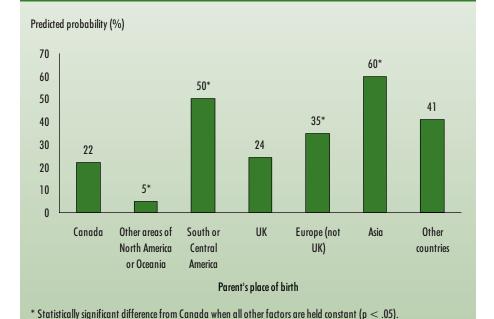
The predicted probability of having an adult child living at home was highest for parents in large cities

	Predicted probability
ent's characteristics	%
Place of residence	
Vancouver CMA	41*
Toronto CMA	39*
Ottawa-Gatineau CMA	34*
Nontréal CMA	28*
CMA, population 500,000 - 1,000,000	35*
CMA, population 100,000 - 499,999	22*
MA/CA, population 50,000 - 99,999	19
CA, population under 50,000	16
Jrban outside CMA	18
Rural outside CMA	17
Region of residence	
Atlantic	25
Québec	27
Ontario	30
Prairies	17*
British Columbia	21

Note: Reference group shown in italics. CMA = Census Metropolitan Area; CA = Census Agglomeration.

* Difference is statistically significant from reference group when all other factors are held constant (p < .05). Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

Asian- and Latin American-born parents were most likely to have adult children at home



parents already live in a CMA, staying at home can be a financially attractive option; for some students, it might even be the only option. In contrast, young adults from more remote regions generally don't have that choice and many have to leave home to pursue higher education. Another factor is the cost of living in larger urban areas, which is significantly higher than elsewhere in Canada. Young adults with low incomes and/or an uncertain job future might hesitate longer before renting an apartment if their parents can provide housing.

Province of residence was also associated with the likelihood that the parent of an adult child or children lived with at least one of them. In Ontario, parents had a 30% chance of living with an adult child; in contrast, the probability was significantly lower in the Prairies (17%).

South American and Asian-born parents most likely to live with adult children

The parent's place of birth also influenced significantly the likelihood that they lived with an adult child. Parents born in Europe (other than the UK), South America and Asia had much higher predicted probabilities (respectively 35%, 50% and 60%) than Canadian-born parents (only 22%). Previous studies have also documented this phenomenon4. In many societies, young adults are expected to live with their parents until they get married. Also in some cultures, like the Chinese culture⁵, caring for an aging parent is often considered a family obligation, while in some Southeast Asian cultures it is still very common for newlyweds to live with the husband's parents⁶.

For parents born outside Canada, place of birth was not the only factor affecting their probability of living with an adult child. Studies have found there is a relationship between the length of time spent in the new country and coresidence.⁷ Parents who immigrated to Canada before 1960 have a lower predicted probability (38%) of coresidence than

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

GST

What you should know about this study

Individuals selected for this study were all Canadian parents whose youngest children was aged 20 to 34 in 2001. Although parents whose youngest child was younger than 20 years old could also live with an adult child, their family situation or their stage in the family life cycle is certainly different than that of parents whose children are all adults. The sample selected allowed better comparability between parents who live and don't live with their adult children.

Analytical techniques and statistical models

The results presented are predicted probabilities calculated from a logistic regression. They estimate the probability that a parent with a certain characteristic (for example, being born outside Canada) lives with one or more adult child, after taking into account – that is, after holding constant – all other factors included in the regression model.

All other predicted probabilities presented were calculated from the results of ordered logit models (except the dispute scale, see below). Control variables included in the regression model were all relative to the parent: gender, highest level of education, age, common law or married status, personal income, place of birth, province of residence, main activity during the year (working, looking for work, household work, retired, long term illness, other) and number of adult child(ren) living in the house (one, two and more, with zero as the reference category).

Specifically, ordered logit models were run for the following dependent variables, which are all ordinal level type of variables: satisfaction with the amount of time spent with the children (very satisfied to not satisfied at all); perception that the children take too much of the parents' time (strongly agree to strongly disagree); having children made the parents happier (strongly agree to strongly disagree); frequency of the different sources of conflicts (often, sometimes, hardly

ever and never) including money, children, chores and responsibilities, in-laws, showing affection. In an ordered logit model, the dependent variable takes the value (for example) of 4 for "very satisfied", 3 for "satisfied", 2 for "not satisfied" and 1 for "not satisfied at all." The model estimates the probability that an individual with specific characteristics reports being "very satisfied", "satisfied", "not satisfied" or "not satisfied." Four intercepts are estimated, taking into account the fact that the intensity of the difference between "satisfied" and "not satisfied" might be greater (or smaller, depending on the cases) than the difference between "very satisfied" and "satisfied". Predicted probabilities were calculated holding all other variables than the one of interest (presence of one, two and more or zero adult child at home) to their mean value for the sample considered.

"Dispute scale"

Respondents to the survey were asked: Do you and your (spouse/partner) often, sometimes, hardly ever or never have arguments about...

- chores and responsibilities
- your child(ren)
- money
- showing affection to each other
- leisure time
- in-laws

For each question, a score of 1 was attributed if the respondent answered "never," 2 if the respondent answered "hardly never," 3 if the respondent answered "sometimes" and 4 if the respondent answered "often." The scores for all questions were summed, resulting in an overall score ranging from 6 to 24

Results reported in the text for the "dispute scale" come from an ordinary least squares regression, with the "dispute scale" as the dependent variable.

probability (38%) of coresidence than those who arrived between 1980 and 2001 (66%), holding constant all other factors, including place of birth.⁸ For those who came in the 1960s and 1970s, the likelihood was 43%. This indicates that, independent of place of birth, time spent in Canada decreased the likelihood of parentadult child coresidence: in other

words, that both place of birth and length of residence in Canada play an independent role. For example, the likelihood that an Asian-born parent who immigrated between 1980 and 2001 lived with at least one adult child was 82%, holding other factors constant.

Parent's income and education not associated with coresidence...

Some authors have argued that parents in higher socio-economic positions may have a greater tendency to expect their children to be independent earlier than those with less education and income; others have said that parents with

greater incomes might use their resources to help their older adult children to leave home. In contrast, it has been said that some parents with fewer economic resources might encourage their children to stay in order to benefit from the presence of more earners at home.

However, the analysis of GSS data does not show support for these interpretations. Parents with a higher level of education were neither more nor less likely than less well-educated parents to live with their adult children. Nor were parents with high personal income any less likely than those with lower personal income to provide accommodation for their young adults. ¹² It is quite possible, as sociologist Lynn White suggests, that "children's resources are much more likely than parent's resources to buy them independence." ¹³

...but the type of family home is

If the parent's socio-economic status does not significantly influence the probability of living with an adult child, their house does make a difference. After holding all other factors constant, parents in a single detached house had a greater chance of sharing their home with at least one adult child (probability of 28%) than those in a low-rise apartment building (11%). Parents residing in a semi-detached, row house or duplex also had a significantly higher likelihood of having an adult child at home. Generally speaking, people who live in single detached houses or who own their homes also have higher socio-economic status. However, many parents with average incomes also own a single detached house. The multivariate analysis shows that what matters the most when it comes to accommodating an adult child is not the parental income, but the type of house the parents live in – having more space available increases the likelihood that parents and adult children will coreside.

Generally, the disruption of family structures by divorce or separation is associated with leaving home early.¹⁴

The results of the GSS analysis are consistent with these conclusions: married parents were more likely than divorced parents to live with their adult children. However, these results should not be misinterpreted. Many divorced and separated parents might live separately from their adult children not necessarily because the children have left home to live on their own, but simply because they were living with the other parent (the mother, in most cases). Indeed, the predicted likelihood for divorced or separated mothers to live with at least one of their adult children was more than twice as high as that for divorced or separated fathers, at 23% compared with 9%.

Being widowed was also associated with adult child coresidence. After accounting for other factors, widowed parents were almost as likely as married parents to live with an adult child. It is quite possible that this type of living arrangement responds to the needs of the parent more than to the needs of the adult child.¹⁵ For example, some researchers have suggested that "children living with widowed parents may have closer emotional ties with parents and feel a greater pressure to live longer with parents who otherwise may be left alone."¹⁶

Households in which at least one parent is retired or ill might not be well-suited for parent-adult child coresidence. Indeed, compared to those who worked for pay, parents who were retired or ill were significantly less likely to live with their children (predicted probabilities of 28, 21% and 18%, respectively, while holding other variables constant).

