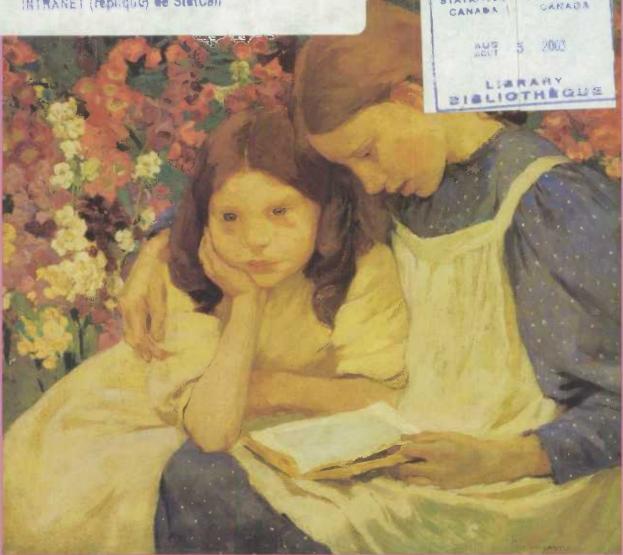
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Cover: Fairy Tales (c. 1916) oil on canvas, 68.8 x 72.0 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

About the artist:

Born in 1864 in Douglas, Ontario, **Mary A. Eastlake** (nee Bell) spent her early childhood in Almonte (Ont.) and Carillon (Que.). A student of Robert Harris of Montreal, she later took up her artistic studies in Paris where she also exhibited some of her paintings. Continuing her work, she went to England where she met and married land-scapist C.H. Eastlake. In 1939, Mrs. Eastlake, with her husband, arrived in Canada taking up residence in Montreal for several years and then later on moved to Almonte. During the winter of 1927, the Art Gallery of Toronto held one of her largest Canadian exhibitions. Mrs. Eastlake died in Ottawa in 1951.



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ADOPTION

in Canada

by Kerry J. Daly and Michael P. Sobol

uring the 1980s, the number of children, especially infants, who were placed by their mothers for adoption dropped sharply. There was not, however, a corresponding decline in the number of people wanting to adopt a child. Consequently, waiting lists have grown and it often takes several years to adopt a child. Adopting privately rather than through a public agency can greatly shorten waiting times, although such adoptions can be very costly. For some mothers who make the difficult decision of placing their child for adoption, services provided by private agencies and individuals may be more attractive than those offered by public agencies. In particular, private services usually offer more open communication between birth mothers and adoptive parents.

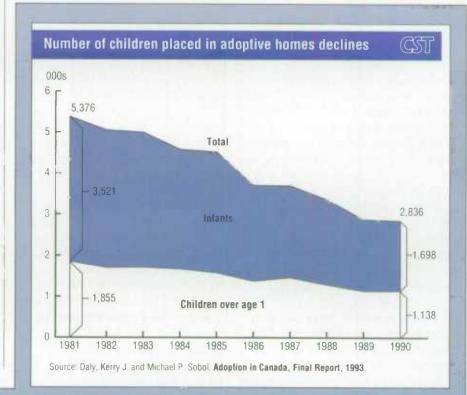
Number of children placed in adoptive homes dropped during the 1980s In 1990, about 2,840 Canadian children were placed in adoptive homes, down 47% from 5,380 in 1981. This drop was due, in large part, to a sharp decline in infant adoptions. During the 1980s, the number of infants placed in adoptive homes fell 52%, to 1,700 in 1990 from 3,520 in 1981. Over the same period, the number of children over age 1 placed with adoptive parents dropped 39%, to 1,140 from 1,860. Consequently, infants accounted for a smaller proportion of all

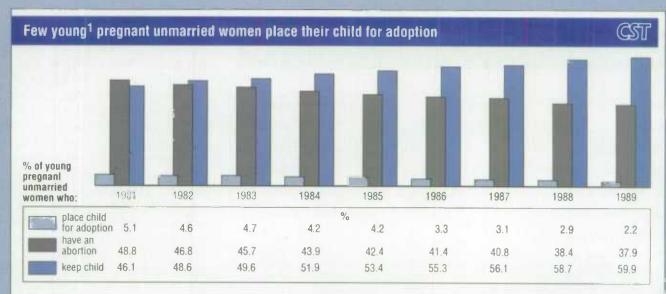
children placed in adoptive homes in 1990 (60%) than they did in 1981 (65%).

Although many people are waiting to adopt an infant, there are some children for whom it is difficult to find an adoptive home. This includes not only older children, but also those with health problems or disabilities who may be physically, emotionally or cognitively challenged. Children also may be difficult to place if they are members of a racial

or ethnic minority or if they have had problems in previous foster and/or adoptive placements.

