

CANADIAN

# SOCIAL TRENDS

INSIDE:

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- modern living
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## The new family

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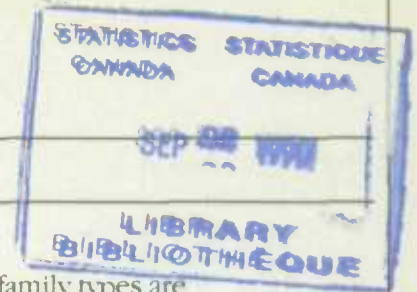
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Mureen More

# SOCIAL TRENDS



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Cover: *Two Girls Reading*, Wm. Brymner, watercolour on linen, 40 1/2 X 29 1/4 in., 1898, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

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# SOCIAL TRENDS

**T**his introductory issue of **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** begins a quarterly discussion of social trends and conditions in Canada.

This continuing series is based on the recognition by Statistics Canada that a large number of Canadians — in business, labour, government, education and the media — require factual information about the direction and scope of social change so characteristic of Canadian society. Statistics Canada derives a rich base of information about social conditions in Canada from a variety of administrative and monitoring activities; this publication will highlight the most significant of these data and attempt to make evident the continuing and possibly emerging trends contained therein. **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will also serve as a vehicle to inform its readers of other information sources and services available from Statistics Canada and how these can be obtained.

**CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will have several important characteristics.

- It will be **TOPICAL**. **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will focus on many current social issues, problems and policies by providing the latest available information on these topics.
- **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will be **COMPREHENSIVE**. Articles will cover the whole spectrum of social concerns including for example, demography, labour force, income and social security, as well as the societal systems of health, education, and justice.
- **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will be **SELECTIVE**. The publication provides an ongoing trend monitoring activity which integrates data from a variety of sources to illuminate the most significant social changes affecting Canadians.
- **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will be **ANALYTICAL**. Items will feature discussion by Statistics Canada analysts regarding the nature and implications of reported trends, and

## Editor's Note

where possible and appropriate, projections will be provided.

The findings and reports in **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS**, though authoritative, will be presented in non-technical language. Definitions and footnotes will be kept to a minimum, and graphic and tabular exhibits will be attractive and easy to understand.

## In this Issue

This issue of **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** features four principal articles. The first discusses the evolution of Canadian family life over the last several decades in terms of the changing roles within families, particularly in response to the growing labour force participation of wives and mothers. As well, the growth of lone-parent families and families formed through remarriage, and the increasing tendency for Canadians to live alone are also highlighted. The article "Changing Health Risks" describes the emergence of environmentally related conditions as the primary threat to the health of Canadians. The dramatic growth in new home entertainment technology and equipment and its impact on our culture and lifestyle are documented in "Expanding the Choices."

The last of our features deals with the changing legal profession. This particular type of change is highlighted here, not because it constitutes a major social trend, but because it provides an example of the stresses and responses which occur in a particular group — in this case lawyers — as Canadian society evolves. Over time, **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will highlight the changing characteristics of a variety of societal groups of general interest.

**CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** also features shorter trend reports which focus on single, major strands of change. In this issue we examine the growth of family based daycare, the increase in births outside of mar-

riage, the potential population decline that may be just a generation away, the numbers of foreign students in Canadian universities, and the movement by some Canadians to secure private education for their children.

Lastly, **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** provides a list of leading social indicators. These will be published in every issue with the latest updates to permit readers to track developments in these key series.

Future issues of **CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS** will provide description and analysis of trends related to:

- the part-time work explosion
- violent and property crime rates
- the economic and social situation of Canada's immigrants
- changing family income
- impaired driving
- Canada's pension plans
- educational attainment
- the costs of health care
- linguistic and ethnic diversity
- internal migration patterns

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# CANADA IN THE 21st CENTURY

**W**hile Canada's population has more than doubled over the last forty years (from 12 million to 25 million), the annual rate of population growth has declined steadily — from 3% in 1957, the height of the baby boom, to 1% in the 1980's. If the present trends of low fertility and low net migration continue, Canada's population will begin to decrease very early in the next century.

Should fertility continue to fall to an average of, for example, 1.4 births per women (it was estimated at about 1.6 and falling to 1.086)

and if net migration climbs from its 1983 level of about 40,000 to a continuing 50,000, the population of Canada would peak at just over 28 million by 2011. Thereafter, the number of Canadians would begin to decline. Should the fertility rate decline below 1.4 and should immigration not rise, the onset of the decline would take place several years earlier.

For the past 15 years the Canadian birth rate has been below the replacement level of 2.1 births per woman in her lifetime. Declining

fertility rates stem partly from fewer and later marriages, and from delay and diminished childbearing, possibly due to attitudinal shifts among young adults about marriage, family formation and career planning. Furthermore, economic and social pressures have been moving women out of the home and into the work-force. It is unlikely that the recent decrease in fertility related simply to an economic downturn; generally it is believed to be characteristic of modernized societies.

A concern with low fertility shared throughout the developed world



In Western Europe a number of governments have been monitoring population trends but few have proclaimed explicit policies to stimulate fertility. Concern is not limited to western countries, however. Many East European nations, also concerned with declining fertility rates, have implemented policies to increase birth rates. These policies, ranging from severe restrictions on abortion to generous family allowances and

maternity leave, have only ever temporarily arrested the decline in national fertility rates.

### The Engines of Population Growth

Population growth results from two things: natural increase (the surplus of births over deaths) and net migration (immigration minus emigration). In Canada, natural increase is the most important component of population

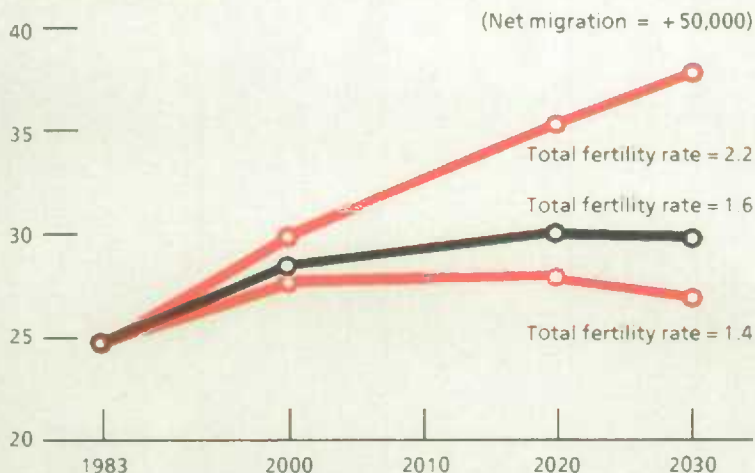
growth, accounting for 75% of the increase in population from 1945 to 1983.

Despite a declining fertility rate, natural increase has continued. The arrival of large numbers of women (born during the baby boom) at child-bearing age has kept the actual number of births high; as well, the death rate has continued to decline. The death rate in 1983 was 700 per 100,000 population, twenty years earlier it was 760 per 100,000. Both the increase in life expectancy and the decrease in infant mortality can be linked to better health education, to public health measures such as early childhood inoculation and to advances in medical care.

As the population ages the number of births will begin to fall and the number of deaths will increase. Barring changes in the fertility rate, natural increase will continue to slow and it is the immigration level, regulated largely in accordance with policy and employment prospects for immigrants to Canada, which will likely be the dominant factor influencing the size of Canada's population in the next century. In 1983 net migration to Canada was 40,000. According to Statistics Canada projections, if the fertility rate remains at the current level, Canada's population would still begin to decline in the 21st century, even with net migration of 100,000 per year. At present levels of immigration, the onset of a decline in Canada's population is about twenty-five years away, just as the leading edge of the baby boom nears retirement.

#### Projected Canadian Population Change, 1983-2030

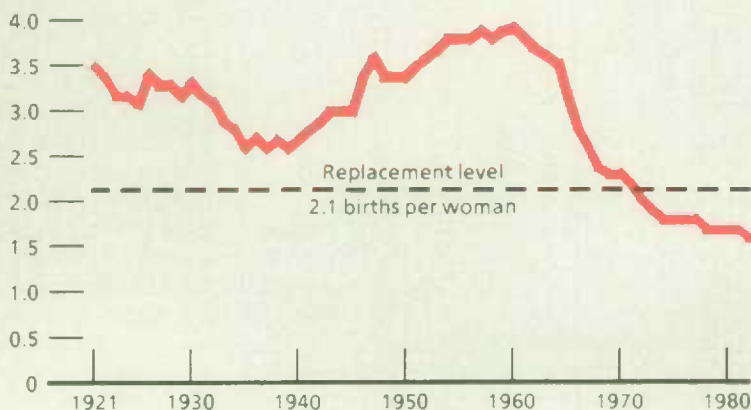
Population in millions



Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division.

#### Total Fertility Rate,\* 1921-1983

Births per woman



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-204, *Vital Statistics, Volume 1, Births and Deaths*.

\*Total Fertility Rate = The number of births per woman over her lifetime.

### The New Immigrant

Future immigration decisions will not only impact on the size of Canada's population but will also affect the ethnic and racial character of the nation. Immigration to Canada has changed dramatically in the last 15 years — from almost 65% European in 1968-1969 to 35% in 1981-1982. During that same period immigration from Asian countries rose from 1% to almost 40%. Immigrants are now also more likely to be students, or professionals and semi-professionals destined for the labour force. A future article in CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS will examine how immigrants fare in this country.



Observers disagree about the implications of a declining population. Some feel that national economic life would suffer from shrinking domestic markets and from a reduced workforce. Others look forward to less crowding and the potential for increased automation and productivity

and the challenges of developing higher levels of domestic consumption and exports to maintain demand. Still others wonder how Canada will deal with pressures from Third World countries where growing millions seek refuge from overcrowded homelands and political or religious intolerance.

### Fertility Rates in Selected Industrial Countries, 1945-1983

Canada's fertility rate (the number of births per woman in her lifetime) has dropped to unprecedented lows — but so too have the rates in other industrial countries.

Number of births per woman in her lifetime:

	Canada	U.S.	Japan	Germany (F.R.G.)	U.K.	Denmark	U.S.S.R.	Poland
1945	3.00	2.48	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950	3.37	3.02	3.64	2.10	2.19	2.58	-	-
1955	3.75	3.52	2.36	2.14	2.22	2.58	-	-
1960	3.81	3.64	2.01	2.37	2.67	2.54	-	2.98
1965	3.11	2.93	2.14	2.51	2.81	2.60	-	2.52
1970	2.26	2.46	2.07	2.02	2.38	1.97	2.47	2.20
1975	1.82	1.80	1.93	1.45	1.79	1.93	2.41	2.27
1980	1.75	1.87	1.74	1.45	1.90	1.55	2.26	2.25
1981	1.70	1.82	-	1.44	1.82	1.43	-	2.22
1982	1.69	1.81	-	1.41	-	-	-	2.30
1983	1.68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 91-524, *Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust*.

## KEEPING TRACK

*Quebec had the lowest marriage rate of the 10 provinces in 1984 with 5.7 marriages per 1,000 population. The highest rates were in Alberta (8.5) and P.E.I. (8.4). For Canada as a whole the marriage rate was 7.4, unchanged from 1983.*



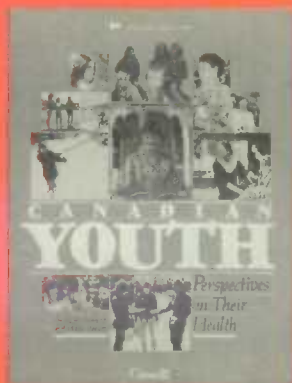
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# CANADIAN YOUTH

*Perspectives on Their Health*

Only 23% of Canadian males aged 15-19 were smokers in 1981 — a sharp drop from 35% in 1966. Conversely, 23% of females of the same age group smoked in 1981 — up from 20% in 1966.

CANADIAN YOUTH: PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR HEALTH examines recent trends in smoking habits and many other aspects of the health status and lifestyles of Canada's youth.



In 91 pages, this report covers: A profile of Canadian Youth — their numbers and life expectancy; Lifestyle — consumption of alcohol and tobacco, exercise, and use of seatbelts; Sexuality — contraception, abortions,

and births. Health Status — fitness, illness, mortality, and mental health.

CANADIAN YOUTH: PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR HEALTH will be useful to anyone interested in the social and health status of Canadians aged 15 to 24. To order, please use the coupon at the back of this publication

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# FAMILIES: DIVERS





# ITY THE NEW NORM



by Mary Anne Burke

*Families live on, but family structures are changing.*

The family in Canada has been changing over the post-war period in both size and composition. Not only are families smaller, but lone-parent families, reconstituted families and multiple-earner families are growing as a proportion of all families. In addition, an increasing number of people are living alone. The implications of these changes are wide-ranging—in social, economic and legal terms. The overview presented below of the changing size and variation of domestic groupings sets the stage for future issues of CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS to examine these implications in detail and to present the market and social profiles of these groups.

## Family Size Declining

Families have been getting smaller since the mid-1960's. As the fertility rate in Canada declined, so did average family size — from 3.9 persons in 1966 to 3.2 persons in 1982. The crude birth rate (births per 1,000 population) has dropped from 27.5 in 1959 to 15.0 in 1984.

Not only are families having fewer children, but childlessness among young married women has been increasing. In 1981, 54% of ever-married women aged 20-24 were childless, compared with 42% in 1971 and 26% in 1961. Similarly, the proportion of childless ever-married women aged 25-29 increased from 14% in 1961, to 21% in 1971 and to 30% in 1981. Among those aged 30-34, the proportion of childless women increased from 9% in 1971 to 14% in 1981.

These trends are difficult to interpret. They do not necessarily indicate a tendency toward voluntary childlessness, anymore than they

reflect simply the postponement of fertility, possibly for the sake of further education or careers. Young couples who are currently childless may still have children in the future, at least up to a certain age. The recent small increase in the fertility rate for women 35-39 indicates that for some this is the case. For others, fertility may be postponed to the point where having children is either too risk-laden or impossible. The long-term trend of this state among families has been erratic, with very high levels of childlessness also occurring during the 1930's.

## Lone-parent Families Increasing

In 1981, lone-parent families numbered 713,820 or 11% of all Canadian families. Approximately 85% of lone-parent families are now headed by a woman, and approximately 50% of these female-headed families have incomes below Statistics Canada's Low-income cut-offs. (These are Statistics Canada's estimates of dollar income figures below which a family or individual is classified as having a low income.)

Marriage breakdown has replaced widowhood as the most important cause of lone-parenthood. In 1981, 58% of lone-parent families were the result of marriage breakdown, and 33% the result of widowhood, compared with 25% through marriage breakdown and 73% through widowhood in 1941. The proportion of lone-parent families headed by never-married parents increased from 2% to 10% over the same forty-year period.