Predicted probability

GST

Parents with houses, as well as those who are married or widowed, have a higher predicted probability of coresiding with adult children

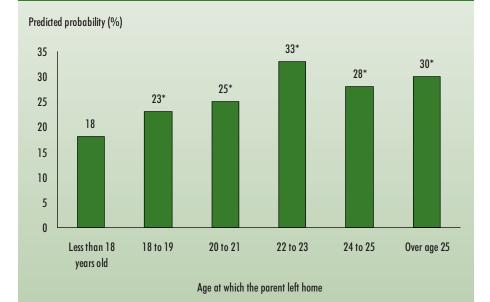
	Predicted probability
ent's characteristics	%
Type of dwelling	
Single detached	28*
Semi or duplex	27*
High rise	17
Other	13
Low rise	11
Marital status	
Common law	11
Married	28*
Widowed	27*
Separated	18
Single	24
Divorced	17
Main activity during the year	
Working	28
Looking for work	28
Other	24
Housework	29
Retiree	21*
Illness	18*

Note: Reference group shown in italics

Difference is statistically significant from reference group when all other factors are held constant (p < .05).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

Parents who left the nest after age 21 were most likely to coreside with adult children



 * Statistically significant difference from "Less than 18 years old" when all other factors are held constant (p < .05). Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

Parents have a high predicted probability of living with an adult child if the child is in their early 20s

	Predicted probability
ent's characteristics	%
Number of children aged 20 to 34	
One	20
Two	27*
Three or more	32*
Age of the youngest child	
20 to 21	64
22 to 23	47*
24 to 25	34*
26 to 27	22*
28 to 29	11*
30 to 31	13*
32 to 34	11*
Ratio of boys and girls	
All girls	23
All boys	28*

Note: Reference group shown in italics.

* Difference is statistically significant from reference group when all other factors are held constant (p < .05). Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

The last variable of interest is the age at which the parent left home when he or she was young. Taking all other variables into account, parents who moved out of their own parents' house before age 18 were significantly less likely to live with an adult child than those who did so at an older age. It appears that those parents who left the house early may have provided an example for their own children. Alternatively, it might mean that they applied more implicit or explicit pressure on their children to leave the house earlier.

In sum, parents who were most likely to live with at least one of their adult children lived in a large urban area in Ontario, were born in Asia or in South America, lived in a single detached house, were married and left their family home after age 21.

The consequences of living with an adult child

Sometimes, the coresidence of parents with their adult children is portrayed in very negative terms. Many of these adult children are said to stay at home without contributing much, have a newer car than their parents and, to complete the picture, are as messy as when they were teenagers. Stress, discouragement and eventual conflicts between parents are said to be part of the routine in these households. Are these perceptions overstated?

GSS respondents were asked if they strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following two statements: "I am often frustrated because my children take so much of my time."; and "Having children has made me a happier person." They were also asked whether they were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied or not satisfied at all with "the amount of time I spend with my children."

An analysis comparing parents living with at least one adult child with those who did not supported, at least in part, the idea that sharing the house with an adult child might come with some frustrations. After holding constant other variables like

the level of education, age, gender and income, parents who were living with two adult children were twice as likely to report that they often felt frustrated because their children took so much of their time; the predicted probability that these parents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement was 8%, compared to 4% for parents whose adult children did not live with them. That being said most parents, whether or not they lived with their adult children, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

While some parents living with their adult children might experience some kinds of frustration, they might also be rewarded, for example when the adult children contribute to the household by doing housework or providing emotional support and companionship¹⁷. They might also be more satisfied with the amount of time they spend with their children. Overall, the majority of parents whose youngest child was aged 20 to 34 said that they were very satisfied with the amount of time that they spent with their children (54%). However, that proportion was significantly higher for parents who lived with at least one of their adult children. Holding other factors constant in a statistical model, 64% of parents living with one adult child at home reported being very satisfied with the amount of time they spent with their children, compared to 49% for other parents. Some of the parents who lived with their adult children could have felt that the amount of time they spent with their adult children was just "too much" - and therefore could have said that they were not very satisfied with it. However, as the results show. a little "too much" time could be better than "not enough" for many parents.

Most parents agree that having children has made them happier people. Does coresidence with an adult child persuade parents to change their minds? Apparently not: parents living with their adult children were equally likely to say that having

children made them happier. In summary, it can be said that parents who live with an adult child were more likely to express some frustration, but that they were no more likely to express regrets about having had children. On the contrary, a greater proportion of parents living with at least one of their adult children were very satisfied with the time they spent with their children.

Marital quality

What about couples' relationships? In that respect, the coresidence of parents with their adult children seems to have more consequences. But again, they were far from being disastrous.

The presence of adult children at home slightly increased the frequency with which the parents reported having arguments with their spouse over various issues such as money, children, chores and responsibilities, in-laws and showing affection. A higher score on the dispute scale (low score equals 6, high score equals 24) indicates a higher frequency of disputes. Everything else being equal, married parents¹⁸ who lived with one adult child were significantly more likely to report greater frequency of conflict than married parents whose children had left home (0.4 points higher on the scale). Parents who were living with two adult children scored 1.4 points higher, a difference that was also statistically significant.

Why should couples living with an adult child be more likely to be involved in conflicts than others? Some authors have argued that the departure of an adult child lowers the level of conflict that often accompanies the arrival of a child in the marriage; 19 this new stage in life is also said to provide parents with the satisfaction of having completed "successfully" the responsibility of childrearing. When the adult children delay their departure from home, it is possible that the frequency of conflict within couples remains higher a little longer. Results, while not proving that this is necessarily the case, are somewhat consistent with these interpretations.

However, not all types of conflicts included in the scale were similarly frequent sources of arguments between married parents. The following possible conflict issues for couples were examined separately: chores and responsibilities, children, money, showing affection to each other, leisure time and in-laws.

The likelihood of arguing often or sometimes over questions of money was greater when there were two or more adult children at home (predicted probability of 31%). This compares to 23% when only one adult child was living at home and to 21% when all children had left the house. The greater frequency of conflict is understandable since living with two other adults certainly implies some additional costs for the parents, even when the children contribute to the family economy. For some families, more costs may imply greater risk of conflicts over money.

Parents who lived with two or more adult children also had a higher predicted probability of reporting arguments often or sometimes with their spouse about their children (40%, after taking into account other factors). This rate was twice the likelihood recorded for parents whose children had left home.

Finally, the presence of children was related to conflicts about chores and responsibilities. The likelihood of having arguments often or sometimes with their spouse about this issue was 39% when married parents coresided with two or more adult children. and 33% when they coresided with one; in contrast, it was significantly lower (28%) for parents whose adult children had left. Whether the adult child participates or not in the chores, additional people in the home generally increases the total amount of household work, which in turn can increase the risk of disagreements for parents. However, other types of conflicts that can arise between all couples – about showing affection to each other, about leisure time and about in-laws – were neither more nor less likely to occur between parents who had adult children living with them than between those who did not

The boomerang kid phenomenon

Adult children who return to live in the parental home after having left to live independently are sometimes referred to as "boomerang kids." One-quarter (24%) of parents who lived with adult children were in fact living with a boomerang kid. For these parents, a returning child may have different consequences than for parents whose adult children had never left home, since they may have thought their children had left for life. Supplementary GSS analyses supported, at least in part, the suggestion that it is a different experience.

First, parents who were living with at least one boomerang kid were more likely to express frustration because their children took so much of their time (8% versus 5% of parents living with non-boomerang children). After the return of an adult child, many mothers may experience a return to the "second shift," 20 which might affect their satisfaction. Also, parents of boomerang kids were less likely to agree strongly with the statement "Having children has made me a happier person" (predicted probability of 57% versus 68%). However, for married parents, the frequency of conflict between the couple was not significantly greater with a boomerang kid than with an adult child who had never left home

Summary

Parents of children at least 20 years old are much more likely than others to be living with at least one of their adult children if they live in a large CMA, own a single detached house, and were born in Asia, South America

or Europe. Socio-economic status is not associated with coresidence with an adult child. Parents are more likely to express higher frequency of conflicts within their marriages; however, the difference between them and parents whose adult children had left the house are probably smaller than they are sometimes perceived to be. The most frequent causes of conflict included money, children, and household chores and responsibilities.

Since the GSS data were collected in 2001, better labour market conditions have developed across the country, improving employment opportunities for new labour force entrants; as such, the proportion of parents living with an adult child may have decreased. It would be interesting to assess whether, as general economic conditions become more positive, the presence of an adult child in the home has more profound consequences on parental well-being than shown by the results of this study.