Few unmarried mothers place their child for adoption Most women who place an infant for adoption are unmarried and under age 25. Although the number of pregnant unmarried women this age rose by almost 8,500, to 77,210 in 1989 from 68,755 in 1981, very few





Source: Daly, Kerry J. and Michael P. Sobol, Adoption in Canada, Final Report, 1993

women in either year placed their child for adoption. Between 1981 and 1989, the proportion of unmarried pregnant women under age 25 who placed their child for adoption declined to 2% from 5%.

There was, however, a sharp increase in the proportion of young unmarried women who kept their child and a corresponding decline in the proportion whose pregnancy ended in abortion. By 1989, 60% of unmarried women under age 25 chose to keep their child, up sharply from 46% in 1981. Over the same period, the proportion of pregnancies among these women that ended in abortion had dropped to 38% from 49%.

Several factors likely influenced birth mothers' decisions to raise their children themselves. In particular, the social stigma associated with being an unmarried mother has diminished significantly. Consequently, women today are more likely to feel comfortable raising a child on their own, and to have support from their families, friends and communities. In addition, common-law unions became more prevalent during the 1980s. As a result, by 1990, a growing proportion of unmarried mothers would have been with a partner who could share parenting responsibilities.

Too young to parent most common reason for placing child for adoption Mothers who decide to place their child for adoption are usually very young. It is not surprising, therefore, that many women who chose adoption did so

because they felt that they were either not emotionally mature enough or financially ready to raise a child.

According to adoption facilitators, the most common reason for placing a child for adoption, given by 51% of mothers, was that they felt that they were too young to parent. Other main reasons included feeling that they were financially unable to parent (26%) and the belief that parenting would interfere with their educational and career aspirations (21%). Encouragement from parents, peers and the birth father to give the child up for adoption was a major factor for less than 10% of young mothers. Very few women (6%) who signed a consent to place their child for adoption later changed their mind.

Two-thirds of people trying to adopt have no parenting experience According to the National Adoption Study, people have a variety of reasons for wanting to adopt a child, including the inability to have their own child, and the desire to experience parenthood or complete a family. Although most people applying to adopt a child have no parenting experience, 14% were already adoptive parents. 13% had at least one child of their own and 6% had been foster parents. Almost all people applying to adopt a child are in a couple relationship, with only 3% of applicants in 1990 unattached.

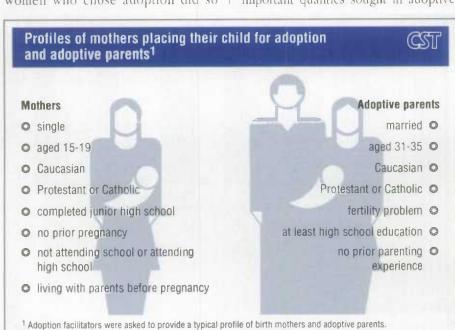
Potential adoptive parents face a rigorous screening process. Some of the more important qualities sought in adoptive parents are marital stability, parenting abilities and an understanding of adoption and its complications. People facilitating adoptions expressed concerns about placing a child with single or homosexual applicants, with those of a race or ethnicity different from that of the child and with those over age 40.

Private adoptions faster, but potentially expensive Both the public and private sectors facilitate adoptions in Canada. Public facilitators are provincially-funded ministerial offices and agencies that do not charge fees for their services to adoptive parents. On the other hand, private agencies and independent practitioners, such as physicians, lawyers and social workers, have no direct supervision from provincial ministries. Some charge fees to adoptive parents, while others do not.

Although fees are often high, private adoption services may be more appealing than public services to some adoptive parents because the waiting period is usually much shorter. The waiting period through private agencies and individuals who charge fees is about 21 months. The time increases to just under 3 years among independent practitioners (34 months) and private agencies (32 months) without fees. In contrast, public adoptions take an average of 6 years, and 25% of public agencies reported waiting times of 8-12 years.

Among those charging for adoption services, average fees vary between agencies and individuals. Private agency-facilitated adoptions cost an average of \$3,610, compared with \$3,460 for independent practitioners. These costs cover legal fees (the highest portion), investigation of the birth parent's history, home studies and pre-counselling of the birth parent. Additional services may be provided, such as pre- and post-adoption counselling and home study updates. These and any extra administration fees or other birth parent expenses can increase the average cost of adoption to \$5,870 for private agencies, and to \$4,530 for independent practitioners. Costs for privately-administered international adoptions would be even higher because of additional transportation, lodging and administration fees.