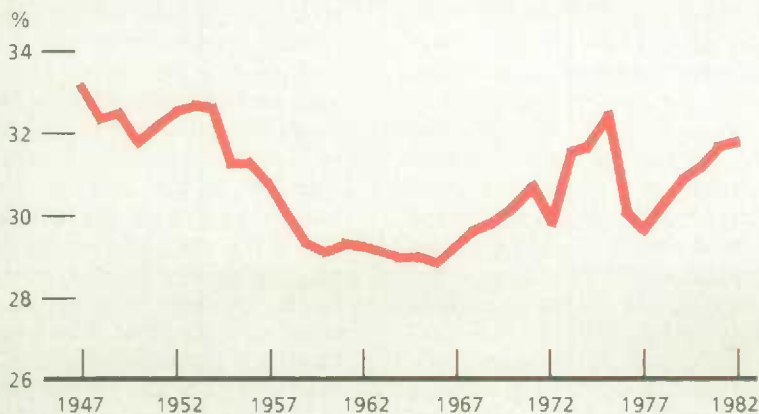
When a marriage ends, dependent children are awarded to their mothers by the courts in three out of

four cases. In fact, the proportion of cases in which the mother was awarded custody increased from 73% in 1970 to 77% in 1982. The number of dependent children involved annually in divorce increased from 20,000 in 1969 to 68,600 in 1983, and is a major contributor to the growing number of children in lone-parent families.

Over the period 1977 to 1982, the number of children under age 18 in

lone-parent families increased from 701,100 to 761,000, or from 10% to 12% of all Canadian children. The majority of lone-parent children are aged 6 to 14, but the number of preschoolers is growing. Again, from 1977 to 1982, the number of children under age six living in lone-parent families increased from 144,900 to 191,200, or from 22% to 25% of all children in lone-parent families.

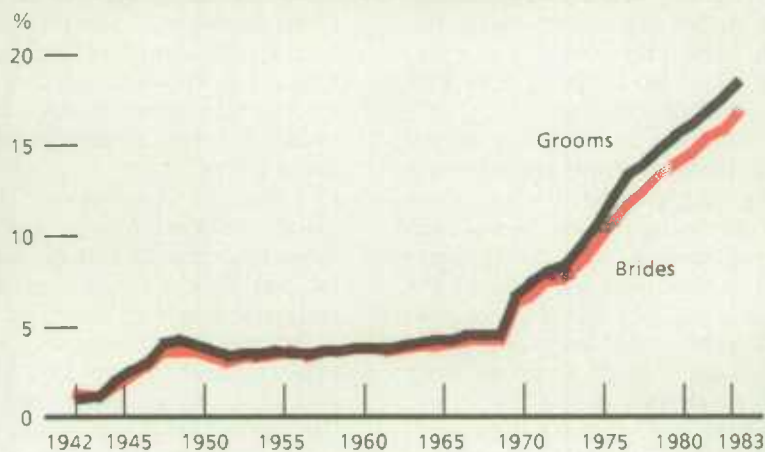
**Childless Families\* as a Percentage of All Families, 1947-1982**



Source: Statistics Canada, Revised Intercensal Estimates, Demography Division; and Catalogue No. 91-204, *Estimates of Families for Canada and the Provinces*.

\* Includes empty-nest families.

**Remarriages\* as a Percentage of All Marriages, 1942-1983**



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-205, *Vital Statistics, Volume II, Marriages and Divorces*.

\* Includes remarriages of divorced persons only, not remarriages of widows or widowers.

## The Wave of Remarriages

An increasing proportion of marriages are remarriages (the bride and/or groom have been married before). In 1983, 17% of brides and 19% of grooms were previously divorced, compared with 4% of both in 1962, and 1% of both in 1942.

The percentage of brides and grooms previously widowed has remained relatively constant, currently accounting for 3% of each. Other brides or grooms may have previously been involved in common-law unions and may bring children with them into the new relationship. In 1981, 6% of all census families were common-law unions, but no comparable data exist on past common-law living arrangements.

With more Canadian families resulting from second or subsequent marriages, a growing number of children are living with one biological parent and seeing the other, if at all, in a different family setting.

## More Multiple-earner Families

In 1981, 60% of all Canadian economic families had two or more wage-

## Family Definitions

### Economic Family:

Refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption. Persons living common-law are considered, for census purposes, as now married regardless of their legal marital status; they accordingly are counted as married couples in the economic family figures.

### Census Family:

Refers to a husband and a wife (with or without children who have never married, regardless of age), or a lone parent of any marital status, with one or more children (who have never married, regardless of age), living in the same dwelling. For census purposes, persons living in a common-law type of arrangement are considered as now married, regardless of their legal marital status; they accordingly are counted as a husband-wife family in the census family figures.



earners. That figure is nearly double the 1951 figure of 33%. In most of these multiple-earner families, both the husband and wife were employed. In addition, many of these new multiple-earner families have young children as is evidenced by the labour force participation rate for women with children under three years of age which rose from 31% in 1975 to 52% in 1984.

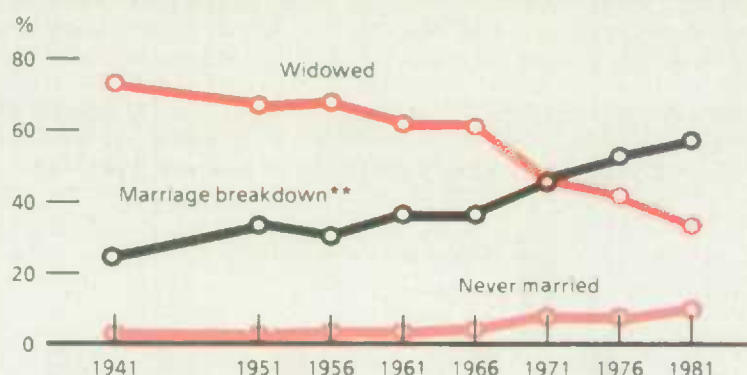
The contribution of wives' income to total family income increased by almost 60%, from 14.7% in 1971 to 23.4% in 1982.

A family's income level is directly related to the number of earners. An interesting picture emerges if we take all economic families reporting income and divide them into five income groups from the lowest to the highest (each with 20% of the families and called a "quintile"). In 1983, of

families with incomes in the top 20% (or highest quintile), 87% reported two or more earners, compared to 21% of families with incomes in the bottom

20% (or lowest quintile). Conversely, 43% of families in the bottom 20% reported no income earners, compared to 1% of those in the top 20%.

**Lone-parent Families\* by Cause, 1941-1981**



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 92-935, *Census of Canada, Persons, Children at Home, Structure and Type, Living Arrangements*; and Catalogue Nos. 98-1941, 98-1951, 93-507, 93-516, 93-611, 93-716, and 93-833.

\* Includes both male and female headed lone-parent families.

\*\* Includes divorce and separation.

## Low-income Families

The two-earner family has become a wide-spread reality: it preserves, for many, standards of living and provides resilience in the face of unemployment and other economic changes. Families with one parent at home to raise children, lone-parent families or families with an unemployed spouse are consequently at an economic disadvantage and tend to be over-represented among low-income families according to Statistics Canada's 1978-based Low-income cut-offs. Some of the major characteristics of low-income families in 1983 were:

- One-earner families constituted 29% of all families, yet 41% of all low-income families.
- Lone-parent families headed by women constituted 9% of all families and 30% of all low-income families.
- Families with no income earners represented 12% of all families yet 33% of all low-income families.
- Families reporting transfer payments as their main income source represented 15% of all families, yet constituted 52% of all low-income families.
- Families with the family head employed part-time represented 21% of all families and 35% of all low-income families.

**Persons Living Alone by Age Group, 1971 and 1981**

Age Group	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
15-24	34,670	100,820	35,175	100,270
25-34	39,940	148,455	55,785	198,425
15-34	74,160	249,275	90,960	298,695
35-44	29,315	63,270	43,805	95,880
45-54	51,795	78,075	47,670	83,480
55-64	100,970	162,235	52,690	84,515
65 and over	232,935	434,640	86,585	131,070
Total population aged 15 and over living alone	489,625	987,495	321,710	693,640
As a % of the population in the same age group				
15-24	1.7	4.4	1.7	4.3
25-34	2.8	7.0	3.8	9.4
15-34	2.2	5.6	2.6	7.0
35-44	2.4	4.3	3.4	6.4
45-54	4.5	6.3	4.2	6.6
55-64	11.5	14.4	6.2	8.2
65 and over	24.2	32.2	11.1	13.0
Total population aged 15 and over living alone	6.4	10.3	4.3	7.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue Nos. 93-707, *Households by Type Showing Selected Characteristics of Head*, 92-730, *Marital Status by Age Group*; and 92-905, *Persons, Children at Home, Structure and Type, Living Arrangements*.

## Living Alone

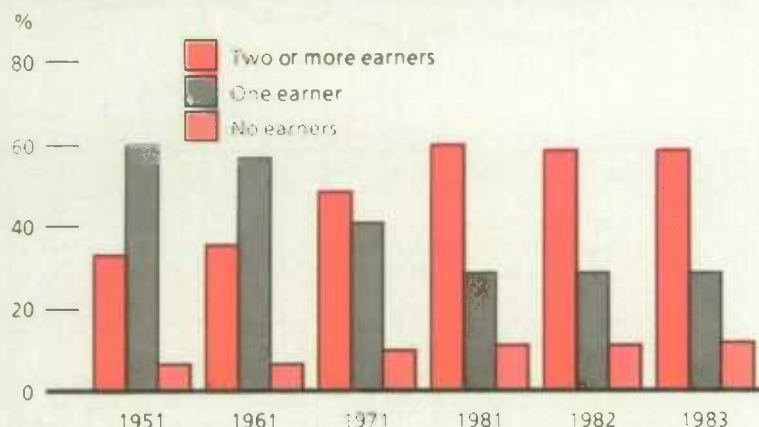
The proportion of Canadians living alone has grown rapidly. In 1981, more than 20% of all households and 7% of the overall Canadian population were people living alone, compared with 13% of households and 4% of the total population in 1971. Living alone has become more common for all age groups, with the greatest increases

occurring among the elderly and the young.

One quarter of the population over age 65 are living on their own. In 1981, 434,640 or 32% of women over age 65, and 131,070 or 13% of men over age 65 lived alone. These figures represent increases of eight percentage points for women and two for men since 1971.

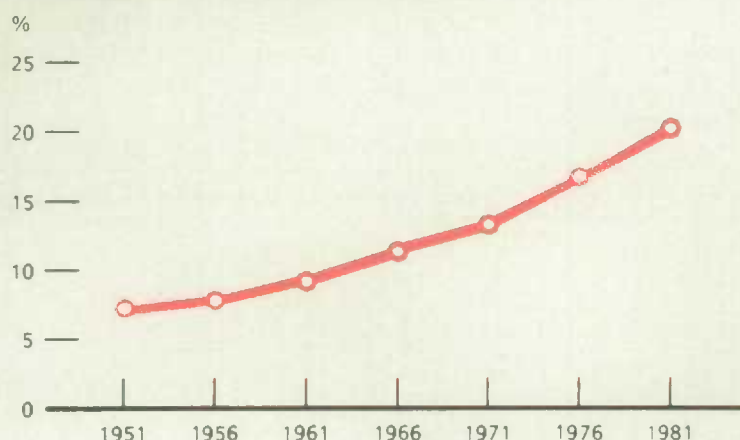
Elderly women living alone outnumber elderly men who live alone

**Distribution of Families by Number of Earners, 1951-1983**



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue Nos. 13-581, *Charting Canadian Incomes, 1951-1981*; and 13-207, *Income Distributions by Size in Canada*.

**One-person Households as a Percentage of All Households, 1951-1981**



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue Nos. 93-809, *Census of Canada, Private Households, by Marital Status, Sex and Age of Head*; and 92-903, *Census of Canada, Occupied Dwellings, Type and Tenure*.

for several reasons. There are more women beyond age 65 due to the longer life expectancy enjoyed by women. Many women experience extended periods of widowhood, since they tend to marry men several years older than themselves, and men on average die younger.

The growth of the elderly population living alone is likely to continue. According to projections by Statistics Canada, the number of women over age 65 will nearly double and the number of men over age 65 will increase by more than 50% by the year 2006. As a result, elderly women will make up an estimated 8% of the Canadian population in 2006, while elderly men will constitute 6% of all Canadians that year. The number of elderly persons living alone in the future could be further augmented if many of the young people currently living alone do not form lasting unions in later life.

## The Young Alone

In 1981, there were 548,000 people aged 15 to 34 living alone, compared to 166,000 in 1971. The percentage of people between age 15 and 34 living alone more than doubled between 1971 and 1981, increasing from 2% to 6% of this age group.

Factors that have influenced this development include: the postponement of marriage, increases in the number of those who never marry, rising divorce rates and the seeking of higher levels of education.

Young people who live by themselves differ from those who live with others. For example, they are twice as likely to have a university degree, less likely to be unemployed, and more likely to be in white collar or professional occupations and have higher incomes.

## And so ...

While, the implications of these changing family and living arrangements are beyond the scope of this overview, there are some obvious issues which they bring to mind: the possibility of shrinking and changing domestic markets; increasing numbers of low-income women and children; demand for more and alternative forms of child care; new divorce and family laws related to increased remarriage and lone parenthood; and new requirements for housing and other services for the evolving Canadian family.

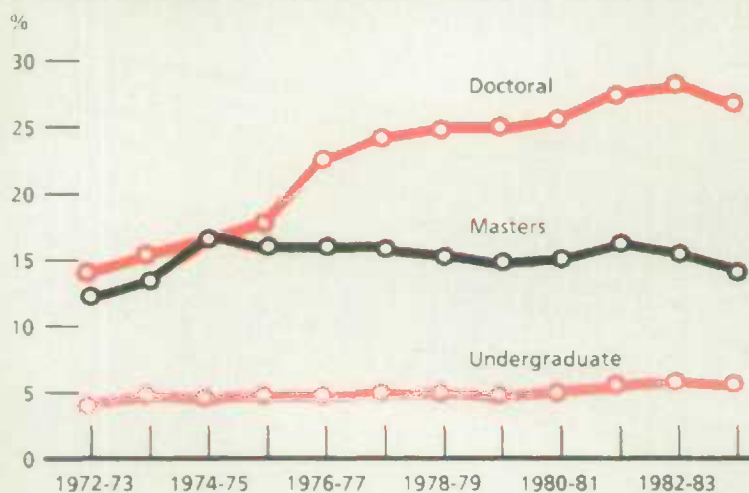


# FOREIGN STUDENTS

Foreign student enrolment is increasing as a proportion of total full-time university enrolment in Canada, particularly at the graduate level. Between the academic years 1972-73 and 1983-84, full-time enrolment of foreign students at the undergraduate level increased from 4% to 6% of the total; full-time foreign Masters students increased from 12% to 14%; and full-time foreign Doctoral students from 14% to 27%. At the Doctoral level, some fields of study have higher than average concentrations of foreign students. According to data available for the 1981-82 to 1983-84 academic years, foreign students constituted more than 50% of Doctoral students in Engineering and Applied Sciences and more than 35% in Mathematics.