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Appendix: Factors associated with coresidence of parents and adult children

racteristics of condent parent	% of parents with youngest child aged 20 to 34	Characteristics of respondent parent	% of parents wi child aged 2
[otal	32	High rise apartment	28
Place of residence		Low rise apartment	15
Vancouver CMA	46	Other	F
Toronto CMA	54	Marital status	
Ottawa-Gatineau CMA	37	Married	35
Montréal CMA	32	Common law	17
CMA, population 500,000 - 1,000,000	36	Widowed	24
CMA, population 100,000 - 499,999	29	Separated	27
CMA/CA, population 50,000 - 99,999	23	Single	33
CA, population under 50,000	21	Divorced	23
Jrban outside CMA	23	Main activity during the year	
Rural outside CMA	20	Working	39
Region of residence		Looking for work	36
Atlantic	22	Other	30
Québec	28	Housework	33
Ontario	39	Retired	19
Prairies	25	Illness	22
British Columbia	31	Age at which the parent left home	
Place of birth	- :	Less than 18 years old	22
Canada	26	18 to 19	27
Other areas of North America or Oceania	F	20 to 21	32
South or Central America	59	22 to 23	39
JK	32	24 to 25	39
Europe (not UK)	43	Over age 25	38
Asia	73	Age of the youngest child	
Other countries	53	20 to 21	65
Gender		22 to 23	49
Wale	32	24 to 25	38
Female	32	26 to 27	28
Age		28 to 29	15
Under 50 years	46	30 to 31	16
Age 50 to 59	34	32 to 34	11
Age 60 and over	22	Number of children aged 20 to 34	
Highest level of schooling		One	20
Jniversity	36	Two	37
College	34	Three or more	43
Tigh school	35	Ratio of stepchildren	
Elementary	25	Zero	32
Personal income		All	15
Jnder \$20,000	26	Ratio of children adopted	
\$20,000 to \$39,999	31	Zero	32
\$40,000 to \$59,999	37	All	18
\$60,000 and over	35	Ratio of boys and girls	
Type of dwelling		All girls	24
Single detached house	34	All boys	29
Semi-detached or duplex	36		

Use with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

F Sample too small to produce reliable estimate.

Young adults who give and receive help

by Anne Milan

Ithough Canadians, in general, have a reputation for helping others when needed, young people do not always enjoy such a positive image. Popular opinion and the media often portray youths in our society as lazy, or indifferent. However, many young people are actively engaged in positive and altruistic social behaviours. Famous young Canadians such as Craig Kielburger, children's rights activist, Ryan Hreljac, who spear-headed a campaign to build wells in Africa, and, of course, Terry Fox, illustrate how young people can touch many lives and inspire others to do the same.

While most helping behaviour occurs on a much smaller scale, it can still promote a sense of fulfillment and connectedness to others. Researchers have pointed out that, "anyone who treats another person in a kind and helpful way creates a small benefit that is likely to be passed along."1 Running errands for a senior, mowing the lawn for a neighbour, or consoling a friend who has just experienced a relationship break-up or parental divorce—these are all valid forms of helping. As an additional benefit, young adults acquire social skills such as empathy and understanding as they learn to help others.2

Providing help, however, is only half of the story. Everyone, including those who prefer to give, needs help of some type from time to time. A willingness to accept help can make all the difference when coping with the challenges—large or small—of life.³ It is, therefore, not only the



CST What you should know about this study

Using the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS), this paper examines the extent of helping behaviours given and received by young adults aged 15 to 24. This age group was chosen because the positive social behaviours of young adults are not often examined. The results are based on a sample of nearly 3,200 youth representing 4.2 million Canadians in this age range.

Particular helping behaviours given and received in the month prior to the survey included providing emotional support; teaching, coaching, or giving practical advice; providing transportation or running errands; doing domestic work, home maintenance or outdoor work; helping with child care; or other forms of help. Unless a particular type of helping behaviour was specified, help given or received can refer to any one or more of these behaviours.

Respondents were asked to exclude help given to, or received from, those with whom they live, help given as a volunteer for an organization, or help obtained from an organization. In addition, respondents were also asked if they provided or received any of these forms of help on a regular basis, with regularity interpreted by the respondent.

ability to give help that is important, but also the capacity to receive it when required.

The 2003 General Social Survey (GSS) can be used to shed light on the extent to which young people

aged 15 to 24 provide, and also receive, various forms of help, such as offering emotional support; teaching, coaching, or giving practical advice; providing transportation or running errands; doing domestic work, home maintenance or outdoor work; or helping with child care.

Most young people are both giving and receiving help

The majority of young people both give and receive many types of

assistance. According to the 2003 GSS, 87% of young people aged 15 to 24 provided some form of help in the month prior to the survey. In fact, they had a higher rate of providing help than any other age group, a trend which decreased with age to a low of 60% for seniors aged 65 or older.

A similar pattern exists for receiving aid. Nearly 8 in 10 (78%) individuals in their late teens or early twenties indicated that they

received assistance, compared with less than half of seniors (47%). These differences in the care behaviours of young and old Canadians may reflect the social situation they tend to find themselves in. While many seniors are retired, young people are more likely to be either in school or in the labour force, environments with ample opportunities for meeting people and exchanging assistance.

Many young people give and receive multiple forms of help. Some 55% provided, and 37% received, at least three different types of assistance in the month prior to the survey. Furthermore, many youths not only give and receive aid, but do so on a regular basis (as interpreted by respondents): according to the 2003 GSS, 42% of young adults aged 15 to 24 offered, and 33% accepted, assistance regularly.

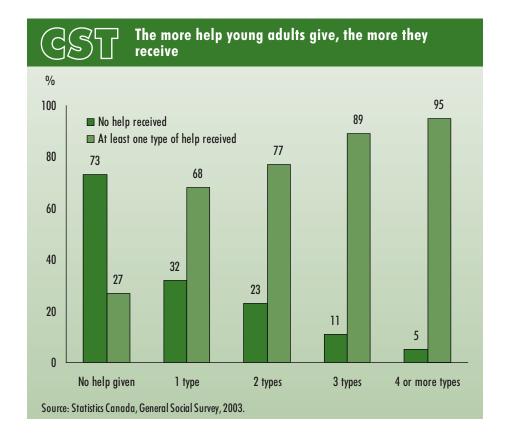
Helping is reciprocal

It has been said that people "get what they give," and it would seem that this holds true, at least in terms of helping behaviour. Data from the 2003 GSS show that young adults who helped others the most were also the most likely to receive help. About 95% of youths who provided four or more types of help in the month prior to the survey also received at least one type of assistance. In comparison, 68% of young adults who gave one type of help accepted aid during the same time frame, while only 27% of those who offered no help at all received assistance from someone else

Emotional support most common type of help exchanged

Emotional support can be a great source of comfort during challenging times such as employment difficulties, relationship breakdowns, or other interpersonal problems. It was the most common type of helping behaviour both offered and obtained by 15- to 24-year-olds: 67% provided a "listening ear" or a "shoulder to cry on", while 57% reported receiving such comfort.

	Help given	Help received
		·
	% of 15- to	24-year-olds
No help	13	22
At least one type of help	87	78
One type	13	20
Two types	19	21
Three types	24	22
Four or more types	31	15
Total	100	100



GST

Emotional support is the most common form of help

15- to 24-year-olds who give or receive help

	Give	Receive
	%	
Type of help		
Emotional support	67	57
Teaching, coaching, or giving practical advice	59	52
Transportation or running errands	50	46
Domestic work, home maintenance or outdoor work	45	21
Helping with child care	26	5
Other	13	10

Note: Percentages do not add to 100% as multiple responses were possible. Help given and received occurred during month prior to the survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

GST

Young adults were most likely to exchange help with

15- to 24-year-olds who give or receive help

Give	Receive
	ROCCIVO
%)
74	62
30	33
9	7
7	8
	74

Note: Percentages do not add to 100% as multiple responses were possible. Help given and received occurred during month prior to the survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

Women are often thought to be more skilled at nurturing relationships than men, and therefore, may be more open to giving and receiving less tangible assistance, such as emotional support. This, in fact, appears to be the case as women in their late teens and early twenties were much more likely than young men to give emotional care to someone (76% and 58%, respectively). Similarly, a higher proportion of young women received emotional support (66% versus 49% of young men).