Private adoption offers birth mothers more openness Birth mothers may be



attracted to privately-facilitated adoptions because private agencies and independent practitioners who charge fees tend to provide more openness between birth mothers and adoptive parents. Public agencies and independent practitioners who do not charge fees tend not to offer the same degree of openness. Traditionally, there has been

little communication or openness between birth mothers and adoptive parents. Today, however, in some cases, birth mothers may choose adoptive parents for their children from family profiles. In other cases, birth mothers and adoptive parents may meet before or after the placement of the child or stay in contact through letters.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

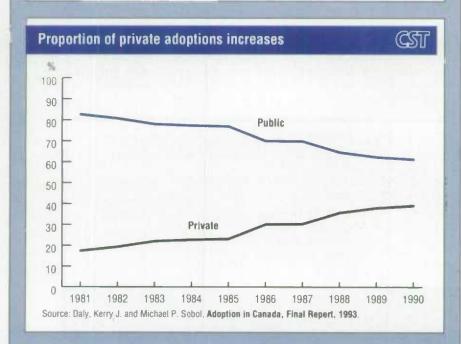


The National Adoption Study

This study, funded in 1990 by National Welfare Grants, Health Canada, was designed to provide a "satellite" view of adoption in Canada. Provincial and territorial adoption coordinators were asked to supply 1981-1990 adoption statistics for a variety of categories. A number of difficulties were encountered when trying to compile these statistics, First, social service ministries are responsible for keeping provincial adoption statistics. Because their mandates are service- and not research-oriented, it is rare to find complete long-term record-keeping. Second, there has been no attempt to coordinate adoption definitions and categories across the country. Third, in some provinces, private adoptions are either forbidden by law or continue without the possibility of provincial ministry scrutiny, and therefore it is difficult to determine even a count of such adoptions.

Consequently, it was necessary to estimate some data, based on trends that emerged in other provinces. The overall uniformity and consistency in adoption trends from one province to the next endorsed the validity of the estimates.

For a full discussion of the results of the study, see **Adoption in Canada**, **Final Report**, **1993**, available through the National Adoption Study, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, N1G 2W1.



Increasing proportion adopting privately The number of public adoptions declined during the 1980s. In 1990, 1,730 adoptions were facilitated through public agencies, down from 4,440 in 1981. Private adoptions, on the other hand, remained relatively constant at around 1,070 during the decade. As a result of these trends, the proportion of adoptions that were privately facilitated increased to 39% in 1990 from 17% in 1981. Similarly, private infant adoptions increased rapidly. rising to 59% of all infant adoptions in 1990, up from 22% in 1981. Private adoptions among older children continue to be rare, although they increased during the last half of the 1980s. In 1990, only 9% of adoptions of older children were facilitated by private agencies, up from 4% in 1986. During the early 1980s, this proportion fluctuated between 6% and 11%.

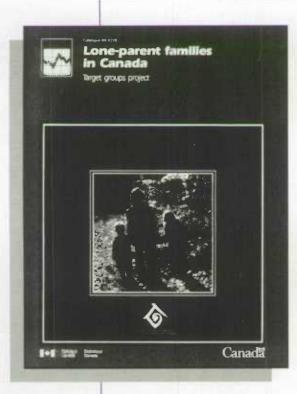
There are fewer applicants waiting to adopt privately than publicly, partly a reflection of the cost of these services. In 1990, there were 2.7 applicants for every child placed privately in an adoptive home, compared with 3.2 for every child placed though a public agency. Among infants, the ratios were higher. There were 3 applicants for every privately-adopted infant, compared with almost 8 applicants for every child placed through a public agency.

In 1990, about 8,000 couples and I30 single people were waiting to adopt privately, while about 14,000 couples and 500 single people were on public agency waiting lists. It is possible, however, that some people may be included on both private and public waiting lists. These totals do not include people trying to adopt internationally. Although there are no national data on people trying to adopt children from other countries, facilitators of international adoptions estimated that there were between 2,000 and 5,000 people on these waiting lists.

Kerry J. Daly is a Professor, Dept. of Family Studies and **Michael P. Sobol** is a Professor, Dept. of Psychology, both with the University of Guelph, and are Codirectors of the National Adoption Study.



Lone-parent families in Canada



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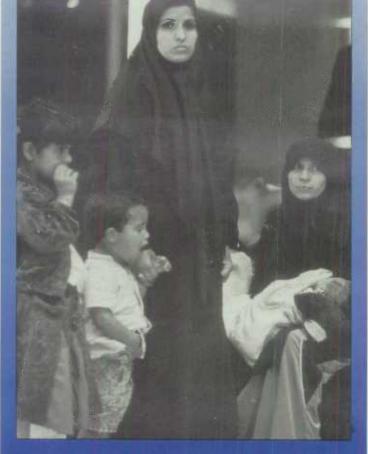
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CANADA'S REFUGEE FLOWS Gender Inequality

by Monica Boyd



"ONE IMPRESSION STANDS OUT ABOVE ALL OTHERS: THE FACES OF THE REFUGEES ARE OVERWHELMINGLY THE FACES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN."

