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New Trends in the Family

Demographic Facts and Features

Bali Ram
Demography Division

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PREFACE

The family in Canada, while maintaining in the main its traditional features, is undergoing significant change. Families in which both parents work, single-parent families, childless couples, and couples living in common-law unions are increasingly frequent occurrences in our society. With the rising number of two-income families, the demand for private and public child care will intensify. As divorce and remarriage have climbed, so too has the number of blended families. Waning fertility and a rise in marital dissolution through divorce have resulted in shrinking overall family size. More and more Canadians are living outside of the family in independent households.

This study sheds light on these and other developments which are bidding for public attention. They present new challenges to welfare policy-makers, work-related legislation, and the administration of justice in family matters.

Ivan P. Fellegi
Chief Statistician of Canada

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HIGHLIGHTS

- Between 1961 and 1986, family households as a proportion of all private households declined from 87 percent to 74 percent; by corollary, the proportion of non-family households increased from 13 percent to 26 percent.

- The growth of non-family households was almost entirely accounted for by growth in the number of persons living alone. Between 1961 and 1986, their number increased from 425,000 to 1.9 million.

- The number of households grew at the rate of 3.5 percent per annum during the 1970s, and at 2.2 percent in the 1980s. According to recent Statistics Canada projections, this rate is expected to drop to about 1.0 percent by the turn of the century.

- Over the 1961 to 1986 period, the number of youths below age 25 who were living alone and away from their families grew from 17,000 to 152,000.

- The number of persons aged 65 years and over who were living alone rose during the same period from 173,000 to 680,000. In 1986, 77 percent of them were women.

- Between 1961 and 1986 the total fertility rate dropped from 3.8 births per woman to 1.7.

- The average size of the family fell from 3.9 persons in 1961 to 3.1 persons in 1986. That of households declined from 3.9 to 2.8 during the same period.

- The number of lone-parent families rose from 347,000 in 1961 to 854,000 in 1986. Eighty-two percent of such families were headed by women in 1986.

- Marginal only two decades ago, common-law unions accounted for 8.3 percent of all couples (legally married or not), according to the 1986 Census. Among 20-24 year olds, this figure was 38 percent for males and 30 percent for females.

- An increasing number of couples marry and start having children later in life. In 1970, 12 percent of all women in their thirties who gave birth to a child were first-time mothers. This figure increased to 26 percent in 1986.

- The number of childless women is on the rise: 30 percent of 25-29 year old ever-married women reported themselves as childless in 1981 (no data were collected in the 1986 Census), up from 14 percent in 1961.

- The labour force participation rate of married women living with their husbands and who had at least one child under age 6 jumped from 27 percent in 1971 to 58 percent in 1986.

- In 1986, Quebec had the lowest marriage rate and the second highest prevalence – after the Yukon and Northwest Territories – of common-law unions in Canada.

- While new lifestyles are taking increasing hold everywhere in the industrialized world, Canada still lags behind such countries as Sweden. Thus, 44 percent of Swedish women (1981), but only 11 percent of Canadian women in the 20-24 age group, lived in common-law unions in 1986. Compared to Swedes, Canadians, are more likely to marry (7.6 vs. 4.4 marriages per 1,000 persons), they do so earlier in life (22.5 vs. 27.3 years on average) and they are also less likely to divorce (35.6 per 100 marriages vs. 53.4).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND STUDY OUTLINE

In recent years there has been an upsurge in the popular, journalistic and scientific literature on the family. Although it is generally agreed that the family, as an institution, is in transition, there is a lack of agreement as to the exact nature of this transition, and more importantly, as to what the implications of the changes are for individuals and society.

A wide range of views on family issues may be abstracted from the extensive literature which has accumulated over the years. From one end of the spectrum, the family is seen as obsolete, declining and heading for extinction;[1] from the opposite end, the family is seen to be as strong as ever and "Here to Stay", to use the title of a book by Mary Jo Bane.[2] Both views have their proponents, and there is much room for reconciliation. But such is not the express aim of this study. Rather the focus is on describing recent changes in the demographic profile of the family in Canada.

The intention is to gain some understanding of the changes that have occurred in recent years with respect to both the formation and the structure of the family. The very least that will emerge from this analysis is that the living arrangements of Canadians are more diverse and to some extent less stable than they were two or three decades ago. Certain previously marginal living arrangements have evolved into a prominent feature of our society's family and household organization.

But before going into the actual analysis of the Canadian data on the family, we shall briefly review the literature and thus gain a broader perspective on the controversies surrounding the subject of the contemporary family.

---

[1] Cooper, David, *The Death of the Family*, New York, Pantheon, 1970; Zimmerman, Carle C., "The Future of the Family in America", *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, May 1972, pp. 323-333; Etzioni, Amitai, "Science and the Future of the Family", *Science* 196, April 1977, p. 487; Spanier, Graham B., "Bequeathing Family Continuity", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 51, February 1989, pp. 3-13; Popenoe, David, *Disturbing the Nest: Family Change and Decline in Modern Societies*, New York, Aldine de Gruyter, 1988.

[2] Bane, Mary Jo, *Here to Stay: American Families in the Twentieth Century*, New York, Basic Books, 1976; Yorburg, Betty, *The Changing Family*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1973, pp. 187-204; Caplow, Theodore, Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, Reuben Hill, and Margaret Holmes Williamson, *Middletown Families: Fifty Years of Change and Continuity*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1983, pp. 271-343; Degler, Carl N., *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 436-473.

Arguments and Counter Arguments

There is no doubt that, during the twentieth century and more so in the last couple of decades, the family has changed in both form and function. This is not in dispute. What is in dispute is what these changes mean for the individual and society at large. Looking back through history at the instrumental and indispensable role that the family institution has played in society has led some to voice deep concerns over the declining marriage rate, the rising divorce rate, the persistence of below-replacement fertility, the growing proportion of unwed mothers, increasing participation in the labour force by mothers of young children, the rise of individualism, the proliferation of one-person households, and many other emerging trends, all of which seem to point to the decline of the family. Victor R. Fuchs, in addressing these issues in his book entitled *How We Live*, is quite forceful in his conclusion:

> Several recent studies... claim that the family is as strong as ever; but such claims lack credibility when... the birth rate has been below replacement level for a decade, when almost 25 percent of children live in one-parent or no-parent households, when two out of five marriages end in divorce, and when most of the elderly depend on the government for their daily sustenance. My reading of the data leads to a more troubled conclusion about American families. In describing the decline in importance of the conjugal family, however, I am not predicting its disappearance; neither am I denying others the right to redefine the term "family" as they wish. But there is overwhelming evidence that individuals rely less on their families today than in the past for the production of goods and services and as a source of financial and psychological support in time of need.[3]

Such interpretations, portending decay, imply that the family was at one time more stable and harmonious than it is now. Historical research, however, has uncovered no "Golden Age" of the family. Adultery, illegitimacy, marital conflict and many other deviations from "Victorian family norms" are not unique to the twentieth century.[4] Accordingly, those who view family issues from the opposite perspective tend to argue that the decline of the family is a myth. Indeed, according to some social scientists, history shows that the family - because of its flexible and adaptive nature - has always been able to withstand the forces of social upheaval. "Of all social institutions", Kingsley Davis maintains, "the family shows least evidence of change". He even finds

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[3] Fuchs, Victor R, *How We Live*, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1983, pp. 3-4.
[4] Skolnick, Arlene, "The Family and its Discontents", *Society* 18, January-February 1981, p. 48.

the family in industrial society to be very similar to the family in primitive society: "In fact, in many ways the modern family is more primitive in the sense of being elementary, than the family in primitive societies".[5]

Such was the thesis expounded in the book *Middletown Families* by Theodore Caplow and associates. Following an intensive analysis of family life in the United States (based primarily on the population of Muncie, Indiana), Caplow concludes:

> The standard family package itself appears to have high survival value since it is the product of the selective continuity and change that renewal in each generation facilitates. Indeed, the future development and elaboration of the family within the relatively affluent and beneficent environment of urban industrial America seems almost assured when viewed against the backdrop of the vicissitudes experienced by families in America's first 300 years. Certainly, American society with its familistic values is far from turning hostile toward marriage and family institutions. I do not think that our successors, in writing about the American family, will mark the 1970s as a watershed of change away from the family as we know it. I think, too, that they will report the American family of the year 2000 to be minimally changed in form and structure but more successful, especially for women and children, than the family of today.[6]

Others, ranged behind this "positive" viewpoint, have gone as far as to predict a bright future for the family. While they acknowledge that the divorce rate is increasing, they point out that marriage is not yet obsolete, since most divorced people marry again. When informed that the extended family seems to be disappearing, they reply that, historically, it has never been the predominant form. When informed that out-of-wedlock births are on the rise, they reply that the number of unwanted births is decreasing. When faced with evidence that the economic independence of women who work outside the home generates stress within the family, they contend that women's earnings enhance both the family's well-being and, particularly, the resources devoted to child care. Hence, they maintain that these changes, so often characterized as harmful to adults and children alike, are in fact beneficial, and help to sustain the family unit. They agree that there may be fewer traditional family units in the future, but at the same time they believe that the quality of family life will improve substantially. As Betty Yorburg sees it:

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[5] Davis, Kingsley, "The American Family in Relation to Demographic Change", p. 241 in Westoff, Charles F. and Robert Parke, Jr., *Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth*, Commission on Population Growth and American Future, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Offices, 1972.

[6] Caplow, et al., op. cit., p. 321.

> . . . the nuclear family will not only persist into the twenty-first century, but it will be stronger than ever. We live in a time of rising psychological as well as economic expectations. The family as an institution will not be abolished because people expect more of it and are more apt to express and act on their dissatisfactions. This is more likely to preserve than to destroy the institution of marriage, which is the basis of the nuclear family. Other forms - homosexual marriages, group marriages, single parent households, communes - will probably become more prevalent with the increased tolerance of individual choice and cultural pluralism in less ethnocentric, more educated, and more permissively reared citizens. But ultimately for biological reasons, the pairing husband and wife relationship and the exclusive parent-child relationship will endure.[7]

Between these two opposing viewpoints is a fertile, middle-ground body of thought, well exemplified in Arlene Skolnick's poignant assertion that the nuclear family is "alive, but not well".[8] Future-shock theorist Alvin Toffler is no less convinced about the "fractured" nature of the modern family. He suggested, however, that the two opposing camps may both be wrong, and that the family in its present form may disintegrate into fragments that will reassemble into a new type of social unit.[9] An example of the changes that Toffler foresees in family life is temporary marriage, which will, he argues, become commonplace.

Various theorists envisage the evolution of alternative family structures that will supersede the husband/wife/child conjugal family as we know it today. A re-examination of the family in light of these postulations is warranted, and is what prompts this analysis of the family itself, and its social importance.

Importance of the Family

In one form or another, the family has existed in every society. According to Berger and Berger:

> The family, and no other conceivable structure, is the basic institution of society. If we have learned anything from the tumultuous activities surrounding the family in recent decades, it is that there are no alternatives or substitutes, no matter how well intentioned or attractive they may appear at first sight.[10]

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[7] Yorburg, Betty, *The Changing Family*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1973, p. 191.

[8] Skolnick, Arlene, *The Intimate Environment: Exploring Marriage and the Family*, Boston, Little Brown, 1973, pp. 125-135.

[9] Toffler, Alvin, *Future Shock*, New York, Bantam Books, 1970, p. 239; see also Toffler's *The Third Wave*, New York, William Morrow, 1981.

[10] Berger, Brigitte and Peter L. Berger, *The War Over the Family: Capturing the Middle Ground*, Garden City, New York, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1983, p. 204.

Framed in this perspective, it is not the survival of this "basic institution of society", per se, that is at issue in the wide-ranging debates over the family. What is at issue, rather, at least in the Western industrialized countries and particularly in North America, is the future of the "nuclear family". What is the fate of this particular form? Is it essential to society? A quick survey of theory may help to understand, if not resolve, the issue.

According to the "structural-functionalist" school of thought, the nuclear family is essential because it is posited to be a vital sub-system of society. Such sub-systems cannot be removed or replaced without disrupting all the other constituents of society - thus resulting in severe upheaval.[11] Its potential to cause such upheaval is what makes it vital. Though controversial owing to its apparent tautological nature, this notion provides a springboard for discussion.

Indeed, structural functionalism is not based on a purely deductive process; it was founded by field-work researchers whose investigations led them to reject the evolutionary theory of marriage and the family. It was probably Malinowski who laid the groundwork for this approach in his book *The Family Among the Australian Aborigines*, published in 1913.[12] Malinowski's anthropological research led him to challenge the conventional wisdom of the time, which held that a family unit made up of parents and children could not function among sexually promiscuous, primitive people. He found that aborigines had rules governing sexual intercourse, and that children had specific mothers and fathers even if both parents occasionally engaged in sexual relations with other members of the community. He concluded that the family existed among primitive people because it fulfilled a fundamental human need - the nurturing of children.

Malinowski's thesis was later echoed in the writings of other anthropologists and sociologists who gradually came to see the family as an essential institution for society. After studying some 250 societies, anthropologist George Peter Murdock wrote:

> The nuclear family is a universal human social grouping. Either as the sole prevailing form of the family or as the basic unit from which more complex familial forms are compounded, it exists as a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society.[13]

---

[11] Skolnick, Arlene S. and Jerome H. Skolnick, *Family in Transition: Rethinking Marriage, Sexuality, Childbearing and Family Organizations*, Boston, Little Brown, 1971, pp. 10-12; Shulz, David A., *The Changing Family: Its Functions and Future*, Third edition, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1982, pp. 30-34.

[12] Malinowski, Bronislaw, *The Family Among the Australian Aborigines*, London, University of London Press, 1913.

[13] Murdock, George Peter, *Social Structure*, New York, MacMillan, 1949, p. 2.

Citing another anthropologist, Lowie, he continues:

> It does not matter whether marital relations are permanent or temporary; whether there is polygyny or polyandry or sexual license; whether conditions are complicated by the addition of members not included in our family circle: the one fact stands out beyond all others that everywhere the husband, wife and immature children constitute a unit apart from the remainder of the community.[14]

In his research, Murdock shows that the nuclear family is not only a universal social institution, but that it is also necessary for the continuation of any human society. He lists its four basic, interrelated functions - sexual, economic, reproductive and educational/socializational. He argues that the provision for regulated sexual relations between men and women, usually through marriage, is necessary for maintaining co-operative relationships between individuals and groups. The regulations governing sexual relations between husband and wife are, in turn, reinforced by economic co-operation and the division of labour. The first two functions of the nuclear family were encapsuled by Murdock in the following aphorism:

> Marriage exists only when the economic and the sexual are united into one relationship, and this combination occurs only in marriage.[15]

The family's primary function is reproduction; and reproduction is imperative, for without it, society becomes extinct. Even if parents, per se, do not attach great importance to this function, "...society as a whole has so heavy a stake in the maintenance of its numbers as a source of strength and security that it will insist that parents fulfil these obligations".[16]

The fourth function is a logical consequence of the third: in every society, the family is responsible for the socialization of children. The family is the first social institution to which the child is exposed, and therefore, the institution that imparts and inculcates society's basic values and norms. It is also a source of love, affection and intimacy between parents, children, spouses and other members[17], and its strength depends on the strength of the emotional bonds it creates.[18]

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[14] Ibid., p. 3.
[15] Ibid., p. 8.
[16] Ibid., p. 9.
[17] Myrdal, Alva, *Nation and Family*, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press, 1968 (original edition, 1941), p. 6.
[18] Shulz, David A., *The Changing Family: Its Functions and Future*, Third edition, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1982, p. 33.

According to structural-functionalist theory, the nuclear family is the only institution capable of performing all these functions independently and efficiently. But structural functionalism has its opponents. Their objections centre on two interrelated issues. The first issue is that the four functions which underpin the structural-functionalist theory of the family are not unique to the context of the nuclear family. These same functions can be performed by family structures other than nuclear, or even by individuals living outside any semblance of a family structure. The communal family of the Israeli kibbutz in the early stages of that country's history; the matriarchal family system of the 19th century Nayers in India; and the visiting and common-law unions of West Indians are examples that seem to refute the contention that the nuclear family, as such, is a fundamental institution of society writ large. On this first issue, then, even those critics who admit that Murdock's functionalist theory may be generally valid for Western societies[19], do not accept its pretense to universality.

The second issue has to do with the functions themselves. Some critics of structural functionalism argue that the family may exist even if it does not serve to fulfil all the aforementioned functions. Industrialized societies, the critics observe, are capable of organizing themselves in such a way that some of the roles traditionally played by the family are shifted to other institutions. They note that an increasing proportion of women are sexually active before marriage. They interpret this to mean that the family institution can no longer be construed as the *sine qua non* for societal continuity: without the family, society does not become extinct. Similarly, to critics of the structural-functionalist school, the presence of more and more women in the labour force signifies that the economic function, with its division of labour on the basis of sex, is no longer pertinent.

This leaves socialization, and perhaps affection-giving, as the only two undisputed functions of the family. Despite the encroachment of various external forces, historian Carl Degler maintains that the basic principles upon which the family is based have remained unchanged for the past 200 years. The family has been highly flexible, and has successfully adjusted to major social alterations. Focussing on the four functions identified by Murdock, he says of the family:

> It is today, as it was 200 years ago, the primary institution for the nurturing of children, and its essential interest for adults is that it provides affection, sexual expression, and companionship.[20]

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[19] Ibid., p. 33; Reiss, Ira L., *Family Systems in America*, Third edition, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980, p. 20.

[20] Degler, op. cit., p. 452.

Degler is not alone. In fact, others argue that because the family was required to perform so many functions - a "jack of all trades and master of none" - it may have been on the verge of extinction. Having been stripped of some of these functions, it may now be able to better fulfil its primary role - "... to provide love, support to children and affection between spouses".

There are those, however, who assert that even the latter two functions are in jeopardy. Social historian Christopher Lasch espoused this view when he pointed out that the family no longer provides "... emotional security when marriages end so often in divorce and are conducted according to principles of business - 'one leaves a position as a better one offers itself'".[21] What's more, when both parents work, it is difficult for them to devote much personal attention to the children. Sociologist Alice Rossi takes up the argument, stating that, in view of the current structure of the work world and the biosocial aspect of parenting, reconciling employment with child care has become problematic for women.[22] And Lasch adds:

> The only function that matters is socialization; and when protection, work and instruction in work have all been removed from home, the child no longer identifies with his parents or internalizes their authority in the same way as before, if indeed he internalizes their authority at all.[23]

All these writings deal with the functional aspect of the family, but are restricted to the conjugal form consisting of husband-father, wife-mother and children. The emergence of other structures and other living arrangements, however, suggests that the status of the traditional family is indeed in question. For most people, in fact, the traditional nuclear family is the predominant form for much of their life, although the enticement of other forms - such as living alone, marrying or living common-law but with no intent of having children, having children but opting to remain single, and so on - is by no means insignificant.

Organization of the Study

This study analyses the contemporary Canadian family from a demographic perspective. Demographic aspects of family trends and patterns are examined by using historical and contemporary census and survey data as well as other pertinent information from existing studies. The bulk of the analyses covers the 1951 to 1986 period, although in some cases data are presented for a longer period.

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[21] Lasch, Christopher, *Haven in the Heartless World: The Family Besieged*, New York, Basic Books, 1977, p. 31.
[22] Rossi, Alice S., "A Biosocial Perspective on Parenting", *Daedalus* 106, Spring 1977, p. 2.
[23] Lasch, op. cit., p. 13.

The domain of this study is the country as a whole, although a brief regional and international overview is presented in a separate chapter. Further, socioeconomic status, ethnic origin and other individual characteristics of the family are not probed. While these factors are unquestionably important in formulating programmes and policies, it is considered more important to invest in a thorough analysis of the overall structure and changes.

Chapter 2 discusses various components of family formation. Topics include the changing duration of the family life cycle, the decline in the marriage rate and the increase in the divorce rate. Chapter 3 introduces the important topic of reproduction, including the recent decline in fertility, childlessness and unmarried motherhood.

Chapter 4 highlights shifts in the labour force participation rate of women, with particular emphasis on the movement of women with children back into the workplace. In this connection, data on extra-familial child care are also analysed.

The characteristics of today's family did not all suddenly appear overnight. Most stem from an imperceptible process of evolution over many decades. Those demographic changes that mark a clear break with the past are described in Chapter 5, which includes discussion of the growing incidence of non-family living, the increasing number of lone-parent families, the shrinking size of households and families, and the prevalence of common-law unions.

Chapter 6 presents a regional and international perspective on patterns and trends in family issues. Finally, Chapter 7 sums up the main findings and briefly presents possible policy implications of the major changes in the forms and functions of the family in Canada.

CHAPTER 2

FAMILY FORMATION

It is only logical to start an analysis of the family by considering its formation. To capture the process, two approaches are followed – the first via the "family life cycle", the other via "factors" that contribute to the formation and dissolution of the family.

The Family Life Cycle

The succession of stages through which an individual passes is referred to as the family life cycle. Researchers, following the initial work of Paul C. Glick, have identified five general stages, each referenced by a particular event: (1) family formation with first marriage; (2) the beginning of childbearing with the birth of a first child; (3) the end of childbearing at the birth of the last child; (4) the beginning of the "empty nest" period with the marriage of the last child, and; (5) family dissolution at the death of a spouse.[24] The boundaries between the stages are usually defined by the mean or median age at the time of an event. This broad typology, however, does not cover all families. Due to the recent rise in premarital births, common-law unions, divorce, separation, remarriage and childless marriage, it no longer accurately depicts all forms of family life and living arrangements. With such limitations in mind, this section describes the changes that have occurred in recent years.

Using the method suggested by Glick, researchers Rodgers and Witney measured the various stages of the family life cycle in Canada.[25] They found a "long-term stability in the pattern", though there was an appreciable deviation for persons born in the 1930s and 1940s. Most women born in the 1930s, and in particular the 1940s, married during the economic prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s (Table 2.1). Their family behaviour was rather unusual.

Compared with women born in the 1950s, those born in the 1940s married earlier and had their first child earlier; they also had their last child later and, as a direct consequence, they were older by the time that all their children were married. Their average age at first marriage, and at the birth of their first child, were both lower by about half of a year. Their last child was born 2.5 years later and, in all likelihood, they were 2.5 years older when their last

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[24] Glick, Paul C. and Robert Parke, Jr., "New Approaches in Studying the Life Cycle of the Family", *Demography* 2, 1965, pp. 187-202; Glick, Paul C., "Updating the Life Cycle of the Family", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 39, February 1977, pp. 5-13.

[25] Rodgers, Roy H. and Gail Witney, "The Family Cycle in Twentieth Century Canada", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 43, August 1981, pp. 727-740.

Table 2.1 Median Ages of Mothers at Selected Stages of the Family Life Cycle by Period of Birth of Mother, Canada, 1910-1950

Stages of Life Cycle	Generations				
	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Median age at:					
First marriage	23.8	23.5	21.7	20.9	21.5
Birth of first child	25.1	24.7	23.8	23.2	23.9
Birth of last child	28.5	28.2	29.2	28.8	26.3
Marriage of last child	51.1	51.0	52.0	51.6	49.1
Difference between age at first marriage and:					
Birth of first child	1.3	1.2	2.1	2.3	2.4
Birth of last child	4.7	4.7	7.5	7.9	4.8
Marriage of last child	27.3	27.5	30.3	30.7	27.6
Differences between age at birth of first and last child	3.4	3.5	5.4	5.6	2.4
Age at birth and marriage of last child	22.6	22.8	22.8	22.8	22.8

Source: Rodgers, Roy H. and Gail Witney, "The Family Cycle in Twentieth Century Canada", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 43, August, 1981, Table 1.

child was married.[26] Though these figures appear small, when they are applied to a mean or median value, they reveal a fairly large discrepancy in the behaviour of individuals between successive birth cohorts of women.

Clearly then, the 1950s cohort had a shorter childbearing-period than did the 1940s cohort. Compared to the 1940s cohort, those born in the 1950s married, on average, 0.6 years later at a median age of 21.5, had their first child 0.7 years later at a median age of 23.9, and their last child about 2.5 years earlier at a median age of 26.3 years. Also, the difference between the median age at first marriage and the median age at the birth of the last child decreased to 4.8 years for the 1950s cohort, from a high of 7.9 years reached by a 1940s cohort. There was a corresponding shrinkage from 5.6 years to 2.4 years in the difference between women's median age at the birth of their first child and that of their last child.[27]

[26] For some selected period data, see Appendix Table 2.1.
[27] For convenience without loss of accuracy, the data refer to females only.