Women also provided childcare in larger proportions (36% compared with 17% of men), while young men were more likely to help with work around the house (domestic work, home maintenance or outdoor work) than were young women: 52% and 38%, respectively. Whereas young men and women tended to give and receive help with different tasks, overall, they did so in similar proportions.

Friends are most likely to be sources and recipients of help

According to an earlier study, a strong feeling of support from one's social network increases feelings of attachment and community involvement.⁴ For adolescents, who struggle to establish their own identity, that social network consists of peers—friends who become

increasingly important and who may, during these years, replace parents as a source of support.⁵ It is, therefore, not surprising that young adults were more likely to offer help to friends than to relatives and other acquaintances. Among 15- to 24-year-olds who helped others, 74% provided assistance to friends, 30% to relatives, 9% to neighbours, and 7% to someone else. The pattern for receiving aid was similar.

In addition, the size of the peer support group was an important influence on help given and received: the more friends a young person had, the more help they gave and received. For example, 92% of 15- to 24-year-olds with six or more friends reported providing help, compared with 81% of those with two or fewer friends. The situation was comparable at the receiving end. In contrast, the number of close relatives was not as important a factor in the helping behaviour of young adults.

Different types of help for different people

Young adults provide different types of help to friends, relatives and others. Friends were most likely to be offered emotional help (among youth who provided emotional help to others, 89% directed this type of support to friends); teaching, coaching or giving practical advice (88%); and transportation (87%).

In contrast, relatives were more likely to be offered child care (47%) than emotional support (35%) or teaching, coaching or giving practical advice (35%). A similar pattern existed for receiving help from friends and relatives.

Type of help exchanged varies with age

In general, the types of help given and received vary by age. For example, young adults aged 20 to 24 were more likely to assist with transportation or running errands than were 15- to 19-year-olds (54% versus 46%), probably because many teens do not

yet have a valid driver's license. Doubtless for similar reasons, teens aged 15 to 19 were more likely to receive assistance with transportation than were people in their early twenties (54% compared to 39%). As well, a higher proportion of teenagers were offered help in the form of teaching, coaching, or practical advice than their older counterparts (59% versus 46%).

Group involvement increases helping behaviour

Participation in either formal or informal organizations—ranging from casual get-togethers with friends to sports teams or religious associations—increases interaction with others and creates opportunities for offering and accepting help. According to data from the 2003 GSS, 94% of young people who belonged to three or more groups provided help to other people, compared with 82% of youths who had no group affiliations.

Similarly, those who were members of several groups were also more likely to receive help. Nearly nine in ten (87%) young adults who were affiliated with at least three groups received some type of assistance during the month prior to the survey, compared with 72% of those who did not belong to any groups.

In addition to group membership, volunteering is also associated with providing assistance to others. For example, among those who volunteered, 65% reported teaching, coaching or giving practical advice, compared with 56% of those who did not volunteer

Additional analysis of GSS data showed that quality of life factors, such as levels of stress, personal happiness, overall life satisfaction, religiosity, and sense of belonging to the community were not strongly associated with either giving or receiving help. Similarly, household income was not a central factor in young adults' helping behaviour.

Summary

Overall, most young people aged 15 to 24 are providing, as well as receiving, help. Emotional support is the most common type of support given and received, and friends are the most likely givers and receivers of

all types of assistance. Belonging to groups, whether formal or informal, as well as volunteering, are activities which promote helping behaviour. To the extent that behaviour in youth continues throughout life, learned helping behaviour may set the stage for both providing and accepting help in later life.



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Home heating and the environment

by Bradley Snider



he improvement of society's standard of living is generally seen as a desirable goal, but it sometimes seems to conflict with the equally valid goals of maintaining the quality of the environment and operating within the limits of finite non-renewable resources; in other words, sustainability.

The ratification of the Kyoto treaty and rising energy costs have renewed interest in the environmental impact of household heating. This is a highly visible use of energy with which most Canadians are intimately familiar. But as with all activities involving energy use, the heating and cooling of our homes have consequences for our environment

In 2003, the residential sector accounted for about 6% of total Canadian greenhouse gas emissions.¹ That percentage may appear low, especially when compared with the transport sector which was responsible for about 26% of greenhouse gas emissions. However, the impact of the residential sector could have been much greater if the type of energy used to heat Canadian homes had not changed so dramatically over the past 50 years.

Using the Survey of Household Facilities and Equipment and the Survey of Household Spending,

(CST) What you should know about this study

This article draws on the Survey of Household Facilities and Equipment (HFE) and the Survey of Household Spending (SHS). Beginning in 1947, the HFE collected up-to-date data on household equipment in private households in the 10 provinces, providing information about Canadians' standard of living and identifying changes in household characteristics. As of 1997, the HFE was integrated into the annual Survey of Household Spending (SHS), which obtains detailed information about household spending, dwelling characteristics and household equipment, as of December 31 each year. The SHS covers about 98% of the population in the 10 provinces, with yearly data available for the territories from 1997 to 1999 and every second year thereafter beginning in 2001.

this article shows that, since the 1940s, Canadians have rapidly adopted new energy sources for household heating. It then shows how these important changes have affected greenhouse gas emissions attributable to the residential sector in recent decades.

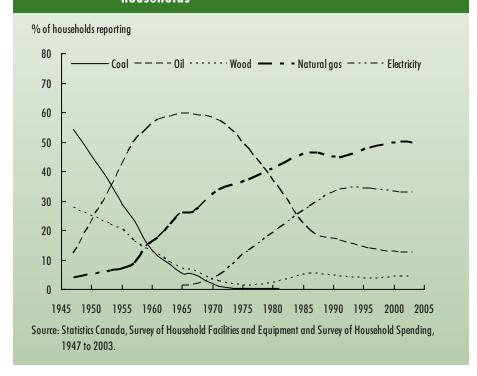
More households do not necessarily mean more emissions

Individual homeowners can attest that improvements in home design, insulating materials and the efficiency of home heating equipment have

certainly made modern homes more energy efficient. At the national level, two important factors are associated with the quantity of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions produced by the residential sector: the total number of households and the type of energy used to heat them. Not surprisingly, the greater the number of households, the greater the potential quantity of greenhouse gas emitted into the atmosphere. However, the relationship between the number of households heated and the quantity of emissions is highly dependent on the type of energy used.

GST

Natural gas and electricity have replaced oil and solid fuels as primary heating fuels in Canadian households



All sources of energy are not equally GHG friendly. For example, natural gas and electricity (when produced with low emission technologies such as hydroelectricity) have fewer negative consequences than oil. Thus, if an increase in the number of households is accompanied by simultaneous changes in favour of low emission sources of energy, the negative environmental effects of heating more households might be partially or entirely offset. Over the last half century, energy sources have changed continually.

In 1951 there were about 3.4 million households in Canada; by 2001 the number had reached nearly 12 million. So as a first approximation, the demand for household heating more than tripled over this period.²

However, the type of energy demanded by households has changed dramatically in the last 50 years. In 1947, over 83% of households relied on burning solid fuel – coal (55%) or wood (28%) – with the daily

maintenance and attention that that required. Only 12% of households heated with oil and 4% with natural gas. Electric heating was virtually unknown.

By 1965, less than 20 years later, domestic heating had been revolutionized. Coal and wood had dwindled to only 10% of households, while oil heating had peaked at nearly 60%. The construction of the Trans-Canada natural gas pipeline in the 1950s allowed 26% of homes to heat with gas. Electric heat was still rare, though, reported by only 1% of households.

The oil shocks of the 1970s, and subsequent government policies favouring electricity (in Québec) and natural gas (in Ontario and the Western provinces), precipitated the decline of oil as a heating fuel. Trends in this direction had already begun as early as 1966, suggesting that consumers were responding to their own sense of efficiency and economics. By 1985, oil had

dropped to third place behind gas and electricity as a heating source. Wood heat, interestingly, enjoyed a small renaissance in the 1970s and has accounted for a steady 5% of households since then. Coal, however, has effectively vanished as a home fuel.

By 2003, the picture had changed again. Electricity, which peaked in popularity in the mid-1990s, dropped slightly to heat 33% of households. Oil decreased to only 13% of households, about the same as in 1947, while natural gas reached an all-time high as the heating source for 50% of households.

When the principal energy source is shown in terms of the absolute number of households (rather than the share of households), the picture changes slightly. Here, the decline of oil in absolute terms begins in 1970, but it is still precipitous. Wood is used by almost half a million households, almost as many as in the 1950s. The total number of households using gas in 2003 (over six million) is almost double the number that ever used oil. And although the growth in electric heating seems to have ended in the mid 1990s, electricity still heats more homes in 2003 than oil ever did.