Foreign Students as a Percentage of Full-time University Enrolment by Level, 1972-73 to 1983-84



Source: Statistics Canada, Education, Culture and Tourism Division, University Student Information System.

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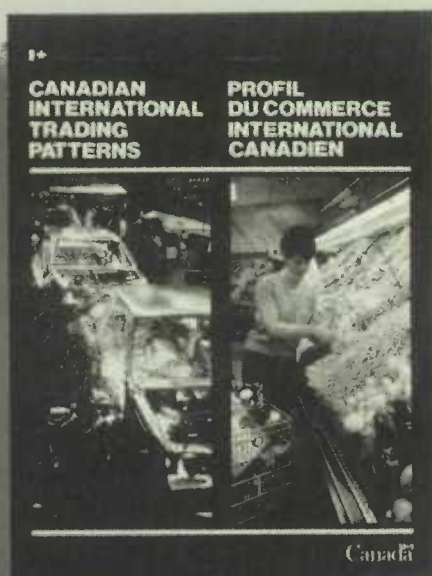
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# EXPANDING THE CHOICES

by Ted Wannell and Craig McKie

*Cable television, satellites and VCR's are creating  
a new home entertainment and information  
environment.*

**E**lectronic entertainment and information technology have arrived with a vengeance. While electronic entertainment devices are available in many forms, it is above all the television with attendant cable, converter and video-cassette recorder which supplies entertainment and information to the Canadian household. As entertainment equipment has become more sophisticated, so has the viewing audience: advertisers and broadcasters can no longer count on an audience bound to them by lack of programme choice. The explosion of television choices overrides geographic borders (some Canadian rural communities now receive the local news of Edmonton, Hamilton, Montreal, Atlanta or Detroit) and remote channel controls enable viewers to avoid commercials and to sample a dozen channels in just a few seconds.

## Television

Television reached its present popularity among Canadians in just a few decades. In 1985, about the same number of Canadian households had televisions (98.4%) as had telephones (98.2%). Most households had at least one colour television (91.4%). Figures from the Canadian Time Use Pilot Study in 1981 showed that, on average, respondents spent over three hours a day watching television; the figure increased slightly if they subscribed to cable and slightly more again if they both subscribed to cable and owned a converter. For two of the average three daily hours of viewing, television was the primary activity, that is, the sole focus of attention, while the remaining hour was shared with other activities such as eating or conversation.

## Cable Television

To expand their viewing choices and enhance the technical quality of signals received, the majority of Canadian households now subscribe to cable television. In 1985, about 62% of Canadian households subscribed to cable, with regional penetration ranging from under 45% in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan to over 80% in British Columbia. Ontario, Alberta and Manitoba occupied the middle ground with 68%, 63% and 62% respectively of their households subscribing. In 1984, the National Cable Television Association in the United States estimated that 40% of all U.S. households subscribed to cable.

The high level of cable penetration in Canada is significant in that cable can deliver (over and above additional television channels) a broad range of electronic services, the potential of which is as yet largely undeveloped. The services being offered or tested (although not in every area) include several pay television options, home security monitoring, interactive information retrieval, teleshopping, opinion polling and remote computing.

The direct charges to the consumer for cable and pay television do not reflect the whole cost of providing radio and television services in Canada. The overall cost of the electronic media is substantial. The private radio industry had revenues of \$559 million in the year ending August 31, 1984 — ultimately paid for by customers; the private television industry had revenues of \$900 million. The net operating cost of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was \$935 million in the same year with revenues of \$161 million. (Figures taken from Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 56-204, *Radio and Television Broadcasting*, 1984.)

Many Canadian viewers pay for added programming choices. The 5.3 million cable subscribers in March 1984 paid an average of \$10 per month for this service. Half of Canada's cable subscribers also purchase a converter, a one-time expense of between \$50 and \$150, which adds to the range of broadcast channels and special information services available. Converters were present in 31% of all Canadian households in March 1984, with Ontario cable subscribers the most likely to have these devices (68% of all subscribers).

## Pay Television

A more recent arrival on the Canadian cable television scene is pay television — extra channels which are obtainable only upon payment of an additional fee. Over 480,000 households subscribed to pay television in early 1984 at an additional cost varying from \$8 to \$20 a month (both cable service and a converter are prerequisites). Pay television was most in evidence in Alberta (9% of all households). Overall, pay services were present in 5% of Canadian households in March 1984, though the subsequent alteration of

## Expenditure on Home Entertainment Equipment and Services, 1982

All Families and Unattached Individuals

	Average Expenditure in Dollars	Percent Reporting an Expenditure
Total Home Entertainment Equipment and Services	\$249.40	71.9%
Transceivers	1.10	0.4
Radio Sets (excl. combinations)	6.40	7.7
Radio Combinations	12.50	8.1
Colour Televisions	53.90	8.1
Black & White Televisions	3.40	2.9
Record Players	1.40	1.1
Audio Taperecorders/Players	5.20	3.6
Video Taperecorders/Players	21.60	2.7
Electronic Equipment Components	51.90	7.7
Records & Audio Tapes	53.90	56.6
Video Tapes & Discs	6.10	5.6
Other Home Entertainment Equipment	10.50	6.2
Parts Purchased Separately	2.10	2.2
Rental of Equipment (incl. recordings)	8.30	6.7
Maintenance and Repair	11.00	12.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 62-555, *Family Expenditure in Canada*, 1982.



the rate structure and the addition of new services may have increased this number.

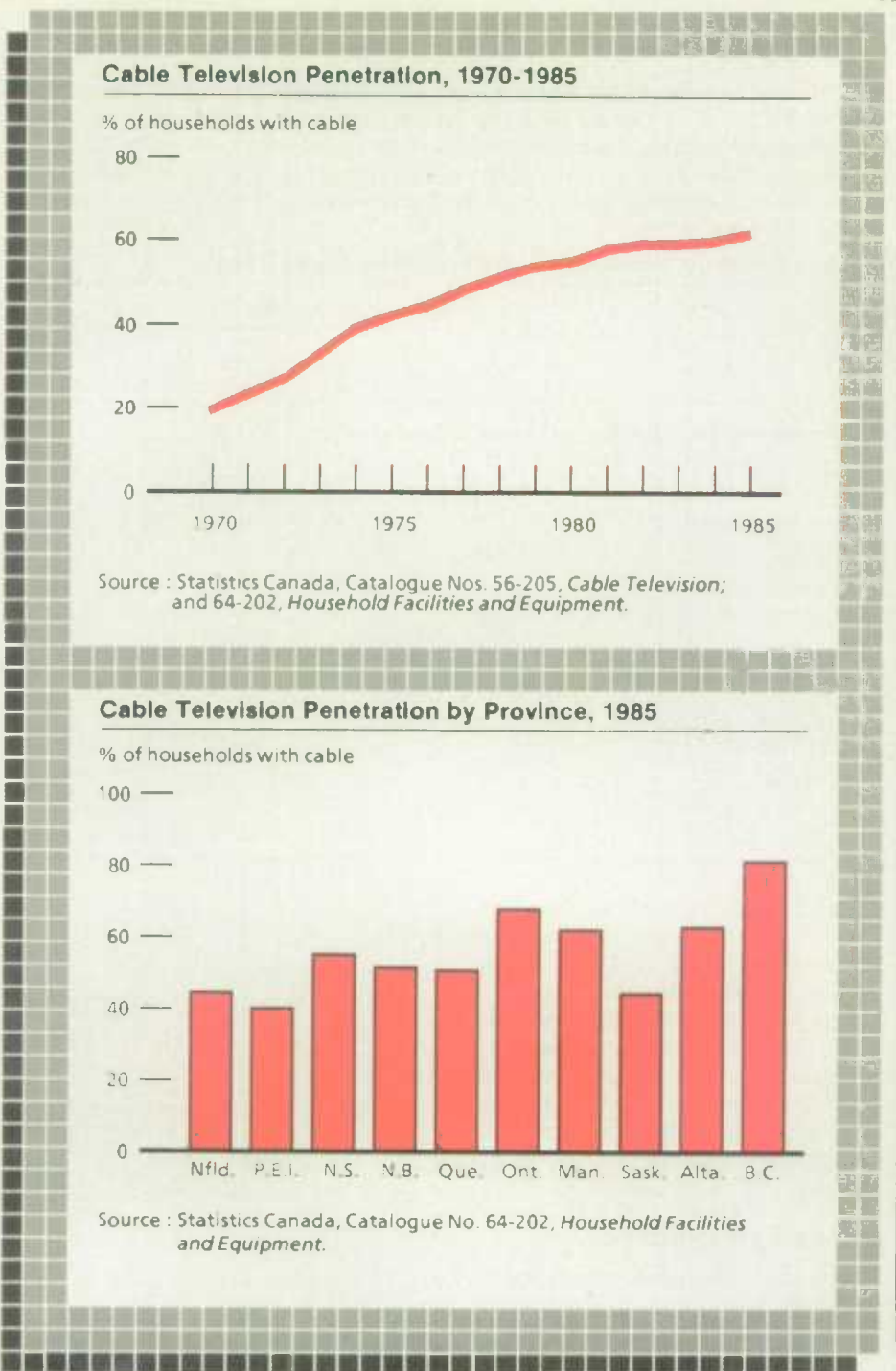
An additional set of less expensive pay services was introduced nationally in 1984. These included Much Music, The Sports Network, plus a mix drawn from satellite transmissions such as the Cable News Network, Arts and Entertainment, The Nashville Network and Financial News. Supplementary pay services to be introduced in the near future will still further augment the number of channels available to the cable subscriber. Not all premium channels present entertainment programming. Several of these channels are explicitly devoted to special interest information. Specialty programming for small minorities of viewers (and the consequent fragmentation of the viewing public) is already a feature of direct satellite transmission.

### Satellite Broadcasting

Many additional channels are available with satellite transmission reception equipment. The viewer may choose from among dozens of channels rebroadcast from satellites. Each of the many satellites can carry simultaneously as many as 24 television channels plus additional sound transmissions. The price of home reception equipment now starts at about \$1,000 for the simplest system but may run to many thousands of dollars for the most sophisticated. Advertisers and broadcasters are now wondering whether future satellite broadcasting will be brought into Canadian homes via existing cable systems or directly from the broadcast satellites. Satellite transmission offers the viewers a wide variety of programming, for example, programming in Spanish (Galavision) and programmes from Japanese network sources (JISO), religious broadcasting, a reading service for the blind and horse racing coverage.

### VCR's — The Agents of Change

Many households now augment and manipulate their viewing further with video-cassette recorders (VCR's). In May 1985, 2.1 million households, 23% of the total, possessed these devices. The VCR allows the viewer to watch programmes when convenient and not necessarily when the programme is broadcast. The VCR also permits viewers to bypass advertising,



thus reducing the time needed to view a given programme. Some devices now on the market can actually delete commercials from the unattended recording of programmes.

Imports of VCR's, priced between \$400 and \$2,000, grew from a trickle in 1975 to 340,000 units in 1982 (valued at \$163 million), and then exploded to 734,000 units in 1983 (\$288 million), and to 1,265,000 units in 1984 (\$462 million). From 1975 to 1984, the value of blank and pre-recorded videotape imports increased from about \$8 million to over \$113 million.

How Canadians use or will come to use VCR's is now a matter of much discussion. The deletion of commercials is one obvious issue for advertisers and broadcasters alike. Others include the new-found capacity of viewers to watch taped broadcasts at times other than those intended, and the editing, duplication, resale and informal trading of taped material, much of which is labelled as copyright. Also, the trade in pre-recorded tapes of an allegedly pornographic nature or in tapes recorded in the home from "adult" channels (such as American Extasy,

## From the 1981 Canadian Time Use Pilot Study

The Time Use Pilot Study was based on a small sample and did not reflect seasonal variation; nevertheless, the figures strongly suggest that television is the prime entertainment activity for all age groups and for both sexes. While some activities, such as listening to recorded music, tend to decline with age, television, if anything, increases — the highest viewing totals are found in the oldest age group.

### Time Spent on Television and Records or Tapes, 1981

	Age of Respondent			
	Less than 25	25-39	40-55	56 and over
<b>Average minutes per day spent watching television:</b>				
Males -				
as primary activity	116	126	118	189
as secondary activity	46	46	40	41
Females -				
as primary activity	98	85	111	155
as secondary activity	66	79	83	77
<b>Average minutes per day listening to records or tapes:</b>				
Males -				
as primary activity	11	3	3	2
as secondary activity	33	22	8	5
Females -				
as primary activity	5	3	1	0
as secondary activity	40	22	15	3

material dubbed in Canada, for example. In 1982, cable subscribers spent less time than non-subscribers watching Canadian stations (2.3 hours compared to 2.8 hours) and less time watching Canadian programming (1.0 hour compared to 1.3 hours), according to the Statistics Canada data bank on television viewing. Cable subscribers and non-subscribers watched just about the same types of programmes, with the cable subscriber's small amount of added viewing time largely devoted to foreign-produced entertainment programming. While foreign programming seemed to dominate in the entertainment category for all viewers, Canadian programmes dominated in the news, public affairs and sports categories.

### Competing Activities

The 1981 Canadian Time Use Pilot Study (the full study was never carried out) showed that the only leisure activity close to television viewing, in terms of time spent, is radio listening. Radios were present in 99% of Canadian households in 1985, however, to

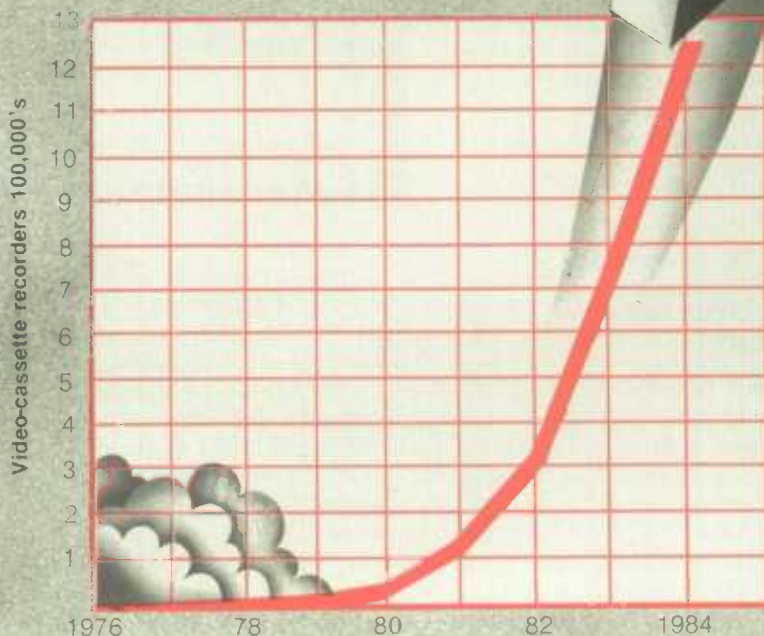
The Pleasure Channel, and The Play-boy Channel) available from satellite transmissions has concerned many who feel that provincial censorship of movies should be extended to private viewing in the home. As with international transmission of data by computer, there are few presently feasible controls over the reception of satellite broadcast transmissions or illegal taping.