Susan Forbes Martin, then a member of the United States Commission on Refugees, wrote this statement in her journal while on a 1986 site visit to a refugee camp in Thailand.¹

their home countries. because of persecution and fear, face many challenges. Relations between women and men, and children and parents, are altered. The maintenance of culture is often difficult. Many refugees, particularly those living in camps, have problems obtaining basic necessities, like food and water, as well as accessing supplies, health care and education. Many struggle daily for their family's survival.

cople in flight from

Of all world refugees, estimated to total 16.7 million in 1990, only a small minority will have their needs met through asylum in Canada. Between 1981 and 1991, Canada admitted 279,000 people as perma-

nent residents on humanitarian grounds Of these, 30% were UN convention refugees and 70% were members of designated groups.

People admitted to Canada as UN convention refugees or as members of designated groups may be sponsored to

come to Canada or they may arrive at Canada's borders and apply for refugee status. Those who are sponsored by the government or by organizations such as churches are given permanent residence upon their arrival in Canada. Those who arrive at Canada's borders on their own must apply for refugee status. If their application is accepted, they may stay in Canada until their claim is heard by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). Only those who receive a positive decision by the board may apply to remain in Canada as a permanent resident.

Most world refugees are women and children

Comprehensive and detailed data on the world refugee population are not available. However, the distribution of world refugees by gender and age is expected to approximate that of the total populations of areas where most refugees live – Africa, South Asia and the Middle East.² This is because the conditions which produce

refugee flows, including abrupt changes in regimes and the formation of new nation

¹ Martin, Susan Forbes, **Refugee Women**, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: ZED Books Ltd., 1992.

² Keely, Charles B., "The Resettlement of Women and Children Refugees," **Migration World**, Vol. 20, No. 4(Fall): 14-18, 1992.

states, usually affect the whole population in areas where they occur.

The populations of Africa, South Asia and the Middle East are characterized by relatively high fertility rates. As a result, in many countries in these areas, about half of the population is under age 15. Assuming that the numbers of adult men and women in these countries are similar, then about 75% of the populations of these areas consist of children (50%) and women (25%).

Estimates of the percentage of world refugees who are women and children range between 75% and 85%. Estimates that exceed 75% reflect upward adjustments to account for the higher percentage of women and children that have been observed in some United Nations' High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) camps. It also includes the expectation that men are less likely to be present in refugee camps or among groups in flight because of death or imprisonment or because of continued insurgency or military involvement in their area of origin.

Men predominate among refugees admitted to Canada as permanent residents Among those admitted to Canada as permanent residents on humanitarian grounds during the past decade (UN convention refugees and members of designated groups), there were over one and a half times as many men as women. Men are estimated to represent one-quarter of the world refugee population. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada records, however, men accounted for 48% of UN convention refugees and 47% of designated groups admitted to Canada from 1981 to 1991. In contrast, 27% of UN convention refugees and 30% of designated groups admitted to Canada during that period were women.

Children under age 15 were greatly under-represented among refugees admitted to Canada as permanent residents. Although it is estimated that half of populations in flight are usually children, they accounted for 24% of both UN convention refugees and designated groups admitted to Canada from 1981 to 1991.

Only in classes of immigrants where admission was not based on humanitarian grounds did women predominate. From 1981 to 1991, women represented 43% of those accepted under classes where admission was not based on humanitarian grounds, while men represented 37% and children 19%. The higher representation of women in these other classes largely results from a concentration of women in the family class, where they outnumber men by 50%. From 1981 to 1991, 304,282 women were admitted in this class,

compared with 219,418 men. Many women admitted in the family class were entering Canada to rejoin family members already in the country.

Men more likely than women never to have been married According to Citizenship and Immigration data, between 1981 and 1991, 59% of men admitted as UN convention refugees and 45% admitted as members of designated groups were never married. Among women admitted, the corresponding percentages were 37% and 33%, respectively. Of those admitted to Canada as permanent residents under other classes where admission was not based on humanitarian grounds, 38% of men and 32% of women never had been married. A high proportion of never-married men in the UN convention refugee and designated group categories may result in a limited number of refugee women and children immigrating to Canada on the basis of family ties.

Those admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds and who have permanent resident status can sponsor the migration of close relatives to Canada, many of whom are also victims of flight or persecution.³ By definition, never-married people admitted on humanitarian grounds will have no spouses and likely no

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



What is a refugee? According to Article 1 of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is a person who "...owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country...."