Changes in energy sources used affect greenhouse gas emissions

The quantity of greenhouse gas emissions attributed to the residential sector in 2003 reflects the increase in the number of households, improvements in energy efficiency and heating technologies, and the changes in the types of energy used. Over the past 50 years, the number of households has more than tripled; however at the same time, sources of energy which produce large quantities of greenhouse gas (GHG) - coal and oil - have gradually been replaced by more environmentally friendly sources such as natural gas and hydroelectricity. The evolution of the quantity of emissions attributable to the residential sector in the nineties illustrates very well this situation.

According to a 2005 Environment Canada report, "residential emissions have remained fairly constant between 1990 and 2002, increasing 0.3 Megatons (Mt) over this period". This stability could certainly be considered an improvement, given that the number of households grew nearly 22% over this period (from 9.8 to nearly 12 million).

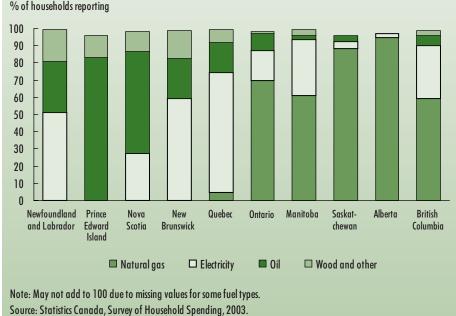
Without changes in the sources of energy used to heat the houses in the past 50 years, the picture would have been much different. If households in 2002 were still using, in the same proportions, the type of energy sources used in 1965, the quantity of GHG emissions produced by the residential sector would no doubt have been far higher than they currently are.4 Overall, it is evident that growth in the efficiency of fuel use - using less GHG-intensive energy sources, updated furnaces and improved insulation, among other factors - has been remarkable.

Natural gas is almost absent east of Ontario

The changes in energy use observed at the national level overshadow important variations at the regional level. Use of natural gas depends on the presence of pipelines. Since the 1950s, use of natural gas has grown along with the extent of the pipeline network. The small number of Atlantic Canadian households that reported using natural gas as their principal energy source reflects limited availability in those provinces.5 On the other hand, the majority of households in the western provinces and Ontario used natural gas as the principal energy source. Not surprisingly, virtually all households in Alberta (97%) were heated with gas.

Electricity is the leading heating source in Québec (68%), New Brunswick (56%), and Newfoundland and Labrador (50%), while oil is the leading heating source in Prince Edward Island (81%) and Nova Scotia (60%).





Wood is used in over one in seven households in the Atlantic Provinces. In 2003, wood and other solid fuels were the primary heating source for 16% of households in New Brunswick and 19% in Newfoundland and Labrador

Apartment buildings are more likely to be heated with electricity

There are social as well as geographical dimensions to household heating. Over half (56%) of apartment buildings are heated with electricity, compared with fewer than one-quarter (23%) of houses (single detached, semidetached, row houses and other types of single attached houses). Electric heat has advantages for landlords, since it is easier to meter individually and requires less maintenance. In contrast, 56% of houses used natural gas as their principal heating fuel, but only 34% of apartments. Oil is used by a minority of both dwelling types: 14% of houses and 9% of apartment buildings.

Since the great majority of apartment dwellers are renters (79% according to the 2001 Census), renters are about twice as likely as homeowners to use electricity, at 48% versus 25% in 2003. And with most houses being owner-occupied (86% in 2001), owners more often heat their homes with natural gas than electricity (54% versus 39% of renters).

Renters are often low-income households. Indeed, the majority (63%) of households in the lowest income quintile rent their homes, compared with only 13% of those in the highest income quintile. Consequently, sources of home heating vary across income groups.

Among households in the bottom income quintile, 44% heat their homes with electricity and 39% heat with natural gas. In contrast, among households in the top income quintile, 20% heat their homes with electricity and 67% heat with natural gas. The use of oil varied less across income groups, ranging from 10% to 15%.

Some of the interaction between dwelling type and heating source is related to social characteristics unique to certain regions as well. Quebec has the highest proportion of apartment dwellings in the country (38%) and electric heating is used in 81% of these buildings, a usage rate much higher than the national average.

Sustainability

Regional variations in energy use show that options to lower GHG emissions attributable to the residential sector must look at where real gains can be made. For example, oil is the dominant fuel in most of the Atlantic Provinces, used by about 390,000 households in 2003. Oil is used by a much smaller fraction of homes in Ontario and Québec, but these totalled over 981.000 households. Since alternative types of energy are available in these provinces (hydroelectricity in Québec and natural gas in Ontario) converting these households would have significant consequences for the quantity of GHG emissions attributable to the residential sector. Where natural gas is not easily available, these conversions would be more difficult to achieve.

Using electric heat does not have the same consequences for GHG emissions in every province. Where electricity is produced by coal or oil-fired generating plants (Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), the use of electricity for home heating will result in greater levels of emissions than in provinces where hydroelectricity is dominant (Québec, Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, and British Columbia).

Summary

While sectors like road transportation have increasingly contributed to higher levels of greenhouse gas emissions, the same cannot be said of the residential sector. Over the last 50 years the domestic energy industry has been continuously

For several decades, researchers have been investigating the development of alternative sources of energy, mainly in an effort to reduce pollution but also to diminish society's dependence on fossil fuels. Most renewable alternatives are used to generate electricity, which can then be used for household heating in addition to lighting and running household appliances. Active solar energy uses photovoltaic cells to convert solar energy into electricity. Wind power can be stored in forms other than electric cells (pumping water into reservoirs which then generate hydroelectric energy); in Europe, significant amounts of energy are being derived from wind farms - 18% of electricity in Denmark in 2003, for example. Biomass energy uses organic waste material as fuel for power generating plants in an effort to recycle waste materials in a meaningful way. Similarly, methane (the principal component of natural gas) can be derived from the decay of organic material in landfill sites, where the escaping gas is captured and burned for energy. Enormous quantities of methane hydrate - natural gas in the form of "ice" – believed to be trapped in ocean sediments also represent an important energy resource. Unfortunately, the cost of producing energy with these methods remains a considerable barrier to their use. For example, battery technology remains fairly primitive meaning that electric batteries are still inefficient fuel sources compared with fossil fuels, and wind turbines require a lot of maintenance to operate efficiently. Similarly, the depths at which methane hydrate is found make it expensive to extract and its extreme volatility makes it dangerous to handle.

Some alternative energy sources can be used for home heating directly. Returning to the traditions of pre-20th century architecture, passive solar energy takes advantage of a building's site to let sunlight heat, light and cool it (cooling breezes are created by the action of solar heat on air). Geothermal energy can also heat homes directly by using a pump that draws heat energy from the earth or ground water.

Sources: Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy, United States Government (http://www.eia.doe.gov/cneaf/solar.renewables/page/ renew info/faq.html); Kunstler, J.H., The Long Emergency. Atlantic Monthly Press; New York, N.Y. 2005.

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evolving. Increases in the wealth and average standard of living of Canadians have been accompanied by a constant change in household heating technology and energy sources. Canadian households, both on their own and in response to government policies, have been eager to embrace these innovations as soon as price and availability allowed. This has allowed more households to heat

themselves in a comfortable manner while greenhouse gas emissions have remained steady or even declined over the last decade.

In particular, between 1965 and 1995, the number of households in Canada using electricity for heating increased from almost zero to over 4 million, while the number using oil decreased by about 2 million. In British Columbia, Québec, Manitoba,

and Newfoundland and Labrador, where hydro-electricity is abundant, this represents a tremendous drop in greenhouse gas emissions. However, there has been almost no growth in the number of homes using electricity since 1995.

Natural gas has emerged as the home heating fuel of choice, its use constrained only by the limits of distribution networks. It is the dominant fuel in all provinces west of Quebec, and has been the only fuel whose use has grown in the last decade.

Improved efficiencies have kept greenhouse gas emissions constant over the last decade despite considerable growth in the number of households. It seems then that home heating, though an obvious policy target, may not be the best source to find major national reductions in GHG emissions. However, as illustrated by the regional differences in home heating, future improvements are still possible.

As a concluding remark, it is apparent that the home energy scene in Canada is a dynamic one. Both climate change and the ever-evolving energy supply situation will continue to pose new problems to solve. Canadian households have shown great flexibility in the last 50 years, readily adopting new technology and energy sources for home heating. This bodes well for their ability to adapt to the new energy and environmental challenges of the next half century.