These patterns are not new, however. In some ways, the family life cycle of the 1950s generation resembles that of earlier cohorts, particularly those who were in the family-formation stage immediately prior to the Depression. What sets the 1950s generation apart, though, is the increase in the divorce rate. This phenomenon had no precedent, and among those to whom it occurred, it obviously resulted in a shorter duration of marriage and often in a shorter duration of childbearing.

The family life cycle in the 20th century has also been heavily influenced by the decline in adult mortality. Both husbands and wives live longer now than ever before. For the 1985-87 period, life expectancy at the age of 20 was 54.3 years for males and 60.7 years for females. In 1920-22, the corresponding figures were 48.9 and 49.1 years, respectively. Among older age groups, the increase in life expectancy, particularly in recent years, is far from insignificant, as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Life Expectancy and Difference in Life Expectancy at Ages 20 and 65 by Sex, Canada, 1920-1922 to 1985-1987

Period	At age 20			At age 65		
	Male	Female	Difference	Male	Female	Difference
1920-1922	48.9	49.1	0.2	13.0	13.6	0.5
1925-1927	49.8	50.3	0.6	13.3	14.0	0.7
1930-1932	49.1	49.8	0.7	13.0	13.7	0.7
1935-1937	49.4	50.5	1.1	13.0	13.9	0.9
1940-1942	49.6	51.8	2.2	12.8	14.1	1.3
1945-1947	50.5	53.1	2.6	13.2	14.6	1.4
1950-1952	50.8	54.5	3.7	13.3	15.0	1.7
1955-1957	51.2	55.8	4.6	13.4	15.6	2.2
1960-1962	51.5	56.7	5.2	13.6	16.1	2.5
1965-1967	51.5	57.4	5.9	13.6	16.8	3.2
1970-1972	51.7	58.3	6.6	13.8	17.6	3.8
1975-1977	52.2	59.1	6.9	14.0	18.2	4.2
1980-1982	53.4	60.2	6.8	14.6	18.9	4.3
1985-1987	54.3	60.7	6.4	14.9	19.1	4.2

Source: Nagnur, Dhruva, *Longevity and Historical Life Tables (Abridged), Canada and Provinces, 1921-1981* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1986), Catalogue 89-506; *Life Tables, Canada and Provinces 1985-1987*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Health Division, Vital Statistics and Disease Registries Section, September 1989).

Such changes in life expectancy have had an impact on the timing of family cycles. They have reshaped the demographic structure of the contemporary family in a number of ways, and have modified the living arrangements of its members. Because of declining mortality, the probability that couples will stay together for a longer time has increased.

These increases in longevity have led to increased overlap between generations: both the number and proportion of ageing adults with living parents and grandparents have grown. In 1921, there were 53 persons over age 65 for every 100 persons in the 45-54 year age group; by 1986, the corresponding figure was 106. Over the same period, the ratio of the over-80 age group to the 60-64 age group rose from 24 to 48 (Table 2.3). It may be inferred from these data that the coexistence of several generations (children, parents, grandparents and great-grandparents) is more common now than in the past.

Table 2.3 Population and Selected Ratios for Age Groups 45-54, 60-64, 65 and Over and 80 and Over, Canada, 1921-1986

Year	Population ('000)				Ratio of number of persons	
	45-54	60-64	65 and over	80 and over	65 years and over to number of persons 45-54 years	80 years and over to number of persons 60-64 years
1921	799.2	240.0	420.0	58.4	.526	.243
1931	1,074.4	294.7	576.1	74.5	.536	.253
1941	1,226.8	407.1	768.0	107.2	.626	.263
1951	1,407.3	506.2	1,086.3	149.2	.772	.295
1961	1,878.5	583.7	1,391.2	227.6	.741	.390
1971	2,291.5	777.0	1,744.5	341.6	.761	.440
1976	2,473.0	905.4	2,002.4	385.1	.810	.425
1981	2,498.8	979.3	2,361.0	450.6	.945	.460
1986	2,545.2	1,125.1	2,697.6	537.1	1.060	.477

Source: Leacy, F.H., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Second Edition (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), Series A78-93; *1981 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 92-901, Table 1; *1986 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-101, Table 3.

Lastly, since husbands are, on average, older than their wives, and since life expectancy for women is greater than that for men, the number of widows over age 65 is rising. In 1921, widows over the age of 65 outnumbered widowers by a margin of two-to-one; by 1966, the gap had widened to three-to-one, and in 1986, to approximately five-to-one. (See Appendix Table 2.2.)

Marriage and Divorce

In most cases family formation begins with marriage. It is therefore logical to begin our analysis with an overview of how nuptiality has evolved in recent years in terms of marriage and remarriage rates, as well as in terms of age at marriage. The marriage rate is falling. As shown in Table 2.4 and Figure 2.1, the first marriage rate for all women dropped from 88 per 1,000 in 1971, to 57 per 1,000 in 1986; in the early 1960s it hovered around 80 per 1,000. The recent decline has been particularly pronounced in the under - 25 age group. Between 1971 and 1986, the first marriage rate among 15-19 year old women decreased by almost two-thirds, from 54 to 15 per 1,000. For those aged 20-24 years, it slipped from 220 to 107 per 1,000.

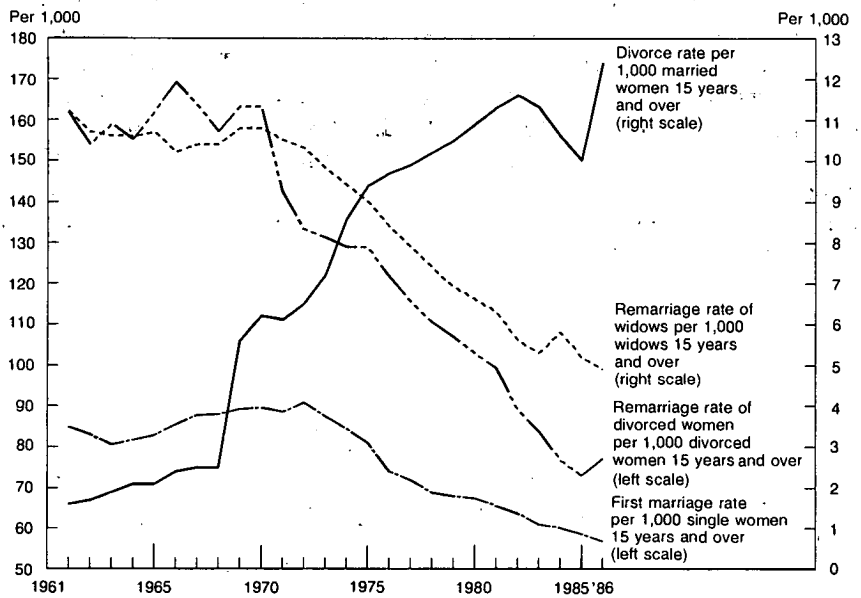
Table 2.4 First Marriage Rate per 1,000 Never-married Persons by Age and Sex, Canada, 1951-1986

Age Group	1951	1961	1971	1976	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Male										
15-19	12.6	12.2	13.0	10.7	5.8	5.2	4.3	3.6	3.2	2.8
20-24	135.6	147.7	157.2	118.1	90.5	83.6	75.0	69.8	65.4	60.2
15-24	65.7	61.2	67.2	51.7	41.4	39.4	36.5	34.8	33.1	30.3
25-29	174.1	167.5	185.2	150.1	138.3	132.7	127.3	126.2	124.9	116.4
30-34	122.6	92.1	102.7	93.3	89.9	88.8	89.3	89.1	88.2	83.7
35-39	69.3	48.5	54.2	52.6	48.5	47.1	47.2	47.9	47.3	48.0
40-44	41.1	27.3	31.3	30.0	25.4	23.6	22.8	25.7	24.5	28.0
45-49	26.3	18.3	19.6	19.5	15.2	14.1	14.3	14.5	14.3	17.7
50+	8.3	6.4	7.6	7.0	5.9	6.0	6.1	6.5	6.6	6.0
Total	74.3	64.9	71.1	58.8	52.4	51.1	49.4	49.1	48.5	46.1
Adjusted[1]	85.1	84.0	91.0	72.3	59.9	56.6	52.9	51.1	49.3	46.1
Female										
15-19	65.6	63.3	54.2	42.5	26.8	24.5	21.8	19.1	17.1	14.9
20-24	204.0	229.9	219.5	168.4	143.6	136.1	125.1	120.4	115.0	106.7
15-24	114.8	106.9	103.8	82.1	69.0	66.8	63.0	61.3	59.0	54.4
25-29	161.4	144.4	146.7	134.7	133.2	132.1	130.5	132.8	133.4	125.8
30-34	86.6	70.7	74.0	71.4	69.1	69.2	70.0	73.7	73.1	69.0
35-39	46.0	36.5	39.1	39.8	33.3	32.5	33.0	33.1	34.5	33.9
40-44	28.0	21.3	23.9	21.7	19.2	18.0	17.4	16.4	18.0	18.6
45-49	18.2	14.4	14.6	13.5	11.3	11.1	10.5	11.9	11.3	10.8
50+	4.9	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.0	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.1	2.3
Total	94.7	84.8	88.4	73.9	65.6	64.3	61.9	61.6	60.6	56.7
Adjusted[1]	108.7	111.4	105.8	85.7	72.3	69.2	65.0	63.2	61.1	56.7

[1] Adjusted using the age distribution of population in 1986 as standard.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Vol. II Catalogue 84-205, various issues.

Figure 2.1
First Marriage Rate, Divorce Rate and Remarriage Rates, Women, 15 Years and Over, Canada, 1961-1986



Source: Appendix Table 2.3.

Remarriages exhibit a similar pattern in time. Although they now form a much larger proportion of all annual marriages than ever - about one-fifth of all marriages in the 1980s - their rates have shown a downward trend (Table 2.5). The remarriage rate among divorced women, which was 162 per 1,000 in 1961, plunged to 77 per 1,000 in 1986. The same is true for the remarriage rate among widows, which dropped from 10 or 11 per 1,000 during the 1960s and early 1970s, to only 5 per 1,000 in 1986. The remarriage rate remained high among younger women, but showed a steep decline with age. For divorced women between 25 and 39 years of age, the rate shrank by more than 50 percent, but for those beyond age 40, it dropped by about 45 percent. The trends in the remarriage rate for widows are similar. Trends in the first marriage and remarriage rates among males have followed a course very similar to that for women. Since the age-adjusted standardized remarriage rates indicate a similar drop over time, the decline in the overall rates (all ages combined) cannot be attributed to a change in the age structure of the population, but rather to altered behaviour.

The age at which people get married is an important factor in the duration of family life. During the last decade, the long-term trend in the mean age

Table 2.5 Remarriage Rates by Age and Sex, Canada, 1951-1986

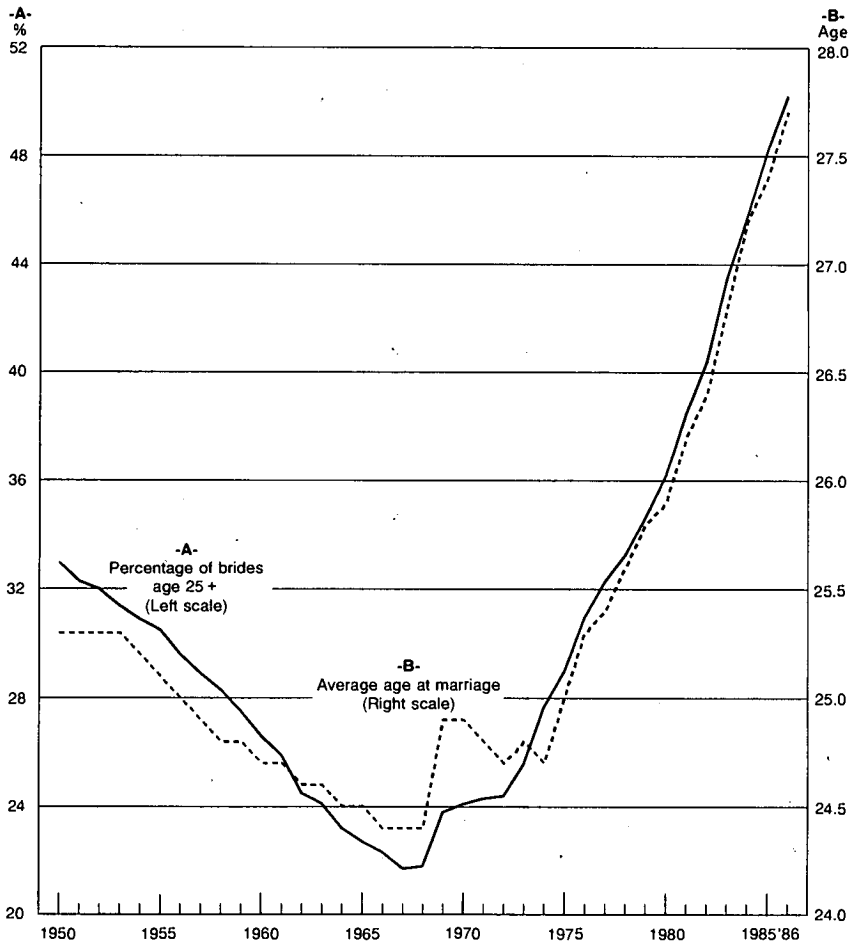
Age Group	1951	1961	1971	1976	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
	Remarriage rate of divorced men per 1,000 divorced									
15-24	892.6	600.0	276.0	302.8	211.4	207.0	185.2	171.6	164.5	208.7
25-29	844.5	670.6	408.8	416.8	320.9	321.4	320.2	309.0	275.5	272.4
30-34	716.4	515.7	351.1	362.6	296.7	293.4	286.0	275.6	256.2	220.8
35-39	523.2	359.2	260.7	270.9	222.2	214.3	215.2	204.9	192.2	164.6
40-44	326.4	238.8	213.0	195.3	153.6	150.0	146.0	144.0	135.5	121.1
45-49	257.6	164.3	178.7	155.0	110.3	106.5	109.3	108.1	103.7	93.8
50+	99.0	72.8	98.4	86.4	59.1	54.8	51.4	53.0	51.2	46.9
Total	332.3	229.1	208.6	209.5	159.8	153.5	149.0	143.3	133.1	117.1
Adjusted[1]	346.2	248.1	201.8	195.4	151.1	146.8	144.2	140.7	131.8	117.1
	Remarriage rate of widowed men per 1,000 widowed									
15-24	240.6	112.1	13.0	34.4	27.1	24.3	25.7	25.7	18.6	29.9
25-29	237.9	237.1	83.8	176.3	220.0	185.0	165.0	126.7	123.3	159.7
30-34	231.5	183.4	101.7	185.5	162.5	147.5	151.7	151.7	136.7	129.9
35-39	179.2	151.9	124.2	137.2	131.7	116.3	106.0	117.0	94.8	114.4
40-44	130.1	80.2	97.0	102.8	99.0	92.8	97.0	93.7	95.8	86.3
45-49	97.4	88.6	90.7	80.8	77.7	69.8	64.8	79.8	69.6	70.5
50+	23.9	22.1	29.9	27.3	23.6	22.6	21.4	23.0	21.5	19.9
Total	34.6	29.2	35.9	32.9	28.6	26.8	25.6	27.3	25.4	24.1
Adjusted[1]	31.2	27.6	33.7	32.1	28.4	26.8	25.5	27.3	25.4	24.1
	Remarriage rate of divorced women per 1,000 divorced									
15-24	625.8	631.1	-	325.1	283.1	273.7	259.0	244.8	240.9	290.1
25-29	479.5	456.4	285.1	261.9	246.2	247.7	252.5	240.0	227.9	225.2
30-34	341.8	301.1	203.8	172.0	157.3	155.6	159.8	157.4	151.1	141.9
35-39	203.5	182.0	149.7	118.1	100.9	94.1	96.9	97.0	93.2	86.5
40-44	156.0	116.9	120.1	90.2	72.8	68.6	68.7	66.3	65.3	59.1
45-49	99.7	84.1	104.8	73.5	53.4	52.1	49.8	49.4	48.9	45.3
50+	55.5	35.1	46.1	37.9	24.9	22.3	21.0	19.9	20.2	19.2
Total	216.1	161.8	142.4	121.6	99.3	93.7	91.8	87.0	82.4	77.1
Adjusted[1]	183.0	157.5	121.4	104.3	88.1	85.0	85.5	83.3	80.6	77.1
	Remarriage rate of widows per 1,000 widows									
15-24	210.8	160.9	-	81.3	68.0	60.0	56.3	41.1	35.6	39.5
25-29	171.3	130.3	97.0	111.2	111.0	95.9	86.8	99.0	87.1	86.2
30-34	114.0	98.5	76.1	70.5	65.0	61.6	63.9	73.1	65.8	56.9
35-39	71.9	62.7	50.5	48.5	45.4	37.4	39.2	45.5	39.6	44.0
40-44	48.3	42.2	42.0	33.8	30.3	29.3	27.8	31.4	28.9	27.7
45-49	36.9	31.2	32.5	27.7	21.6	19.0	21.1	22.7	20.6	22.0
50+	6.7	6.0	6.9	5.6	4.2	3.8	3.5	3.9	3.5	3.2
Total	14.1	11.2	10.5	8.3	6.3	5.7	5.4	5.9	5.2	4.9
Adjusted[1]	9.9	8.6	8.9	7.6	6.0	5.4	5.2	5.7	5.2	4.9

[1] Adjusted using the age distribution of population in 1986 as standard.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Vol. II Catalogue 84-205, various issues.

at marriage reversed itself. After reaching a record low of 24.4 years for females in 1968, the mean age at marriage rebounded to 27.7 in 1986. Also, the proportion of women marrying at age 25 and over, after a decrease from 33 to 22 percent between 1950 and 1968, rose to 50 percent in 1986 (Figure 2.2 and Appendix Table 2.4). Similar trends are observed for males.

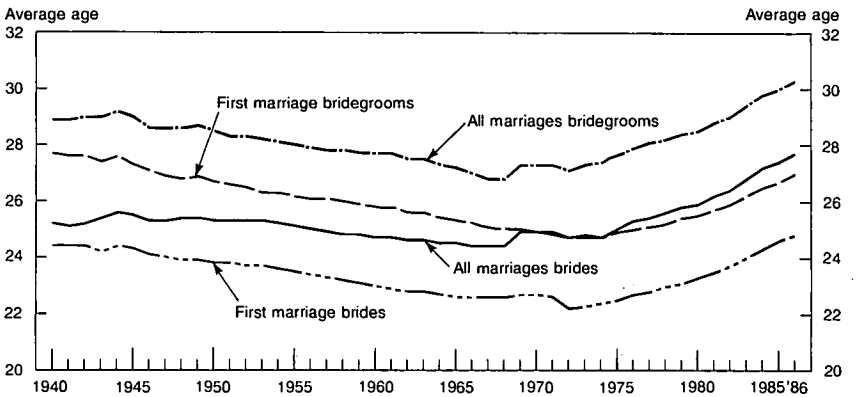
Figure 2.2
Average Age at Marriage for Women and Percentage of Brides 25 Years and Over, Canada, 1950-1986



Source: Appendix Table 2.4.

Although delayed marriage is a general phenomenon in Canadian society, in recent years it has become more pronounced among women than among men. Figure 2.3 shows that the mean age at first marriage for men increased by 2.3 years between 1972 and 1986, while for women it increased by 2.6. Consequently, the age-gap between first-time brides and grooms has been reduced from 2.5 to 2.2 years - much lower than that observed in the 1950s and 1960s.

Figure 2.3
Average Age at Marriage and First Marriage of Brides and Bridegrooms, Canada, 1940-1986

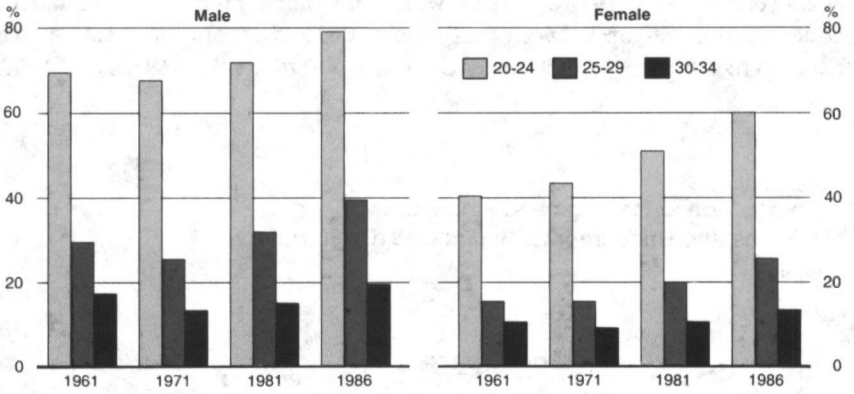


Source: Appendix Table 2.5.

The 1986 Census results have reinforced the belief that an increasing number of Canadians have recently been delaying getting married. In 1986, 60 percent of 20 to 24 year-old women had never been married, compared to only 41 percent in 1961, and 44 percent in 1971. For the 25 to 29 age group, the proportion of never-married women also increased, from 15 in 1961 to 26 percent in 1986. Men exhibit similar patterns. While it is likely that many young adults in recent years have been simply postponing their first marriage, considerable increases in the proportion of never-married persons up through the 30-34 age group seem to suggest that an increasing proportion of men and women may be opting to never marry at all (see Figure 2.4 and Appendix Table 2.6).

One other factor that has contributed significantly to change in the family in recent years is the rise in the divorce rate, which has been especially dramatic since 1968 - the year in which the law was amended to make divorce easier to obtain. Between 1969 and 1986, the annual number of marriages declined from 182,000 to 176,000, but the annual number of divorces boomed, going from 26,000 to 78,000. Alternatively stated, the marriage rate declined from

Figure 2.4
Percentage of Population Never Married by Selected Age Groups and Sex, Canada, 1961-1986



Source: Appendix Table 2.6.

8.7 to 6.7 per 1,000 population, while the divorce rate more than doubled from 1.2 to 3.1 per 1,000 population. This represents an increase from 5.6 to 12.4 divorces per 1,000 married women aged 15 years and over. Again, the pattern was the same for males and females of all ages (Table 2.6 and Appendix Table 2.3). It is important to note however, that the divorce rate declined somewhat between 1983 and 1985, but has since increased slightly. Whether this is a beginning of a trend or a stabilization of the existing pattern is difficult to determine at this stage.

The length of marriages ending in divorce has varied over time. About 40 percent of the couples who divorced in 1971, when the revised divorce law had already come into effect, had been married less than 10 years. A decade later the proportion had risen to about 50 percent. During this period, the median duration of marriage among those obtaining a divorce declined from 13 years to 10 years. Even though the catch-up effect immediately following the amendment of the divorce law caused a bulge in the trend, the fact remains that, for whatever reason, divorces did not occur as soon after marriage in the early 1970s as they have done in more recent years. Thus, divorce tables for 1975-77 reveal that divorce reduced the potential length of the average marriage by almost 10 years.[28] Since 1981-82, however, the trend seems to be moving in the reverse direction. Between 1981 and 1986, the proportion of couples who divorced within 10 years of marriage declined from 50 to 47

[28] McKie, D.C., B. Prentice, and P. Reed, *Divorce: Law and the Family in Canada*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-502, 1983, p. 69.