### Canadian Content

While cable and satellite transmissions hold the promise of many innovative services for the future, some Canadian and American stations and services can now be obtained only on cable. Serious questions have been raised about the cultural influence of so much programming imported from or through the United States. Present Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) regulations impose limits on non-Canadian programming during the prime viewing hours in the evening. However, these quotas differ, depending on the ownership of stations or networks, and are additionally qualified by particular concessions — giving Canadian status to official co-productions and partial recognition to certain

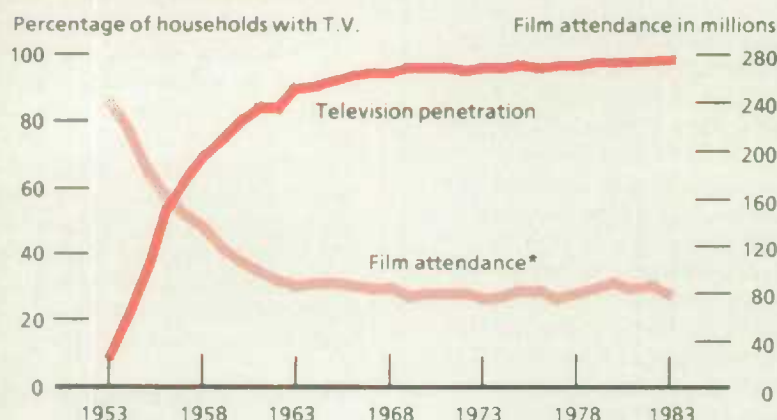
### IMPORTS OF VIDEO-CASSETTE RECORDERS TO CANADA, 1976-1984

Source: Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 65-207, Imports by Commodity





### Film Attendance and Television Penetration, 1953-1983



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 63-207, *Motion Picture Theatres and Film Distributors*.

Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 64-202, *Household Facilities and Equipment*.

\*Does not include drive-ins.

a large extent, radio listening is a background activity. In 1981, the average Canadian was in the presence of a functioning radio for two hours a day, but for more than 95% of that time some other activity had primacy.

As with television content, the CRTC requires a degree of Canadian content in radio broadcasting. It asks

#### More Tapes, Fewer Records

Production and import figures indicate that Canadians bought about 48 million Canadian manufactured records in 1984 (down from 51 million in 1983) and 36 million pre-recorded tapes (up from 28 million in 1983). Only a small percentage of the material is of Canadian origin (14% of the total revenue in 1983, down 1% from 15% in 1982), though most of the manufacturing is done in Canada, even with foreign material. Firms controlled by Canadians accounted for only about one sixth of the records and tapes shipped, but these companies produced half the Canadian content. The value of imports of consumer electronics (including tuners, turntables, parts and car radios, but excluding video-cassette recorders) amounted to \$817 million in 1984.

that 30% of musical selections on AM stations conform to the definition of Canadian content and that FM stations negotiate a quota as a term of their operating licenses.

There are no leisure activities which remotely compare to television viewing and radio listening, in terms of time spent. Listening to records and tapes is similar to radio listening. Only about 20 minutes of the average respondent's day was spent listening to records or tapes in 1981 and for only several minutes was it a primary activity.

#### Reading

As one would expect, Canadians in the aggregate spend far less time reading than watching television or listening to the radio. Still, in 1981, they spent just under an hour a day reading newspapers, books or magazines. Just over a third of the population read a newspaper daily and about three-quarters will read one at least occasionally. Canadian newspaper purchasers supported a circulation of 5.6 million copies in 1983. Of this total, 4.6 million were printed in English. Non-dailies had an additional circulation of 1.3 million per issue. Circulation figures have been almost stable since the early 1970's. However, since the population has been increasing, circulation per capita has actually declined somewhat.

While only a fifth of the respondents in the Time Use Pilot Study read a book on a given day, reading for them tended to be an engrossing activity not shared with other pursuits, especially where instructional materials are concerned. Book readers read an average of an hour and a half a day and consider reading books a primary activity for about 75% of that time (in marked contrast to newspaper readers — 50% of

#### Book Publishing in Canada

Although revenues from the sales of books in Canada exceed \$1 billion annually (\$1.2 billion in 1983) foreign competition poses a substantial challenge for Canadian book publishers. Only \$309 million of the 1983 total revenue came from the sale of titles that originated in and were published in Canada. The remainder came from sales of imports by Canadian-based publishers (\$244 million), by exclusive agents for foreign-based publishers (\$106 million) or by other importers such as book clubs (\$585 million). While foreign controlled firms dominate the textbook market, Canadian-controlled firms compete mainly in the more volatile general interest book market.

## KEEPING TRACK

*According to the 1981 Census, 3.6 million Canadians aged 15 and older — 19% of that population group — were immigrants, that is, a permanent resident of Canada who is not Canadian by birth.*

## Trends in Competing Public Entertainments

There is another class of entertainment competing for Canadians' time: that which requires travel or the purchase of an admission ticket. This type of activity has suffered because of the transition to electronic home entertainment and now constitutes much less of the average time budget. In 1981, 5% or less of the population attended away-from-home performing arts and spectator sports. Even active pastimes such as hobbies and sports consumed far more of our time than film-going or live theatre performances. One sixth of the population spent an average of two hours per day at their hobbies. A slightly greater proportion, about one-fifth, were involved in a sport or recreation activity, but for a shorter time (one and one-quarter hours).

In 1982, Canadians made 97.3 million visits to movie theatres (87.6 million at regular theatres, 9.7 million at drive-ins) — down from a peak of 256 million visits by a much smaller population in 1952. The 1982 figures translate to an average of four feature films per person per year, a level which has been stable for a decade. In 1982, 503 new theatrical feature films were distributed

for viewing in Canada, of which only 35 were of Canadian origin.

The performing arts constitute the smallest of all the entertainment components. Statistics Canada figures are collected from not-for-profit arts organisations and do not include admissions to commercial ventures such as rock shows. Not-for-profit performing arts events attracted audiences totalling 9.7 million to approximately 28,000 performances in 1982. Theatre had the highest attendance (6.3 million) and the highest number of performances (24,049), but averaged just over 260 attendees per performance. Serious music events attracted a total attendance of 2 million, while the dance drew just under one million. Opera performances attracted 346,000 to 486 performances. Approximately one half of the budgets of performing arts companies were derived from subsidies in 1981 (\$67 million of a total \$128 million); and of the total subsidies, approximately two thirds were derived from the public sector. Three quarters of performing arts' budgets went to salaries.

the time they read as a primary activity). Like book sales, the circulation of library books is also an indication of reading. In 1982, borrowers took out 144 million books, an increase of 10% over the previous year.

Magazine reading captures even less of Canadians' time than either newspaper or book reading. On any given day in 1981, only about 13% of Canadians could be found reading a magazine of any description, with the average reader spending an hour on this activity. Magazine reading is similar to newspaper reading in that about half the time readers tend to be doing something else while reading.

## Tomorrow's Programmes

It is evident that television has captured the attention of Canadians as a source of information and entertainment. If there is a central question here it might well be: what will fill Canadians' television windows in the future? Until fairly recently, the time available was filled by a limited number of broadcasting sources. Today the proliferation of channels, the development of minority interest programming and videotaping challenge whatever homogeneity of viewing audience remains. For broadcasters and advertisers, the expansion of choice is an indication of fragmentation; for viewers, the expansion of choice is a bonanza.

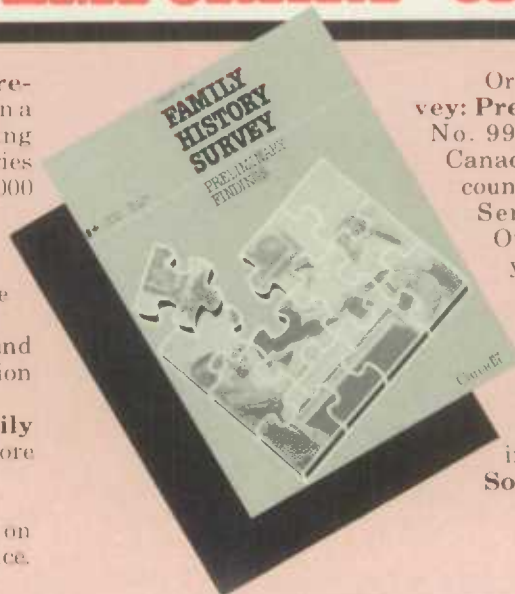
# A FURTHER LOOK AT THE FAMILY IN CONTEMPORARY CANADA

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# CHILD CARE

Shifting family behaviour, particularly the increase in the number of mothers working outside the home, has created a need for alternatives to the "stay-at-home" mother form of child care.

Statistics Canada's 1981 Survey of Child Care Arrangements found that more than half (52%) of all children under age six were cared for by someone other than their parents on a regular basis. Child care can be provided in many forms, from licensed day care centres and licensed family day care to private care by a nanny, neighbour or relative. In 1980, only 12% of preschool children with mothers in the labour force were in licensed family or centre day care on a full-time basis.

In 1984, there were more than 840,000 preschoolers (under age 6) and 1.6 million school age children (aged 6-12) whose mothers were in the labour force. Thus, as many as 2.5 million children may have been in need of some form of alternate child care arrangements.

Most parents in need of child care services turn to informal, privately arranged types of care. The charges for such unlicensed care may sometimes fall outside of normal business practices and form part of the so called "underground economy".

There were 172,000 day care spaces in 1984, up from 139,000 in 1983. (Part of the increase between 1983 and 1984, however, resulted from the first time reporting by Quebec of 13,000 out of school day care spaces which were offered through the school system.) About 35,000 day care spaces in 1984 were reserved for children under three years of age. Care for children under three represents a high cost, labour-intensive care which can cost parents as much as one-third more than the cost for an older child.

The majority of licensed spaces are in day care centres rather than in family day care. Of the day care centres, 14% are publicly sponsored, 48% are parent or community sponsored, and 38% are commercial.

The continuing movement of mothers into the labour force, and the

increase in lone-parent families will provide a growing demand for a variety of forms of child care. Some employers in the private and public sectors are responding to this demand by offering their employees child care associated with the work place. However, privately arranged, unlicensed child care predominates at present.

## Definitions

**DAY CARE FACILITY:** a licensed or provincially approved centre or private home which cares for children outside their own home for eight to ten hours per day.

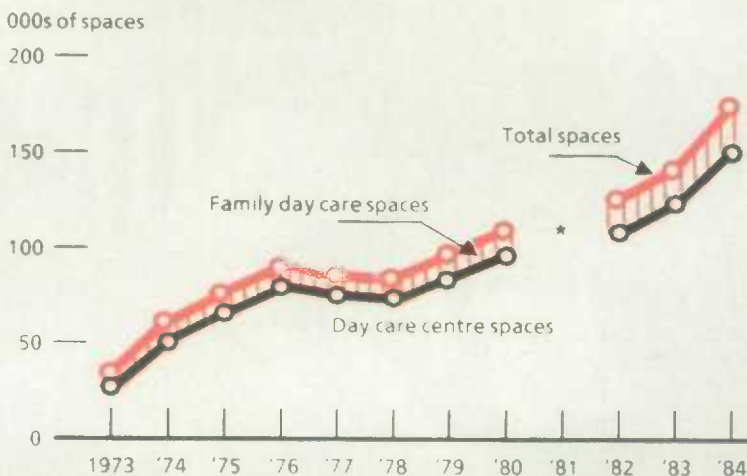
**CENTRE CARE:** a licensed day care centre caring for groups of children.

**FAMILY DAY CARE:** a program involving the selection and supervision by a government or authorized private agency of private families who care for children during the day.

For the purposes of this document, these last two forms are referred to as "licensed child care". All other forms of care are referred to as "informal" or "private" day care arrangements.



**Licensed Day Care Spaces, 1973-1984**



Source: Health and Welfare Canada, National Day Care Information Centre

\* No data available for 1981.





# BIRTHS TO UNMARRIED WOMEN

**B**etween 1931 and 1960 out-of-wedlock births represented approximately 4% of all births. By 1983, however, the number of births to unmarried women had increased to 59,000 or 16% of all births.

The largest number of births to unmarried mothers occurs among women aged 20-24. In 1983, women in this age group accounted for 38% of out-of-wedlock births, compared to 29% for teen-age women and 33% for those over age 24. This represents a major change from 1974 when teen-aged women accounted for 52% of out-of-wedlock births compared with 30% for women aged 20-24 and 19% for women 25 and over. Births to unmarried women as a percentage of all births within an age group, however, is still highest among teen-aged women. In 1983, 66% of births to teen-aged mothers were to unmarried women, whereas the figure was 21% for women aged 20-24 and 8% for women over age 24.

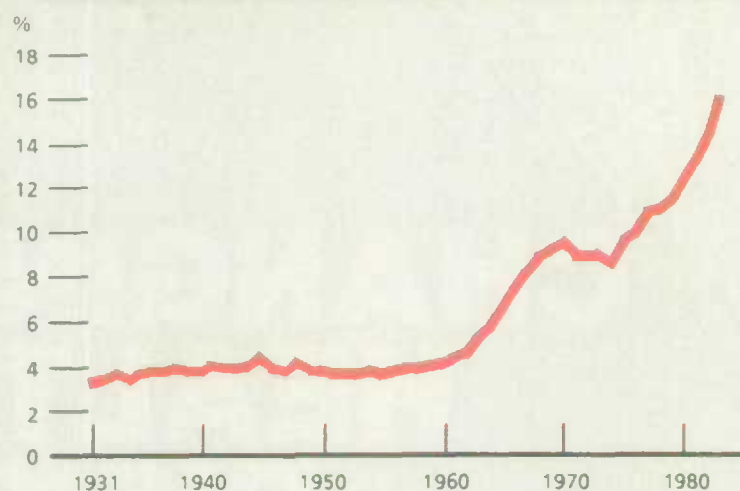
It is not clear, however, how many of these unmarried mothers are women intending to raise their babies by themselves, and how many are women living in common-law unions or in their parental homes.

## **Definition:**

Unmarried women include never-married, widowed and divorced women, as well as those whose marital status is not stated.