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- Environment Canada, "Summary: Canada's 2003 Greenhouse Gas Inventory," www.ec.gc.ca
- 2. Although the population doubled from 1951 to 2001, the number of households increased by over 3.5 times. This is related to the long-term decline in the number of persons per household which began in the 19th century, from 5.6 persons per household in 1881 to 4.0 persons in 1951, and down to 2.6 persons in 2001. Increasing average wealth, smaller families and a higher standard of living explain most of this decline. If average household size had remained the same between 1951 and 2001, there would be only 8 million households now, so there are about 50% more households in 2001 than would have been predicted from population change alone.
- 3. Environment Canada. 2005. Canada's 2002 Greenhouse Gas Inventory.
- 4. Environment Canada, 2005.
- 5. Natural gas pipelines are new to the Atlantic Provinces and the distribution network is not yet very extensive. The first households in Nova Scotia to use natural gas were hooked up in January 2004, and the province had 1,400 paying customers by the end of that year.

Passing on the ancestral

language

by Martin Turcotte

any immigrants feel that teaching their own mother tongue to their Canadianborn children is of paramount importance. Aside from the cultural value that maintaining a linguistic identity provides, research suggests that learning the ancestral language may afford children with some socio-economic benefits. First, the knowledge of additional languages is increasingly recognized as a significant asset. 1 Second, proficiency in both an official and a non-official language, along with a strong ethnic identity, can in some cases play a role in children's academic success.² And, third, in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of immigrants, fluency in an ancestral language can enable participation in ethnic businesses and social life.3

Using data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS), this article examines the preservation of ancestral languages by looking at the extent to which allophone immigrants (i.e. those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French) have transmitted their mother tongue to their Canadian-born children. Data in this analysis come from interviewing Canadian-born persons aged 15 and over whose parents were allophone immigrants. For simplicity, these individuals are referred to in the article as respondents. The analysis focuses on the factors associated with the probability of the ancestral language being the respondent's



mother tongue, the respondent's ability to speak the ancestral language, and his or her regular use of this language in the home.

Few children can converse in their grandparents' mother tongue

According to a number of studies in the United States, the knowledge and use of ancestral languages tend to disappear rather quickly among children of immigrants. In general, these studies found that most grandchildren had virtually no understanding of the mother tongue of their immigrant grandparents.⁴ Is the transmission of ancestral languages to subsequent generations similar in Canada or does one find an appreciable difference?

According to the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS), 64% of respondents learned their parents' ancestral language first in childhood. A larger proportion, 74%, reported that they were able to carry on a conversation in their parents' mother tongue. This gap may seem surprising until one considers that some individuals acquired their parents'

mother tongue after learning another language—mostly English or French—in childhood (16%), while others lost the ability to carry on a conversation in their first language (5%).

Once children grow up and leave their parents' home, their use of the ancestral language shows a marked decline. According to data from the 2002 EDS, only 32% of respondents used their parents' mother tongue regularly in their own home. This proportion further drops (to 20%) when examining only those who had children aged 3 to 17. And even in this last group, not all taught their children the ancestral language: just 11% of respondents reported that their youngest child could carry on a conversation in their grandparents' mother tongue. It is possible that, in some cases, parents speak the ancestral language with each other, but use English or French with their children.

Outside the home, 16% of respondents spoke the ancestral language regularly with their friends, and 12% of those in the labour market used it regularly in the workplace.

GST

What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS). The survey's target population consisted of persons aged 15 and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. The population did not include persons living in collective dwellings, persons living on Indian reserves, persons of Aboriginal origins living off-reserve, or persons living in Northern and remote areas.

This article focuses on the children of immigrants, that is, Canadian-born persons whose parents were both born in another country. People were only included in the analysis if neither their mother nor their father had an English or French mother tongue.

The total sample for the EDS included about 42,500 respondents aged 15 and over. Of these individuals, almost 6,800 were descendants of immigrants and among this group 4,500 reported that neither of their parents had an English or French mother tongue. This sample of 4,500 respondents, representing about 1,250,000 Canadians, provided the data for this study.

Definitions

Allophone: Individuals whose mother tongue is neither French nor English.

Respondent: Canadian-born persons aged 15 and over whose parents were both born in another country and had a mother tongue other than English or French.

Mother tongue: First language learned at home in childhood. While the vast majority of persons reported learning just one language in early childhood, a small percentage indicated that they had learned two or three languages simultaneously. These responses were retained and considered in the analysis.

Ancestral language: The parents' ancestral language is the first language learned at home by the respondent's parents. In most cases in this analysis (89%), that language was the same for both parents. For convenience, however, the expression

"parents' ancestral language" was used even when the parents did not share the same mother tongue.

Sense of cultural or ethnic belonging: In the EDS, respondents were asked the following question: "Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others. Using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to your ethnic or cultural group(s)?" This question was used to create the sense-of-belonging indicator included in the logistic regression analysis.

Language groups used in this article: Separate language groups were created when the number of respondents was large enough to allow it (more than 20 respondents). For more details on the various language groups, see the definition of "mother tongue" in the 2001 Census Dictionary.

Multivariate analysis

The statistical analysis identifies, using predicted probabilities, various characteristics associated with descendants of allophone immigrants acquiring their parents' ancestral language as their mother tongue, speaking that language, and using it regularly at home. The analysis indicates whether there is a statistically significant correlation between the various characteristics included in the model, when holding the effects of all other variables constant to their mean values. For categorical variables, like highest level of education or province of birth, the mean values represent the percentage of the population of interest falling in each of the categories of the independent variable. For example, after the parents' level of education, the respondent's age and sex, and all the other characteristics included in the statistical model have been taken into account (or held to their mean values), the predicted probability that individuals with Cantonesespeaking immigrant parents inherited Cantonese as their own mother tongue was 87%.

Some groups more likely than others to pass on their mother tongue

Not all language groups are equally likely to pass on their mother tongue to the next generation. Holding constant other variables included in a statistical model – like parents' highest level of education, respondent's age and province of

birth – respondents whose parents' mother tongue was Punjabi, Spanish, Cantonese, Korean or Greek were most likely to learn these languages as their mother tongues. Individuals with Dutch, Scandinavian, German, Tagalog, Semitic, Niger-Congo and Creole ancestral languages were least likely to do so. These differences may reflect the interest that specific

language communities have in maintaining ancestral languages. Also, levels of the parents' fluency in English or French may vary from one linguistic group to another.

Indeed, in 2001, only a small minority of immigrants whose mother tongue was Dutch, one of the Scandinavian languages, Tagalog or German was unable to

GST

The predicted probability of learning an ancestral language as mother tongue varies with specific languages

First language learned was ancestral language

Can speak ancestral language

	Predicted probability (%)	
Ancestral language		
Italian	69	84
Dutch/Flemish	26*	48*
Scandinavian languages	37*	50*
Yiddish	39*	81
German	52*	65*
Portuguese	77	90
Spanish	87*	94*
Romanian	48	55*
Greek	84*	94
Armenian	68	82
Baltic languages	68	68
Russian	54	79
Croatian	84*	95
Slovenian	74	80
Czech	56	52*
Polish	75	77
Ukrainian	83*	90*
Other Slavic languages	73	80
Punjabi	89*	96*
Gujarati	72	85
Hindi	71	91
Urdu	72	83
Other Indo-Iranian languages	69	71
Dravidian languages	55	52*
Japanese	78	84
Korean	86*	84
Austro-Asiatic languages	85*	85
Arabic	63	85
Other Semitic languages	21*	51*
Tagalog	40*	50*
Other Malayo-Polynesian languages	54	57*
Finno-Ugric languages	75	70
Hungarian	63	70*
Mandarin	70	69*
Cantonese	87*	88
Other Chinese languages	80*	83
Niger-Congo languages	17	34*
Creole	10*	90
Other languages	54	55*

Note: The predicted probabilities were computed by fixing the covariables at their average value for the sample used. The results were taken from a logistic regression analysis.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.

speak either English or French; 5 the proportion ranged from 0.2% for the Scandinavian languages to 2.0% for German. By comparison, members of other language groups were much more likely to be unable to speak either of the official languages: for example, 20% of persons with Cantonese and 15% with Punjabi mother tongue were unable to carry on a conversation in either English or French. This may reflect the varying length of time language groups have spent in Canada, and the fact that historically some have had closer contact than others with English or French. Alternatively, large concentrations of individuals in one area with the same mother tongue may render the learning of another language less essential.