Canada is a signatory to this convention and thus uses the UN definition of a refugee in assessing who is eligible to enter Canada as a refugee. The Canadian *Immigration Act*, 1976 and amendments introduced in

Bill C-86 (December, 1992) also provide for the admission of other groups on humanitarian grounds.² "Designated classes" is a term used to capture a variety of "refugee like" situations including mass outflows (such as those from Indochina).

disproportionate punishment for violation of strict exit controls (self-exiles) and, for specific countries, the internally displaced (political prisoners and oppressed people).

- ¹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Refugee Affairs Immigration Policy Group, 1993.
- ² See subsection 6(3) of the *Immigration Act*.

children to sponsor. In contrast, married people admitted to Canada on these grounds may sponsor the eventual migration of spouses and children. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine from the Canadian landed immigrant data base which migrants admitted to Canada on the basis of family ties are actually a continuation of an earlier refugee movement.

Process for selecting refugees eliminates many women Compared to worldwide estimates of the composition of refugee populations, women are underrepresented in humanitarian-based admissions to Canada for a number of reasons. Men are more likely than women to travel to Canada's borders and become refugee applicants. Among the 57,455 claims finalized in 1991 and 1992 by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB), 66% were claims from men. Men are also more likely than women to be politically active participants when repression, insurgency and civil war occur and thus meet the criteria of a UN convention refugee.

The UN convention definition of a refugee considers race, religion, nationality and membership in a particular social group or political opinion as reasons why an individual may fear being persecuted in their home country. In many countries,

however, women undergo persecution as a consequence of the actions of other family members. Such experiences, which can involve rape, torture and beatings, may not be considered "persecution" by IRB adjudicators.

Recognizing that many refugee claimants fear gender-related persecution, on March 9, 1993, the IRB released guidelines assisting members in assessing claims based on gender persecution. These guidelines are directed to members of the IRB who review refugee claimant cases and are not part of Canada's immigration legislation.

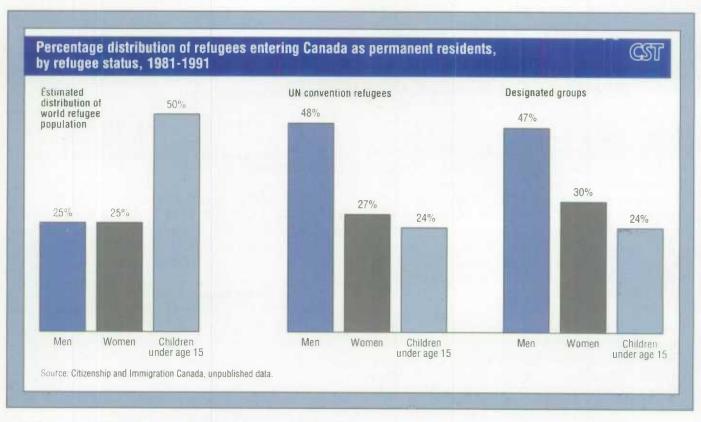
The process used to select refugees from outside Canada also results in men being more likely than women to be admitted. To be admitted into Canada as a permanent resident, those seeking asylum must first meet the United Nations' criteria of a UN convention refugee or be a member of a designated group. In addition, people from outside Canada, such as those in refugee camps, must be considered admissible, which generally means that they should exhibit the potential for eventual successful resettlement in Canada.

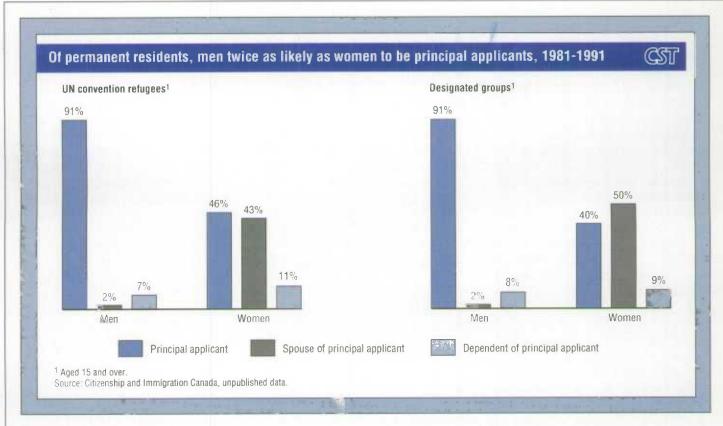
Men are more likely than women to meet admissibility standards that major settlement countries, like Canada, impose. This is because socio-economic characteristics,

such as exposure to Western lifestyles, education, knowledge of English or French, and job skills, are used to assess claimants' potential for successful settlement. As women in many countries where refugees originate receive fewer educational, employment and social opportunities than men, they are less likely to meet admissibility standards on their own merits. In addition, because refugee service agencies and national governments emphasize eventual repatriation rather than permanent resettlement, they do not usually select women and children who are temporarily separated from husbands and fathers.