### Live Births to Unmarried Mothers as a Percentage of Total Live Births, 1931-1983



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-204, *Vital Statistics, Volume 1, Births and Deaths*

### Live Births to Unmarried Women by Age Group, 1974-1983

	Age Groups		
	Under 20	20-24	25 and over <sup>1</sup>
numbers of births			
1974 <sup>2</sup>	10,569	6,096	3,790
1975 <sup>3</sup>	13,159	7,640	4,936
1976 <sup>3</sup>	13,420	8,105	5,004
1977	17,554	12,857	9,296
1978	17,507	13,782	9,581
1979	17,349	15,225	10,918
1980	17,777	16,981	12,866
1981	17,745	18,798	14,672
1982	18,311	21,193	16,782
1983	16,889	22,682	19,401

	As a % of total out-of-wedlock births		
	Under 20	20-24	25 and over <sup>1</sup>
1974 <sup>2</sup>	51.7	29.8	18.5
1975 <sup>3</sup>	51.1	29.7	19.2
1976 <sup>3</sup>	50.6	30.6	18.9
1977	44.2	32.4	23.4
1978	42.8	33.7	23.4
1979	39.9	35.0	25.1
1980	37.3	35.7	27.0
1981	34.7	36.7	28.7
1982	32.5	37.7	29.8
1983	28.6	38.5	32.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-204, *Vital Statistics, Volume 1, Births and Deaths*, and Health Division, Unpublished Data.

<sup>1</sup> Includes "not stated" ages.

<sup>2</sup> Excludes Quebec and Alberta.

<sup>3</sup> Excludes Quebec.

### Out-of-Wedlock Births to Indian Mothers

Approximately 10% of births to unmarried mothers are births to Canadian Registered Indians. The number of births outside marriage has been increasing as a proportion of total Registered Indian births. It is estimated that in 1968 approximately 33% of Registered Indian births were outside marriage, a proportion which increased to 60%, or approximately 5,800 births by 1981.

Until recently Registered Indian women have lost their legal Indian status when they married someone who was not a Registered Indian. As a result, Registered Indian women may have chosen to live common-law to avoid losing their legal status for themselves or their children.

### Live Births to Unmarried Women as a Percentage of Births in Her Age Group, 1974-1983

	Age Groups			
	Under 20	20-24	25 and over <sup>1</sup>	All ages
1974 <sup>2</sup>	36.3	8.2	3.2	9.3
1975 <sup>3</sup>	39.9	8.8	3.7	10.1
1976 <sup>3</sup>	43.0	9.5	3.7	10.5
1977	48.4	11.1	4.6	11.3
1978	51.4	12.2	4.7	11.7
1979	54.3	13.5	5.2	12.2
1980	56.8	15.1	5.9	13.2
1981	60.5	17.0	6.6	14.2
1982	64.2	19.3	7.4	15.5
1983	66.0	21.2	8.4	16.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-204, *Vital Statistics, Volume 1, Births and Deaths*.

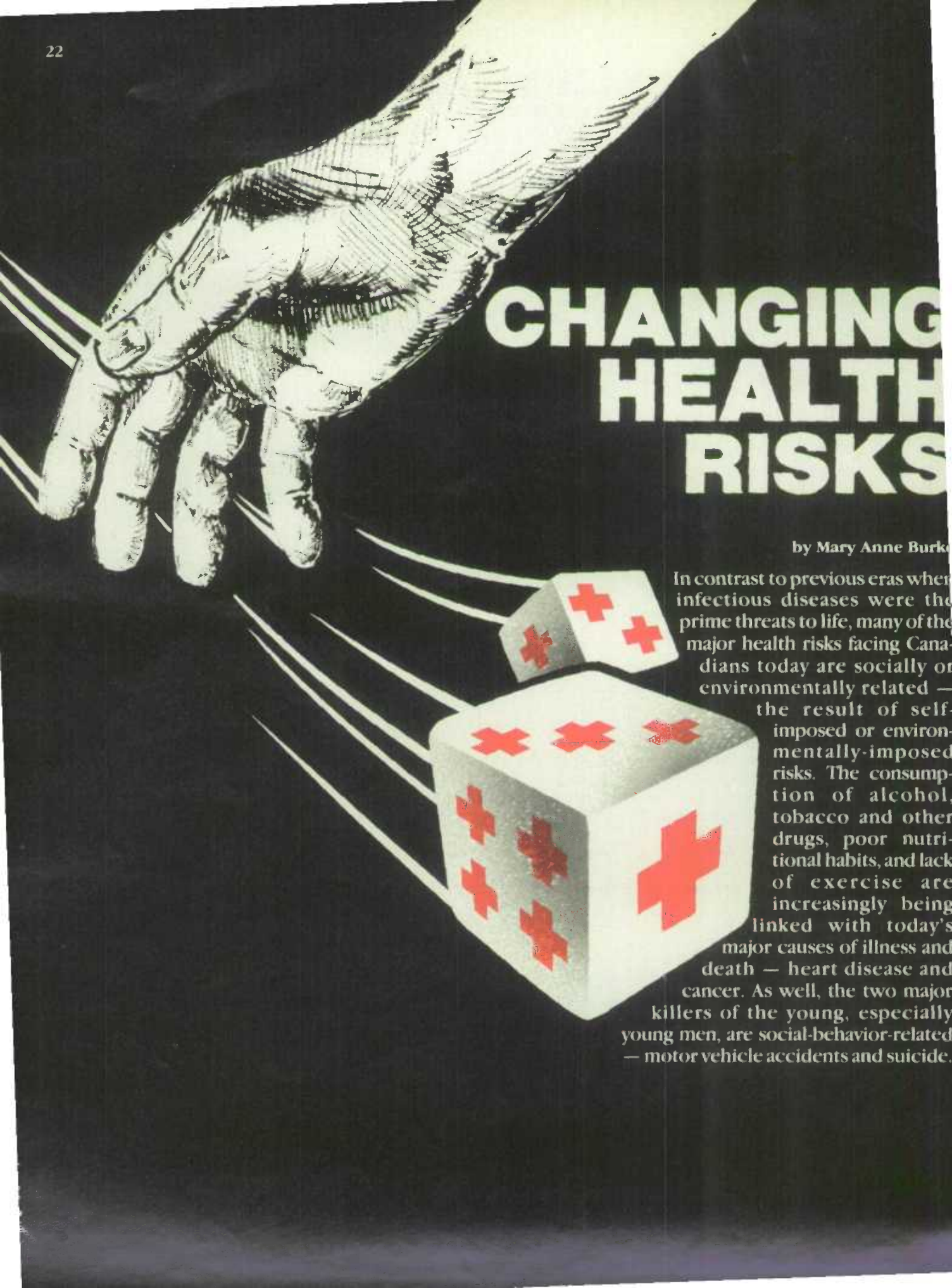
<sup>1</sup> Includes "not stated" ages.

<sup>2</sup> Excludes Quebec and Ontario.

<sup>3</sup> Excludes Quebec.

## KEEPING TRACK

*Between January and November of 1985, the proportion of married women in the labour force increased from 53.7% to 55.9%*



# CHANGING HEALTH RISKS

by Mary Anne Burke

In contrast to previous eras when infectious diseases were the prime threats to life, many of the major health risks facing Canadians today are socially or environmentally related — the result of self-imposed or environmentally-imposed risks. The consumption of alcohol, tobacco and other drugs, poor nutritional habits, and lack of exercise are increasingly being linked with today's major causes of illness and death — heart disease and cancer. As well, the two major killers of the young, especially young men, are social-behavior-related — motor vehicle accidents and suicide.



In addition, sexually transmitted diseases for which no immunization process or cure exists have become a more prominent threat to health, and in the case of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), to life. And while the incidence of communicable diseases such as polio has been diminished as a result of mass immunization, many people are still not properly immunized.

As medical advances are made in the control and understanding of degenerative diseases such as heart disease, cancer and arthritis, individual control and awareness of self-imposed and environmentally-imposed risks are assuming more importance in the

overall health of Canadians. Individuals are seen as increasingly responsible for the condition of their own health. This however, has not diminished the state role in controlling environmental risks. The authorities will likely continue to be involved in issues such as smoking in public places and compulsory immunization programmes. Good exercise and nutritional habits are already widely promoted in public and private organizations, and an entire health, fitness and food industry thrives around our search for the grail of physical and mental well-being. We present below the major indicators of the extent to which self-imposed and environ-

mentally-imposed risks exact their toll.

## Today's Leading Killers

### Heart Disease and Cancer

Currently, the leading causes of death in Canada are heart disease and cancer, and both are associated in some fashion with risks undertaken by individuals. Deaths due to heart disease, however, have been declining steadily, though for reasons not yet well understood. Heart disease death rates declined from a rate of 312.2 cases per 100,000 male population in 1970, to 270.4 cases per 100,000 by 1983 (a 13% decrease). Among fe-

## Smoking and Drinking

### Smoking

Fewer Canadians are smoking cigarettes now than twenty years ago. In the period 1966-1983, the proportion of regular cigarette smokers among males 15 and over dropped steadily from 54% to 34%. Among males 15-19 years of age the proportion of smokers also declined, from 35% to 20%, such that smoking is now as prevalent among males as it is among females in this age group. Overall, the proportion of smokers among women 15 and over declined from 31% to 28% during the same time period. The greater decline in the number of male smokers in the last two decades has narrowed the difference between the number of male and female cigarette smokers. In short order this could lead to an equalization between the sexes in rates of smoking and potentially in the rates of smoking-related diseases.

The negative effects of smoking, like those of radiation, are cumulative. Typically, the effects of smoking on death rates are delayed in their onset anywhere from 10 to 30 years. Current increases in lung cancer rates are associated with past increases in smoking and present declines in tobacco use should result in a decrease in deaths attributable to tobacco over the next decades.

Health and Welfare Canada has made several estimates of smoking related deaths. Twenty percent of all deaths among Can-

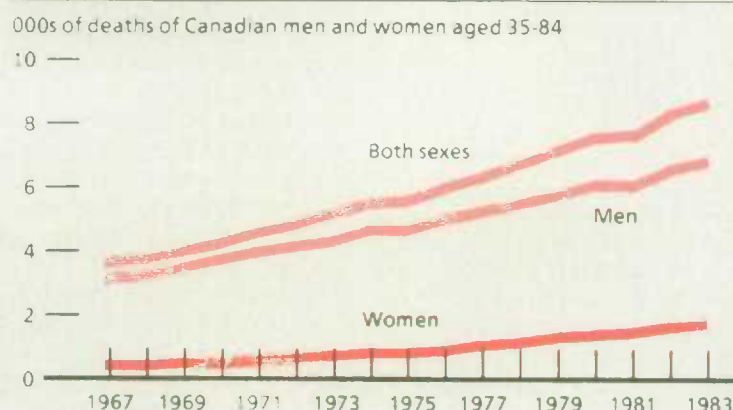
adians aged 25-84 during the period 1967-1982 were attributed to tobacco use. Smoking related lung cancer deaths were estimated to have increased from 3,100 in 1967 to 7,000 in 1982 among persons aged 35-84. These estimates represent an increase from 4% to 8% of all deaths in that age group due to smoking.

### Alcohol Consumption

It is estimated that approximately one death in ten is attributable to

alcohol abuse, as are half of all traffic fatalities. While abuse of alcohol represents a potential risk to the health of Canadians, alcohol production and consumption have increased in Canada over the past thirty years. Total sales of alcoholic beverages increased from 79.9 litres per person in 1950 to 127.4 litres by 1983. Consumption of absolute alcohol increased from 9.0 litres per person in 1970 to 11.3 litres by 1980.

**Estimated Lung Cancer Deaths Attributable to Tobacco Use, 1967-1983**



Source: Health and Welfare Canada, *Estimates of Mortality Attributable to Tobacco Use Among Canadians Aged 35-84*, Neil E. Collishaw and Walter Tostowaryk, June 1984. Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 84-206, *Vital Statistics, Volume III, Mortality*.

## Longevity Increasing

Canadians are living longer than ever before, with women living on average considerably longer than men. In 1981, life expectancy at birth was 79.0 years for women compared with 71.9 years for men.

Over the past sixty years, the life expectancy of Canadians at birth has increased by 18 years for women and by 13 years for men. A principal reason for these increases in lifespan figures is the reduction of the numbers of infant and early childhood deaths.

Looking at longevity another way, in 1931 the probability at birth of surviving to age 65 was .587, about 6 out of 10 for men, and .617, just slightly greater for women. In 1981, a newborn male's probability of surviving to age 65 was .747 compared with .861 for females.

While the life expectancy of women has lengthened to a greater extent than that of men, the increase in male life expectancy at birth was greater than that of females in the 1976-1981 period (increases of 1.7 and 1.5 years, respectively).

### The Probability of Surviving to Age 65

	Probability of Surviving from Birth to Age 65	
	Males	Females
In 1931	.587	.617
In 1981	.747	.861

Source: Statistics Canada, Vital Statistics Section, Health Division.

The continuing gap in life expectancy between men and women, together with the tendency for women to marry men older than themselves, mean that many women will continue to face widowhood as their husbands predecease them. As the proportion of the elderly, predominantly female, population over age 75 increases, pressures on tradi-

tional medical services and facilities are also likely to grow if alternatives to these forms of institutionalized care are not developed. After age 75, physical and mental health problems often become severe. According to data from the 1978-79 Canada Health Survey, rates of disability rise substantially after age 75, particularly for women.

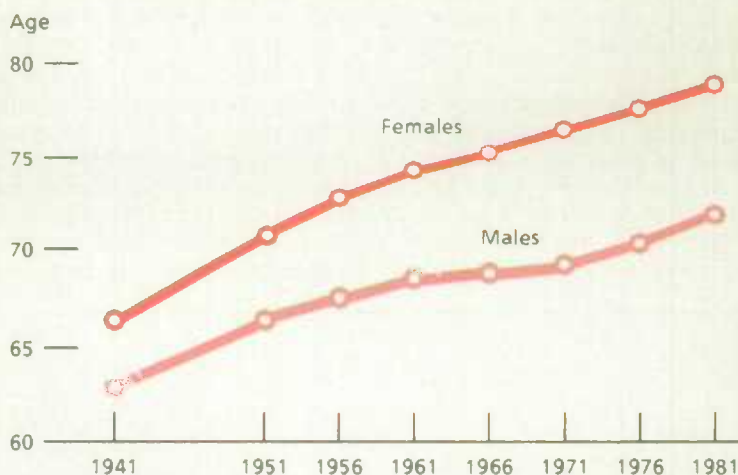
Mortality is becoming compressed into the oldest age categories and a greater proportion of Canadians are dying between their 80th and 100th years. This process has significant implications for society in terms of health, recreational, social and economic needs of an elderly population.

Over the last 20 years, hospital utilization has increased substantially for the 65+ and 75+ population. As the means of treating or staving off degenerative diseases are further developed, the resulting increase in disability-free years of life for the middle-aged and those just approaching retirement might well

give rise to new social concerns and opportunities.