Table 2.6 Divorce Rate per 1000 Married Persons by Age and Sex, Canada, 1971-1986

Age at Time of Divorce	1971	1976	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Male								
Under 25 years	5.5	8.7	9.4	10.6	9.6	9.2	8.8	12.8
25-29	9.4	15.8	19.0	19.1	18.4	16.1	14.9	18.5
30-34	9.4	16.2	19.5	20.3	19.5	17.9	17.1	20.2
35-39	8.0	13.7	16.4	17.3	16.4	16.0	15.0	18.1
40-44	7.1	11.5	13.1	13.9	13.7	13.3	12.8	15.7
45-49	6.0	9.4	10.2	10.6	10.5	10.6	10.1	12.6
50 years and over	3.0	4.3	4.2	2.7	3.8	3.8	3.7	4.7
Total	6.1	9.9	11.4	11.7	11.3	10.6	10.0	12.5
Total adjusted[1]	6.1	9.9	11.4	11.1	11.2	10.6	10.1	12.5
Female								
Under 25 years	7.1	11.1	12.7	13.5	12.8	11.5	11.0	15.1
25-29	9.9	16.7	20.6	20.9	19.8	17.7	16.6	19.9
30-34	8.8	15.1	17.5	18.5	17.7	16.8	15.9	19.1
35-39	7.4	12.4	14.5	15.3	14.8	14.1	13.4	16.1
40-44	6.6	10.1	11.3	12.0	11.7	11.8	11.3	14.2
45-49	5.2	8.0	8.8	8.4	8.2	8.4	8.1	10.4
50 years and over	2.5	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.0	3.0	2.9	3.6
Total	6.1	9.7	11.3	11.6	11.2	10.5	9.9	12.4
Total adjusted[1]	6.1	9.8	11.3	11.6	11.0	10.5	9.9	12.4

[1] Adjusted using the age distribution of population in 1986 as standard.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics* Vol. II, Catalogue 84-205, various years.

percent, and the median duration of marriage among those who obtained a divorce increased from 10 years to 11 years (Table 2.7). Again, it is difficult to speculate if this new trend is going to continue into the near future.

A further factor helping to explain the overall change in the forms and functions of the family relates to the growing number of children from "broken" marriages. It is difficult to determine the exact number on the basis of available data because not all children who are affected by broken marriages remain in the household of one of their parents (some are given up for adoption; some go to live with other relatives; etc.), but more children than ever before are now being reared by one parent alone - mostly by the mother. Between 1961 and 1986, the number of children living in lone-parent families climbed from 500,000 to 1.2 million, rising in significance from 6 to 14 percent of all children (Table 2.8).

Table 2.7 Distribution of Couples Obtaining a Divorce by Duration of Marriage and Median Duration of Marriage, Canada, 1969-1986

Duration of Marriage	Year											
	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Under 5 years	10.6	14.7	15.8	15.8	17.5	17.9	17.2	17.2	17.0	16.3	15.8	17.2
5-9	21.0	25.2	28.2	29.5	30.3	32.1	32.6	32.1	31.6	30.3	29.5	29.3
10-14	18.6	18.9	17.7	17.7	18.1	19.1	19.7	20.7	21.4	21.7	21.7	20.6
15-19	14.9	14.5	13.4	13.4	12.0	11.0	11.3	11.7	12.2	12.8	13.6	13.5
20 years and over	34.9	26.7	24.9	23.6	22.1	19.9	19.2	18.3	17.8	18.9	19.3	19.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median duration	14.9	12.6	11.8	11.4	10.5	10.0	10.0	10.1	10.3	10.7	10.9	10.7

Source: Basavarajappa, K.G., Marital Status and Nuptiality in Canada, *Profile Studies*, 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 99-704, Bull. 5-1-4. Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Cat. 84-205, various years.

Table 2.8 Distribution of Children Under 25 Years of Age, by Type of Family, Canada, 1961-1986

Year	Number ('000)			Percent		
	Total	Husband-wife family	Lone-parent family	Total	Husband-wife family	Lone-parent family
1961	7777.1	7281.1	496.0	100.0	93.6	6.4
1966	8656.2	8079.0	577.2	100.0	93.3	6.7
1971	8848.6	8003.1	845.5	100.0	90.4	9.6
1976	8520.7	7621.8	898.9	100.0	89.5	10.5
1981	8252.4	7196.9	1055.6	100.0	87.2	12.8
1986	8019.5	6863.8	1155.7	100.0	85.6	14.4

Source: Wargon, Sylvia T., *Children in Canadian Families*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 98-810, Occasional), Table 20.
Canada's Lone-Parent Families, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-933), Table 3. *1986 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-106, Table 3.

Single-parent families, as such, are not new, but in the past they resulted mainly from the death of one of the spouses. Today, the death of a parent affects children who are, on average, older than those who are affected by parental separation or divorce. In 1986, 25 percent of children with a widowed

parent were 14 years of age or under. In contrast, in the same year, 55 percent of children whose parents were divorced were under age 14. Table 2.9 reveals some further features of the age pattern of children according to various parental marital statuses.

Table 2.9 Distribution of Children Under 25 Years in One-parent Families by Marital Status of Parent and Age of Children, Canada, 1986

Marital Status of Parent	Number ('000)	% of children by age		
		Under 6 years	6-14 years	15-24 years
Widowed	194.0	3.9	21.4	74.7
Divorced	388.8	10.7	44.2	45.1
Separated	415.8	22.4	41.9	35.7
Never married	156.8	51.7	35.3	13.0
Total	1,155.4	19.3	38.3	42.3

Source: *1986 Census of Canada*, unpublished tabulation.

CHAPTER 3

REPRODUCTION[29]

Reproduction remains an important function of marriage, but less so today than in the past. As we shall see in this chapter, fertility has declined significantly. Furthermore, some marriages remain childless, and a fair proportion of births takes place outside of marriage.

Fertility

In Canada, as in other industrialized countries, the long-term fertility trend has been that of decline. But the decline has not been steady or regular. A rather steep drop in the rate during the 1930s was followed by a substantial resurgence between 1945 and 1960 (the "baby-boom" period), then by an abrupt downswing in the 1960s and 1970s (the "baby-bust" period). The total fertility rate[30] has fallen from nearly 4 births per woman at the height of the baby-boom (1959) to 1.7 births late in the 1970s, and has remained at that level (with minor fluctuations) throughout the 1980s (see Figure 3.1).

The succession of substantial ups and downs in the fertility rate has left deep marks in the age structure of the population, and in the composition of households and families. The effects of these fluctuations will be felt in Canada's social and economic fabric for a long time to come.[31]

As the fertility rate stands now (about 1.7 births per woman), the Canadian family no longer has enough children to reproduce itself. In order to ensure complete replacement of the current generation of parents by that of their children, under present mortality conditions, 2.1 births per woman are needed.

A revealing exposition of the changing fertility pattern is provided by examining the fertility rate by age of mother and birth order (Figure 3.2). During both the "baby-boom" and the "baby-bust", the average variation in fertility was positively correlated with birth order: the higher the birth order, the greater the variation (Table 3.1). Fourth-order fertility rates increased by 3.4 percent annually between 1948 and 1959, and dropped by 6.5 percent

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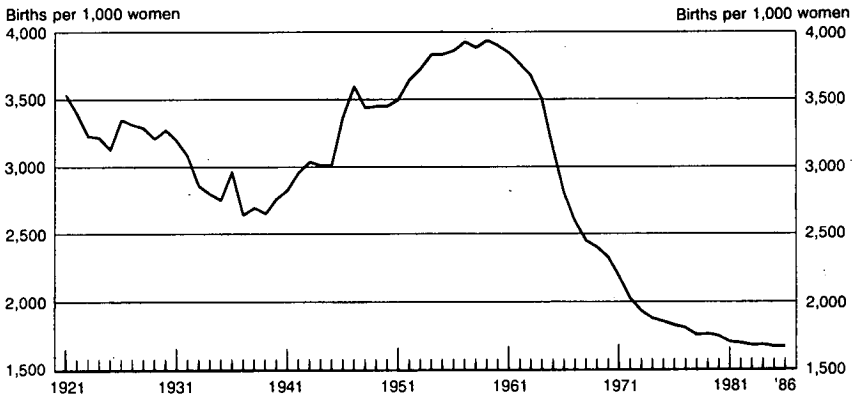
[29] This chapter draws heavily from Ram, B., "Reproduction: The Canadian Family in Transition", *Journal of Biosocial Science* 20, January 1988, pp. 19-30.

[30] The total fertility rate refers to "the number of children a woman could have during her lifetime if she were to experience the fertility rates of the period at each age". (Pressat, Roland, *The Dictionary of Demography*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1985, p. 221.)

[31] Romaniuc, A., *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-524, 1984.

Figure 3.1
Total Fertility Rate, Canada, 1921-1986



Source: Appendix Table 3.1.

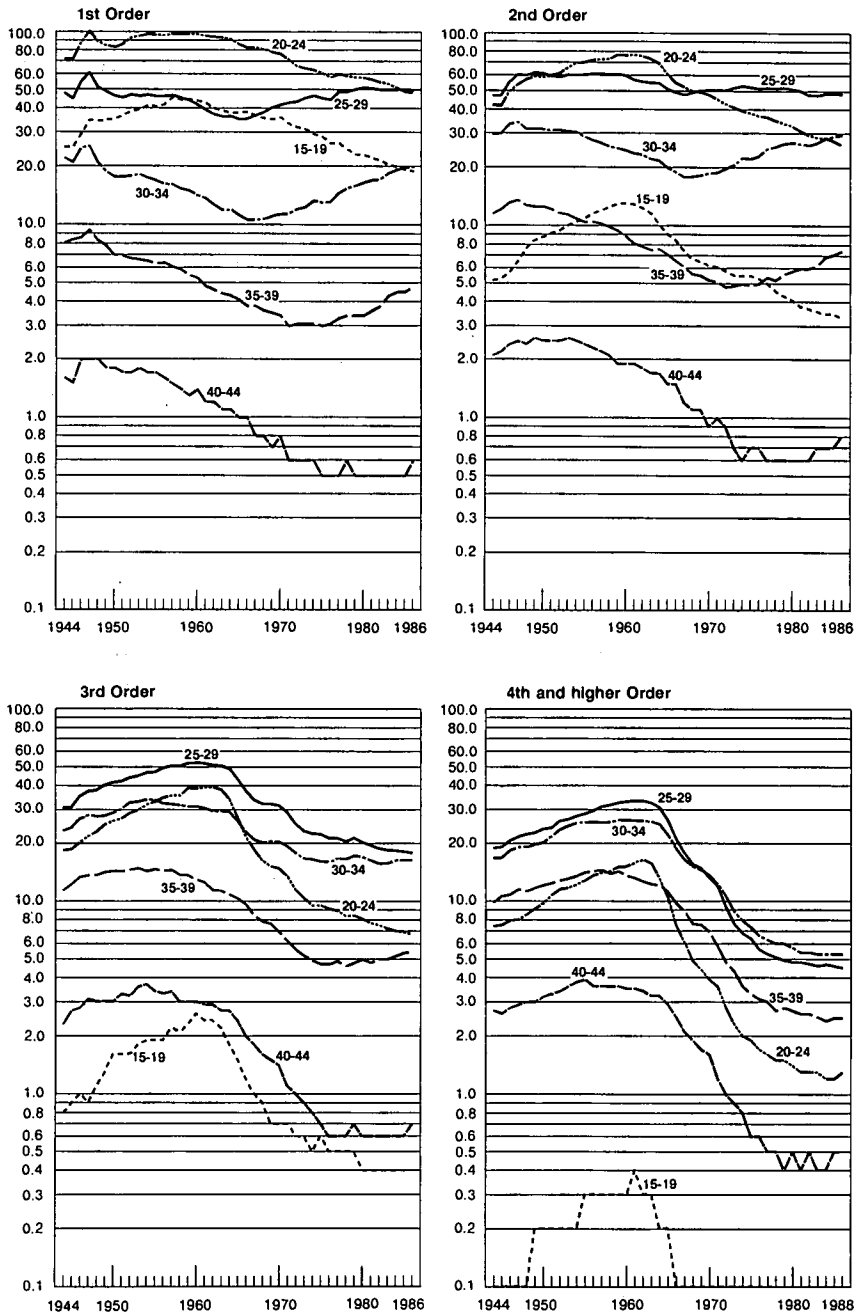
annually between 1959 and 1986. Higher order (fourth and more) births represented about 30 percent of all births in the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s, but only 6 percent in the early 1980s.

Table 3.1 Average Annual Percentage Changes in Order-specific Fertility Rates by Age Group, Canada, 1948-1959 and 1959-1986

Period	Birth order				
	Age	1	2	3	4
1948-1959	15-19	2.5	4.9	7.3	14.1
	20-24	1.0	2.8	4.9	5.4
	25-29	-1.3	0.2	3.0	3.5
	30-34	-2.9	-2.1	1.1	3.0
	35-39	-3.6	-2.6	0.0	2.3
	40-44	-3.7	-2.0	0.2	1.7
	Total	0.2	0.8	2.6	3.4
1959-1986	15-19	-3.1	-4.9	-5.2	-
	20-24	-2.6	-3.9	-6.1	-8.3
	25-29	0.5	-0.8	-3.8	-6.8
	30-34	1.2	0.7	-2.3	-5.6
	35-39	-0.4	-0.8	-3.2	-6.1
	40-44	-2.2	-2.6	-4.9	-6.2
	Total	-1.4	-1.7	-3.8	-6.5

Source: Romaniuc, A., *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984), Appendix Table 2.3; Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics* 1983, Catalogue 84-204.

Figure 3.2
Fertility Rate per 1,000 Women by Birth Order and Age Group, Canada, 1944-1986



Source: Appendix Table 3.2.

Fluctuations are also observed for third-order births. The overall third-order fertility rate, which increased by 2.6 percent annually during the boom, dropped by 3.8 percent annually during the bust. During the baby-boom, increases in third-order fertility were impressive in only the over-30 age groups, suggesting a 'make-up' of postponed births. During the baby-bust, however, declines in these rates were marked for all ages, leading overall fertility toward a below-replacement level. Although in recent years there has been a slight upturn or levelling-off in the rates for those under 30, their share in overall fertility has been so small in the past several decades that they may not be a reliable guide for projecting the future. Such births accounted for 14 percent of all births during the low-fertility, Depression years, roughly 17 to 18 percent during the baby-boom period, and about 13 to 14 percent in recent years.

Understanding the evolution of the family as a social institution is as much dependent upon an appreciation of the variations in higher-order births as it is on an awareness of changes in first and second-order births, but speculation on the future of the Canadian family depends more heavily upon the latter. First and second-order births constituted nearly 80 percent of all births in the 1980s – an unprecedented proportion. During the baby-boom, they accounted for only 50 to 55 percent of births.

It is almost trite to say that first and second births are, for the most part, births to younger women. A closer look, however, reveals that the reproductive behaviour of the successive cohorts of women who have passed through the 15-34 year age group has been significantly different. During the post-baby-boom period, a decline in first-order fertility was noted for women aged 15 to 24, but for subsequent cohorts, the rate has steadily increased: for women aged 25-29, the rate rose from 35 per 1,000 in 1965 to 50 per 1,000 in 1986, while that for those aged 30-34 rose from 11 to 20. Among 35-39 year old women, the rate increased from 4.1 in 1965 to 4.8 in 1986. The second-order fertility rate exhibits a similar pattern, but recent increases have been confined to the 30-34 year age group. These changes reflect women's decisions to postpone childbearing until their late twenties or early thirties.

Generally speaking, along with a sharp decrease in the total fertility rate, there has been a significant upward shift in the age pattern of childbearing. This is illustrated above by the increase in first-order birth rates among women in their thirties. A further illustration is provided by the increases in the proportion of first-order births among total births occurring to women in a given age group. Thus, the proportion of first-order births between 1970 and 1986 has risen from 14 to 27 percent among 30-34 year old women, from 9 to 22 percent in the 35-39 age group, and from 7 to 19 percent in the 40 to 44 age group. The changing age structure of women in childbearing ages had only a limited effect on these increases. For example, while the number of women

30-34 years old went up by 71 percent during 1971-86, the number of first-order births in the same age group jumped by 204 percent. It appears, therefore, that both the first-order fertility and the proportion of first-time mothers have increased significantly among women in their thirties. Clearly, later parenting is a major departure from the pattern which prevailed during the baby-boom period.

Childlessness

Another important facet of Canada's demographic history over the past two decades has been the steadily-rising proportion of childless couples. According to the 1981 Census,[32] 23 percent of non-single women between 15 and 44 years of age had not yet borne any children, compared with only 14 percent in the 1961 Census (Table 3.2). The increase is attributable to the remarkable dearth of children born to younger women. Between 1961 and 1981 for example, the prevalence of childlessness among married women in the 15-29 age group jumped from 20 to 41 percent.

Table 3.2 Percentage of Ever-married Women Who Have Not Borne Any Children, Canada, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1984

Age	1961	1971	1981	1984
15-19	42.3	49.7	64.9	
				54.6[2]
20-24	26.3	42.0	54.0	
25-29	13.6	20.7	30.0	29.8
15-29	**20.3**	**31.4**	**40.7**	..
30-34	9.7	9.4	14.2	17.8
35-39	9.2	7.4	9.3	9.0
40-44	10.3	8.2	7.3	7.2[3]
30-44	**9.7**	**8.3**	**10.8**	..
15-44	**13.5**	**18.1**	**22.7**	..
15-44[1]	13.5	16.3	21.5	..

[1] Adjusted using the age distribution of women in 1961 as standard.
[2] For the age group 18-24.
[3] For the age group 40-49.

Source: *1961 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 98-507, Bull. 4.1-7, Table 61.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-718, Bull. 1.2-6, Table 24.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-906, Table 2.
1984 Family History Survey (Rao, K.V. and T.R. Balakrishnan, "Recent Trends and Socio-demographic Covariates of Childlessness in Canada", *Canadian Studies in Population* 15(2), 1988, Table 1).

[32] There was no fertility question on the 1986 Census.

The increase in childlessness among women in their twenties could mean either or both of two things. First, it could signal an upward shift in the age-pattern of childbearing (a later start in having children). As indicated in the previous section, the first-birth-order fertility rate has increased among women in their thirties. Second, the increase in childlessness among relatively young women could in fact herald a rise in permanent childlessness. Some of these women may indeed have decided, even at this early stage in their family life cycle, not to have any children at all. Others may never bear a child if they wait too long, since it has been well documented that fecundity impairments increase with age.[33] This involuntary childlessness due to age-associated physiological factors may be compounded by the lack of opportunity to have a child due to marriage termination through divorce or death of a spouse. Still others may forgo motherhood altogether because of career commitments. As they age, their career may begin to occupy an increasingly larger share of their lives.

There is no way we can determine the relative impact of voluntary versus involuntary sterility, or indeed, what the ultimate number of childless women will be. As Romaniuc puts it, "It is difficult to say how many women will remain without offspring either by choice or because, after repeated postponements, their "biological clocks" will have run down".[34] Fertility expectation data, however, can shed some light on expected voluntary childlessness. For example, according to a 1976 survey conducted in the province of Quebec, about 2.5 percent of the respondents who had married between 1961 and 1965 indicated that it was their intention not to have any children at all. The figure rose to 5.8 percent among those married between 1966 and 1971. According to a 1980 survey, almost 10 percent of those married between 1971 and 1975 indicated that they did not plan to have any children. Similar trends in fertility expectations have been documented in American surveys.

Using data on the incomplete first-order fertility of women currently in their childbearing years, it has been projected that as many as 15 percent of Canadian women, and as many as 25 percent of women in the United States, will remain childless.[35] Based on a limited analysis of historical data by exposure

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[33] Schwartz, D. and M.J. Mayaux, "Female Fecundity as a Function of Age", *The New England Journal of Medicine*, Feb. 18, 1982; Mosher, William D., "Reproductive Impairments in the United States, 1965-1982", *Demography* 22, August, 1985; Leridon, Henri, "Sterilité, hypofertilité et infécondité en France", *Population* 37, Juillet-Octobre 1982, pp. 808-831.

[34] Romaniuc, A., "Fertility in Canada: A Long View - A Contribution to the Debates on Population", in *The Family in Crisis - A Population Crisis?*, Proceedings of a Colloquium organized by the Federation of Canadian Demographers and sponsored by the Royal Society of Canada; Légaré, J., T.R. Balakrishnan and R.P. Beaujot (Eds.), Ottawa, The Royal Society of Canada, 1989.

[35] Strohmenger, C. and Y. Lavoie, "L'infécondité au Canada: niveau et tendances", Paper presented at the 50ième Congrès de l'Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences, 1982; Bloom, D.E. and A.R. Pebley, "Voluntary Childlessness: A Review of the Evidence and Implications", *Population Research and Policy Review* 1, October, 1982, pp. 203-224.

to pregnancy (Table 3.3), it appears doubtful that permanent childlessness will reach these projected levels. Nevertheless, the available evidence on the emerging trends in marriage and the age-pattern of fertility point to a significant rise in childlessness in the years to come. This would mean a fairly radical departure from prevailing procreative norms, and possibly a redefinition of the functions of marriage in society.[36] As we have seen in light of current data on childlessness, it is indeed becoming increasingly acceptable to marry without parenting, and as we shall see in the next section, to parent without marrying.

Table 3.3 Percentage of Ever-married Women Who Have Not Borne Any Children by Age and Age at First Marriage, Canada, 1961, 1971 and 1981

Age Group	Age at first marriage								
	15-19			20-24			25-29		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
15-24	14.0	19.6	29.9	43.7	58.3	66.6	-	-	-
25-29	4.7	4.9	10.5	14.6	22.5	31.8	45.5	57.0	62.3
30-34	3.7	3.5	4.6	7.7	7.2	12.5	19.8	22.4	27.8
35-39	3.8	3.1	2.9	6.7	5.7	7.9	13.9	11.6	16.7
40-44	4.2	3.7	2.6	6.9	5.9	5.5	13.0	11.2	12.7
45+	4.6	5.1	3.5	7.6	7.7	6.4	14.2	13.6	12.4

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 98-507, Bull. 4.1-7, Table G4.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-718, Bull. 1.2-6, Table 27.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-906, Bull. 1.2-1, Table 7.

Non-marital Fertility

Statistics on births and abortions to unmarried women indicate that, between 1975[37] and 1986, the number of reported births to unmarried women jumped from about 28,000 to almost 63,000, and the number of therapeutic abortions performed on unmarried women climbed from 29,000 to 42,000. Even though the number of women exposed to the risk of childbirth and abortion grew over the period, the rates, as shown in Table 3.4, indicate that there

[36] Romaniuc, A., *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-524, 1984; Veevers, Jean E., "Voluntary Childlessness: A Review of Issues and Evidence", *Marriage and Family Review* 2, 1979, pp. 3-26; *Childlessness by Choice*, Toronto, Butterworth, 1980.

[37] There are no comparable data prior to 1975.

was some increase in the frequency of non-marital pregnancy.[38] In addition, it is indeed curious that the fertility and abortion rates of unmarried women rose just as contraception was becoming more widely available, and overall fertility was falling.

Table 3.4 Live Births and Therapeutic Abortions to Single (Never Married) Women by Age, Canada, 1975-1986

Age	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
	Births per 1000 single women[1]											
15-19	14.3	15.2	16.2	15.9	15.6	16.0	16.9	17.5	17.0	17.2	17.3	17.7
20-24	17.9	20.8	23.2	23.5	24.4	25.5	30.3	32.2	33.3	34.3	35.7	37.2
25-29	20.5	20.7	24.1	24.6	27.8	28.8	33.2	35.6	39.1	41.3	45.3	47.0
30-34	12.3	14.5	17.7	18.8	21.1	23.4	24.4	26.8	30.2	32.7	35.9	38.3
35-39	5.9	7.8	8.2	9.7	9.0	9.2	10.5	12.2	13.1	14.4	16.3	17.8
40-44	1.5	1.4	1.8	3.0	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.6	3.1	3.0	3.2
15-44	15.2	16.7	21.0	18.5	19.1	20.1	22.4	23.9	24.9	26.2	27.7	29.0
Number ('000)	27.8	32.8	34.6	36.1	38.6	42.0	45.6	50.3	52.7	55.5	59.3	62.7
	Abortion per 1000 single women											
15-19	13.5	14.3	15.1	16.2	16.9	16.8	16.1	15.7	14.1	14.1	14.2	14.6
20-24	20.3	22.1	23.3	25.2	27.1	27.5	26.8	26.5	24.0	23.0	24.0	24.5
25-29	21.0	23.0	23.6	25.1	27.0	27.5	27.3	27.7	26.1	26.6	24.3	25.1
30-34	13.9	14.0	16.3	17.0	19.1	18.5	20.3	19.3	20.4	21.0	19.8	21.3
35-39	6.1	7.0	8.1	8.8	9.1	9.6	11.0	10.9	11.0	11.9	11.8	12.5
40-44	2.0	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.8	2.7	3.1	3.0	3.3	3.3	4.0	3.6
15-44	15.5	16.7	17.6	19.0	20.3	20.5	20.1	20.0	18.6	18.6	18.7	19.3
Number ('000)	28.6	31.6	34.4	37.9	41.3	42.9	41.9	42.5	40.1	40.7	39.9	41.7
	Total births and abortion per 1000 single women											
15-19	27.8	29.5	31.3	32.0	32.5	32.8	33.0	33.2	31.1	31.3	31.5	32.3
20-24	38.2	42.9	46.5	48.7	51.5	53.0	57.1	58.7	57.3	57.3	59.7	61.7
25-29	41.5	43.7	47.7	49.7	54.8	56.3	60.5	63.3	65.2	67.9	69.6	72.1
30-34	26.2	28.5	34.0	35.8	40.2	41.9	44.7	46.1	50.6	53.7	55.7	59.6
35-39	12.0	14.8	16.3	18.5	18.1	18.8	21.5	23.1	24.1	26.3	28.1	30.3
40-44	3.5	3.5	3.6	5.1	3.8	4.9	5.5	5.2	5.9	6.4	7.0	6.8
15-44	30.7	33.4	38.6	37.5	39.4	40.6	42.5	43.9	43.5	44.8	46.4	48.3
Number ('000)	56.4	64.0	69.0	74.0	79.9	84.9	87.5	92.8	92.8	96.2	99.2	104.4

[1] Excluding Newfoundland.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-204, various years.
Therapeutic Abortions, Catalogue 82-211, various years.