When women are admitted to Canada on humanitarian criteria, they are much more likely than men to enter as part of a larger family unit in which another individual has satisfied admission standards. According to Citizenship and Immigration data for 1981 to 1991, less than half of women admitted to Canada as UN convention refugees or as members of designated groups were principal applicants, compared with 91% of men

³ Refugees with permanent resident status are no longer required to sponsor the migration of their spouses and children. Instead, when the applicants receive permanent resident status so do their spouses and children.





admitted. Whereas 43% of women who were convention refugees and 50% of women who were members of designated groups entered as spouses of principal applicants, less than 2% of men in each of these groups were admitted as spouses.

"Women at risk" program initiated to address problems The difficulties that refugee women face in meeting settlement criteria resulted in the UNHCR taking an initiative in the mid-1980s to target "women at risk." Canada started a women at risk program in 1987, and women have been admitted through this program since 1988. From 1988 to 1991, however, the total number of people admitted under this program, including women as well as their family members, was very small (391), representing only 0.3% of all UN convention refugees and members of designated groups admitted during that period.⁴

The women at risk program is designed to allow women who meet the eligibility criteria of a UN convention refugee or a member of a designated group to be admitted into Canada, even if they do not meet admissibility standards due to low educational attainment, limited labour-market skills or heavy child-care responsibilities. In general, this program admits women in precarious situations where local authorities can not ensure their safety and protection, such as those experiencing harassment by local authorities or members of their own communities. This situation most likely occurs when adult males are absent from the household.

Many women left behind Women and children are less likely than men to be accepted for settlement in Canada and other Western countries on humanitarian grounds. Given that women and children form a large proportion of populations in flight, this implies that they disproportionately remain in their initial country of refuge.

In addition to problems faced by all refugees, such as separation from family members, poor living conditions, inadequate health care and difficulty maintaining culture, 5,6,7 refugee women are often the targets of violence. For many refugee women, however, the persecution they face goes unrecognized and the barriers to acceptance for resettlement they encounter are unbreakable.

- 4 Immigration Statistics, annual reports, 1988-1991. By September 1993, 620 people had been admitted under this program.
- ⁵ Martin, Susan Forbes, The Economic Activities of Refugee Women. Washington, D.C.: Refugee Policy Group, The Center for Policy Analysis and Research on Refugee Issues, 1988.
- ⁶ Ptolemy, Kathleen, "First International Consultation on Refugee Women: Geneva (November, 1988)," Canadian Woman Studies 10 (Spring): 21-24, 1989.
- ⁷ Taft, Julia Vadala, Issues and Options for Refugee Women in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C.: Refugee Policy Group, 1987.
- **Dr. Monica Boyd**, past president of the Canadian Population Society, is currently the Pepper Distinguished Professor, Department of Sociology and Research Associate, Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.
- For additional information on this topic, see Conference Proceedings: Gender Issues and Refugees: Development Implications. Centre for Refugee Studies, York University. North York, Canada (forthcoming).





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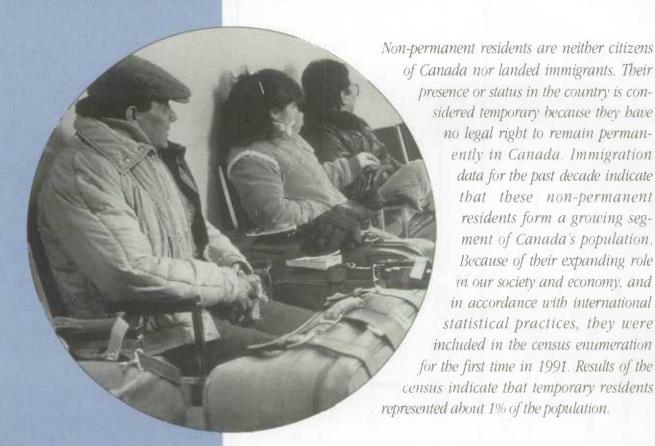
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Temporary Residents of Canada

by Craig McKie



any non-permanent residents are working in Canada at the request of an employer and possess an employment authorization that allows them to reside legally in this country. Some temporary residents have student visas allowing them to stay in Canada to attend school or university. Others have been admitted into the country on humanitarian, compassionate or national interest grounds, such as applicants for refugee status and those holding Minister's permits authorizing residence in Canada. Some are visiting Canada with documented visitor's visas, while others

are living in the country without legal permission.

Non-permanent residents concentrated in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver Of non-permanent residents enumerated by the 1991 Census, almost three-quarters were living in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. In 1991, 44% of non-permanent residents were living in the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA), while 18% were in the Montreal CMA and 10% in the Vancouver CMA.