No clear-cut explanation of the lengthening of lives is widely accepted. Why males should have a shorter average lifespan than females is also hard to explain. Several factors related to higher rates of labour force participation by males may be germane, including higher exposure to work-related stress, disproportionately high cigarette smoking and alcohol consumption, and the much higher incidence of accidental deaths. But the slowing of the rate of increase in female life expectancy, noted first during the 1976-1981 period, may indicate that the number of years still to be added to female life expectancy is small. A possible explanation involves the increasing exposure of women to work-related stress as female labour force participation rates increase, and the increasingly similar patterns of consumption of alcohol and tobacco by men and women.

Life Expectancy at Birth, 1941-1981



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-206, *Vital Statistics, Volume III, Mortality*



males, the rate declined over the same period from 205.2 to 199.9 (a 3% decrease).

While cancer deaths of all types have remained fairly stable over the years, the lung cancer death rate has been increasing, especially for women. It increased from 7.1 and 40.6 deaths per 100,000 population for women and men respectively in 1970, to 20.2 and 64.7 in 1983 (increases of 185% and 59% respectively). Lung cancer is the most rapidly rising cause of cancer deaths among women. An aging population like Canada's will tend to have higher rates of lung cancer over time as a function of more people entering older age groups. We can eliminate the effects of aging in the calculation of death rates and produce "age standardized" rates which are a more accurate reflection of the actual trend. From 1932 to 1981, the age-standardized lung cancer mortality rate for women (aged 25-74) increased from 2.8 per 100,000 to 25.1 per 100,000. As well, in the last decade and a half, lung cancer moved from ninth to second place as the most common type of cancer death among women. It has been suggested that by 1987, lung cancer will replace breast cancer as the leading type of female cancer death.<sup>1</sup>

### Accidental Deaths and Suicides

The combination of accidental and violent deaths is the third ranking cause of loss of life. This deadly duo accounted for 10% of all male deaths and 5% of all female deaths in 1983. Accidents and violent deaths is the leading cause of death and hospitalization of young people aged 1 to 34, and exceeded all other causes of death in potential years of life lost (years between the time death occurred and normal life expectancy) in 1983. Two particular causes of death stand out among the young: motor vehicle accidents and suicide; and in both instances the number and rates of death are much higher for young males. In 1983, for example, 63% of motor vehicle deaths occurred among those under age 34, and 55% of

victims were between the ages of 15 and 34. Three out of four victims were male.

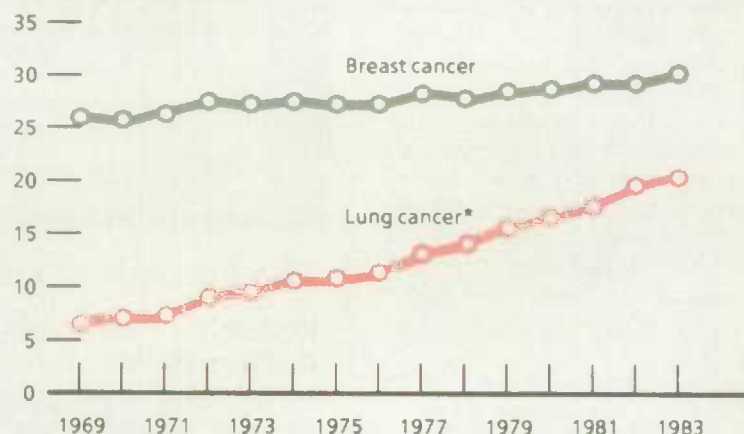
Data from the Traffic Injury Research Foundation of Canada<sup>2</sup> for seven provinces suggest that alcohol is an additional factor at work here: 40% of fatally injured automobile, truck and van drivers, and 60% of fatally injured drivers of snowmobiles were found to be impaired or to have high levels of blood alcohol. Among

these fatalities, drivers between age 16 and 39 had the highest frequency of alcohol impairment.

The other tragedy of Canadian youth, suicide, has increased strikingly for males but not for females. The rate for men rose from 15.9 per 100,000 males aged 15-24 in 1970 to 28.7 in 1983. Suicides among men aged 25 and above also grew — from 26.0 per 100,000 to 30.5 over the same period. In contrast, and despite the

### Female Lung and Breast Cancer Mortality Rates, 1969-1983

Rate per 100,000 population

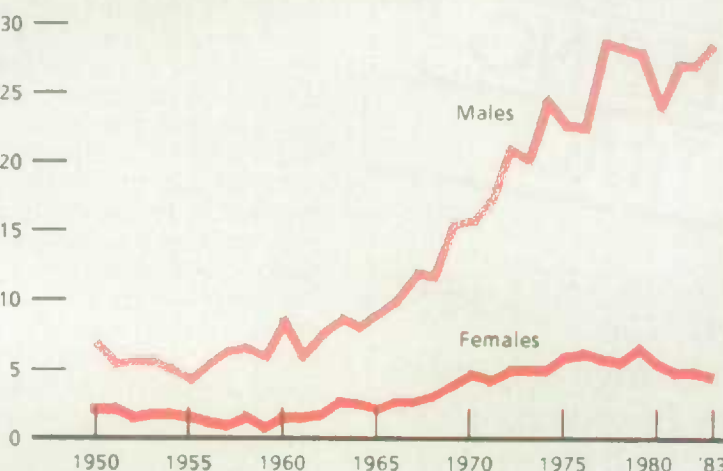


Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-206, *Vital Statistics, Volume III, Mortality*.

\* Includes bronchial and tracheal cancer.

### Suicide Rates for Youth (15-24 Years), 1950-1983

Rate per 100,000 population



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-203, *Causes of Death*.

<sup>1</sup> Health and Welfare Canada, *Chronic Diseases in Canada*, vol. 4, No. 3, December, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> The Traffic Injury Research Foundation of Canada compiles data on motor vehicle accidents. Readers can obtain further information by contacting the Foundation, 171 Nepean St., Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 0B4; Phone (613) 238-5235.

fact that women attempt suicide more than men, the rate for women aged 15-24 was 4.8 in 1970 and 4.5 in 1983, and the rate for women aged 25 and above dropped from 10.6 in 1970 to 10.0 per 100,000 in 1983.

### Early Childhood Deaths

As with adults, infectious diseases are now much less a threat to infants, and infant mortality is declining. However, birth defects occur in 6% of all live births and are now the leading cause of newborn infant deaths in Canada. Two life-threatening deformities, anencephalie (absence of parts of the brain) and spina bifida, continue to claim the very young, and are most common in Eastern Canada. The exact origin of most deformities is unknown; however, environmental and/or genetic factors may be at work in up to two-thirds of the cases. Environmental factors include: poor nutrition, maternal fever or viruses like rubella (German measles), maternal use of alcohol, tobacco and other drugs, and exposure of the fetus through the mother to radiation, chemicals and pesticides.

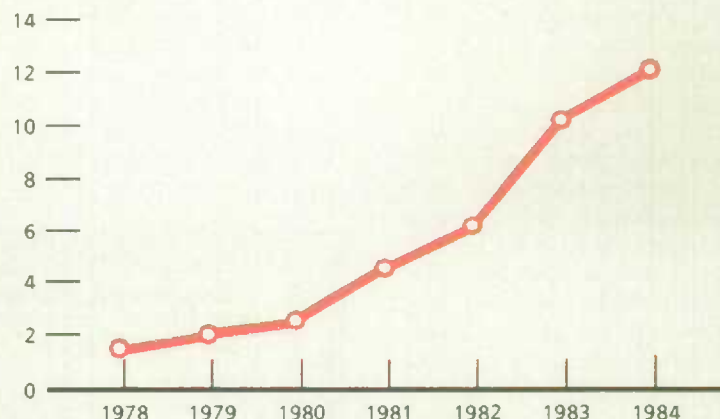
Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) is now the leading cause of death among Canadian infants in the first year of life. The exact cause is unknown, though a number of factors have been isolated which are associated with higher risks of SIDS. These include: mothers younger than 20, short intervals between pregnancies, exposure to cigarette smoke, maternal abuse of narcotics, and low birth weight. Environmental pollutants are also suspected causal factors.

## KEEPING TRACK

*Between 1951 and 1981, the percentage of people with French as their mother tongue fell from 29.0% to 25.7%*

### Reported Cases of Herpes in Canada, 1978-1984

000s of cases



Source: Health and Welfare Canada, Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, *Sexually Transmitted Disease in Canada*.

## The Emerging Dangers

### Recurring Risks without Immunization

The incidence of communicable diseases such as German measles, diphtheria, tetanus, and mumps (and with the exception of sexually transmitted diseases), has declined in Canada in response to widespread immunization of the population. The emerging issue is one of complacency in the face of success. Without continued vigilance in immunization some of the major disease threats of the past could regain a foothold. According to findings of the Canada Health Survey in 1978-79, many people lacked adequate immunization, and were therefore at risk of contracting these diseases. Approximately 237,000 or nearly 8% of women between age 20 and 34 were reported as inadequately protected against rubella (German measles), a disease which can cause birth defects if it occurs during pregnancy. Approximately 4.5 million Canadians were not immunized against polio, with the greatest number at risk in Quebec. Immunization against diphtheria, tetanus, measles and mumps was also not complete.

### Sexually Transmitted Diseases

Sexually transmitted diseases (STD) in Canada continue to be a health

problem. While the overall incidence of syphilis has declined substantially in the last forty years, from a peak of 138 cases per 100,000 population in 1944 to 12 in 1984, gonorrhea has remained at epidemic rates, peaking at 214 per 100,000 in 1946 and again at 231 in 1981. This rate, however, dropped to 175 in 1984.

Recent health data signal the emergence of two new sexually transmitted diseases. First, the reported incidence of herpes has climbed dramatically since 1979 when the Health and Welfare Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, (LCDC) began to record data about this problem. From 1979 to 1984, the number of reported cases of herpes increased from less than 2,000 to over 12,000. Second, as of February 1986, LCDC reported 458 adult and 21 pediatric cases of AIDS in Canada, 168 of which have resulted in death.

### Changing Risks

The trends we have examined suggest strongly that the nature of threats to life and limb among Canadians has clearly shifted away from infectious diseases to the types of death and disease over which individuals exercise some control. While the degree of self-imposition of these risks can easily be overstated, some threats can be better managed than others and future health care strategies can be expected to focus on influencing the actions and habits of individuals.

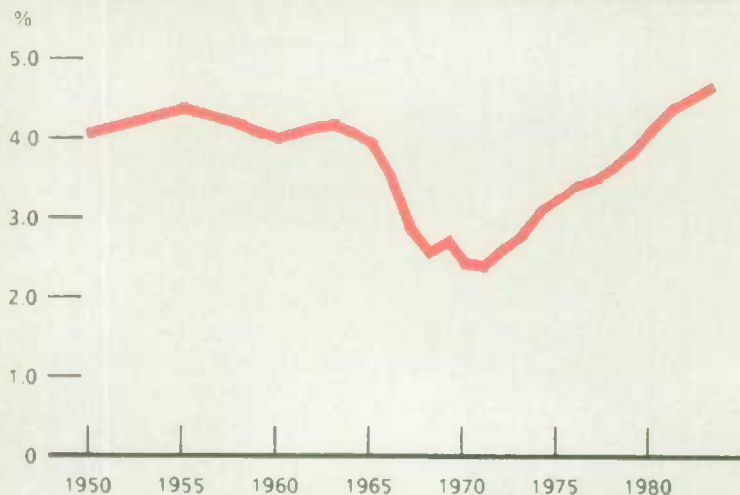


# PRIVATE EDUCATION



Canadians have always had options in choosing primary and secondary schools for their children. Various types of private tuition-financed schools catering to specialized interests of parents and pupils exist as a growing alternative to taxation-supported school systems. From 1950 through 1983, the number of pupils enrolled in private tuition-financed schools rose from 102,700 to 231,800 (an increase of 126%). This increase, however, does not represent a fundamental change in the proportion of children enrolling in private primary and secondary educational institutions. While there has been a marginal increase in the proportion of children attending private schools in the last few years, the proportion remains less than 5%; and only in the last two years has private school enrolment as a proportion of total enrolment surpassed that experienced in the early 1950's.

**Private Enrolment as a Percentage of Total Elementary and Secondary School Enrolment, 1950-1983**



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 81-210, *Elementary and Secondary School Enrolment*.

## KEEPING TRACK

*Statistics Canada estimates the Canadian population stood at 25,127,900 as of June 1st, 1984, an increase of 1% over the preceding twelve month period. British Columbia (+1.7%), Saskatchewan (+1.4%) and Ontario (+1.4%) were the provinces with the faster growing populations in this period, while Alberta was the only province which had a net loss of population (-1,200).*

*In 1983-84, 14.4% of men aged 18-24 were enrolled full-time at university, compared with 12.7% of women in the same age group.*



# THE LAW A CHANGING PROFESSION

by Craig McKie

*The occupational structure in Canada is bending and folding in response to the forces of contemporary economic and social change. Not only are new occupational roles quickly emerging and old ones disappearing but the very procedures of work are changing. New technology is introducing exotic and powerful tools into an already uneasy work environment.*

*What Canadians expect of a job, what they expect to do during a working day, how long that day is, and the expectations of employers concerning productivity are all changing. Even the legal profession is not immune from these morphogenic forces. The Law today is a different profession from that which existed twenty years ago. And when even one of the oldest and most tradition-governed of the human professions can change radically in such a short period of time, the possibility that a fundamental change in the organization of work in general might be occurring must be entertained.*





The Canadian legal profession today is in the midst of a period of great change. The increasing number of lawyers, their altered social background characteristics, and the novel nature of some of their work are all subjects of public and professional discussion. The role of the liberal professions in general is being re-examined as society's requirement for specialized professional work and its ability to pay for such work alter with time. There are only a few quantitative windows from which to view this process of change; the Census, and income tax data are two of the most promising, and the partial images they provide are presented here.

### **The Nature of the Canadian Legal Profession**

The long-term tendency in the Canadian Bar is for an increase in numbers disproportionate to the growth of the Canadian population. This tendency has been in evidence to a greater or lesser extent since the early part of the

twentieth century and has occurred without apparent regard to era or to enrolment policies followed by the various law schools. Accompanying the increase in numbers has been a declining average age of practitioner, increasing participation of women, and substantial attention to other related fields of endeavour such as business and government. During the same period, the characteristics of the Canadian labour force as a whole have changed, most notably with the exodus from salaried agricultural employment.

In Canada the professions as a singular occupational sector have accounted for progressively more of all paid workers in this century, suggesting at the very least that social relations (and service relations with them) have become much more formalized, specialized, contractual in nature, knowledge intensive, and market-based with the passage of time. The professions (and most notably the legal profession) bring to bear dispassionate, informed and

critical judgement on the maintenance of societal and personal order. This task has assumed a related though distinct entrepreneurial aspect in the managing of capital markets (administering pools of risk capital and the writing of debt instruments), underwriting and insuring risk ventures, and syndicating real estate construction and industrial share capitalization. All of these activities were and are dependent on enforceable contracts and assurances of neutral adjudication should circumstances warrant, and on the prior consideration of the detailed tax law consequences of such investments.