[38] These measures present some very thorny problems. See Dumas, Jean and Louise Boyer, "Mise au point sur la fécondité des célibataires", *Les Cahiers québécois de démographie* 13, October, 1984.

For some, this increase in non-marital pregnancies is seen to result at least partially from a lack of supervision by busy parents precisely at a time when there was increased exposure to new lifestyles brought about by urbanization and prosperity.[39] Moreover, disapproval of premarital sex, pregnancy and childbirth is diminishing in Canada, and out-of-wedlock births are becoming more widely accepted by society in general. It is unknown what proportion of these births is intentional, but some light may be shed on the matter by the following two observations pertaining to unmarried women. First, fertility and abortion rates have increased more rapidly in the 25-and-over age group than in the 15-19 and 20-24 age-groups. Thus, although the fertility rate among older, single women, (who are presumably more knowledgeable about effective contraception) has increased markedly, their rate of therapeutic abortion has also increased at about the same pace. This suggests, at the very least, that a large proportion of pregnancies that terminated in births were intentional. On the other hand, if access to therapeutic abortion had not been available, the fertility rate of unmarried women might have risen even higher during the last decade.[40]

Second, according to data collected by child welfare agencies, unmarried mothers are increasingly deciding to not put their children up for adoption,[41] and the growth of income-support programmes probably had an effect. Unmarried mothers very likely took the availability of such support into account in making their decisions about pregnancy, birth and parenting. There are also circumstantial indications that some women do not feel that it is necessary to enter into a spousal relationship in order to have a child.

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[39] Davis, Kingsley, "The American Family in Relation to Demographic Change", in Westoff, Charles F. and Robert Parke Jr., editors, *Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth*, U.S. Commission on Population Growth, Vol. 1 of the Commission Research Reports, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1972, pp. 235-265.

[40] It is important to note that fertility or abortion rates of "single" women presented in this section do not take into account the fact that women in common-law unions are usually classified as single (never married) in the Vital Statistics, as opposed to the Census where they may be enumerated as "married".Part of the increase in "unmarried" fertility or pregnancy is probably due to common-law unions.

[41] Guyatt, Doris E., "Policy Issues in Teenage Single Parenting", paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Ottawa, June 1982; Hepworth, Philip, *Foster Care and Adoption in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1980, p. 152.

With the rapid increase in the labour force participation of women, more married women than ever before, regardless of age, entered the labour force. During the past two decades, their participation rate doubled, reaching 53 percent in 1986. As shown in Table 4.1, the most significant change in recent years occurred among women who lived with their husbands. Their participation rate increased from 36 percent in 1971 when such data were first published, to 58 percent in 1986. Even more importantly, there has been a sharper upswing in the participation rate of married women with children under six years of age. Between 1971 and 1986, the rate for childless, married women living with their husbands rose from 41 to 48 percent, whereas that of married women with children of any age rose from 34 to 62 percent. It should be noted that the participation rate of women with preschool-age children rose at a much faster rate, from 27 percent in 1971 to 58 percent in 1986.

Table 4.1 Labour Force Participation Rates[1] of Ever Married and Currently Married Women, 15 Years and Over by Presence of Children, Canada, 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986 (1971 Concepts)

Marital Status and Presence of Children	1971	1976	1981	1986
Ever married				
Total	35.8	41.5	48.9	53.5
No children	35.9	36.4	39.6	40.5
Some children	35.7	44.0	53.8	62.0
Some children under 6 years	27.7	35.9	47.2	58.2
All children 6 years and over	41.9	48.7	56.9	63.6
Currently married (husband present)				
Total	36.3	43.4	51.8	57.7
No children	40.5	41.9	46.2	48.2
Some children	34.4	43.0	52.8	61.5
Some children under 6 years	27.1	35.5	46.8	58.1
All children 6 years and over	40.5	47.8	56.0	63.2

[1] Adjusted using the age distribution of women in 1971 as standard.

Source: Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Numerous factors have contributed to the recent influx of women into the labour force. The most important among them are the increased education of women, the availability of more jobs suited to women, an increase in women's wages, lower fertility, the widespread use of labour-saving devices in the home and the growth of part-time employment.

There are numerous ways in which the increase in women's labour force participation may affect the structure and functions of the family. Current employment, or even the intention to enter into the job market, may encourage women to delay entry into marriage, and indeed studies have found an inverse relationship between the female labour force participation rate and the marriage rate.[42] It has also been found that women's employment had an inflating effect on the divorce rate. Marriage may not be perceived as an economic necessity by working women and, therefore, such women may be more likely to seek the dissolution of an unsatisfactory marriage than would non-working, and therefore economically dependent, women.[43]

There is ample evidence to suggest a negative correlation between women's labour force participation and fertility. But the nature of the relationship is not clear. It is not clearly established, for example, if women limit their fertility in order to work outside the home, or whether their involvement in extra-familial activities discourages them from having a larger number of children. Recent research has found reciprocal causation between the two variables.[44] It is, however, generally believed that the recent decline in the fertility rate in the West has been primarily in response to the increased employment and wages of women.[45]

Child Care

Perhaps the most visible consequence of women's employment is in the increased demand for child-care services. In Canada, the number of young children has declined during the 1970s and 1980s, but the number of young children whose mothers are working has increased substantially, which means the increased demand for extra-parental child care.

According to the 1986 Census, there were 222,000 preschool-aged (less than 6 years of age) children in lone-parent families, and 1,046,000 in husband-wife families where the mother was in the labour force. Thus a total of 1,268,000 (or 60 percent of all preschool) children were potentially in need of

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[42] Ermisch, John, "Economic Opportunities, Marriage Squeezes and the Propensity to Marry: an Economic Analysis of Period Marriage Rates in England and Wales", *Population Studies* 35, November, 1981, pp.347-356; Mott, Frank and Sylvia Moore, "The Tempo of Remarriage Among Young American Women", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 45, May 1983, pp. 427-436.

[43] Mott, F. and S. Moore, "The Causes of Marital Disruption Among Young American Women: An Interdisciplinary Perspective", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 41(1979), pp. 355-365; Cherlin, A., "Work Life and Marital Dissolution", in G. Levinger and O. Males (eds.), *Divorce and Separation*. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

[44] Waite, Linda J. and Ross M. Stolzenberg, "Intended Childbearing and Labour Force Participation of Young Women: Insights from Non-recursive Models", *American Sociological Review* 41, April 1976, pp. 235-252.

[45] Butz, William P. and Michael P. Ward, "The Emergence of Counter-cyclical U.S. Fertility", *The American Economic Review* 69, June 1979, pp. 318-328.

of some sort of day care. The corresponding numbers of school-aged (6-14 years) children were higher: 449,000 in lone-parent families, and 1,699,000 in husband-wife families. Consequently, 68 percent of school-aged children may have needed some extra-parental care, even though some might be of a marginal (i.e. after school) nature. As shown in Table 4.2, the need has increased between 1971 and 1986 in spite of the overall decline in the number of children in families.

Table 4.2 Children in Families and Estimates of Children Needing Care by Age, Canada, 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986

	1971	1976	1981	1986
Children below 6 years				
Total in families ('000)	2,196	2,045	2,075	2,109
In lone-parent families ('000)	145	138	179	222
In families with wife in labour force ('000)	506	641	850	1,046
Total needing care ('000)	651	779	1,029	1,268
Percent needing care	29.6	38.1	49.6	60.1
Children 6-14 years				
Total in families ('000)	4,087	3,680	3,251	3,141
In lone-parent families ('000)	368	383	408	449
In families with wife in labour force ('000)	1,230	1,443	1,541	1,699
Total needing care ('000)	1,598	1,826	1,949	2,148
Percent needing care	39.1	49.6	60.0	68.4

Sources: *1971 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-715, Table 19; and unpublished tabulations.
1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-810, Table 47; and unpublished tabulations.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-905, Table 5; and unpublished tabulations.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-106, Table 6; and unpublished tabulations.

Unfortunately, there are no recent data informing about the availability and need for extra-familial child-care facilities of various types. A recent survey by Statistics Canada[46] collected this type of child-care data, but the results

[46] Labour Force Survey, Statistics Canada, September, 1988.

were not available at the time of publication. The data from a similar survey in 1981 are probably now dated, but are, nevertheless, illuminating. Thus, according to the earlier survey, 1.1 million children (or 52 percent of all preschoolers) received non-parental care for at least part of the week, while the remainder (1.0 million or 48 percent) were cared for exclusively by their parents in their own home. As shown in Table 4.3, 31 percent of all preschool-aged children were cared for by relatives, while 41 percent were under the care of non-relatives, including friends and neighbours. It has been argued that, in the future, this informal type of arrangement is less likely to be available because of increased geographic dispersion and labour force participation among the family members, friends and neighbours who provided such informal care in the past. And due to declining family size, there just might not be older brothers and sisters to look after younger siblings. Thus, if the present trends in family structure and female labour force participation continue, Canada is likely to face an increased demand for extra-familial care - in spite of a low fertility rate.[47]

Table 4.3 Types of Child Care Arrangements for Pre-school Aged (0-5 Years) Children, Canada, 1981

Type of Arrangement	Percentage
Cared for in own home	35.8
By relative	17.0
By non-relative	18.8
Cared for in other private home	35.8
By relative	13.8
By non-relative	22.0
Nursery School or kindergarten	42.7
Day Care Centre	11.2
Total[1]	100.0
Number of children ('000)	1,113

[1] Since some children are cared for by more than one type of arrangement each week, the percentages add to more than 100.

Source: *Labour Force Survey*, August 1982 (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-001).

[47] Ram, B., "Family Structure and Extra-Parental Child-Care Need in Canada: Some Projections", in *Contributions to Demography, Methodological and Substantive: Essays in Honour of Dr. Karol J. Krotki*, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1987; Hofferth, S.L. "Day Care in the Next Decade: 1980-1990", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 41, August 1979, pp. 649-658.

For school-aged children - whose mothers are more likely to be working than are those of preschool-aged children - the demand may be more pressing. The 1981 survey also revealed that most children who were between 6 and 14 years of age were under the supervision of a relative, including parents and siblings (Table 4.4). About 16 percent were left to care for themselves.

Table 4.4 Types of Child Care Arrangements for Children Aged 6-14 Years, Canada, 1981

Type of Care	Percentage
By a relative	78.2
Mother/father	70.9
Brother/sister	4.6
Other relative	2.7
School or community program	0.7
Took care of himself/herself	16.1
Other arrangement	5.0
Total	100.0
Number ('000)	3,250

Source: *Labour Force Survey*, August 1982 (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-001).

Currently, most children needing extra-parental care live in husband-wife families where the mother is in the labour force, and this pattern will probably continue in the future. But if the rate of marital dissolution continues to increase, so will the demand for day care among lone-parent families. Since most lone parents have lower than average incomes, are compelled to work out of extreme economic necessity, and are usually eligible to receive subsidies for childcare, this category of parent is much more likely to use day-care centres than are husband-wife families. It is, indeed, the young single mother who will find it both more acceptable, and necessary, to place her child in a centre.[48]

[48] Hofferth, S.L., "Family Structure Change and Child Care", pp. 525-526 in *Consequences of Changing U.S. Population: Baby Boom and Bust*. Hearings before the Select Committee on Population, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, May 23, 25 and June 1, 2, 1978 (No. 10), Vol.2, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

CHAPTER 5

FAMILY STRUCTURE

When discussing the changes taking place in the family, one usually has a set notion as to what a "normal" family looks like. For example, in everyday terms, one thinks of the family as being made up of a husband, a wife, and children. One also thinks of the concept "household" in much the same way, as though every house or apartment contained a family. Indeed the majority of families are of this kind. However, as Romaniuc points out, "... the dominance of the two-parent family, based on formal marriage, is increasingly being challenged, on the one hand, by the still small but rising incidence of mono-parental families, headed largely by women, and the soaring practice of non-marital cohabitation, a less stable, and less procreation-oriented conjugal arrangement, on the other."[49] Living in a non-family setting is yet another departure from the dominant family norm.

This chapter will focus primarily on what may be called non-traditional or less typical living arrangements because of their growing prevalence in our society and because of their present importance as public policy issues. But first we shall present the typology of households and families used in Canadian censuses and provide their statistical profile.

The Household and Family Typology

Following the Canadian Census, this study defines a "household" as that which is constituted when any person or group of persons occupy a private dwelling (as opposed to a "collective dwelling", such as a nursing home or a hotel).[50] Households are of two types: family households which contain at least one family, and possibly unrelated individuals as well; and non-family households which are made up of either one person, or of two or more persons having no family relationship to one another. The term "family" - called "census family" in Statistics Canada publications - refers to a husband and wife (including common-law couples) with or without children, or alternatively to one parent with one or more children of any age living in the same dwelling. This description essentially coincides with the concept of the "nuclear" family

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[49] Romaniuc, A., "Fertility in Canada: A Long View - A Contribution to the Debates on Population", in Jacques Légaré, T.R. Balakrishnan and Roderic P. Beaujot (eds.), *The Family in Crisis: A Population Crisis*, Ottawa, Royal Society of Canada, p. 259. See also, Munoz-Parez, Francisco, "Changements récents de la fécondité en Europe occidentale et nouveaux traits de la formation des familles", *Population* 41, mai 1986, pp. 447-462; Roussel, Louis, "Deux décennies de mutations demographiques (1965-1985) dans les pays industrialisés", *Population* 42, mai 1987, pp. 449-468.

[50] Unless otherwise specified, all data in this study are for private households only.

used in the scientific literature. Figure 5.1 provides definitions of the major concepts used in this study, while Figure 5.2 gives the general range and distribution of household types in Canada based on the 1986 Census.

Figure 5.1

Definitions of Major Concepts

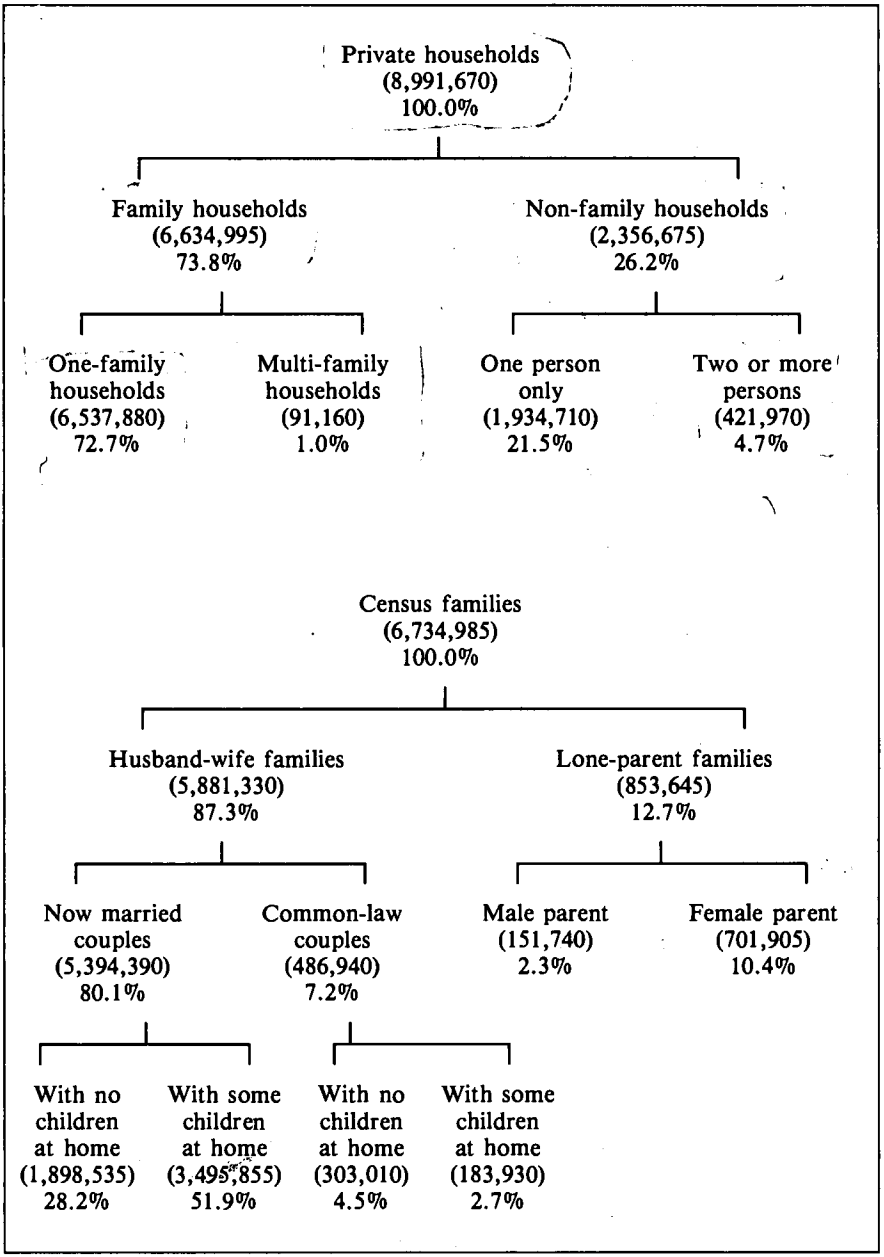
Concept	Definitions
Household	Refers to a person or a group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a dwelling. It usually consists of a family group with or without lodgers, employees, etc. However, it may consist of two or more families sharing a dwelling, a group of unrelated persons, or one person living alone. Households are classified into three groups: private households, collective households, and households outside Canada.
Private household	Refers to a person or group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling. The number of private households equals the number of occupied private dwellings. Private households are of two types: family households and non-family households.
Family household	Refers to a household that includes at least one census family.
Non-family household	Refers to one person who lives alone in a private dwelling, or to a group of persons who occupy a private dwelling and do not constitute a census family.
Census family	Refers to a *husband-wife family* (i.e., a husband and a wife, with or without never married children, living in the same dwelling) or a *one-parent family* (i.e., a lone parent of any marital status, with one or more never married children, living in the same dwelling). Persons living in a common-law type of arrangement are considered husband and wife.

Source: *1986 Census Dictionary* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Cat. 99-901).

While most individuals live in private households, not all private households contain families. In fact, only 74 percent of all private households in 1986 were family households. Also, neither do all families consist of a married couple, nor do all families contain children. As shown in Figure 5.2, only 55 percent of all families covered by the 1986 Census were husband-wife families with children, about one-third (33 percent) were couples without children (i.e., childless couples and those whose children are living away) and 13 percent

Figure 5.2

Private Households and Census Families by Type, Canada, 1986



Source: *1986 Census of Canada,* Catalogue 93-104, Table 9 and Catalogue 93-106, Table 3.

were lone-parent families. The array of living arrangements can be further extended by adding common-law unions, extended families, unrelated individuals living together, etc.

Non-Family Households

In 1986, there were almost 9 million private households in Canada. This was 5 million more than were recorded in 1951, representing an annual rate of growth of about 3 percent (Table 5.1 and Appendix Table 5.1). During the same period, non-family households grew at an annual rate of 5.3 percent, which was more than double the rate of growth (2.3 percent) for family households. Accordingly, the proportion of non-family households expanded from just over 11 percent of the total number of households in 1951, to 26 percent in 1986. Conversely, the proportion of family households fell from 89 to 74 percent, with multi-family households showing a particularly drastic drop - relatively as well as in absolute terms. In 1951, 7 percent of all households were classified as multi-family, but by 1986, such households accounted for only 1 percent of the total.

Table 5.1 Number and Percentage Distribution of Private Households by Type, Canada, 1951-1986

Year	Private households	Family households			Non-family households		
		Total	One-family households	Multi-family households	Total	One-person households	Multi-person households
Number ('000)							
1951[1]	3,409.3	3,024.3	2,794.9	229.4	385.0	252.4	132.6
1961	4,554.7	3,948.9	3,781.0	167.9	605.8	424.8	181.1
1971	6,041.3	4,933.4	4,812.4	121.1	1,107.9	811.8	296.0
1976	7,166.1	5,633.9	5,542.3	91.7	1,532.1	1,205.3	326.8
1981	8,281.5	6,231.5	6,140.3	91.2	2,050.0	1,681.1	368.9
1986	8,991.7	6,635.0	6,537.9	97.1	2,356.7	1,934.7	422.0
Percent							
1951[1]	100.0	88.7	82.0	6.7	11.3	7.4	3.9
1961	100.0	86.7	83.0	3.7	13.3	9.3	4.0
1971	100.0	81.7	79.7	2.0	18.3	13.4	4.9
1976	100.0	78.6	77.3	1.3	21.4	16.8	4.6
1981	100.0	75.2	74.1	1.1	24.8	20.3	4.5
1986	100.0	73.8	72.7	1.1	26.2	21.5	4.7

[1] Excluding Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Wargon, Sylvia T., *Canadian Households and Families*, Census Analytical Study (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-753, 1979), Table 3.1.
1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-803, Bull. 3.4, Table 11.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-904, Table 1.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-104, Table 9.

The rapid growth of non-family households was almost entirely accounted for by growth in one-person households (i.e., persons living alone). Over the 1951 to 1986 period, the proportion of one-person households jumped from 7.4 to 21.5 percent. This swing toward solo living within the span of three-and-a-half decades is probably the most profound change in living arrangements in Canada's history. Society is now rapidly evolving into a collectivity whose institutional forms reflect increasingly independent and individual lifestyles. In addition, non-family living goes with ageing. As shown in Table 5.2, elderly people, and particularly women, have traditionally made up a large percentage of the population living in non-family settings. For quite different reasons, however, this lifestyle has also become more popular among young adults in recent years.

Table 5.2 Persons Living Alone as Percent of Population in Specified Age Groups, Canada, 1961-1986

Age Group	Male						Female					
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
15-24	0.7	1.2	1.7	3.1	4.3	3.6	0.6	1.1	1.7	3.3	4.4	3.7
25-34	2.0	2.8	3.8	6.4	9.4	10.1	1.3	1.9	2.8	4.8	7.0	7.4
15-34	1.3	1.9	2.6	4.5	6.7	6.9	0.9	1.4	2.2	4.0	5.6	5.6
35-44	2.1	2.8	3.4	4.6	6.4	7.8	1.7	2.2	2.4	3.1	4.3	5.4
45-54	3.2	3.7	4.2	5.3	6.6	7.4	3.6	4.2	4.5	5.4	6.3	7.1
55-64	5.5	5.7	6.2	6.9	8.2	9.2	7.9	9.6	11.5	13.4	14.4	14.7
65-69	7.7	..	8.9	9.5	..	..	13.0	20.5	24.4	..	..	..
65 and over	9.5	10.4	11.1	11.9	13.0	13.6	15.2	19.6	24.2	28.9	32.4	33.6
70 and over	10.4	..	12.4	13.4	..	..	9.4	..	11.1	11.9	..	..
15 and over	3.1	3.7	4.3	5.7	7.5	8.2	4.0	5.1	6.4	8.4	10.2	11.2

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Bulletin 2.1-3, Table 23.
1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 41.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-707, Table 44.
1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-809, Bull. 3.10, Table 45.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-905, Vol. I, Table 6.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-106, Part 1, Table 8.