Non-permanent residents represented 2.5% of the Toronto CMA's total population.

The next highest concentration was in the Vancouver CMA (1.4% of the population), followed by the Montreal CMA (1.3% of the population). Non-permanent residents formed less than 1% of the populations of all other CMAs.

Numbers more than double in 10 years According to administrative data from the Citizenship and Immigration Canada Visitors Immigration Data System (VIDS),¹ the number of non-permanent residents more than doubled during the 1980s, rising to 369,100 in 1990 from 143,000 in 1981. By 1990, the annual

number of non-permanent residents was 73% greater than the annual intake of permanent residents, that is, landed immigrants. In contrast, in 1981, the number of non-permanent residents was only 11% greater than the annual intake of permanent residents.

In addition to a growth in the population of non-permanent residents during the 1980s, the length of their residency in Canada has also increased. Among non-permanent residents who arrived in Canada in 1989, 50% stayed for a year or more. In contrast, only 25% of non-permanent residents admitted in 1981 stayed for a year or more.²

Non-permanent residents are more likely than landed immigrants to be of working age. In 1990, 88% of non-permanent residents were aged 20-49, while only 60% of landed immigrants admitted that year were that age. Therefore, if non-permanent residents had been included in counts of new immigrants admitted in 1990, the dependency ratio of this population, the proportion who were seniors and children, would have been much lower. The serior of the seniors and children, would have been much lower.

According to VIDS, most (80%) non-permanent residents in 1990 lived in either Ontario or Quebec, with 43% in the Toronto CMA alone. Males outnumbered females, with 135 male non-permanent residents of Canada for every 100 females. Among landed immigrants admitted in 1990, the ratio also favoured males but less so, with 102 males for every 100 females.

Temporary workers form largest group

Growth in the population of nonpermanent residents during the 1980s was largely concentrated among those in Canada as paid workers. According to VIDS, the number of non-permanent residents with employment authorizations staying in Canada for one year or more increased six times to 162,900 in 1990 from 26,300 in 1981. Some of this large increase occurred because, in 1989, employment authorizations were granted to almost 100,000 people already living temporarily in this country as refugee applicants.² By

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Administrative data and census counts

The 1990 VIDS total (369,100) exceeds that obtained from the 1991 Census (223,400), indicating that a large number of non-permanent residents did not respond to the census. Many may have been reluctant to complete a government census form because of a language barrier, a fear of undermining their residency or a lack of awareness of the need to participate.

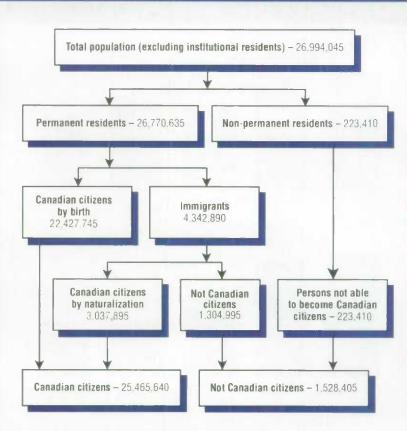
VIDS provides a record of documents issued to non-permanent residents and, as a result, individuals may be represented more than once on the VIDS data base. To convert VIDS to a register of non-permanent residents, estimation procedures were developed to eliminate multiple counting of the same person.¹

VIDS includes non-permanent residents with employment authorizations, student visas, Minister's permits and those with documented visitor's visas. The census counted those with employment authorizations, student visas, Minister's permits and those who were refugee applicants as non-permanent residents.

¹ Michalowski, M. and C. Forier, "Two Neglected Categories of Immigrants to Canada: Temporary Immigrants and Returning Canadians," **Statistical Journal of the United Nations**, ECE 7: 175-204, 1990.