But it has been in the last decade when the Canadian legal profession has grown most dramatically in overall size (more than doubling in total registered membership between 1971 and 1981) and become more integrated with the associated worlds of business and government. Where the self-employed lawyer once predominated, working largely

alone to solve legal problems and maintain orderly records, lawyers today are about evenly divided between the self-employed and the salaried, many of the latter working for the organs of government and business as employees. At the same time, the real incomes of lawyers dropped on average in the early 1980's; and there was a small but significant amount of recorded unemployment particularly among the youngest.

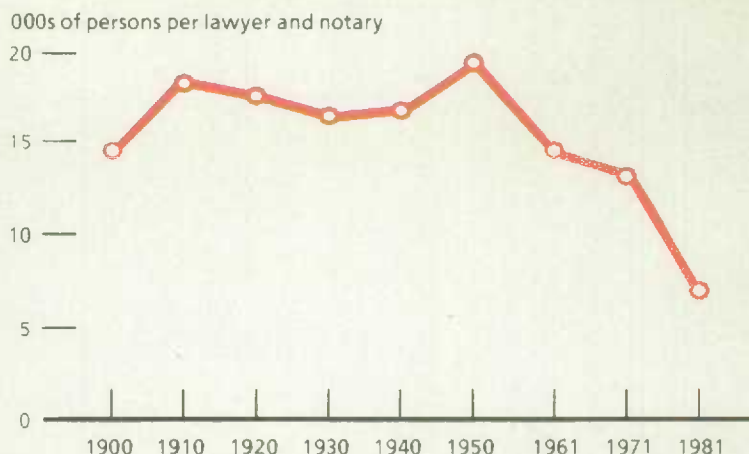
Given these large increases in numbers, it is not surprising that the number of persons per lawyer in Canada has dropped dramatically in recent times. The ratio of Canadians to lawyers (and notaries: see *Lawyers and the Census* below), as reflected in the last three decennial Census years, has declined dramatically from 1,478 Canadians for every lawyer in 1961 to 712 in 1981. It is wise, however, to remember that many of the lawyers represented here do not offer their services to the public directly. Using John Nelligan's historical figures<sup>1</sup> and combining them with contemporary

<sup>1</sup> John Nelligan, *Lawyers in Canada: A Half-Century Count*, Canadian Bar Review, Vol. 28, No. 7, 1950:741.

Census figures on one graph, we can see that the number of persons per lawyer measure has been moving steadily downward since the end of World War II and recently, the rate of

decline has accelerated. Also to be found is a large and continuing discrepancy between provinces in this ratio. While in 1981 there were 641 Ontario citizens for each lawyer, there

**Number of Persons per Lawyer (1900-1950) and per Lawyer and Notary (1961-1981) in Canada**



Source: John Nelligan, *Lawyers in Canada: A Half-Century Count*, Canadian Bar Review, Vol. 28, no. 7, 1950:741; and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada

## Canadian Lawyers, 1900-1950

The one major census of lawyers carried out in Canada independent of the Census of Canada was completed in 1950 by the Canadian Bar Association with the assistance of the then Dominion Bureau of Statistics. There was then a concern with a perceived shortage of lawyers and the following findings were in many ways harbingers of the subsequent experience:

1. Lawyers were maldistributed by region and province. In 1950, in Quebec and Ontario, there was one lawyer for every 1,494 and 1,498 citizens respectively. In contrast, in Newfoundland, there was only 1 lawyer for every 6,327 citizens.
2. Comparative figures for every tenth year from 1900 to 1950 showed a steady decline in the number of lawyers in the eastern provinces relative to the population over the entire period, with a slight increase shown in the decade of the 1920's which quickly gave way to a decrease again thereafter. This pattern was found in all eastern provinces. In the western provinces, the pattern was one of rapid increase in numbers until the 1920's when the general pattern of decrease relative to population emerged, to parallel the eastern experience. The author of the study suggested a direct correlation between the number of lawyers and the level of taxes collected in a jurisdiction. He concluded that "the distribution of lawyers across the country is influenced not only by the size of the population, but also by the general prosperity of the various sections of the country".
3. The survey showed that about one third of all lawyers practicing in Canada in 1950 were to be found in two cities, Toronto and Montreal. The pattern of concentration in the largest city in a province was general and was in evidence from 1900 (when about 75% of all lawyers in Canada were to be found in communities with less than 100,000 population) to 1950 when the comparable figure was about 45%. The author also noted that lawyers in towns were older than their urban colleagues, with western lawyers as a group being older than their eastern counterparts.
4. Size of law firm was shown to be gradually increasing through the period 1900-1950. For example, by 1950 about 20% of Canadian lawyers were found to be practicing in firms with 4 or more partners, in contrast to 5% in 1900.
5. In 1900, "only one woman was shown in the Canadian Law List. The first real growth in numbers came after 1920 when the women increased from 8 to 26 during a ten-year period ... (in 1950) there are 113 listed in the Law List ... Of those shown, however, almost two-thirds are to be found in one province, Ontario". (Quotations and figures from John Nelligan, *Lawyers in Canada: A Half-Century Count*, Canadian Bar Review, Vol. 28, No. 7, 1950:741).



were 2,103 Newfoundland citizens and 1,531 residents of Prince Edward Island for each lawyer. The ratio had dramatically declined with time in all provinces but their relative positions in terms of service levels have been sustained.

Numerical increases in the legal profession are only one aspect of the rise to prominence of the professions in this century. While the overall number of professionals has increased in Canada and elsewhere, this increase has not been shared evenly by men and women. By tradition, some pro-

fessions such as the law and medicine barred women candidates entirely. But even with the removal of these formal barriers in the early part of the twentieth century, the increase in the proportion of women practitioners was not dramatic, at least until relatively recently. Until well into the 1970's the professions in Canada were overwhelmingly male, and in the law, dentistry, and medicine, the preponderance of males was near total. Even when one considers the category of the professions as a group, which includes, for example, lawyers, doc-

tors, nurses, teachers, engineers, and accountants, the proportion of males in all professional occupations in Canada changed little until the late 1970's and actually increased only marginally from 1961 to 1973 (58.0% to 58.8%).

## Legal Education and Legal Work

Legal training and legal practice are not synonymous. Because of the diversity of occupations in which law graduates find themselves after the passage of time in the labour force, and because some

## Legal Education

Enrolment in Canadian law schools grew rapidly in the late 1960's and 1970's to attain a stable full-time enrolment of approximately 10,000 students by the mid-1970's. Enrolments declined fractionally thereafter. At this level of enrolment, approximately 3,000 law degrees are awarded annually. Whereas once law schools were virtually a male preserve, much of the increase in enrolments was made up of female students.

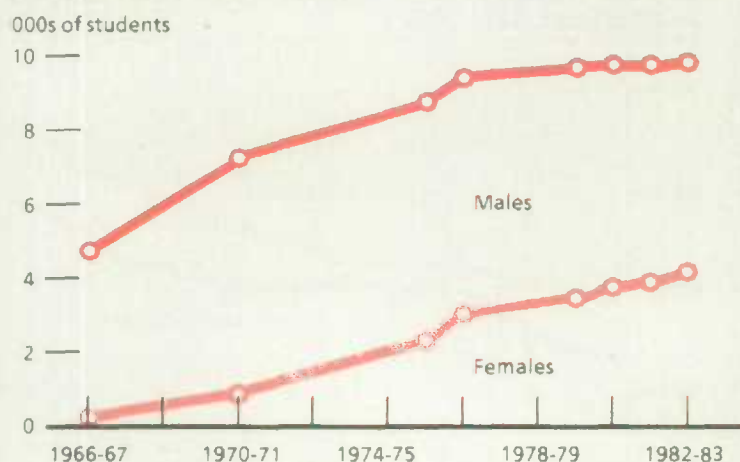
### Full-Time Law Student Enrolment by Sex, 1966-67 to 1982-83

	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	Percentage change <sup>1</sup>	Number	Percentage change <sup>1</sup>	Number	Percentage change <sup>1</sup>
1966-67	4,464	-	281	-	4,745	-
1970-71	6,287	+40.8	918	+226.7	7,205	+51.8
1975-76	6,421	+ 2.1	2,345	+155.4	8,775	+21.8
1976-77	6,380	- 0.1	3,022	+ 28.9	10,402	+18.5
1979-80	6,101	- 4.4	3,489	+ 15.5	9,590	- 7.8
1980-81	6,019	- 1.3	3,724	+ 6.7	9,743	+ 1.6
1981-82	5,837	- 3.0	3,881	+ 4.2	9,718	- 0.3
1982-83	5,640	- 3.4	4,153	+ 7.0	9,793	+ 0.8
1966-67 to 1982-83	+1,176	+26.3%	+3,872	+1,377.9%	+5,048	+106.4%

<sup>1</sup> From previous year listed in table.

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 81-204, *Universities: Enrolment and Degrees*.

### Total Full-time Law Student Enrolment, 1966-67 to 1982-83



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 81-204, *Universities: Enrolment and Degrees*.

### Law Degrees Awarded in Canada, 1969-70 to 1982

	Number of degrees	Annual percentage change
1969-70	1,502	-
1970-71	1,949	+ 29.8
1971-72	2,152	+ 10.4
1972-73	2,268	+ 5.4
1974	2,034	- 10.3
1975	2,083	+ 2.4
1976	2,643	+ 26.9
1977	2,832	+ 7.2
1978	3,022	+ 6.7
1979	2,948	- 2.4
1980	3,017	+ 2.3
1981	3,105	+ 2.9
1982	3,114	+ 0.3

1969-70 to 1982 +1,612 +107.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 81-204, *Universities: Enrolment and Degrees*.

lawyers in the past entered the profession by means other than graduation from a law school (by apprenticeship in another country for instance), it must be remembered that some law graduates never take bar examinations or never successfully complete them. Others are successful but never practice, or only practice for a short while before taking up another occupation, or are unemployed for periods of time. An examination of 1981 Census returns reveals 240 male and 215 female lawyers and notaries who reported themselves as being unemployed throughout the previous year. A further unknown number would not have been considered as being in the labour force since they had ceased to actively look for employment. These figures represent unemployment rates of slightly less than 1% for male and about 4% for female lawyers and notaries. The unemployed may nevertheless retain their membership in Bar lists.

### Lawyers and the Census

Persons who identified themselves as lawyers in the 1961, 1971 and 1981 Censuses of Canada have well defined characteristics. But it is wise to remember that statistics on these Census lawyers and notaries will inevitably differ from those drawn from sources other than the Census (such as income tax data). Census figures are the most encompassing since they include all those who deemed themselves primarily lawyers. These data do in fact show the large absolute increase in the number of lawyers and notaries. In 1961, there were 12,088 in Canada, rising to 16,315 in 1971. But in the period between the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, the number more than doubled to 34,200, rising very much faster than the population as a whole and also in the process stimulating much discussion of oversupply. Few indeed are occupations or professions which more than doubled their absolute size in an inter-censal period.

It is quite possible that some members of the Bar chose to identify their occupations differently in response to Census questions, perhaps to more accurately reflect their day-to-day business activities for example. However, accepting the self-definition of lawyer or notary for present purposes, a fairly clear picture of the large change in the profession over the roughly 20 year period covered emerges. In accepting this framework, it must be acknowledged

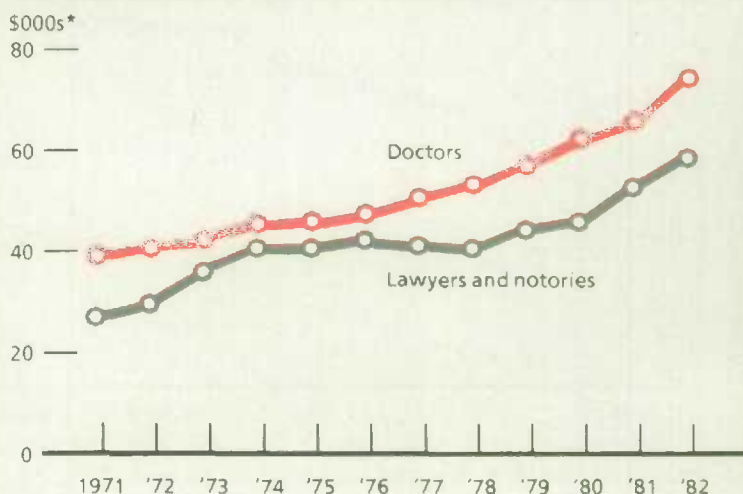
that the addition of notaries to the category to some extent muddies the waters. While notaries in Quebec perform services which are performed by lawyers elsewhere in Canada, and must meet exacting educational requirements, they should not, strictly speaking, be lumped with lawyers in definitive calculations. Nevertheless, the option of deleting them is not available, and as a consequence they must be referred to in combination with lawyers.

Though the number of lawyers in Canada grew dramatically in the latest inter-censal period (about 110%), almost all were in the labour force at the time of the 1981 Census (98%), with a slightly lower figure for female lawyers (96%). Of those in the labour force, almost all were employed (99% overall, 99% of males, and 96% of females). It is apparent that the ratio of salaried to self-employed lawyers is increasing steadily. The number of self-employed lawyers dropped from 68% of the total in 1961 to 51% in 1981. These figures taken together suggest that traditional autonomous practice is rapidly ceasing to be the usual occupational setting for Canadian lawyers and notaries and possibly never was the usual type for female lawyers and notaries in Canada. Lawyers in general, it would appear, are being speedily integrated into the complex organizations of modern government and business.

The geographical distribution of lawyers in Canada is available for the last three decennial Censuses. Historically, as was noted, there has been substantial unevenness in the distribution of lawyers in Canada. The overall distribution of lawyers in the three Census years changed little in the 20 year period. The largest change noted was in British Columbia which had 10.3% of Canadian lawyers in 1961 and 13.1% in 1981 (an increase of 2.8 percentage points). The percentage also increased in Alberta from 7.9% to 9.8% of the Canadian total. In all other provinces, proportional increases were less than 1% (plus or minus) with the exception of Quebec, Manitoba, and Ontario which lost proportional shares of 2.2, 1.7, and 1.2 percentage points respectively. These alterations tend to reflect changing patterns of economic activity as Nelligan suggested in 1950.

Alberta experienced by far the largest percentage increase in the actual number of lawyers, a 176% increase from 1,220 to 3,365 between 1971 and 1981. British Columbia also showed a major percentage increase in the number of lawyers of 143% (from 1,835 to 4,455). The number of lawyers increased dramatically in all provinces, however, with the lowest increase found in Manitoba (70%). Thus, while the more than doubling of the number of lawyers and notaries in Canada (110%) was a general pheno-

**Average Income of Self-employed Doctors and Lawyers and Notaries, 1971-1982**



Source: Revenue Canada, Taxation Statistics.

\* All returns - taxable and non-taxable in current dollars.



menon, it was most pronounced in the west, particularly in Alberta and British Columbia. This corresponds also to overall patterns of population change in Canada.