The Elderly

Most older people (65 years of age and older) live in family households. As shown in Table 5.3, 76 percent of men and 49 percent of women aged 65 and over in 1986 lived in family households. In other words, while a small

proportion of men over 65 lived in non-family settings, the opposite is true for women: in 1986, 17 percent of men and 40 percent of women aged 65 and over lived in non-family households.

The growing number of non-family households in this age-group is attributable in part to increasing life expectancy for both sexes. The burgeoning number of non-family households accounted for by women is in turn partially attributable to the fact that women outlive men, and is reinforced by the fact that wives tend to be younger than their husbands.

Table 5.3 Distribution of the Population 65 Years and Over by Type of Living Arrangement and Sex, Canada, 1986

Type of Living Arrangement	Male	Female
In private households	93.8	89.7
Family households	76.3	49.4
Husband, wife, lone parents	73.0	42.4
Others	3.3	7.0
Non-family households	17.5	40.2
Living alone	13.6	33.8
Others	3.9	6.5
In collective dwellings	6.2	10.3
Hospitals and other related institutions	5.4	9.1
Others	0.8	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	1,130,065	1,558,085

Sources: *1986 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-104, Table 2; and Catalogue 93-106, Table 7.

Widows and widowers tend not to share accommodations with friends or relatives but to live "on their own". Between 1961 and 1986, when the number of elderly men living alone increased by 142 percent, the number of elderly women jumped by 383 percent. Studies reveal that most elderly people would rather live independently than live with relatives, and also that most elderly people are capable of looking after themselves.[51] This independence is largely a result of advances in technology, improved health status, and more favourable economic conditions than those experienced by past generations.

[51] Brody, Elaine M., "The Aging of the Family", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 438, July 1978, pp. 13-27; Shanas, Ethel, "Social Myth as Hypothesis: The Case of the Family Relations of Old People", *The Gerontologist* 19, 1979, pp. 3-9.

In recent years, more attention has also been focussed on the large number of elderly people in nursing homes and chronic-care facilities. In 1986, 5.4 percent of men and 9.1 percent of women in the 65-and-over age group lived in such institutions. While these percentages may seem small, they represent a substantial number of people: in 1986, these figures translated into 61,000 men and 142,000 women. These numbers may be somewhat smaller when the population living in non-institutional collectives are excluded, but if the life expectancy of women continues to rise, and if the propensity to live in such collectives remains constant, both the number and the length of stay of the "institutional population" will increase substantially. All other things being equal, the large size of the ageing baby-boom cohorts means that the demand for such facilities can only increase.

Young Adults

A higher age at first marriage, a rising divorce rate, a shrinking duration of marriage ending in divorce, and later and less frequent remarriage by divorced people - all contribute to the observation that more young adults than ever before are now living alone. As shown in Table 5.2, 7 percent of males and 6 percent of females in the 15-34 age group lived alone in 1986. In 1961, these proportions were much smaller - 1.3 percent for males and only about 1 percent for females.

Underlying the demographic factors cited above are a number of social changes that have affected the growth in the number of young adults living alone. There is a positive correlation between affluence and one-person households.[52] It has been found that economic independence brought about by prosperity translates into social independence as well. A study by Michael et al. showed that rising income among young single men and women was responsible for about three-quarters of the increase in the growth in the propensity to live alone in the United States between 1950-1976. Furthermore, there may be less economic need for many young adults to live with their parents and, therefore, they may be moving away from home and setting up their own households at an earlier age. Moreover, there is now less social pressure to marry or remarry in our affluent, urban society. The results of an Ontario study suggest that this is a reflection of a change in attitude among baby-boomers.[53] Also, the increasing availability of housing specifically designed for solo living has tended to create its own market by making it convenient for more people to live alone.[54]

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[52] Michael, Robert T., Victor R. Fuchs, and Sharon R. Scott, "Changes in the Propensity to Live Alone: 1950-1976", *Demography* 17, February 1980, pp. 39-56; Baranwal, J.P. and Bali Ram, "Societal Development, Familialism and Solo Living: A Cross-National Study", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 16, Spring 1985, pp. 61-73.

[53] Miron, John R., *The Rise of the One-person Households: the Ontario Experience, Research Paper No. 116*, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1980.

[54] Harrison, Brian R., *Living Alone in Canada: Economic and Demographic Perspectives, 1951-1976*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 1981, Catalogue 98-811.

The most recent evidence suggests, however, that the trend toward living alone is coming to a halt, or even reversing itself. A growing number of young adults in recent years are staying in, or returning to, their parental homes. Data presented in Table 5.4 show that the proportion of children not living in the family, which had increased between 1971 and 1976, has since declined at virtually every age. Studies in the United States and Great Britain have found this trend to be largely a response to the economic hardships faced by youths in recent years.[55] In Canada, the rise in the proportion of young adults living with their parents coincided with a sharp rise in their unemployment rate. Finally, shrinking family size makes it not only easier to accommodate children for longer periods of time in the family home, but allows more parental resources to be invested per child.

Table 5.4 Percent Children Not Living in the Family, Canada, 1971-1986

Age	1971	1976	1981	1986
0-14	0	0	0	0
15	2.8	3.5	3.5	3.7
16	3.9	4.9	4.9	4.6
17	6.8	8.5	7.8	6.7
18	14.2	16.9	15.6	12.5
19	24.5	28.6	26.4	21.0
20	36.4	41.0	37.9	30.5
21	50.8	53.2	49.6	40.8
22	63.4	64.7	61.0	51.5
23	73.5	74.1	71.0	62.0
24	81.1	80.7	78.6	71.0
25	85.6	85.5	84.3	77.9
26	89.0	89.3	88.2	87.2
27	91.4	91.9	90.8	87.5
28	93.0	93.6	92.8	90.2
29	94.2	94.6	94.0	92.1
30	94.8	95.2	94.9	93.5
Mean number of years lived in the family	23.0	22.7	23.1	24.2

Sources: *1971 Census of Canada*, unpublished tabulations.
1976 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.
1981 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

[55] Heer, David. M., Robert W. Hodge, and Marcus Felson, "The Cluttered Nest: Evidence that Young Adults are More Likely to Live at Home Now Than in the Recent Past", *Sociology and Social Research* 69, April 1985, pp. 436-441; Glick, Paul C. and Sung-Ling Lin, "More Young Adults are Living with Their Parent: Who are They?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 48, February 1986, pp. 107-112; Eversley, David, "The Family and Housing Policy: The Interaction of the Family, the Household, and the Housing Market", pp. 82-95 in *The Family*, British Society for Population Studies, Occasional Paper No. 31, London, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1983.

Household Size and Family Size

Household size and family size are clearly related, and factors which influence one, generally have an effect on the other. In Canada, average household size decreased from 4.0 persons in 1951, to 2.8 in 1986 (Table 5.5). Families have decreased in size also, as indicated by the fall in the percentage of all families having 3 or more children - from 25 percent in 1951 to 13 percent in 1986 - and a rise in the prevalence of the two-child family among those who have completed or nearly completed their families (Table 5.6). But the decline in large families has not been as linear as that in large households. There are several factors which, singly and in combination, can account for much of these declines. Each is discussed below.

Table 5.5 Percentage Distribution of Private Households by Size (Number of Persons), and Average Size of Households and Families, Canada, 1941-1986

Year	Percentage distribution							Average number of persons per household	Persons per family	Children 0-24 per family
	Number of persons									
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	Total			
1941	6.0	18.4	19.5	17.9	13.2	25.0	100.0	4.3	3.9	1.9
1951	7.4	20.9	20.2	18.9	12.9	19.8	100.0	4.0	3.7	1.7
1961	9.3	22.2	17.8	18.4	13.3	19.0	100.0	3.9	3.9	1.9
1971	13.4	25.3	17.3	17.6	11.9	14.5	100.0	3.5	3.7	1.7
1976	16.8	27.8	17.5	18.2	10.5	9.2	100.0	3.1	3.5	1.5
1981	20.3	29.0	17.5	18.6	9.1	5.5	100.0	2.9	3.3	1.4
1986	21.5	30.0	17.8	18.7	8.1	3.9	100.0	2.8	3.1	1.3

Sources: *1951 Census of Canada*, Vol. III. Table 131.
1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, (part I), Table 2.
1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-707, Bull. 2.1.7, Table 36.
1976 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-804, Bull. 3.4, Table 9.
1981 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-904, (Vol. 1), Table 3; Cat. 92-905, Table 1, and unpublished tabulations.
1986 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-104, Table 7 and unpublished tabulations.
Wargon, Sylvia T., *Children in Canadian Families*, (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 98-810 Occasional, 1979) Table 1.

Obviously, the foremost among these factors is fertility decline. As discussed in Chapter 3, couples are having fewer children, and having them later in life. There has also been an increase in the proportion of married women who are childless.

Other factors have contributed as well to the shrinking size of families and households. There is, as mentioned earlier, a marked trend towards solo-living, and much of it can be accounted for by the propensity of young adults to set up small households of their own. More elderly persons are capable of

Table 5.6 Percentage Distribution of Census Families by Age of Head and Number of Children 0-24 Years at Home, Canada, 1941-1986

Year	Age of head[1]							
	15-24	25-34	15-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 years and over	Total
	No children							
1941	..	..	**31.1**	14.3	..	..	76.4	31.3
1951	..	..	**24.3**	12.7	21.9	49.5	83.0	32.3
1961	36.4	15.6	**19.0**	9.0	19.0	51.7	86.7	29.3
1971	47.2	20.0	**25.9**	6.8	17.1	50.1	87.5	30.5
1981	55.6	26.5	**31.9**	9.1	19.6	56.0	91.4	35.6
1986	52.6	28.0	**31.5**	11.0	23.2	60.8	92.8	37.5
	1 child							
1941	..	..	**32.0**	21.1	..	..	14.2	23.5
1951	..	..	**31.1**	20.7	24.2	24.0	10.8	23.5
1961	39.7	23.4	**26.1**	15.1	23.0	23.8	8.7	20.2
1971	37.3	25.8	**28.3**	12.6	21.8	25.0	8.3	20.5
1981	31.7	28.0	**28.7**	18.3	26.7	25.6	6.2	22.7
1986	33.8	28.6	**29.4**	21.2	29.8	25.4	5.6	23.6
	2 children							
1941	..	..	**19.7**	22.5	..	..	5.0	17.5
1951	..	..	**25.3**	26.4	20.3	11.9	3.4	19.8
1961	17.7	28.4	**26.6**	25.8	22.8	11.8	2.6	20.6
1971	12.7	30.7	**26.8**	27.0	23.8	12.8	2.5	21.3
1981	10.7	32.9	**28.8**	40.3	28.0	11.5	1.6	25.2
1986	11.3	31.5	**28.6**	43.1	29.1	9.7	1.2	25.8
	3 or more children							
1941	..	..	**17.2**	42.0	..	..	4.4	27.7
1951	..	..	**19.3**	40.1	33.5	14.6	2.8	24.5
1961	6.2	32.6	**28.2**	49.8	35.8	12.8	2.0	29.8
1971	2.9	23.4	**19.1**	53.6	37.3	11.9	1.7	27.8
1981	1.9	12.7	**10.6**	32.1	25.7	6.9	0.8	16.5
1986	2.3	11.9	**10.5**	24.8	18.0	4.1	0.4	13.1

[1] In 1981 and 1986, "Head" refers to husband in the husband-wife family and to parent (father or mother) in the one-parent family.

Sources: Wargon, Sylvia T., *Children in Canadian Families*. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Cat. 98-810 Occasional, 1979), Table 6.
1981 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.

looking after themselves, and can afford financially to keep their own household. This trend towards independent living has led to a decline in the prevalence of the extended family. In addition, rising divorce rates have

increased the number of households in Canada, while reducing the average size of both households and families. Divorced persons, who had in the past often moved in with relatives or friends following the breakup of their marriage, now tend more and more to live alone, unless and until they remarry.

Finally, a decline in the number of unrelated persons (such as lodgers, servants, etc.) in households has led to a drop in average household size, while having had no effect on family size.[56]

Lone-Parent Families

The number of lone-parent families more than doubled in the short span of 25 years, from 347,000 in 1961 to 854,000 in 1986 (Appendix Table 5.2). This merits closer scrutiny.

Because of the focus of attention upon young mothers living alone with their children, there is a general feeling that the lone-parent family is a recent phenomenon. This is not true. Lone-parent families have existed in every society throughout history, and may even have been more common in the past than they are today. In 1941, 12 percent of Canadian families had only one parent - slightly lower than the present level (Table 5.7). But the composition of lone-parent families, and the factors underlying their formation, have changed substantially. First, divorce rather than widowhood has become an increasingly important factor in lone-parent family formation; second, an increasing proportion of lone-parent families are headed by women; third, the largest increase in the number of lone-parents has occurred in the younger age-groups (Table 5.8). These aspects of lone-parent families are further explored in the next three sections.

Widowed and Divorced Lone Parents

In the past, a large proportion of lone-parent family heads were widowed persons. In fact, where it is possible to obtain statistics which differentiate between divorced and separated persons, it is clear that the death of a spouse remains a leading cause of lone-parent family formation (Figure 5.3). Divorce as a cause of lone-parent families, however, is catching up quickly - and is particularly prevalent in the younger age groups.

Between 1951 and 1986, the proportion of lone-parent families headed by widowed persons dropped from 67 to 27 percent, whereas the proportion headed by divorced persons jumped from 3 to 30 percent. Most of the change took place during the 1970s, after the divorce law was amended in 1968, and most of the change can be attributed to an increase in the divorced population,

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[56] Kobrin, Frances E., "The Fall of Household Size in the Rise of Primary Individuals in the United States", *Demography 13*, February 1976, pp. 127-138.

Table 5.7 Distribution of Census Families by Type, Canada, 1941-1986

Year	Number ('000)	Total	Husband-wife family	One parent families		
				Total	Male headed	Female headed
1941	2,509.7	100.0	87.8	12.2	3.2	9.0
1951	3,287.4	100.0	90.1	9.9	2.3	7.6
1961	4,147.4	100.0	91.6	8.4	1.8	6.6
1971	5,070.7	100.0	90.6	9.4	2.0	7.5
1976	5,727.9	100.0	90.2	9.8	1.7	8.1
1981	6,325.0	100.0	88.7	11.3	2.0	9.3
1986	6,735.0	100.0	87.3	12.7	2.3	10.4

Sources: *1941 Census of Canada*, Vol. V, Table 19.
1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136.
1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 73.
1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-718, Bull. 2.2.6, Table 51.
1976 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-832, Bull. 95F.2, Table 2.
1981 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-905, Vol. 1, Tables 1 and 5.
1986 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-106, Part 1, Table 2.

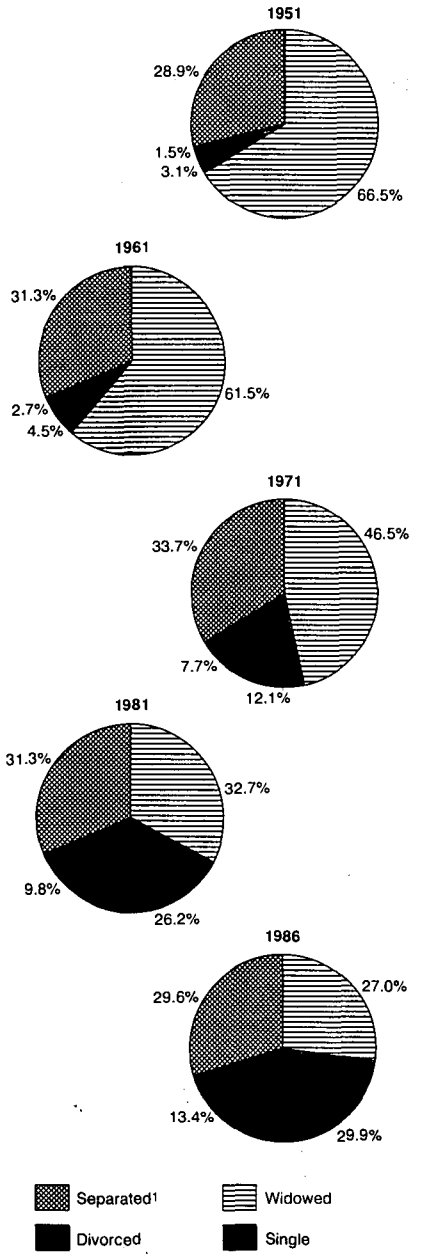
Table 5.8 Percentage Distribution of Lone-parent Families by Age of Head, Canada, 1951-1986

Age of Head	Census					
	1951	1961	1971	1976	1981	1986
15-24	–	3.6	6.1	6.4	6.7	6.2
25-34	14.0	10.7	17.5	19.8	21.7	22.2
35-44	16.9	18.5	21.0	22.0	24.1	27.8
45-54	20.0	21.6	22.6	22.1	20.9	18.8
55-64	20.3	17.3	15.8	14.7	14.1	13.4
65+	28.8	28.3	17.1	15.0	12.5	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: *1951 Census of Canada*, Vol. III, Table 136.
1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 73.
1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-718, Bull. 2.2.6, Table 51.
1976 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-833, Bull. 95F.3, Table 3.
1981 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-905, Vol. I, Table 5.
1986 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-106, Part 1, Table 6.

rather than to a decline in the widowed population (through remarriage or changes in mortality). Lone-parent families headed by separated persons have remained fairly constant at around 30 percent, while those headed by unmarried women (which excludes women currently in common-law unions) increased from 3 percent in 1961 to 13 percent in 1986. It should be noted that some of these lone parents might have been formerly in common-law unions.

Figure 5.3
Percentage Distribution of Lone Parents by Marital Status, Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986



1Includes the category "married spouse absent"
Source: Appendix Table 5.3.

Men and Women

Most lone-parents are women. One reason for this imbalance is that custody of children is usually awarded to mothers; another is that males tend to die earlier. Between 1951 and 1986, the number of lone-parent families headed by males increased by 103 percent, while the number headed by females grew by 180 percent (Appendix Table 5.2). Over the same period, the proportion of all families accounted for by male lone-parents remained at about 2 percent, but the proportion headed by females rose from 7.6 to 10.4 percent (Table 5.7).

Parents Young and Old

While substantial changes in lone-parent families have clearly taken place, the patterns are not uniform for all ages. As revealed in Table 5.8, the proportion of all lone-parent families accounted for by those aged 55 and over declined by half between 1951 and 1986 (from 49 to 25 percent) but the percentage in the under-35 group doubled (from 14 to 28 percent). This trend became especially noticeable in the late 1960s, when the divorce rate among couples with children burgeoned, and the number of one-parent families headed by divorced women in their late 20s and early 30s, increased.

Common-law Unions

Cohabitation without marriage is one form of "alternative lifestyle" that is becoming increasingly frequent in North America and Europe. In the United States, the number of common-law couples more than tripled between

1970 and 1977, and nearly doubled again between 1977 and 1983, reaching close to 1.9 million couples (4 percent of all couples maintaining separate households); in 1970, by comparison, there were only half a million.[57] An estimate for Canada for 1986 placed the number of common-law unions at about 487,000, or 8.3 percent of all couples; in 1981, 6.4 percent of all couples lived common-law (Table 5.9). The rate is considerably higher in several European countries, with Sweden topping the list at 16 percent, and Denmark following a close second with 13 percent.[58] Non-marital cohabitation has become primarily a feature of young-adult lifestyles. According to the 1986 Census, 30 percent of 20-24 year old females who were cohabiting with a male partner were in a common-law union. The corresponding figure for males living with a female partner was 38 percent.

Table 5.9 Distribution of Persons in Common-law Unions by Age and Sex, Canada, 1981 and 1986

Age Group	Men						Women					
	Number ('000)		Percentage distribution		As% of now married		Number ('000)		Percentage distribution		As% of now married	
	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986
15-19	8.3	4.7	2.3	1.0	57.9	64.3	32.5	21.5	9.1	4.4	47.7	58.7
20-24	83.1	81.6	23.3	16.8	27.1	38.0	109.6	123.5	30.7	25.4	20.8	30.3
25-29	88.1	122.7	24.7	25.2	13.0	18.9	77.7	116.1	21.8	23.8	9.9	14.8
30-34	61.2	90.3	17.2	18.6	7.7	11.4	47.9	76.7	13.4	15.6	6.0	9.2
35-39	38.7	65.0	10.9	13.3	5.7	8.1	29.3	52.7	8.2	10.8	4.5	6.7
40-44	24.2	42.4	6.8	8.7	4.3	6.4	18.7	34.0	5.2	7.0	3.5	5.4
45-49	17.6	26.5	4.9	5.4	3.3	4.9	13.3	21.1	3.7	4.3	2.7	4.1
50-54	13.3	19.2	3.7	3.9	2.6	3.8	10.3	14.4	2.9	3.0	2.2	3.1
55-59	9.1	13.7	2.5	2.8	2.0	2.8	7.5	10.4	2.1	2.1	1.7	2.4
60-64	5.7	9.2	1.6	1.9	1.5	2.2	4.8	7.6	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.9
65+	7.2	11.6	2.0	2.4	1.0	1.4	5.2	8.9	1.4	1.8	1.1	1.5
Total	356.6	486.9	100.0	100.0	6.4	8.3	356.6	486.9	100.0	100.0	6.4	8.3

Sources: *1981 Census of Canada*, unpublished tabulations.
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

[57] Thornton, Arland and Deborah Freedman, "The Changing American Family", *Population Bulletin* 38, (Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Washington, D.C. 1983), p. 11; Spanier, Graham, "Married and Unmarried Cohabitation in the United States: 1980", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 45, May 1983, pp. 267-275; Glick, Paul C. and Arthur J. Norton, "Marrying, Divorcing, and Living Together in the U.S. Today", *Population Bulletin* 32, (Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Washington, D.C. 1977), pp. 32-34.

[58] Wiersma, Geertje Else, *Cohabitation, An Alternative to Marriage? A Cross-National Study*, The Hague: Netherlands Inter-University Demographic Institute, 1983; Kierman, Kathleen E.,"The Structure of Families Today: Continuity or Change?" *The Family*, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, U.K., Occasional Paper No. 31, 1983, pp. 22-23; Roussel, Louis, "Les développements de la cohabitation sans mariage et ses effets sur la nuptialité dans les pays industrialisés", *Les familles d'aujourd'hui*, A.I.D.E.L.F., 1986.

Research in the United States, and in several European countries, suggests that cohabitation between persons of the opposite sex is often a form of premarital behaviour, similar to the older form of courtship. For most couples, cohabitation is not viewed as a lifetime commitment, but rather as a test of marital compatibility or as a preparation for marriage. Either the relationship ends in a relatively short time, or the couple gets married.[59]

The 1984 Canadian Family History Survey showed that 16 percent of males and 17 percent of females aged 18 years and over had at some time lived in a common-law union, and that less than 2 percent of the total had done so two or more times. As shown in Table 5.10, the phenomenon was much more prevalent among young people. In addition, as shown in Table 5.11, a large proportion of those who eventually married their partners, did so early in their unions. For both sexes, the mean duration of first union ending in marriage was around 27-28 months.

Table 5.10 Percent Ever in Common-law Unions by Number of Partners, Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1984

Age Group	Male			Female		
	Total	One	Two or more	Total	One	Two or more
18-24	19.9	18.3	1.6	26.9	24.6	2.3
25-29	29.4	26.6	2.8	33.0	29.7	3.3
30-34	25.7	22.4	3.3	25.5	22.6	2.9
35+	13.4	11.9	1.5	12.4	11.4	1.0
Total	15.6	14.1	1.5	17.3	15.9	1.4

Source: *Family History Survey*, 1984 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada), unpublished tabulation.

The consequences of the rise in common-law unions on the Canadian family are not adequately documented. Drawing upon fragmentary evidence, however, some inferences may be drawn as to its impact on marital stability and fertility. Based on the 1984 Family History Survey data, Burch and Madan showed that marriages preceded by common-law unions were more likely to end

[59] Macklin, Eleanor D., "Heterosexual Cohabitation Among Unmarried College Students", *The Family Coordinator* 21, October 1972, pp. 463-472; Charles Cole Lee, "Cohabitation in Social Context", pp. 62-79 in Libby, Rodger W. and Robert N. Whitehurst, *Marriage and Alternatives: Exploring Intimate Relationships*, Glenview, Illinois, Scott, Foresman, 1977; Lewis, R.A., G.B. Spanier, V.L.S. Atkinson, and C.F. Lehecka, "Commitment in Married and Unmarried Cohabitation", *Sociological Focus* 10, October 1977, pp. 367-373; Blumstein, Philip and Pepper Schwartz, *American Couples: Money, Work & Sex*, New York, William Morrow, 1983, pp. 36-39; Roussel, Louis, "La cohabitation juvenile en France", *Population* 33, Jan.-Fév. 1978, pp. 15-42.