Parents with same mother tongue most likely to pass language on

Respondents whose parents both had the same mother tongue (about 90% were in this situation) were more likely to learn this language as their own mother tongue (predicted probability of 68%) than persons whose parents had different mother tongues (predicted probability of 49%).⁶ This second group was more likely to speak English or French with their parents.

Parents' education also made a difference in passing on an ancestral language. For example, individuals whose mother had a postsecondary education were less likely than those whose mother's highest level of education was elementary school to have learned their parents' mother tongue as their first language: 61% versus 70%. While it is difficult to explain the exact reasons for the relationship between education and transmission of ancestral languages, other studies suggest that individuals with a higher level of education have a greater tendency to shift to the host country's official language, even for home use.7

Reference categories shown in italics.

^{*} Statistically significant difference from reference category (p < 0.05).

The age of respondents (and, hence, indirectly the period in which they were born) was also associated with their first language learned. For example, the predicted probability that a respondent's first language was the parents' mother tongue was 52% for 15- to 24-year-olds compared with 65% for 25- to 34-year-olds and 75% for those aged 65 or over. It appears that those born earlier in the 20th century were more likely to learn the ancestral language as their mother tongue

Finally, respondents born in Quebec were more likely to learn their parents' mother tongue as their first language than those in other provinces: 80% versus, for example, 60% in Ontario and 72% in both Saskatchewan and Alberta. In turn, the proportion with an English-only or French-only mother tongue was lower in Quebec than in other provinces. While in Ontario, 40% of respondents reported an English-only mother tongue (virtually none reported a French-only mother tongue), in Quebec, 16% had an English-only and 7% a French-only first language.

Some languages more likely to be learned later in life

In general, the factors associated with the acquisition of an ancestral language as mother tongue (such as parents' first language, parents sharing an ancestral language, parents' highest level of education, age of respondent, province of birth of respondent, etc.) are similar to those related to the ability to speak an ancestral language. Yet there are a few differences.

For example, the predicted probability that respondents whose mother tongue was Dutch/Flemish learned that language first was only 26%, while the probability that these individuals could carry on a conversation in that language later in life was 48%. Clearly, many acquired Dutch/Flemish after learning another language in childhood.

For other languages, the situation was different: they were equally likely to have been learned as mother

(GS17

Respondents with highly educated mothers were less likely to have an ancestral mother tongue language

First language learned was ancestral language

Can speak ancestral language

	Predicted probability (%)		
Respondent characteristics			
Both parents have the same ancestral lang	uage		
No	49	68	
Yes	68*	81*	
Highest level of education of the mother			
Elementary	70	82	
Secondary	68	79	
Some postsecondary	61	70*	
Postsecondary degree or diploma	61*	77	
Highest level of education of the father			
Elementary	67	79	
Secondary	63	82	
Some postsecondary	75	81	
Postsecondary degree or diploma	63	81	

Note: The predicted probabilities were computed by fixing the covariables at their average value for the sample used. The results were taken from a logistic regression analysis.

Reference categories shown in *italics*.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.



Compared with other provinces, the predicted probability of learning an ancestral language was highest in Quebec

First language learned Co

Can speak ancestral language

	Predicted probability (%)		
Respondent characteristics			
Age			
15-24	52	79	
25-34	65*	81	
35-44	71*	83	
45-64	70*	75	
65 and over	75*	75	
Sex			
Men	62*	78	
Women	69	80	
Province of birth			
Atlantic	74	91	
Quebec	80*	90*	
Ontario	60	76	
Manitoba	68	80	
Saskatchewan	72*	78	
Alberta	72*	82*	
British Columbia	61	73	

Note: The predicted probabilities were computed by fixing the covariables at their average value for the sample used. The results were taken from a logistic regression analysis.

Reference categories shown in italics.

* Statistically significant difference from reference category (p < 0.05).

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.

^{*} Statistically significant difference from reference category (p<0.05).

(GST

Arabic, Ukrainian and Greek were the ancestral languages with the highest predicted probability of being regularly used at home

Ancestral language	Regularly used ancestral language at home	Ancestral language	Regularly used ancestral language at home
	Predicted probability (%)		Predicted probability (%)
Italian	35	Hindi	31
Dutch/Flemish	19	Urdu	36
Scandinavian languages	0*	Other Indo-Iranian languages	36
Yiddish	13	Dravidian languages	14
German	22*	Japanese	43
Portuguese	37	Korean	52
Spanish	36	Austro-Asiatic languages	61
Romanian	7	Arabic	58*
Greek	52*	Other Semitic languages	9
Armenian	23	Tagalog	14*
Baltic languages	53	Other Malayo-Polynesian languages	47
Russian	55	Finno-Ugric languages	55
Croatian	42	Hungarian	44
Slovenian	16	Mandarin	40
Czech	60	Cantonese	44
Polish	40	Other Chinese languages	26
Ukrainian	57*	Niger-Congo languages	36
Other Slavic languages	57	Creole	17
Punjabi	45	Other languages	17
Guiarati	16		

Note: The predicted probabilities were computed by fixing the covariables at their average value for the sample used. The results were taken from a logistic regression analysis. Reference group shown in *italics*.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.

tongue and still spoken at the time of the survey. For example, the predicted probability that respondents whose parents' mother tongue was Mandarin learned that language first in childhood was 70%, virtually identical to the probability that they could still speak that language (69%).

In contrast to the findings with respect to mother tongue, no significant correlation appeared between age and the probability of carrying on a conversation in the parents' ancestral language. The youngest individuals had just as high a probability as the oldest of being able to carry on a conversation in their parents' first language.

Regular use key to maintaining ancestral language

The real key to preserving ancestral languages between generations

is using them in everyday life. Speaking these languages at home is particularly important, since passing them on to children depends, in most case, on home use. Although nearly three-quarters of respondents spoke their parents' mother tongue well enough to carry on a conversation, not all of them used that language regularly in their own home.

Not surprisingly, respondents whose mother tongue was the ancestral language were more likely than others to continue to use that language: 39% used it in their home, compared with 19% of those whose mother tongue was different from that of their parents. In addition, individuals who, up to age 15, most often spoke the ancestral language with their parents were more likely to speak that language in their own home (predicted probability of 42%,

compared with 20% for those who had not spoken with their parents).

One of the most important factors associated with speaking the ancestral language in the home is the presence of at least one immigrant parent. Respondents who lived in the same household as their parents were much more likely to use the ancestral language regularly at home than those who did not live with their parents (predicted probabilities of 65% and 20% respectively). In other words, only one in five of those who had left the family nest used the ancestral language regularly in their own home.

The presence of a spouse who speaks the ancestral language is also strongly associated with the use of that language. The predicted probability that respondents would regularly speak the ancestral language

^{*} Statistically significant difference from reference group (p < 0.05)

GST

Respondents living with their parents had the highest predicted probability of speaking an ancestral language regularly at home

espondent haracteristics	Regularly used ancestral language at home	Respondent characteristics	Regularly used ancestra language at home
	%		%
Mother tongue is ancestral language		Household income	
No	19	Up to \$19,999	51
Yes	39*	\$20,000-\$39,999	50
Spoke the ancestral language most of		\$40,000-\$59,999	32*
the time with parents before age 15		\$60,000-\$99,999	30*
No	20	\$100,000 and over	27*
Yes	42*	Highest level of education completed	
Both parents had same ancestral langua	ige	Elementary	31
No	28	Secondary	30
Yes	34	College	40
Age		University	35
15-24	48	Have a child under age 18	
25-34	39	No	34
35-44	36	Yes	34
45-64	21*	Spouse speaks the ancestral language	
65 and over	14*	No	18
Sex		Yes	58*
Men	32	No spouse	37*
Women	35	Lives with parents	
Province of birth		No	20
Atlantic	8*	Yes	65*
Quebec	52*	Level of ethnic/cultural belonging	
Ontario	31	Not strong at all	8
Manitoba	35	Score of 2	19*
Saskatchewan	32	Score of 3	31*
Alberta	28	Score of 4	41*
British Columbia	29	Very strong	44*

Note: The predicted probabilities were computed by fixing the covariables at their average value for the sample used. The results were taken from a logistic regression analysis.

Reference group shown in *italics*.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.

at home was 58% when their spouse also spoke that language but only 18% when their spouse did not. In most cases, when a spouse does not speak the ancestral language, the couple switches to English or French.