### Other Social Characteristics of Canadian Lawyers

There was a great influx of younger persons to the profession of law beginning in the 1970's, with women being very prominent in this increase. The mean age of male lawyers in Canada dropped from 42 years in 1961 to 41 years in 1971 and to 39 years in 1981. Similar figures for female lawyers were 40, 39 and 33 years respectively. Looking at it in a different way, in 1961 52% of male lawyers and 57% of female lawyers were under 40 years of age. But by 1981, these proportions had increased to 65% and 85%. The increasing representation of young female lawyers in 1981 is most graphic, but there is a continuing trend to a more youthful group of lawyers as a whole.

Other related dimensions of the social characteristics of lawyers and notaries which the Census captures are place of birth and ethnic origin. In 1961, fully 79% of Canadian lawyers were affiliated with either the British or French "Charter" groups in terms of ethnicity. By 1971, this total had fallen to 73%. In the 1981 Census, ethnic origin categories were changed resulting in an apparent further decline to

66%. However, when one adds to the total the new 1981 Census categories of "British and French", "British and other", and "French and other", the total returns to 73%, a proportion identical to that in 1971. In both 1971 and 1981, female lawyers were drawn from the "Charter Groups" to a slightly greater extent than males, suggesting that it is the new male entrants of non-"Charter Group" ethnic origins who are slightly disproportionately responsible for the gradual decline in the dominance of British and French ethnic origins in the legal profession.

Among the other ethnic groups, the only remarkable change noticeable is that of native people. In 1961, there was only one lawyer noted as a native person. But by 1981, there were 60, a significant increase. Overall, however, there is considerable continuity on this measure, as is the case with place of birth. Lawyers and notaries in Canada are still overwhelmingly Canadian-born (90% in 1961; 88% in 1981). With the sole exception of those of Asian birth (0.3% in 1961; 1.1% in 1981), the proportion stayed virtually unchanged over the twenty-year period.

On another dimension of Census returns, education (and specifically the possession of a university degree), we can see the gradual decline in numbers of those who entered the profession without first obtaining a university degree. One exception to

the pattern is a drop in the 1971 Census in the number of female lawyers having a university degree.

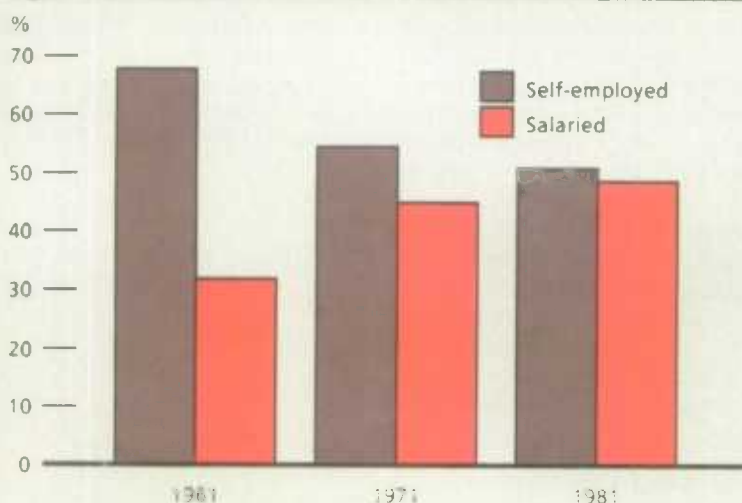
Two final dimensions round out the picture derivable from Census figures. These represent marital status and period of immigration. We note that the overall distribution of marital status changed little between 1961 and 1981 with the exception of persons who were divorced at the time of the Census. This figure rose from 0.5% to 3.1%. It is wise to remember that this figure represents only those who are currently divorced at the time of a Census. Many of these persons will remarry, and many of those represented as married would have previously been divorced. No record is obtained of previous marriages.

There is, however, a very apparent rise in the proportion of married female lawyers (from 38% in 1961, to

### From Income Tax Data

The number of vocations open to successful candidates for the Bar is extensive and some considerable difficulties arise when it comes time to count "lawyers and notaries". Revenue Canada Taxation, for example, chooses to publish figures annually only on "self-employed lawyers and notaries". This total would obviously exclude the significant number of lawyers (perhaps as much as 50% of the grand total) working as salaried employees of government and business but include lawyers who may engage in entrepreneurial or investment banking activities while maintaining their membership in the Bar. The figures show that the provincial distribution of self-employed lawyers and notaries has changed little over the period covered. If we compare the information filed by self-employed lawyers and notaries with that of self-employed physicians and surgeons, we see that over the period 1971 to 1982, the number of self-employed lawyers and notaries increased by a factor of 1.68 while the parallel factor for self-employed physicians and surgeons was 1.45. In the same period, the average income in current dollars (not controlling for inflation) for lawyers increased by a factor of 2.15 (doctors: 1.92), and total reported income for all lawyers increased by a factor of 3.62 (doctors: 2.79).

**Salaried and Self-employed Lawyers and Notaries, 1961-1981**



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

45% in 1971 and increasing to 58% in 1981). This finding strongly suggests that female lawyers do not now leave the labour force upon marriage to anything like the extent they might once have done.

Finally, there are data which indicate that immigration provided a fairly constant 10-11% of Canadian lawyers over the period covered. It has always provided more of the female lawyers (14% in 1961; 12% in 1971; 13% in 1981) and that immigration tended to have occurred more recently for females, but the difference between males and females is not large.

### Female Lawyers

In the process of doubling in numbers between 1971 and 1981, the Canadian legal profession cast off its all-male image. The characteristics of the large number of new, presumably younger, and much more often female members of the profession have coloured the contours of the group as a whole. While in 1961, only 3% of members were female, by 1981 that percentage had risen to 15%. The largest part of that increase occurred in the 1971 to 1981 period when the number of female lawyers rose from 780 to 5,175 for Canada as a whole, an increase of 563%. Clearly, whatever barriers to the entrance of women into the profession of law which existed prior to 1961 were largely cast aside in the 1970's.

Also apparent is a much more pronounced change for women lawyers: work in salaried positions. Almost 74% of women lawyers were salaried in 1981, compared to about 59% in 1961. In each successive Census year a much larger proportion of females was salaried than was the case with males.

Census data indicate that the average employment income of all fully-employed female lawyers in Canada (both salaried and self-employed) actually rose by 2.6% in real terms over the period 1970 to 1980. However, the average employment incomes of female lawyers and notaries still tended to lag far behind those of males (about 58% on average). This figure is not inconsistent with the recent experience of Canadian women labour force participants taken as a group.

The pattern of equalization of provincial distribution of women lawyers has also been pronounced. In 1961, fully 52% of all female lawyers in



Canada were to be found in Ontario. By 1981, however, this proportion had dropped to about 33%, though the increase in absolute numbers of female lawyers in Ontario was still the largest in Canada (162 to 1,705). The next highest increase was in Manitoba where the number of female lawyers increased 933% (from 15 to 155), followed by Alberta (809%; from 55 to 500).

The unemployment rate among female lawyers, at 4%, is noticeably higher than that for males (1%). With reference to work in the year prior to the Census (1980), there was considerably more under-employment among women. While about 72 percent of male lawyers worked 49 to 52 weeks in 1980, mostly full-time, only 53% of female lawyers fell into this fully employed category. Similarly, over two and a half times as many females as males reported only 1 to 26 weeks of employment in 1980 (18% to 7%). This difference may reflect post-graduation entry into the labour force of a larger proportion of women midway through 1980; however, women lawyers appear to be engaged in more part-time and more episodic work than is prevalent in the pattern of employment reported by male lawyers.

### A Changing Profession

As the 1950 Canadian Bar Association study suggested, the absolute level of legal services in a given locale is largely reflective of the level of economic activity in that place, as the

cases of Alberta and British Columbia have demonstrated in the last decade by the very rapid growth in membership in their respective provincial Bars. But overall increases and decreases in the number of lawyers have masked internal changes both with respect to the social background characteristics of practitioners and to the nature of the work. We have touched little on the latter but it is self-evident that new areas such as communications law have emerged as striking new specialties in the last decade. Other areas such as family law, while not new, have changed so much that they are virtually unrecognizable from the point of view of even two decades ago.

There have been many ramifications of this process of growth and change for the legal profession. Because there is no widely acknowledged unitary core of knowledge and expertise (or law school curriculum) underlying the practice of law, actual occupational specialization has taken legal practitioners far afield from what might be termed textbook law, so far in fact that much of what is actually done in a practice could only be learned on the job as a result of day-to-day problem solving. Today's legal professionals, lacking shared and immediate social ties (which in the early English origins of the profession were intended to be buttressed by a stipulated number of dinners eaten each year at the Inns of Court<sup>1</sup>), shared expertise, shared knowledge base, shared work responsibilities, sites of work, or even shared content of work in its most general sense, sit together only under the shared legislative umbrella.

<sup>1</sup> W.J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth Century England*, London: Cox and Wyman 1966, 22.



## Social Indicators

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
<b>Population</b>								
Canada (000s)	23,517.0	23,747.3	24,042.5	24,341.7	24,631.8	24,885.9	25,127.9	25,358.5
Annual growth rate	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.9
Immigration	82,939	138,079	129,466	134,920	105,286	87,504	80,793P	*
Emigration	63,559	51,060	43,609	44,823	49,869	48,397	47,967P	*
<b>Family</b>								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	15.3	15.5	15.5	15.3	15.1	15.0	15.0	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	7.9	7.9	8.0	7.8	7.6	7.4	7.4	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.6	*
Families experiencing unemployment	699	652	671	694	986	1,072	1,037	991
<b>Labour Force</b>								
Total employment (000s)	9,987	10,395	10,708	11,006	10,644	10,734	11,000	11,311
- goods sector (000s)	3,324	3,474	3,514	3,581	3,260	3,209	3,309	3,348
- services sector (000s)	6,662	6,921	7,194	7,425	7,384	7,525	7,692	7,963
Total unemployment (000s)	908	836	865	898	1,314	1,448	1,399	1,328
Unemployment rate	8.3	7.4	7.5	7.5	11.0	11.9	11.3	10.5
Part time employment rate	12.1	12.5	13.0	13.5	14.4	15.4	15.4	15.5
Women's participation rate	47.9	49.0	50.4	51.7	51.7	52.6	53.5	54.3
Unionization rate - % of paid workers	31.9	32.6	32.2	32.9	33.3	35.7	*	*
<b>Income</b>								
Average family income - 1982 \$	33,513	33,283	34,152	33,728	32,981	32,836	32,287P	*
% of families with low income	-	13.1	12.2	12.0	13.2	14.0	15.0P	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	-	63.3	-	63.6	64.0	*	*	*
<b>Education</b>								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	5,294.0	5,184.7	5,106.3	5,032.4	4,995.8	4,976.9	4,945.9	*
Full time postsecondary enrolment	617.8	623.5	643.4	675.3	722.0	763.9	798.6P	*
Doctoral degrees awarded	1,819	1,803	1,738	1,816	1,713	1,821	1,851P	*
Government expenditure on education (1982 \$000,000)	22,426.8	22,598.2	22,512.7	23,082.3	22,807.9	22,320.8	21,865.4	*
<b>Health</b>								
Suicide rate (per 100,000)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- men	22.3	21.4	21.2	21.3	22.3	23.4	21.4	*
- women	7.3	7.0	6.8	6.8	6.4	6.9	6.1	*
% of population 15+ who are regular cigarette smokers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- men	-	38.6	-	36.7	-	34.0	-	*
- women	-	30.1	-	28.9	-	28.3	-	*
Government expenditure on health (1982 \$000,000)	18,058.8	18,456.1	19,564.9	20,831.2	21,091.0	22,227.2	22,601.8	*
<b>Justice</b>								
Crime rates (per 100,000)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- violent	592	623	648	666	685	692	714	*
- property	4,673	5,013	5,551	5,873	5,955	5,717	5,607	*
- homicide	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	*
<b>Government</b>								
Expenditures on social programs <sup>1</sup> (1982 \$000,000)	90,783.9	91,126.7	95,340.7	97,499.7	103,951.1	106,810.1	102,870.1	*
- as a % of total expenditures	60.4	59.3	57.7	57.3	57.3	59.0	57.8	*
- as a % of GNP	26.1	25.1	25.7	25.9	29.0	29.0	28.1	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	2,523.9	2,332.9	2,274.1	2,432.4	3,123.1	3,396.1	3,221.9	*
OAS/GIS beneficiaries <sup>m</sup> (000s)	2,075.2	2,145.4	2,236.0	2,302.8	2,368.6	2,425.7	2,490.9	2,569.5P
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries <sup>m</sup> (000s)	1,501.9	1,547.6	1,334.3	1,418.4	1,502.8	1,832.9	1,894.9	1,223.3P
<b>Economic Indicators</b>								
GNP - annual change	+ 3.6	+ 3.2	+ 1.1	+ 3.3	- 4.4	+ 3.3	+ 5.0	+ 4.5
Annual inflation rate	8.8	9.2	10.2	12.5	10.8	5.8	4.4	4.0
Urban housing starts	178,678	151,717	125,013	142,441	104,792	134,207	110,874	139,408

- Not available; \* Not yet available; P Preliminary estimates; <sup>m</sup> Figures as of March.

<sup>1</sup> Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.

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| 91-210  | <b>Postcensal Annual Estimates of Population by Marital Status, Age, Sex and Components of Growth for Canada and the Provinces, 1984, Annual, 190 pp, \$22.00 in Canada; \$23.00 other countries</b>          |
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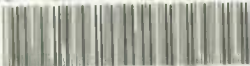
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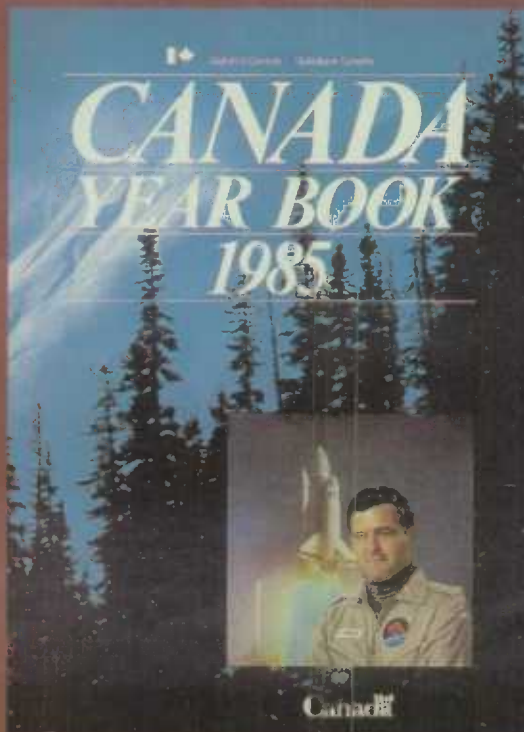
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