Table 5.11 Cumulative Percentage of First Common-law Union Ending in a Marriage by Duration of Union, Canada, 1984

	Duration of union (months)					
	0-11	12-23	24-35	36-47	48+	Mean
Male	25.3	52.9	80.1	86.3	100.0	27.0
Female	29.1	60.2	75.0	85.2	100.0	27.9

Source: *Family History Survey*, 1984 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada), unpublished tabulation.

in a marital dissolution than were marriages not preceded by common-law unions.[60] Also, one might expect lower fertility for common-law unions than for legal marriages. There is still some stigma attached to out-of-wedlock births, which may discourage fertility in common-law relationships. In addition, common-law couples (many of whom are still in the courting and experimentation stage) may be less committed to each other and therefore may be postponing parenthood.

[60] Burch, Thomas and Ashok Madan, *Union Formation and Dissolution*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-963, November 1986, p. 22.

CHAPTER 6

CANADIAN REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES: SELECTED OBSERVATIONS

Throughout this study, the focus has been on Canada as a whole. We now complement this by drawing a regional picture and by comparing Canada to other industrialized nations with respect to certain family indicators.

The Regional Perspective

Canada was populated and built by successive waves of immigrants who brought with them a wide variety of cultural heritage. This diversity is displayed in the regional variations that are apparent in most aspects of life in Canada; this is no less so for the family. Regional variations in family patterns are reinforced by the existence of provincial jurisdictions over many domains of the family. These include income and other family - support programmes, the legal implications of common-law unions, the divorce process including laws on property division, and abortion facilities.

Thus, even though it is difficult to define a "mainstream" of Canadian family life, it is evident that national patterns of family formation and dissolution manifest themselves, with only small variations, in Ontario (Table 6.1). This is not surprising given the size of its population, and the fact that it has certain characteristics in common with other provinces. Indeed, Ontario shows a pattern similar to that of the nation as a whole whether we look at family size, divorce rates, lone parenting or solo living. Ontario does, however, have lower rates of births to single women, and a lower propensity to enter into common-law unions than is observed nationally. In addition, Ontario wives and married mothers had one of the highest provincial labour force participation rates in 1986.

If Ontario represents convention in its Canadian family profile, then Quebec, in its cultural and historical singularity, represents a significant departure. Marriage rates in all the provinces have consistently plummeted since 1971, but Quebec stands apart with a rate of 47.3 marriages per 1,000 single women (compared with 71.9 nationally). Quebec also had the highest proportion of women in their thirties who were still single in 1986 - but this was also true historically.

Fertility in Quebec - historically the highest in Canada - has declined to an all-time low level. Quebec's total fertility rate of 1.43 in 1986 was the lowest of all the provinces. Quebec also has one of the highest rates of childlessness (24 percent in 1981) among women of childbearing age. Quebec women, however, display a relatively high rate of non-marital fertility (36 births per 1,000

Table 6.1 Selected Indicators of Family Life, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1986

Indicators	Canada	Newfound-land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Marriage rate per 1,000 single women	71.9	60.1	76.7	74.7	72.4	47.3	81.2
Percent single women aged 30-34	13.3	9.6	13.1	12.0	11.1	16.3	12.8
Divorce rate per 1,000 married women	12.4	4.6	6.4	12.0	9.8	11.5	12.3
Total fertility rate	1.67	1.64	1.84	1.62	1.59	1.43	1.68
Percent of women aged 15-44, who are childless[1]	22.7	12.2	15.0	18.8	16.9	24.1	22.3
Births to single women per 1,000 single women aged 15-44	29.0	..	27.8	28.6	31.7	36.7	20.1
Labour force participation for all married women	57.3	52.0	59.8	52.1	52.8	52.9	60.2
Labour force participation for married women with children under age 6	59.5	60.4	69.9	57.5	59.6	58.0	62.1
Percent one-person households	21.5	10.2	17.6	18.6	16.5	21.7	21.1
Average number of persons per household	2.8	3.5	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.7	2.8
Average number of persons per family	3.2	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.1	3.1
Percent husband-wife families	87.3	88.9	87.4	86.8	86.7	85.6	88.1
Percent lone-parent families	12.7	11.1	12.6	13.2	13.3	14.4	11.9
Common-law couples as a percent of husband-wife families	8.3	4.0	4.7	6.6	5.9	12.6	6.3

Table 6.1 Selected Indicators of Family Life, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1986 (concluded)

Indicators	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories
Marriage rate per 1,000 single women	78.7	81.7	92.9	86.9	85.5	49.1
Percent single women aged 30-34	12.6	10.4	10.9	13.3	14.1	14.6
Divorce rate per 1,000 married women	11.2	9.7	16.2	12.9	16.3	9.2
Total fertility rate	1.89	2.09	1.93	1.72	2.04	3.01
Percent of women aged 15-44, who are childless[1]	21.7	18.9	25.6	25.0	28.4	19.4
Births to single women per 1,000 single women aged 15-44	36.1	50.4	35.6	29.2	69.9	147.4
Labour force participation for all married women	58.5	58.0	63.6	55.2	71.1	63.2
Labour force participation for married women with children under age 6	58.9	59.2	58.8	55.8	61.9	54.3
Percent one-person households	24.0	23.4	21.4	24.8	21.6	16.6
Average number of persons per household	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.8	3.7
Average number of persons per family	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.9
Percent husband-wife families	87.8	88.9	88.2	87.5	85.1	83.7
Percent lone-parent families	12.2	11.1	11.8	12.5	14.9	16.3
Common-law couples as a percent of husband-wife families	6.3	5.9	8.3	8.5	19.8	16.9

[1] For 1981; there was no fertility question in the 1986 Census.

Source: Appendix Tables 6.1 through 6.9

single women aged 15 to 44 compared with 29 per 1,000 nationally), and 14 percent of all 1986 census families in Quebec were accounted for by lone-parent families. Yet these trends are not, per se, a rejection of family life, since new family forms have emerged more strongly in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada.[61] Quebec has the highest prevalence (excluding the Territories) of common-law unions, at 13 percent of all couples (compared with Canada at 8 percent).

East of Quebec, the Atlantic region has been one of the slowest to embrace new family lifestyles. Divorce, common-law unions and births to single women are all less evident in the Maritimes than in other parts of Canada. This may partly be explained by a long history of selective out-migration among the youth of the Atlantic area. Although the participation rate of married women in the labour force is fairly consistent across Canada, provincial rates are lower in the Atlantic region than elsewhere. However, remarkable exceptions are found among married mothers with preschool age children in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. They had the highest participation rates in the country in 1986 - at 60 and 70 percent, respectively.

In the West, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba exhibit a fairly high degree of nuclear family stability. Marriage rates throughout the West are slightly above the national average in each of the provinces, such that there are relatively fewer single women. Common-law unions, too, appear relatively less prevalent. Total fertility rates are higher than the national level, especially in Saskatchewan (the only province above the threshold of replacement), and family size in the West is above average. Above average fertility among single women has been an historically consistent feature of the Prairie provinces since 1961. This is especially so in Saskatchewan, which has a lower abortion rate.

Another interesting feature of the demographics of the Prairies is the divorce rate. Alberta stands out with an historically high divorce rate: the highest in the country in each of 1971, 1981 and 1986. Saskatchewan, by contrast, had one of the lowest (only Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were lower).

British Columbia exhibits a high level of solo living and below average family size. These phenomena can at least partly be explained by the fact that this province is an attractive retirement destination for families in the latter stages of the life cycle. Otherwise, Canada's third most populous province has a similar profile to that of the nation as a whole.

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[61] Extensive literature exists on the family in Quebec. See particularly, Peron, Yves, Evelyne Lapierre-Adamcyk, Denis Morissette, "Le changement familial: aspects démographiques", *Recherches Sociographiques* 28, 1987, pp. 317-399; Duchesne, Louis, *Les ménages et les familles au Québec*. Québec: Les Publications du Québec, 1987.

The Yukon and the Northwest Territories show marked differences in some aspects of family life, both between themselves, and when compared to other regions of Canada. For example, whereas there is usually a negative relationship between the labour force participation of married women and total fertility, both rates in the Territories are among the highest in Canada. In the Yukon, the former stood at 71 percent in 1986, and the latter stood at 2 births per woman; in the Northwest Territories, these rates were 63 percent and 3 births per woman. Divorce is high in the Yukon but low in the Northwest Territories. Childlessness among childbearing age women is high in the Yukon, but low in the Northwest Territories. Average family size tends to be low in the Yukon, but high in the Northwest Territories. On the other hand, common-law unions and lone parenting have increased markedly in both regions, so that they are more frequent than anywhere else in Canada. A proportionately large share of the population of the North is made up of Indians and Inuit, with their distinct family traditions. This uniqueness may explain these observations.

The International Perspective

There is a considerable uniformity in the family indicators among the various industrialized countries included in Table 6.2. It is apparent, for example, that each has experienced fertility declines, the spread of paid work among wives and mothers, and a rising propensity to divorce.

However, a number of countries are at variance with Canada in one respect or another. Greece, for example, tends to show a more traditional orientation to family life than does Canada. Greece has one of the highest total fertility rates (at 2.3 births per woman in 1981), one of the lowest divorce rates (at 10.7 per 100 marriages), and one of the lowest rates of out-of-wedlock fertility (1.4 per 100 births). Demographic behaviour in Italy was once closely aligned with Greece and other Mediterranean nations, but changes which have occurred recently have significantly modified the social context in which the family has evolved. The 1971 divorce rate in Italy, for example, had risen by 1981 to a level almost the equivalent of Canada's. Similarly, total fertility in Italy dropped over the ten-year period to Canadian levels, and Italians exhibited a higher abortion rate than did Canadians.

Scandinavian countries, and Sweden in particular, seem to be ahead of other industrialized countries in embracing new lifestyles.[62] Swedes marry later than do persons of any other industrialized country, and they are much more likely

[62] Roussel, Louis, "Deux décennies de mutations démographiques (1965-1985) dans les pays industrialisés", *Population* 42, mai-juin 1987, pp. 429-448; Nilsson, Thora, "Les ménages en Suède, 1960-1980", *Population* 40, mars-avril 1985, pp. 223-248; Keilman, Nico "Recent Trends in Family and Household Composition in Europe", *European Journal of Population* 3, July, 1988, pp. 297-325.

Table 6.2 Selected Indicators of Family Life for 20 Industrialized Countries, Around 1971 and 1981

Indicators	Canada		Australia		Austria		Belgium		Czechos-lovakia		Denmark		Finland	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
Marriage														
1. Marriage rate per 1,000 population	8.3	7.6	7.8	7.7	6.1	6.3	7.4	6.3	9.5	7.6	6.2	4.8	7.0	6.3
2. Median age at first marriage	21.8	22.5	21.6	21.9	22.3	22.3	23.4	..	21.3	21.4	22.3	25.7	..	23.8
3. % females, never married, age 40-44	6.9	5.8	4.8	..	11.7	9.0	7.1	..	4.4	3.8	6.4	5.1	11.8	10.2
Divorce														
4. Divorce rate per 1,000 population	1.4	2.8	1.0	2.8	1.3	1.8	0.7	1.6	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.8	1.6	2.0
5. Divorce per 100 marriages	15.5	35.6	11.0	36.4	20.8	28.1	9.5	23.9	21.6	29.6	40.9	56.8	18.9	31.5
6. Median duration of marriage before divorce[1]	11.7	10.1	12.2	8.9	6.6	6.7	11.1	11.1	7.4	6.4	7.9	8.3	9.0	10.0
7. % divorced with one or more children[2]	56.7	51.9	68.3	65.7	65.4	61.0	38.8	29.3	66.0	70.8	63.4	..	75.8	67.1
Family size and fertility														
8. Average size of household	3.5	2.9	3.3	..	2.9	..	2.9	..	3.1	2.8	..	2.4	3.0	2.7
9. % of population living alone	3.8	6.9	3.9	..	8.4	..	6.4	..	5.8	7.7	..	..	7.9	..
10. % of households with persons living alone	13.4	20.3	13.5	..	24.6	26.0	18.8	..	17.9	22.0	..	31.0	23.9	26.0
11. Total fertility rate	2.1	1.7	3.0	1.9	2.2	1.7	2.2	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.4	1.7	1.6
12. % childless women 15 years and over	15.8	17.2	11.8	..	..	..	15.4	..	12.5	..	..	..	..	..
13. Illegitimate births per 100 live births	9.0	12.6	9.3	11.7	13.0	17.8	3.0	3.4	5.5	4.9	12.3	33.2	5.5	13.1
14. Legal abortion rate per 1,000 women, age 15-44	8.8	11.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	25.6	32.1	16.3	20.7	22.4	11.9

See notes at end of table.

Table 6.2 Selected Indicators of Family Life for 20 Industrialized Countries, Around 1971 and 1981 (continued)

Indicators	France		German Democratic Republic		Federal Republic of Germany		Greece		Hungary		Italy		Japan	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
Marriage														
1. Marriage rate per 1,000 population	7.1	5.8	8.4	7.5	6.0	5.9	8.1	7.4	9.5	7.1	6.7	5.5	8.5	6.6
2. Median age at first marriage	22.3	22.7	21.3	21.0	22.1	22.9	22.9	24.7	20.7	21.5	22.6	23.7	23.5	26.7
3. % females, never married, age 40-44	8.1	7.0	8.8	5.1	9.3	5.9	9.2	..	4.7	4.1	13.0	..	5.3	4.4
Divorce														
4. Divorce rate per 1,000 population	0.9	1.6	1.8	2.9	1.3	1.8	0.4	0.7	2.3	2.6	0.3	0.2	1.0	1.3
5. Divorce per 100 marriages	11.7	25.0	36.6	37.9	18.6	30.4	5.0	10.7	25.0	35.6	4.2	35.0	9.5	19.9
6. Median duration of marriage before divorce[1]	9.3	..	7.0	5.4	8.2	10.0	7.3	8.4	7.2	6.6	..	18.0	4.9	7.9
7. % divorced with one or more children[2]	..	..	71.0	72.0	58.9	52.6	75.9	74.6	53.6	61.8	..	41.6	60.0	68.8
Family size and fertility														
8. Average size of household	3.1	..	2.6	..	2.7	2.5	..	3.2	3.0	2.8	3.3	3.0	3.7	3.2
9. % of population living alone	6.4	..	9.8	..	9.0	..	..	2.8	5.7	6.8	3.8	..	3.9	6.1
10. % of households with persons living alone	20.3	22.2	26.0	27.0	25.1	31.0	..	11.2	17.5	19.6	12.9	18.0	10.8	19.8
11. Total fertility rate	2.5	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.9	1.4	2.3	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.4	1.6	2.2	1.7
12. % childless women 15 years and over	..	..	19.8	..	18.4	..	..	..	28.1	24.1	5.9	..	10.8	..
13. Illegitimate births per 100 live births	7.4	11.4	15.1	22.8	5.8	7.6	1.2	1.4	5.8	7.1	2.3	3.9	1.9	0.8
14. Legal abortion rate per 1,000 women, age 15-44	..	15.3	33.0	..	0.4	6.5	..	..	73.5	35.3	..	18.5	26.2	22.5

See notes at end of table.

Table 6.2 Selected Indicators of Family Life for 20 Industrialized Countries, Around 1971 and 1981 (concluded)

Indicators	Netherlands		New Zealand		Sweden		Switzerland		United Kingdom		United States of America	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
Marriage												
1. Marriage rate per 1,000 population	7.0	5.8	8.0	8.1	5.5	4.4	5.5	5.8	7.7	6.9	9.9	10.8
2. Median age at first marriage	22.4	22.6	..	21.9	23.2	27.3	23.3	25.8	21.8	22.0	20.9	21.2
3. % females, never married, age 40-44	7.5	5.6	..	4.3	7.4	8.8	11.4	..	7.4	5.3	5.4	4.5
Divorce												
4. Divorce rate per 1,000 population	0.9	2.0	1.2	2.8	1.7	2.4	1.1	1.7	1.5	2.9	3.7	5.3
5. Divorce per 100 marriages	9.5	33.3	12.0	28.2	34.3	53.4	15.7	31.1	16.0	41.1	35.2	50.0
6. Median duration of marriage before divorce[1]	10.0	10.0	11.8	12.7	10.7	10.1	8.6	10.4	11.4	10.1	6.5	5.9
7. % divorced with one or more children[2]	65.9	60.2	78.4	66.2	69.1	66.2	65.1	60.6	75.2	59.6	61.3	56.3
Family size and fertility												
8. Average size of household	..	2.8	3.7	3.0	2.6	2.3	2.9	2.5	2.9	2.7	3.1	2.7
9. % of population living alone	..	..	..	..	9.6	..	6.4	11.0	6.2	..	5.5	8.0
10. % of households with persons living alone	17.0	22.1	12.5	..	25.3	33.0	19.6	30.0	18.2	22.0	17.6	22.7
11. Total fertility rate	2.4	1.6	3.1	2.0	2.0	1.6	2.0	1.5	2.4	1.8	2.3	1.8
12. % childless women 15 years and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16.9	..	16.3	..
13. Illegitimate births per 100 live births	2.0	3.4	14.3	20.9	21.6	39.7	3.7	4.4	8.4	10.9	11.3	17.1
14. Legal abortion rate per 1,000 women, age 15-44	9.3	6.0	..	9.6	16.3	19.4	..	..	11.7	12.6	16.5	29.3

[1] Relates to 1974 and 1980 rather than 1971 and 1981.
[2] Relates to 1973 and 1980 rather than 1971 and 1981.

Sources: 1-5. *U.N. Demographic Yearbook*, 1976 and 1982.
6. Plateris, Alexander A., *Duration of Marriage Before Divorce*, United States, Vital and Health Statistics Series 21, No. 38, Maryland: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1981; U.N. Demographic Yearbook, 1982.
7-10. *U.N. Demographic Yearbook*, 1976 and 1982.
11. Romaniuc, A., *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984, Catalogue 91-524, Appendix Table 1.2.
12-13. *U.N. Demographic Yearbook*, 1975 and 1982.
14. Tietze, Christopher and Marjorie C. Murtein, "Induced Abortion: 1975 Factbook", *Reports on Population and Family Planning* 14, December 1975; *U.N. Demographic Yearbook*, 1981.
Keilman, Nico, "Recent Trends in Family and Household Composition in Europe", *European Journal of Population* 3, July 1988.

to divorce. They also exhibit one of the highest abortion rates, yet more babies in Sweden are born out-of-wedlock than in any other country under consideration here. Swedes also tend to have the smallest household size and to live more frequently in common-law unions (Table 6.3). Not surprisingly, Swedish women, whether married or not, have one of the highest labour force participation rates in the world (Table 6.4). Denmark exhibits similar trends, but with somewhat lower rates, while Norway shows high rates of female labour force participation as well as common-law living.

Table 6.3 Percentage of Women Living Common-law, by Age Group, Canada and Selected European Countries, Selected Years

	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Canada						
1981	2.9	9.4	7.1	4.7	3.6	2.8
1986	2.3	11.0	9.9	7.0	5.2	4.2
Sweden						
1975	16[1]	29	15	5	..	..
1981	..	44	31	14	..	..
Denmark						
1975	23[1]	30	10	5	4	..
1981	..	37	23	11	..	..
Norway						
1977	6[1]	12	5	2	2	..
1986	12[1]	28	16	9	..	..
Netherlands						
1982	3[1]	16	10	4	..	..
1985	..	16[2]	13	5[3]	..	..
France						
1975	1[1]	4	3	3	..	..
1982	3[1]	10	8	5	..	..

[1] Refers to ages 18-19.
[2] Refers to age group 21-24.
[3] Refers to age group 30-37.

Source: *1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada*, unpublished tabulations; Keïlman, Nico, "Recent Trends in Family and Household Composition in Europe", *European Journal of Population* 3, July 1988, Table 11.

In the United States, by contrast, family change has been quite similar to that in Canada. Despite one of the highest divorce rates in the world (50 per 100 marriages compared with 53 in Sweden), the nuclear family is still predominant in the United States. The United States had the highest 1981 marriage

Table 6.4 Labour Force Participation Rates for Women by Marital Status, Selected Industrialized Countries, 1975-1983

Country	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
All women									
Canada	32.4	33.3	34.2	35.8	37.0	38.3	39.6	39.7	40.5
U.S.A.	34.0	35.0	36.1	37.5	38.4	39.1	39.7	40.2	40.5
Japan	35.1	35.1	35.8	36.4	36.7	36.9	37.0	37.4	38.4
Austria	28.9	28.9	29.3	30.0	30.4	30.4	30.9	32.1	32.1
Denmark	--	--	40.7	41.8	44.2	--	45.8	46.6	47.8
Finland	--	44.7	45.0	44.9	45.5	46.2	47.1	48.1	48.5
Germany, Federal Republic of	31.1	31.1	31.1	31.2	31.5	32.0	32.4	32.7	32.9
Norway	32.7	35.2	35.9	37.0	38.0	39.1	39.7	40.6	41.6
Sweden	42.6	43.2	43.9	44.7	45.7	46.5	47.4	47.9	48.8
Married women									
Canada	40.9	43.0	43.1	44.8	45.7	47.0	48.1	48.9	50.5
U.S.A.	41.2	41.9	42.8	44.2	45.3	45.8	46.3	46.8	47.5
Japan	45.0	45.8	47.0	48.2	48.9	48.9	48.9	49.8	--
Austria	39.0	39.4	39.7	40.0	40.3	39.8	40.7	42.8	--
Denmark	--	--	56.5	57.5	60.9	--	63.6	65.1	66.6
Finland	--	63.1	63.4	63.8	64.9	66.6	67.6	--	--
Germany, Federal Republic of	39.7	39.0	39.5	39.4	40.0	41.4	42.1	42.6	--
Norway	45.2	49.6	51.4	53.5	56.1	58.3	60.1	62.6	64.6
Sweden	57.6	58.9	60.7	62.2	63.1	64.2	66.0	66.6	66.9

Source: OECD, *Labour Force Statistics 1963-1983* (Paris, 1985).

rate among all the countries considered here (at 10.8 marriages per 1000 persons). Its fertility rate, although below replacement level, is higher than that in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, among others.

The Eastern European countries of Hungary and Czechoslovakia have high rates of abortion with low rates of out-of-wedlock births. But comparatively high abortion rates co-exist with high rates of out-of-wedlock fertility in the German Democratic Republic, Sweden, the United States, Denmark and France. In Belgium, the relationship is different again, with both indicators at relatively low levels.

Despite one of the most rapid rates of technological development ever known, Japan has preserved its family institutions with only slight adaptations. Japan has one of the lowest rates of out-of-wedlock fertility but, with

more women working outside the home, marriage now occurs at a later age than in previous generations.

Canadian family patterns appear to have been more stable when compared with other industrialized countries. Canadian marriage, fertility and divorce rates, among other indicators, most closely resemble those of the United Kingdom and other industrialized Commonwealth countries such as Australia and New Zealand.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMING UP[63]

Major Changes

The evolution of families and households since the closing of the baby-boom period in the early 1960s has been marked by an increasing diversity and instability of living arrangements. The traditional, husband-dominated, two-parent family, founded on formal marriage, is increasingly challenged by: (a) marital instability and conjugal mobility; (b) two-wage-earner families; (c) informal, non-marital cohabitation; and, (d) lone-parent families.

Prima facie evidence suggests that the "traditional" husband-wife family still retains its dominant position in Canadian society. In terms of all families combined, the proportion accounted for by husband-wife families fell only slightly between 1961 and 1986 (from 92 to 87 percent). But, as a result of the sharp rise in the divorce and remarriage rates manifested since the 1970s, one would expect a growing proportion of such families to be made-up of so-called blended, or reconstituted, families. Though it is not known how many children are living in families with one natural and one step-parent, or how many of them are under the custody of one parent or are under the shared custody of two parents who live apart, their numbers are presumed to be on the rise.[64]

A notable feature in the current changes is the growing number of families in which both the father and the mother are employed. The labour force participation rate of currently-married women with at least one child under 6 years of age jumped from 27.1 percent in 1971, to 59.5 percent in 1986. While this has meant an increase in the family's revenue earning capacity and greater economic independence for the spouses, it has perhaps also made divorce a more viable option for some.