Income level and sense of belonging to one's cultural or ethnic group are also strongly correlated with the regular use of the parents' mother tongue at home. First, respondents with higher incomes had a lower probability of using their parents' ancestral language at home than those with lower incomes: 51% of individuals with household incomes of \$20,000 or less used the ancestral language, compared with 27% of those with household incomes above \$100,000. Second, the greater the sense of belonging to one's cultural or ethnic group, the higher was the probability of using the ancestral language at home. Not surprisingly, since language is likely one dimension of a sense of belonging, this correlation was one of the strongest found in this analysis. Respondents who

reported a "very strong" sense of belonging were much more likely to use their ancestral language at home (predicted probability of 44%) than those whose sense of attachment was "not strong at all" (8%). It is, however, not possible to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the two phenomena, since using an ancestral language may, in turn, strengthen one's sense of belonging.

^{*} Statistically significant difference from reference group (p<0.05)

Summary

Preserving an ancestral language is a challenge for many linguistic minority communities. This study focused on Canadian-born individuals whose parents were both born in another country and had a language other than English or French as their mother tongue.

Just under one-third of respondents used their parents' mother tongue at home on a regular basis. The percentage of those who used the ancestral language with friends was even smaller. A multivariate analysis showed that for those who no longer lived with their parents, the probability of speaking the ancestral language regularly at home was only 20%. This situation seems to suggest that, in most cases, the ancestral language will not be transmitted to the next generation.

Respondents with the highest probability of regularly using their parents' ancestral language at home are the ones who acquired the language as their mother tongue and who, up to the age of 15, spoke it with their parents most of the time: those with a lower income; those born in Quebec: those married to or living with someone who also knows the ancestral language; those living with their parents; and those with a strong sense of ethnic or cultural belonging.



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- 4. Alba et al.; Stevens, G. 1992. "The social and demographic context of language use in the United States." American Sociological Review 57: 171-185.
- 5. Only single responses are considered. A small percentage of individuals reported having learned two languages at the same time at home in childhood. They are not included in the figures presented here.
- 6. This result is consistent with the findings of several previous studies. See, for example, G. Stevens. 1985. "Nativity, intermarriage, and mother-tongue shift." American Sociological Review 50: 74-83; Harrison, B. Autumn 2000. "Passing on the language: Heritage language diversity in Canada." Canadian Social Trends.
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	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
INCOME ¹										
Average market income										
Economic families ²	56,300	56,300	57,800	60,400	62,300	65,100	65,800	65,600	64,900	
Unattached individuals	21,000	20,500	20,400	21,200	23,300	23,400	24,100	24,600	25,600	
Average total income (includes transfe	er payments)									
Economic families ²	64,300	64,600	66,000	68,400	69,900	72,500	73,600	73,400	72,700	
Unattached individuals	27,100	26,500	26,400	27,100	28,800	28,800	29,600	30,200	30,900	
Average income tax										
Economic families ²	12,800	12,700	13,100	13,800	13,600	14,400	13,200	13,000	12,800	
Unattached individuals	4,800	4,600	4,500	4,800	5,300	5,200	4,800	4,900	5,300	
Average after-tax income										
Economic families ²	51,600	51,900	52,900	54,700	56,300	58,100	60,400	60,400	59,900	
Unattached individuals	22,300	21,900	21,900	22,300	23,500	23,600	24,700	25,300	25,600	
Average after-tax income by quintiles	for families									
Lowest quintile	19,500	18,700	18,600	19,200	20,100	20,100	21,600	21,100	21,500	
2 nd	33,800	33,200	33,400	34,500	36,100	36,500	37,900	37,800	37,700	
3 rd	46,100	46,400	46,600	48,000	49,600	50,400	52,300	52,300	52,300	
4 th	60,900	61,600	62,500	64,400	66,200	67,700	69,900	70,500	69,800	
Highest quintile	97,500	99,600	103,400	107,500	109,600	115,600	120,400	120,600	118,100	
Earnings ratios (full-year, full-time w	orkers)									
Dual-earners as % of										
husband-wife families	58.7	59	60.8	60.9	62.1	63.0	63.7	63.6	64.8	
Women's earnings as % of men's	73.0	72.8	69.2	72.1	69.4	71.7	71.0	71.3		
Prevalence (%) of low income after to	ıx (1992 low ii	ncome cut-offs)								
Families with head aged 65 and over	2.4	3.3	3.9	3.9	2.9	3.1	2.5	2.9	2.7	
Families with head less than 65	12.6	13.5	12.7	11.1	10.6	10.0	8.8	9.5	9.3	
Two-parent families with children	10.7	10.8	10.3	8.5	8.1	8.3	6.9	6.5	6.6	
Lone-parent families	45.0	48.9	45.4	39.0	36.1	32.3	30.1	34.2	33.6	
Unattached individuals	35.0	37.3	37.9	35.1	34.0	32.9	30.8	29.5	29.4	
FAMILIES										
Marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	5.5	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.7	4.7	4.6	
Crude divorce rate										
(per 1,000 population)	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	
Total number of families ('000) ^{3,4}	7,876	7,975	8,076	8,176	8,279	8,380	8,481	8,566	8,633	8,702
% of all families	7,070	1,1.15	5,070	57.75	0/277	5,000	37.01	0,000	0,000	0,7.02
Husband-wife families	85.8	85.5	85.3	85.0	84.8	84.5	84.3	84.3	84.3	84.3
with children	50.9	50.6	50.1	49.5	49.0	48.5	47.9	48.0	48.0	48.0
without children	34.9	34.9	35.2	35.5	35.8	36.1	36.3	36.3	36.3	36.3
Lone-parent families	14.2	14.5	14.7	15.0	15.2	15.5	15.7	15.7	15.7	15.7
% of husband-wife families	1 7.2	17.5	17.7	15.0	13.2	15.5	15.7	15.7	15.7	15.7
with children	59.3	59.2	58.8	58.2	57.8	59.3	56.9	56.9	56.9	56.9
all children under 18	65.8	65.4	65.0	64.7	64.3	63.9	63.5	63.5	63.5	63.5
Females as % of lone-parent families		83.1	82.7	82.3	82.0	81.6	81.3	81.3	81.3	81.3
i emules as 70 or ione-parent idmilles	03.0	03.1	02./	02.3	02.0	01.0	01.3	01.3	01.3	01.3

Data not available for a specific reference period.

All incomes are in 2003 constant dollars.

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.

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.

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).

ESSON PLAN

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

"Young adults who give and receive help"

Objectives

- To understand how young adults view and experience helping behaviour.
- To consider the social impact of giving and receiving help.

Classroom instructions

- 1. Engage your students in a discussion of what it means to give help. Ask them to provide examples of the ways that individuals help others, even in situations when they may not realize they are providing assistance. Are small acts of kindness any less valuable than acts that occur on a grand scale (e.g., helping a neighbourhood child with homework versus donating one million dollars to charity)? How might a single act of helping have a broad social impact?
- 2. Ask your class what they believe motivates someone to help another person? How might helping someone else be a gift to the giver as well as the receiver? Speculate on some of the reasons why young people are more likely than older persons to both give and receive assistance.
- **3.** Have your students examine whether they would find it easier to give help to, or receive it from, a friend, family member, neighbour or complete stranger. Why? What specific types of aid might be exchanged with these different individuals?
- **4.** Ask your students if they think that seeking help for a problem is viewed as a sign of weakness. Are some types of help more socially acceptable than others? Why might it be important to be able to receive help from others when it's needed?

- 5. Examine whether it is ever inappropriate to give or receive help. Consider possible negative consequences that could arise from providing or receiving help in certain situations, even when the help providers have good intentions. (E.g., financially or emotionally supporting someone with a destructive behaviour such as using drugs, or parents who always try to solve their children's problems rather than allowing the children to resolve them).
- **6.** Explore with the students the circumstances under which help is expected. What is the difference between help and obligation? Does helping behaviour always have a voluntary component? Do individuals have a social responsibility to help others?
- 7. Have your students consider why certain events, such as natural disasters, spawn immediate huge outpourings of support, yet it is more difficult to maintain the public's attention on ongoing social problems, e.g., poverty, illnesses, both at a national and international level. Do the media have a role in keeping these issues in the public eye or in encouraging individuals to become involved?

Using other resources

See the Civics and Society kit at http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/issues/issue1.htm

See the Volunteering lesson plan at http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/social/volun1.htm

Educators

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



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