A landmark development in the recent history of the family is the rise in non-marital cohabitation. Statistically hardly noticeable only two decades ago, the prevalence of common-law cohabitation stood, according to the 1986 Census, at 8.3 percent of all couples. It is among those in their late teens and in their twenties that the practice is most prevalent. Among cohabiting 20-24 year olds, 38 males and 30 females in every 100 were in a common-law union. But those in common-law partnerships are by no means an homogeneous group. For some, it represents an extension to young adulthood without deep

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63 This chapter is a contribution by A. Romaniuc.

64 See Appendix Note regarding reconstituted or blended families.

marital commitments, a matter of casual convenience. For others it acts as a prelude to marriage, while for others still, it provides a permanent alternative to marriage. Compared to formal marriages, common-law unions are less stable and produce fewer children.

The number of lone-parent families more than doubled between 1961 and 1986 - from 347,000 to 854,000 - as a result of significant changes in the factors precipitating the formation of such families. The proportion of lone-parent families with a widowed head plummeted from 62 to 27 percent between 1961 and 1986, whereas those with a divorced head grew from just over four to almost 30 percent. The proportion of never-married mothers rose from about three to just over 13 percent, or in absolute numbers, from 9,000 to 114,000. There is evidence that fewer children borne to single mothers are being given up for adoption. By far the largest proportion of lone-parent families - 82 percent in 1986 - are headed by mothers.

Along with greater plurality and instability, family size has steadily decreased from an average of 3.9 persons in 1961 (at the height of the baby-boom), to 3.1 in 1986. The effect on family size of a sharp drop in the fertility rate has been compounded by the fragmentation of families caused by more frequent marital breakdown. Remarriage has not quite kept pace with the rising divorce rate.

In addition, the rate of family formation has declined. Fewer people have married, or they have done so at a later age. Some have delayed, while others have forgone having children. The fact that 30.0 percent of 25 to 29 year old ever-married women reported themselves as childless in 1981,[65] compared to less than 14 percent in 1961, may well reflect the tendency to postpone parenting. It could also mean, however, that some of them will ultimately remain childless either by choice or because of involuntary age-related sterility.

Finally, more youths in their late teens and early twenties have opted for an independent household, creating an extended hiatus, or transition, between childhood and adulthood. Although they have left their parents' home, they are not yet ready to establish a family of their own. At the opposite end of the age spectrum, living alone has increased significantly among those aged 65 and over. This is especially true among women, where the number increased from 15 percent in 1961, to almost 34 percent in 1986. Seventy-seven percent of the elderly who live alone are women - clearly the result of the female advantage in longevity and their lower rate of remarriage.

The Social Context of Change

A host of factors have combined to bring about increasing diversity and instability in living arrangements as well as a diminishing number of people

[65] No fertility information was collected in the 1986 Census of Canada.

living in a family situation. Some have their origins in the economy, others in the social context of the family, and still others in contraceptive technology.

In terms of economics, two major developments have made the strongest inroads into the family - the growth of women's employment and the rise of consumerism. On the one hand, an expansion of the traditionally female-dominated activities, particularly services, and a breakdown of the barriers to entry into the former occupational preserves of males, have created unprecedented employment opportunities for women. More women have taken up permanent jobs that require higher skill and greater work commitment. On the other hand, the rise of consumerism - the tremendous expansion in the range of goods, services and leisure, as well as greater expectations triggered by aggressive advertising and assisted by a credit system designed to sustain consumers' demands - has made the two-wage-earner family almost a necessity.

In the social context of the family, changes in the relationship between husband and wife, and parent and child, should be singled out. The traditional husband-dominated relationship has given way to a more egalitarian partnership between the spouses. It is argued by some that the rising primacy of personal gratification and individualization of the marital partnership over the institutional context of the marriage has made the latter more vulnerable to internal strains and external pressure. The transfer of old age security from family to society has long since reduced the economic incentive for having children. Now, the continuing erosion of the parental role in child socialization may be undercutting the psychological drive for parenthood. The generative function of the family has thus diminished. Children themselves are veering away from parents and towards peer groups for companionship and socialization, thus perhaps weakening their own aspirations to become parents.

Finally, attitudes toward marriage and the family, and the actual behaviour of couples, have no doubt been influenced by the contraceptive revolution - the pill in the 1960s and sterilization in the 1970s. The link between sex, marriage and procreation has been weakened - if not broken. The much-celebrated sexual revolution of the 1960s might not have taken hold under conditions of less effective contraceptive technology. Many marriages that would formerly have been prompted by premarital pregnancy can henceforth be avoided or postponed, and unwanted pregnancy within marriage has been virtually eliminated. Along with greater employment opportunities for women, effective contraceptive techniques have made alternatives to parenting more readily available.

But the relationship between family and the factors mentioned above is not necessarily unidirectional; it is likely to be reciprocal and interactive in nature. Thus it has been noted that the sharp drop in nuptiality and the rise in divorce followed by several years, rather than preceded, the onset of the baby-bust.

The fragility of marriage may not necessarily have been caused by the greater economic independence of spouses, as often claimed. The increasing propensity for women to engage in salaried work could well be seen as a rational option to a marriage which no longer provided insurance for the future. With the sharp decline in fertility and family size, child-related commitments were no longer sufficient to justify women staying at home. This "home-bound" energy has thus been released and redirected toward revenue-generating activities outside the home, making women's economic independence more real.

Impact Areas

The significance of the changes affecting the family become all the more apparent by identifying a few areas of public policy where they can exert an influence.

One such area is family legislation and the administration of justice in family matters. In this regard, among the developments taking place, two stand out prominently: the widespread incidence of non-marital cohabitation (common-law unions); and, marital disruption (divorce, separation, desertion). Situations such as those in which people are legally married but living in a common-law relationship, or conflicts arising from the custody of one spouse or shared custody of both former spouses involving a growing number of children, are bound to present new challenges to the administration of justice.

To the entire field of the administration of work-related legislation, the growing phenomenon of both parents (and would-be parents) working poses problems for which solutions are of the utmost importance to the individuals concerned, their employers, and to society at large. Granted that there is perhaps now more sharing of household work between spouses, child rearing still remains an occupation exacting in time and energy even in this era of reduced family size and modern household facilities. The transfer of child care to private and public agencies can be helpful, if it can be afforded, though it is not without problems when observed from the angle of child socialization. Special work arrangements such as flexible hours and maternity or paternity leave allow parents to spend more time with their children. But if the family is to continue assuming its function of bearing and rearing the nation's future citizens, the quest for institutional solutions to ease the pressure on parents arising from their dual pursuits of family and employment, without undue work disruption and loss in efficiency to employers, will remain an important research and policy issue. With a fertility rate no longer sufficient to ensure the replacement of generations (and in the longer run that of the population), the issues have recently gained considerable public prominence.

There are two other groups that are bidding for public attention. One is single parents, while the other is elderly people living alone. Both groups are quickly growing in number, and many among them live below the low income

cut-off. Direct income subsidies and indirect subsidies through fiscal adjustments, accessible housing and childcare for single parents, and health services geared towards the special needs of the elderly living alone all stand to be important issues on the welfare policy agenda. The expected further growth of these groups and what is often called the "feminization" of poverty makes them all the more important policy issues.

Beyond the domain of public policy, trends and changes in families and households should be watched by business. Those industries catering to the family or household as a consumption unit will have to keep two developments in mind. The first is shrinking size, while the second and probably more important in the long run, is the slowdown in the growth of families and households. The number of Canadian households grew at the impressive rate of 3.5 percent per annum in the 1970s, and by 2.2 percent in the 1980s. But as the baby-boom generations phase out, and the baby-bust generations enter the age of family formation, growth will slow down to roughly one percent by the turn of the century according to the most recent Statistics Canada projections.

APPENDIX NOTE

Reconstituted or Blended Families

There are no direct estimates of the number of reconstituted or blended families. That the number of such families has risen in recent years is not, however, in doubt, given the escalation of the number of divorces and remarriages. The number of divorces climbed from around 30,000 in 1971 to 78,000 in 1986. For the same years, the number of marriages in which at least one partner was previously married rose from 22,000 to 38,000. Expressed as a percentage of all marriages, these figures represent an increase from 12 to 22. Mothers of one or more children represented 48 percent of all women who obtained a divorce in 1986, up from 44 percent in 1976. How many of these have subsequently remarried to form a blended family is not known. But it has been estimated through statistical modelling that 76 percent of divorced men and 44 percent of divorced women eventually remarry.[66] The rate of remarriage among both the divorced and the widowed population under age 35 is particularly high. These statistics alone suggest that the number of reconstituted families in Canada is on the rise.

Data from the 1984 Family History Survey shed additional light on this subject. According to this survey, men aged 18 and over, who had married more than once, numbered 328,000 or 6.6 percent of all currently-married men. Of those who married more than once and had some children, 79,000 or 25.8 percent had one or more stepchildren. Among remarried women aged 18 to 49 years with some children, 46,000 or 15.2 percent had one or more stepchildren. Slightly less than twice as many men as women have stepchildren living with them. This disparity between mothers and fathers and their respective proportions with stepchildren makes sense, given that custody of children is disproportionately awarded to mothers following divorce, and that children born to unmarried women usually remain with their mother. Consider the following possible four combinations for a male who marries. He may either marry a woman who has never previously married, or a woman who is divorced. In either case, the woman may or may not have children from any previous union. The point is that if either has ever had children, it is she who is much more likely to have custody. Therefore, among remarried persons, the male has a higher probability of marrying into an existing family consisting of a mother and child(ren).

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[66] Adams, O.B. and D.N. Nagnur, *Marriage, Divorce and Mortality: A Life Table Analysis for Canada and Regions*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-536, p. 15.

Appendix Table 2.1

Mean Ages of Women at First Marriage and at Birth of Children, Canada (Excluding Newfoundland), 1944-1986

Year	At first marriage	At 1st birth	At 2nd birth	At 3rd birth	At 4th birth	At 5th and higher order birth
1944	24.4	25.3	27.7	29.4	30.8	34.8
1945	24.3	25.2	27.8	29.5	30.8	34.8
1946	24.1	25.1	27.7	29.5	30.8	34.7
1947	24.0	24.9	27.6	29.5	30.9	34.6
1948	23.9	24.7	27.3	29.3	30.8	34.4
1949	23.9	24.6	27.2	29.2	30.7	34.3
1950	23.8	24.5	27.2	29.1	30.7	34.2
1951	23.8	24.3	27.1	29.1	30.6	34.1
1952	23.7	24.2	27.0	29.1	30.6	34.0
1953	23.7	24.2	26.8	29.1	30.6	33.9
1954	23.6	24.1	26.7	28.1	30.6	33.9
1955	23.5	24.1	26.5	28.9	30.6	33.8
1956	23.4	24.0	26.4	28.7	30.4	33.7
1957	23.3	23.9	26.3	28.6	30.3	33.7
1958	23.2	23.8	26.2	28.5	30.3	33.6
1959	23.1	23.7	26.1	28.3	30.2	33.5
1960	23.0	23.7	26.0	28.3	30.1	33.4
1961	22.9	23.6	25.9	28.2	30.0	33.4
1962	22.8	23.6	25.9	28.1	29.9	33.2
1963	22.8	23.6	25.9	28.2	29.9	33.2
1964	22.7	23.6	26.1	28.3	30.2	33.4
1965	22.6	23.5	26.2	28.6	30.4	33.6
1966	22.6	23.5	26.2	28.7	30.7	33.8
1967	22.6	23.6	26.2	28.8	30.8	33.9
1968	22.6	23.6	26.3	28.9	30.9	34.0
1969	22.7	23.7	26.4	29.1	31.0	34.3
1970	22.7	23.7	26.4	29.0	31.1	34.1
1971	22.6	23.9	26.5	28.9	30.9	34.1
1972	22.2	24.0	26.6	29.1	31.0	34.3
1973	22.3	24.1	26.7	29.1	31.2	34.4
1974	22.4	24.3	26.9	29.2	31.1	34.3
1975	22.5	24.3	26.9	29.1	31.0	34.3
1976	22.7	24.4	27.0	29.1	31.2	34.3
1977	22.8	24.6	27.1	29.2	31.1	34.0
1978	23.0	24.7	27.2	29.3	31.0	34.0
1979	23.1	24.9	27.4	29.4	31.1	34.0
1980	23.3	24.9	27.5	29.4	31.2	33.9
1981	23.5	25.0	27.6	29.4	31.1	33.8
1982	23.7	25.1	27.6	29.5	31.2	33.7
1983	24.0	25.3	27.8	29.6	31.1	33.4
1984	24.3	25.3	27.8	29.6	31.1	33.4
1985	24.6	25.5	28.0	29.7	31.3	33.2
1986	24.8	25.6	28.1	29.8	31.2	33.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogues 84-204 and 84-205, various years. Romaniuc, A., *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984, Catalogue 91-524, Appendix Table 2.4.

Appendix Table 2.2

Ratio of Number of Widows to Number of Widowers by Selected Age Group, Canada, 1921-1986

Year	65+	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	90+
1921	2.01	2.17	2.07	1.97	1.82	1.73	1.79
1931	1.94	2.10	2.01	1.85	1.75	1.73	1.85
1941	1.95	2.06	2.01	1.95	1.82	1.68	1.78
1951	2.09	2.35	2.19	1.95	1.85	1.84	1.85
1956	2.23	2.74	2.38	2.05	1.89	1.80	1.98
1961	2.53	3.19	2.84	2.39	2.05	1.89	1.99
1966	2.98	3.84	3.58	2.91	2.38	2.12	2.06
1971	3.65	4.71	4.32	3.75	3.04	2.55	2.45
1976	4.21	5.20	4.74	4.35	3.77	3.18	2.79
1981	4.64	5.46	5.11	4.64	4.33	3.85	3.36
1986	4.92	5.56	5.26	4.91	4.55	4.40	4.15

Source: *1921 Census of Canada*, Vol. II, Table 30.
1931 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 12.
1941 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 7.
1951 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 1.
1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 28.
1961 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Part 3, Table 78.
1966 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 34.
1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.4.2, Table 1.
1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-825, Table 22.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-901, Table 4.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-101, Table 5.

Appendix Table 2.3

First Marriage Rate, Divorce Rate and Remarriage Rates, Women, 15 Years and Over, Canada, 1951-1986

Year	First marriage rate, per 1,000 single women, 15 years and over	Divorce rate per 1,000 married[1] women, 15 years and over	Remarriage rate of divorced women per 1,000 divorced women, 15 years and over	Remarriage rate of widows per 1,000 widows, 15 years and over
1951	94.8	1.7	..	..
1952	94.1	1.8	..	..
1953	95.7	1.9	..	..
1954	93.4	1.8	..	..
1955	92.6	1.7	..	..
1956	95.9	1.7	..	..
1957	94.5	1.8	..	..
1958	91.5	1.7	..	..
1959	90.9	1.7	..	..
1960	87.9	1.8	..	..
1961	84.8	1.6	161.8	11.2
1962	82.9	1.7	153.9	10.7
1963	80.6	1.9	159.0	10.6
1964	81.7	2.1	155.1	10.6
1965	82.8	2.1	161.8	10.7
1966	85.4	2.4	169.1	10.2
1967	87.7	2.5	163.5	10.4
1968	87.9	2.5	157.1	10.4
1969	89.2	5.6	163.1	10.8
1970	89.5	6.2	163.2	10.8
1971	88.4	6.1	142.4	10.5
1972	90.7	6.5	133.2	10.3
1973	87.3	7.2	131.2	9.8
1974	84.3	8.6	128.8	9.4
1975	80.9	9.4	128.8	9.0
1976	73.9	9.7	121.6	8.4
1977	71.8	9.9	115.3	7.9
1978	68.8	10.2	110.4	7.4
1979	67.9	10.5	106.8	6.9
1980	67.4	10.9	102.9	6.6
1981	65.6	11.3	99.3	6.3
1982	63.7	11.6	89.0	5.6
1983	60.8	11.3	83.7	5.3
1984	60.0	10.6	76.8	5.8
1985	58.5	10.0	72.9	5.2
1986	56.7	12.4	77.1	4.9

[1] Denominator includes women now married and separated.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-205, various years.

Appendix Table 2.4

Average Age at Marriage for Women and Percentage of Brides 25 Years and Over, Canada, 1950-1986

Year	Average age at marriage	Percentage of brides 25 years and over
1950	25.3	33.0
1951	25.3	32.3
1952	25.3	32.0
1953	25.3	31.4
1954	25.2	30.9
1955	25.1	30.5
1956	25.0	29.6
1957	24.9	28.9
1958	24.8	28.3
1959	24.8	27.5
1960	24.7	26.6
1961	24.7	25.9
1962	24.6	24.5
1963	24.6	24.1
1964	24.5	23.2
1965	24.5	22.7
1966	24.4	22.3
1967	24.4	21.7
1968	24.4	21.8
1969	24.9	23.8
1970	24.9	24.1
1971	24.8	24.3
1972	24.7	24.4
1973	24.8	25.6
1974	24.7	27.7
1975	25.0	29.0
1976	25.3	31.0
1977	25.4	32.3
1978	25.6	33.3
1979	25.8	34.7
1980	25.9	36.2
1981	26.2	38.5
1982	26.4	40.4
1983	26.8	43.5
1984	27.2	45.8
1985	27.4	48.2
1986	27.7	50.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-205, various years.

Appendix Table 2.5

Average Age at Marriage and First Marriage of Brides and Bridegrooms, Canada, 1940-1986

Year	All marriages			First marriages		
	Brides	Bridegrooms	Difference	Brides	Bridegrooms	Difference
1940	25.2	28.9	3.7	24.4	27.7	3.3
1941	25.1	28.9	3.8	24.4	27.6	3.2
1942	25.2	29.0	3.8	24.4	27.6	3.2
1943	25.4	29.0	3.6	24.2	27.4	3.2
1944	25.6	29.2	3.6	24.4	27.6	3.2
1945	25.5	29.0	3.5	24.3	27.3	3.0
1946	25.3	28.6	3.3	24.1	27.1	3.0
1947	25.3	28.6	3.3	24.0	26.9	2.9
1948	25.4	28.6	3.2	23.9	26.8	2.9
1949	25.4	28.7	3.3	23.9	26.9	3.0
1950	25.3	28.5	3.2	23.8	26.7	2.9
1951	25.3	28.3	3.0	23.8	26.6	2.8
1952	25.3	28.3	3.0	23.7	26.5	2.8
1953	25.3	28.2	2.9	23.7	26.3	2.6
1954	25.2	28.1	2.9	23.6	26.3	2.7
1955	25.1	28.0	2.9	23.5	26.2	2.7
1956	25.0	27.9	2.9	23.4	26.1	2.7
1957	24.9	27.8	2.9	23.3	26.1	2.8
1958	24.8	27.8	3.0	23.2	26.0	2.8
1959	24.8	27.7	2.9	23.1	25.9	2.8
1960	24.7	27.7	3.0	23.0	25.8	2.8
1961	24.7	27.7	3.0	22.9	25.8	2.9
1962	24.6	27.5	2.9	22.8	25.6	2.8
1963	24.6	27.5	2.9	22.8	25.6	2.8
1964	24.5	27.3	2.8	22.7	25.4	2.7
1965	24.5	27.2	2.7	22.6	25.3	2.7
1966	24.4	27.0	2.6	22.6	25.2	2.6
1967	24.4	26.8	2.4	22.6	25.0	2.4
1968	24.4	26.8	2.4	22.6	25.0	2.4
1969	24.9	27.3	2.4	22.7	25.0	2.3
1970	24.9	27.3	2.4	22.7	24.9	2.2
1971	24.8	27.3	2.5	22.6	24.9	2.3
1972	24.7	27.1	2.4	22.2	24.7	2.5
1973	24.8	27.3	2.5	22.3	24.7	2.4
1974	24.7	27.4	2.7	22.4	24.7	2.3
1975	25.0	27.6	2.6	22.5	24.9	2.4
1976	25.3	27.9	2.6	22.7	25.0	2.3
1977	25.4	28.1	2.7	22.8	25.1	2.3
1978	25.6	28.2	2.6	23.0	25.2	2.2
1979	25.8	28.4	2.6	23.1	25.4	2.3
1980	25.9	28.5	2.6	23.3	25.5	2.2
1981	26.2	28.8	2.6	23.5	25.7	2.2
1982	26.4	29.0	2.6	23.7	25.9	2.2
1983	26.8	29.4	2.6	24.0	26.2	2.2
1984	27.2	29.8	2.6	24.3	26.5	2.2
1985	27.4	30.0	2.6	24.6	26.7	2.1
1986	27.7	30.3	2.6	24.8	27.0	2.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-205, various years.

Appendix Table 2.6

Percentage of Population Never Married by Selected Age Groups and Sex, Canada, 1961-1986

Age Group	Male				Female			
	1961	1971	1981	1986	1961	1971	1981	1986
20-24	69.5	67.6	71.9	79.2	40.5	43.5	51.1	60.2
25-29	29.6	25.6	32.0	39.6	15.4	15.4	20.0	25.7
30-34	17.3	13.3	15.0	19.6	10.5	9.1	10.5	13.3

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 99-515, Table 2.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-730, Table 1.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-901, Table 4.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-101, Table 5.

Appendix Table 3.1

Total Fertility Rate, Canada, 1921-1986

Year	Total Fertility Rate	Year	Total Fertility Rate
1921	3536	1954	3828
1922	3402	1955	3831
1923	3234	1956	3858
1924	3221	1957	3925
1925	3132	1958	3880
1926	3357	1959	3935
1927	3319	1960	3895
1928	3294	1961	3840
1929	3217	1962	3756
1930	3282	1963	3669
1931	3200	1964	3502
1932	3084	1965	3145
1933	2864	1966	2812
1934	2803	1967	2597
1935	2755	1968	2453
1936	2969	1969	2405
1937	2646	1970	2331
1938	2701	1971	2187
1939	2654	1972	2024
1940	2766	1973	1931
1941	2832	1974	1875
1942	2964	1975	1852
1943	3041	1976	1825
1944	3010	1977	1806
1945	3018	1978	1757
1946	3374	1979	1764
1947	3595	1980	1746
1948	3441	1981	1704
1949	3456	1982	1694
1950	3455	1983	1680
1951	3503	1984	1686
1952	3641	1985	1669
1953	3721	1986	1672

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue, 84-204, various years.

Appendix Table 3.2

Fertility Rate per 1,000 Women by Birth Order and Age Group, Canada, 1944-1986

Birth Order	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
First order																						
15 - 19	25.3	25.2	29.5	34.8	34.2	35.1	35.3	36.9	38.8	39.6	41.4	40.8	42.0	45.6	44.2	44.6	43.7	42.5	40.0	38.9	37.9	38.5
20 - 24	71.8	71.4	87.8	101.0	88.4	84.0	82.5	86.2	93.4	95.2	97.6	95.8	95.4	97.8	97.5	97.8	96.4	94.4	93.2	92.5	90.9	85.6
25 - 29	47.9	44.9	55.1	61.3	51.2	48.7	46.4	45.5	47.3	46.4	47.3	46.2	46.5	47.0	45.6	44.1	41.8	39.4	37.4	36.3	36.6	35.2
30 - 34	22.1	20.9	24.9	25.5	21.0	18.8	17.7	17.8	18.0	18.3	17.8	17.1	16.2	16.2	15.4	15.0	14.2	13.7	12.7	11.9	12.0	11.2
35 - 39	8.1	8.4	8.6	9.4	8.3	7.8	7.0	6.9	6.7	6.6	6.5	6.3	6.4	6.1	5.9	5.5	5.3	4.8	4.6	4.4	4.3	4.1
40 - 44	1.6	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.0
Second order																						
15 - 19	5.2	5.3	5.7	6.5	7.6	8.4	8.7	9.1	9.4	10.0	10.4	10.8	11.5	11.9	12.4	12.9	13.0	12.7	12.2	11.5	10.1	9.0
20 - 24	42.1	41.8	49.5	53.7	57.0	59.1	58.0	59.9	61.6	65.6	69.3	70.0	71.8	72.5	72.6	76.8	76.0	76.4	75.0	72.6	68.9	60.8
25 - 29	47.0	47.3	55.2	60.3	59.5	62.1	61.1	59.3	58.6	60.2	60.0	60.5	61.1	61.2	60.3	61.0	59.6	56.6	55.3	54.6	54.5	51.1
30 - 34	29.7	30.0	33.5	34.3	31.5	31.5	31.3	30.9	31.0	30.5	30.4	28.7	27.5	26.7	25.6	25.0	24.4	23.6	23.2	22.1	21.7	20.0
35 - 39	11.5	12.1	13.1	13.5	12.6	12.4	12.5	12.1	11.5	11.3	10.8	10.4	10.4	10.2	9.8	9.4	8.8	8.1	7.8	7.5	7.6	7.1
40 - 44	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5
Third order																						
15 - 19	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.2	1.8	1.5
20 - 24	18.4	18.7	20.2	21.7	23.0	25.0	26.2	26.9	28.8	29.9	31.7	33.0	34.7	35.7	35.4	38.9	38.6	39.2	39.0	37.9	34.0	27.2
25 - 29	30.7	31.0	35.3	37.5	38.0	40.4	41.7	42.3	44.2	45.1	46.7	47.2	49.4	50.7	50.6	52.3	52.6	51.9	50.8	50.4	48.8	43.0
30 - 34	23.4	24.3	27.0	28.2	27.6	28.0	29.1	30.3	32.8	33.2	34.0	33.8	32.3	32.0	31.6	31.1	31.1	30.5	29.4	29.3	29.2	26.0
35 - 39	11.4	12.3	13.4	13.7	13.7	14.2	14.4	14.3	14.6	14.9	14.3	14.7	14.3	14.6	13.7	13.6	12.9	12.5	11.4	11.3	10.8	10.3
40 - 44	2.3	2.7	2.8	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.4
Fourth order																						
15 - 19	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
20 - 24	7.4	7.5	7.9	8.0	8.5	9.1	9.7	10.7	11.5	11.7	12.2	12.8	13.6	14.0	14.3	15.1	15.2	15.8	16.4	15.6	13.0	10.4
25 - 29	18.9	19.2	20.7	21.7	22.3	22.7	23.8	24.1	26.1	26.7	27.7	28.6	29.6	31.1	31.7	32.6	33.1	33.4	33.1	32.3	30.5	26.1
30 - 34	16.8	16.8	18.4	19.1	19.1	19.8	20.2	21.7	23.6	24.7	25.5	25.7	25.7	25.5	25.7	26.4	26.3	26.1	26.0	25.2	24.9	22.0
35 - 39	9.8	10.6	10.8	11.5	11.2	11.7	12.1	12.4	12.8	13.1	13.5	14.1	14.3	14.5	13.8	14.3	13.5	13.1	12.6	12.2	12.0	11.1
40 - 44	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.9	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.2	2.9

See notes at end of table.

Appendix Table 3.2

Fertility Rate per 1,000 Women by Birth Order and Age Group, Canada, 1944-1986 (concluded)

Birth Order	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
First order																					
15 - 19	38.3	36.6	35.5	35.1	36.1	33.0	31.9	31.2	29.4	28.4	26.4	26.4	24.6	23.1	23.1	22.2	21.6	20.5	20.0	19.3	19.0
20 - 24	82.0	82.1	80.2	77.7	75.9	71.2	65.8	64.1	62.9	60.7	57.9	60.5	58.9	57.8	57.6	56.4	54.6	53.5	51.0	48.9	48.3
25 - 29	35.6	37.1	38.6	40.7	42.0	43.1	43.6	45.7	46.9	45.3	44.4	48.9	49.1	50.4	51.5	50.9	50.0	50.0	50.3	50.4	49.7
30 - 34	10.6	10.7	10.8	11.1	11.4	11.5	12.1	12.4	13.4	13.0	13.2	14.6	15.5	16.0	16.6	17.1	17.3	18.5	19.3	19.9	20.0
35 - 39	3.8	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.8	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.8
40 - 44	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6
Second order																					
15 - 19	8.4	7.4	6.7	6.5	6.2	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.0	4.6	4.3	4.1	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.3
20 - 24	54.7	52.2	49.7	49.0	47.5	45.2	42.7	41.1	39.3	38.2	36.9	36.4	35.0	33.7	32.8	30.9	29.4	28.8	28.4	27.4	26.1
25 - 29	48.9	47.6	49.3	50.5	50.7	50.4	50.4	52.1	53.2	52.2	51.4	52.1	51.6	52.2	51.1	50.1	47.6	47.5	48.7	48.6	48.1
30 - 34	19.0	17.9	18.1	18.4	18.8	19.0	19.9	20.7	22.5	22.2	23.0	25.0	25.6	26.6	27.0	26.4	26.0	26.9	28.3	29.1	29.6
35 - 39	6.6	6.1	5.6	5.5	5.2	5.1	4.8	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.4	5.2	5.6	5.8	6.0	6.0	6.2	6.9	7.1	7.4
40 - 44	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8
Third order																					
15 - 19	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
20 - 24	21.6	18.6	16.2	15.2	14.8	13.5	11.5	10.4	9.5	9.5	9.1	8.9	8.4	8.4	8.1	7.7	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.9	6.7
25 - 29	37.4	33.7	32.2	32.2	31.5	28.9	25.2	23.2	22.5	22.4	21.3	21.4	20.5	21.5	20.3	19.5	18.9	18.5	18.4	18.2	17.9
30 - 34	23.0	20.9	20.2	20.6	20.4	19.3	17.8	16.7	16.5	16.1	16.1	16.8	16.6	17.4	17.0	16.3	15.7	15.8	16.4	16.4	16.4
35 - 39	9.6	8.4	7.8	7.6	6.9	6.2	5.6	5.2	4.9	4.7	4.7	4.9	4.6	4.8	5.0	4.8	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.4	5.5
40 - 44	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7
Fourth order																					
15 - 19	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 24	7.5	6.1	4.9	4.4	3.9	3.6	2.8	2.3	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3
25 - 29	21.0	17.7	15.5	14.8	13.2	11.9	9.3	7.6	6.8	6.4	5.6	5.3	5.1	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.5
30 - 34	18.7	16.4	15.1	14.5	13.6	12.2	10.6	8.8	7.9	7.3	6.6	6.3	6.0	6.0	5.7	5.4	5.4	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3
35 - 39	9.7	8.8	7.6	7.5	6.9	5.8	4.8	4.3	3.6	3.3	3.1	3.0	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5
40 - 44	2.5	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5

Note: Excludes Newfoundland.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Cat. 84-204, various years.
Romaniuc, A., *Fertility in Canada from Baby-boom to Baby-bust* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Cat. 91-524, 1984), Appendix Table 2.3.

Appendix Table 4.1

Labour Force Participation Rates by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1951-1986[1]

Age Group	Male						Female					
	1951	1961	1971	1976	1981	1986	1951	1961	1971	1976	1981	1986
15-19	58.6	41.4	46.6	52.3	48.6	48.4	37.8	32.4	37.0	43.5	44.5	45.6
20-24	92.4	87.2	86.5	85.3	90.9	90.1	46.9	49.5	62.8	67.0	77.2	80.9
25-34	96.4	94.1	92.6	91.2	95.3	94.8	24.2	29.6	44.5	53.5	65.8	73.7
35-44	96.7	94.3	92.8	91.9	95.2	95.0	21.8	31.1	43.9	53.2	64.3	72.2
45-54	94.5	91.9	90.3	89.3	92.3	91.7	20.4	33.4	44.4	48.8	55.9	62.7
55-64	85.7	81.9	80.1	76.2	77.4	71.2	14.5	24.4	34.4	33.6	35.7	36.2
65 and over	38.6	28.4	23.6	19.2	17.3	14.6	5.1	6.7	8.3	6.9	6.0	4.7
15 and over	84.0	78.1	76.4	75.6	78.2	77.5	24.1	29.7	39.9	44.8	51.8	55.9

[1] Universe was redefined in 1971. Figures for 1951 and 1961 were computed based on the 1971 definition.

Source: *1971 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 94-702, Table 2.
1976 Census of Canada, Catalogue 94-804, Table 9.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-915, Table 1.
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Appendix Table 5.1

Number and Average Size of Households and Families, Canada, 1851-1986

Census Year	Number of households	Number of families	Persons per household	Persons per family	Children 0-24 per family
1851[1]	374,491	..	6.2	..	..
1861	491,687	..	6.3	..	..
1871	622,719	..	5.6	..	..
1881	800,410	812,136	5.3	..	..
1891	900,080	921,643	5.3	..	..
1901	1,058,564	1,070,747	5.0	..	..
1911	1,482,980	1,488,353	4.8	..	..
1921	1,897,127	2,001,512	4.6	..	..
1931	2,252,729	2,419,360	4.4	4.3	..
1941[2]	2,575,744	2,525,299	4.3	3.9	1.9
1951	3,409,284	3,287,384	4.0	3.7	1.7
1956	3,923,646	3,711,500	3.9	3.8	1.8
1961	4,554,736	4,147,444	3.9	3.9	1.9
1966	5,180,473	4,526,266	3.7	3.9	1.9
1971	6,041,302	5,070,682	3.5	3.7	1.7
1976	7,166,095	5,727,895	3.1	3.5	1.5
1981	8,281,530	6,324,975	2.9	3.3	1.4
1986	8,991,670	6,734,975	2.8	3.1	1.3

[1] Includes private and collective households from 1851 to 1921 and private households only from 1931 to 1986.

[2] Excludes Newfoundland, the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories in 1941 and earlier years.

Source: Basavarajappa, K.G. and B. Ram, "Population and Migration" Series A248-253 and A254-259 in *Historical Statistics of Canada* 2nd Edition (F.H. Leacy, Editor), Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983; Pelletier, A.J., F.D. Thompson and A. Rochon, *The Canadian Family* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1938) Table II; *1981 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 92-904, Table 3, Catalogue 92-905, Table 1 and unpublished tabulation; Wargon, Sylvia T., *Children in Canadian Families* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada), Table 1. *1986 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-104, Table 5 and Catalogue 93-106, Table 1 and Table 3.

Appendix Table 5.2

Number ('000) of Census Families by Type, Canada, 1931-1986

Year	Census families	Husband-wife families	Lone-parent families	Sex of lone parent	
				Male	Female
1931	2,149.0	1,857.1	291.9	..	..
1941	2,509.7	2,202.7	307.0	80.7	226.3
1951	3,287.4	2,961.7	325.7	74.8	250.9
1956	3,711.5	3,393.1	318.4	75.0	243.5
1961	4,147.4	3,800.0	347.4	75.2	272.2
1966	4,526.3	4,154.4	371.9	71.5	300.4
1971	5,070.7	4,591.9	478.7	100.7	378.1
1976	5,727.9	5,168.6	559.3	95.0	464.3
1981	6,325.0	5,611.0	714.0	124.2	589.8
1986	6,735.0	5,881.3	853.6	151.7	701.9

Source: Wargon, Sylvia T., *Canadian Households and Families: Recent Demographic Trends* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1979), Tables 4.5 and 4.6; *Children in Canadian Families* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1979), Tables 12 and 13.
1931 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 88.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-905, Vol. 1, Table 5.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-106, Part 1, Table 4.

Appendix Table 5.3

Percentage Distribution of Lone Parents by Marital Status, Canada, 1951-1986

Marital Status	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Separated[1]	28.9	26.5	31.3	30.1	33.7	31.4	31.3	29.6
Widowed	66.5	68.1	61.5	61.0	46.5	41.2	32.7	27.0
Divorced	3.1	3.9	4.5	5.9	12.1	20.5	26.2	29.9
Single	1.5	1.5	2.7	2.9	7.7	7.0	9.8	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	325.7	318.4	347.4	371.9	478.7	559.3	714.0	853.6

[1] Includes the category "married, spouse absent".

Source: Wargon, Sylvia T., *Canadian Households and Families: Recent Demographic Trends* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1979), Tables 4.5 and 4.6; *Children in Canadian Families* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1979), Tables 12 and 13.
1931 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 88.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-905, Vol. 1, Table 5.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-106, Part 1, Table 6.

Appendix Table 6.1

Marriage Rate and Percent Single, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Marriage rate (per 1000) single women			
Newfoundland	100.5	107.9	71.1	60.1
Prince Edward Island	76.3	93.8	69.5	76.7
Nova Scotia	93.4	99.7	80.4	74.7
New Brunswick	96.3	106.0	76.3	72.4
Quebec	69.4	75.0	57.4	47.3
Ontario	106.7	110.7	86.3	81.2
Manitoba	100.6	110.3	84.6	78.7
Saskatchewan	105.5	110.0	90.0	81.7
Alberta	135.0	129.8	112.9	92.9
British Columbia	112.2	124.5	104.5	86.9
Yukon	172.0	142.5	115.5	85.5
Northwest Territories	104.7	97.5	66.6	49.1
Canada	**93.1**	**100.0**	**80.7**	**71.9**
	Percent single women aged 30-34			
Newfoundland	8.6	7.5	7.2	9.6
Prince Edward Island	11.2	8.5	9.1	13.1
Nova Scotia	10.9	7.9	9.4	12.0
New Brunswick	11.1	8.7	8.8	11.1
Quebec	15.3	13.1	13.2	16.3
Ontario	8.3	7.7	9.9	12.8
Manitoba	9.5	8.5	10.7	12.6
Saskatchewan	8.5	6.5	8.1	10.4
Alberta	7.1	5.9	7.8	10.9
British Columbia	8.4	6.7	9.9	13.3
Yukon	10.9	9.1	10.3	14.1
Northwest Territories	10.5	12.4	13.0	14.6
Canada	**10.5**	**9.1**	**10.5**	**13.3**

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 92-552.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-730.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-901.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-101.
Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-205, various years.

Appendix Table 6.2

Divorce Rate, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Divorce rate per 1000 married women			
Newfoundland	0.1	1.4	4.5	4.6
Prince Edward Island	0.4	2.6	6.6	6.4
Nova Scotia	1.6	4.2	11.3	12.0
New Brunswick	1.6	3.6	8.1	9.8
Quebec	0.3	4.0	12.4	11.5
Ontario	1.9	6.7	10.0	12.3
Manitoba	1.5	6.1	9.6	11.2
Saskatchewan	1.2	3.9	8.2	9.7
Alberta	3.5	9.9	15.6	16.2
British Columbia	3.6	9.5	13.6	12.9
Yukon	8.4	7.1	9.8	16.3
Northwest Territories	-	4.0	7.4	9.2
Canada	**1.6**	**6.1**	**11.3**	**12.4**

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-205, various years.

Appendix Table 6.3

Total Fertility Rate, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Total fertility rate			
Newfoundland[1]	..	1.82[1]	1.70[1]	1.64[1]
Prince Edward Island	4.88	2.91	1.91	1.84
Nova Scotia	4.16	2.50	1.64	1.62
New Brunswick	4.54	2.67	1.71	1.59
Quebec	3.70	1.88	1.61	1.43
Ontario	3.74	2.22	1.63	1.68
Manitoba	3.94	2.54	1.86	1.89
Saskatchewan	4.22	2.69	2.14	2.09
Alberta	4.27	2.43	1.94	1.93
British Columbia	3.78	2.13	1.71	1.72
Yukon	5.38	3.23	2.14	2.04
Northwest Territories	7.19	4.76	3.00	3.01
Canada	**3.84**	**2.19**	**1.70**	**1.67**
	Percent of women aged 15-44, who are childless			
Newfoundland[1]	9.8	12.0	12.2	..
Prince Edward Island	11.5	13.2	15.0	..
Nova Scotia	11.2	15.2	18.8	..
New Brunswick	10.8	14.9	16.9	..
Quebec	13.2	18.5	24.1	..
Ontario	14.1	18.7	22.3	..
Manitoba	12.8	18.5	21.7	..
Saskatchewan	11.1	15.2	18.9	..
Alberta	12.4	17.6	25.6	..
British Columbia	13.4	19.2	25.0	..
Yukon		21.0	28.4	..
Northwest Territories	14.1	16.1	19.4	..
Canada	**13.1**	**18.1**	**22.7**	..

[1] Estimated by Demography Division, Statistics Canada.

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 98-507.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-718.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-906.
Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-204, various years.

Appendix Table 6.4

Fertility Rate of Single Women, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Birth to single women per 1000 single women aged 15-44			
Newfoundland[1]	22.2	30.9	..	..
Prince Edward Island	20.8	20.2	25.4	27.8
Nova Scotia	28.7	28.8	25.9	28.6
New Brunswick	18.9	23.8	27.8	31.7
Quebec	11.4	12.8	22.2	36.7
Ontario	16.3	15.7	15.5	20.1
Manitoba	27.0	33.0	32.0	36.1
Saskatchewan	27.3	35.9	42.2	50.4
Alberta	34.5	33.0	28.9	35.6
British Columbia	32.4	29.3	25.6	29.2
Yukon	136.4	111.6	70.6	69.9
Northwest Territories	110.1	114.8	118.7	147.4
Canada	**18.7**	**19.9**	**22.4**	**29.0**

[1] Figures for 1981 and 1986 are not available.

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 98-507.
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-718.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-906.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-101.
Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, Catalogue 84-204, various years.

Appendix Table 6.5

Labour Force Participation Rate of Married (Husband Present) Women, 15 Years and Over, with Children Below Age 6, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1971	1976	1981	1986
	All married women			
Newfoundland	21.0	29.3	43.1	52.0
Prince Edward Island	37.7	45.6	51.9	59.8
Nova Scotia	30.5	36.7	46.0	52.1
New Brunswick	31.4	37.9	45.8	52.8
Quebec	27.7	38.2	47.2	52.9
Ontario	42.3	47.3	55.6	60.2
Manitoba	39.9	45.6	52.0	58.5
Saskatchewan	39.2	47.9	49.0	58.0
Alberta	42.3	48.6	56.3	63.6
British Columbia	36.2	42.4	51.0	55.2
Yukon	42.9	54.0	65.7	71.1
Northwest Territories	31.1	46.6	56.0	63.2
Canada	**36.3**	**43.3**	**51.6**	**57.3**
	Married women with children under age 6			
Newfoundland	16.7	26.4	46.6	60.4
Prince Edward Island	32.5	43.7	55.3	69.9
Nova Scotia	22.9	32.2	46.3	57.5
New Brunswick	24.5	33.2	45.5	59.6
Quebec	21.5	32.1	44.9	58.0
Ontario	32.1	39.7	53.1	62.1
Manitoba	28.4	36.7	47.3	58.9
Saskatchewan	31.4	40.4	43.9	59.2
Alberta	31.2	36.9	44.1	58.8
British Columbia	24.5	33.2	43.6	55.8
Yukon	28.5	39.5	49.7	61.9
Northwest Territories	21.8	37.3	45.6	54.3
Canada	**27.1**	**35.8**	**47.7**	**59.5**

Source: Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada, unpublished tabulation.

Appendix Table 6.6

Percentage Households with Persons Living Alone, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Percent one person households			
Newfoundland	4.4	5.8	9.2	10.2
Prince Edward Island	8.9	11.4	16.6	17.6
Nova Scotia	8.6	11.4	6.8	18.6
New Brunswick	7.4	10.3	15.3	16.5
Quebec	7.0	12.0	19.6	21.7
Ontario	9.1	13.2	20.6	21.1
Manitoba	10.2	15.3	23.3	24.0
Saskatchewan	12.8	16.6	22.4	23.4
Alberta	12.0	14.9	19.4	21.4
British Columbia	13.5	17.1	23.5	24.8
Yukon			19.6	21.6
Northwest Territories	11.9	14.6	16.8	16.6
Canada	**9.3**	**13.4**	**20.3**	**21.5**

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Bulletin 2.1 (Vol. II - Part I).
1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-707.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-904.
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-104.

Appendix Table 6.7

Average Household and Family Size, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Average number of persons per household			
Newfoundland	5.0	4.6	3.8	3.5
Prince Edward Island	4.2	3.9	3.2	3.0
Nova Scotia	4.0	3.7	3.0	2.9
New Brunswick	4.4	3.9	3.2	3.0
Quebec	4.2	3.7	2.9	2.7
Ontario	3.7	3.4	2.8	2.8
Manitoba	3.7	3.3	2.8	2.7
Saskatchewan	3.6	3.3	2.8	2.8
Alberta	3.7	3.4	2.9	2.8
British Columbia	3.4	3.2	2.7	2.6
Yukon			2.9	2.8
Northwest Territories	4.2	4.0	3.8	3.7
Canada	**3.9**	**3.5**	**2.9**	**2.8**
	Average number of persons per family			
Newfoundland	4.7	4.4	3.8	3.6
Prince Edward Island	4.2	4.0	3.5	3.4
Nova Scotia	4.0	3.8	3.3	3.2
New Brunswick	4.3	4.0	3.4	3.3
Quebec	4.2	3.9	3.3	3.1
Ontario	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.1
Manitoba	3.7	3.6	3.2	3.2
Saskatchewan	3.8	3.7	3.3	3.2
Alberta	3.8	3.7	3.3	3.2
British Columbia	3.6	3.5	3.1	3.0
Yukon	4.0	3.8	3.3	3.2
Northwest Territories	4.5	4.7	4.0	3.9
Canada	**3.9**	**3.7**	**3.3**	**3.2**

Source: *1986 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-104.

Appendix Table 6.8

Husband-wife and Lone-parent Families, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Province/Territory	1961	1971	1981	1986
	Percent husband-wife families			
Newfoundland	90.6	91.0	90.0	88.9
Prince Edward Island	89.2	89.8	87.9	87.4
Nova Scotia	89.1	89.4	87.9	86.8
New Brunswick	90.6	90.1	87.8	86.7
Quebec	91.3	89.8	87.5	85.6
Ontario	92.1	91.1	89.0	88.1
Manitoba	91.3	90.4	88.8	87.8
Saskatchewan	91.9	91.4	90.4	88.9
Alberta	92.4	91.0	89.9	88.2
British Columbia	91.7	90.6	89.2	87.5
Yukon			87.6	85.1
Northwest Territories	89.7	88.8	86.7	83.7
Canada	**91.6**	**90.6**	**88.7**	**87.3**
	Percent lone-parent families			
Newfoundland	9.4	9.0	10.0	11.1
Prince Edward Island	10.8	10.2	12.1	12.6
Nova Scotia	10.9	10.6	12.1	13.2
New Brunswick	9.4	9.9	12.2	13.3
Quebec	8.7	10.2	12.5	14.4
Ontario	7.9	8.9	11.0	11.9
Manitoba	8.7	9.6	11.2	12.2
Saskatchewan	8.1	8.6	9.6	11.1
Alberta	7.6	9.0	10.1	11.8
British Columbia	8.3	9.4	10.8	12.5
Yukon			12.4	14.9
Northwest Territories	10.3	11.2	13.3	16.3
Canada	**8.4**	**9.4**	**11.3**	**12.7**

Sources: *1961 Census of Canada*, Bulletin 2.1 (Vol. II - Part I).
1986 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-106.
Wargon, Sylvia T., *Children in Canadian Families* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1979), Catalogue 98-810.

Appendix Table 6.9

Common-law Couples as a Percentage of Husband-wife Families, Canada, Provinces and the Territories, 1981[1] and 1986

Province/Territory	1981	1986
	Common-law couples as a percent of husband-wife families	
Newfoundland	2.1	4.0
Prince Edward Island	3.2	4.7
Nova Scotia	4.8	6.6
New Brunswick	4.2	5.9
Quebec	8.2	12.6
Ontario	5.0	6.3
Manitoba	5.1	6.3
Saskatchewan	4.3	5.9
Alberta	7.7	8.3
British Columbia	7.8	8.5
Yukon	16.5	19.8
Northwest Territories	12.6	16.9
Canada	**6.3**	**8.3**

[1] Figures for previous years are not available.

Source: *1986 Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-106.

Statistics Canada
Statistique Canada

Family building in a solitary society... Headed for extinction or here to stay? Why the decrease and delay in formation? Do divorce and childlessness endanger it?

Some segments of the family cycle are lengthening and others shortening... With affluence, the attraction of solo living... and the elderly are more independent than ever.

Two children, two pay cheques, a dream? a norm?... but what about day-care?

Is the family so different in Canada?