Populations resident in Canada, 1991

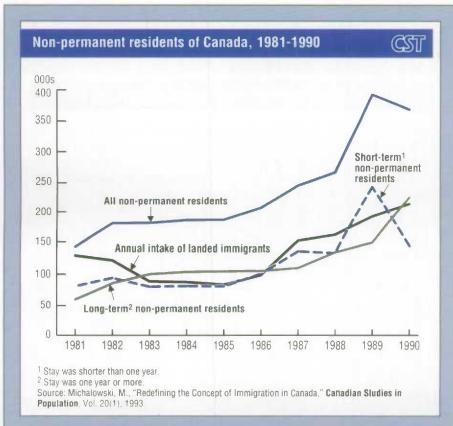


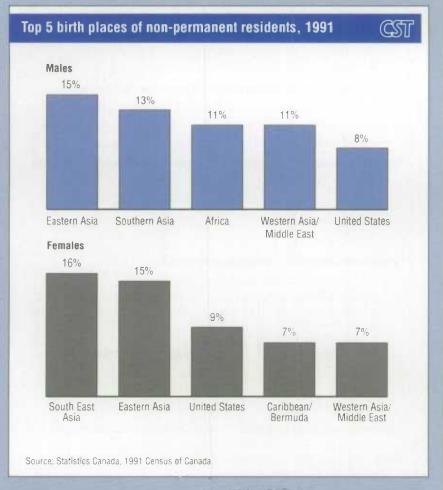


Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

¹ Michalowski, M., "Temporary Immigrants to Canada: Numbers and Characteristics in the 1980s." Paper presented at the 1990 North American Conference on Applied Demography, Bowling Green, Ohio, October 18-21, 1990.

² Michalowski, M., "Redefining the Concept of Immigration in Canada," Canadian Studies in Population, Vol. 20(1), 1993.





1990, the number of non-permanent residents with employment authorizations staying in Canada for one year or more was four times greater than the number holding student visas, eight times greater than the number with Minister's permits, and eleven times greater than the number of documented visitors.²

Historically, the non-permanent labour force consisted of foreign agricultural workers admitted to Canada during harvest times to augment the domestic labour force when it was seen to be inadequate for short-term surges in demand for particular types of labour.³ Although seasonal labour still attracts non-permanent residents, work requiring longer stays has become more the norm.

Much is unknown about the occupations of those with employment authorizations who stay in Canada for one year or more. This is because 79% of non-permanent residents who worked in Canada for one year or more in 1990 held exempted employment authorizations, from which occupation information was not available. Exempted employment authorizations were created, not to fulfil unmet demands for labour, but so that people already living in Canada, such as refugee applicants, could obtain jobs and thus not be as dependent on Canada's social safety net.²

Among non-permanent workers who stayed in Canada for one year or more, for whom occupation information was known, service occupations dominated. In 1990, 35% held these types of occupations. Service occupations were the most common jobs held by females (63%), many of whom were live-in care givers. Other predominant occupational groups included teaching (16%), managerial and administrative (13%), entrepreneurs and investors (8%), and natural sciences, engineering and mathematics (7%).²

There has always been a flow of foreign nationals in and out of Canada for business purposes. Under the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, special provisions for the temporary entry of Canadian and American citizens into one another's territory for business purposes were adopted. These terms facilitate the flow between the two countries of consultants, professionals, sales representatives and maintenance personnel.

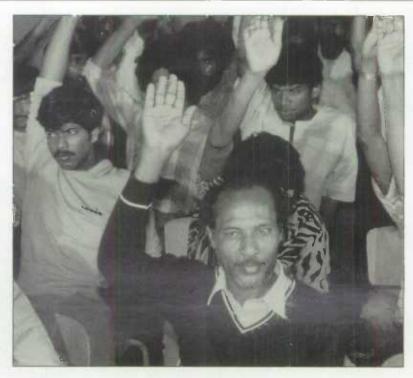
Many are applicants for refugee status Applicants for refugee status are those who arrive at Canada's borders on their own initiative and seek asylum by making a special application for permission to stay in Canada as a refugee. These applicants are entitled to remain in the country temporarily until their claim is heard to completion by the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). Those receiving a positive decision by the board become permanent residents of Canada. Refugee applications are governed by Bill C-86 which came

into force January 1, 1989, superseding Bill C-55. That year, there was a backlog of 95,000 refugee applications.

To provide an opportunity for refugee applicants to financially support themselves, many are granted exempted employment authorizations. Refugee applicants with exempted employment authorizations are included in VIDS totals, while those without are excluded. The IRB, however, has data on all refugee applicants. IRB data indicate that the number of claims for refugee status climbed to almost 3,150 per month during 1992, representing a steady influx of non-permanent residents.

According to the IRB, refugee status and thus permanent residence was granted to 17,437 refugee applicants living temporarily in Canada in 1992. This intake was down from 19,425 in 1991.⁴ Similarly, the overall percentage of applicants obtaining refugee status was down to 57% in 1992 from 64% in 1991. In 1992, about 7,000 applicants whose claims were held over from previous years were granted status, but were not included in the 1992 totals.⁵ That year, applicants from Somalia (91%) were more likely than applicants from any other country to be granted refugee status.

In the first quarter of 1993, 14,068 refugee claims were made, according to the IRB. Of these claims, 6,798 cases were completed. Of the completed cases, 51% were granted refugee status. As in



previous years, most claimants in 1993 came from Sri Lanka, followed by the former Soviet Union and Somalia.⁶

Student visas, Minister's permits and documented visitors Many foreign students are attending Canadian schools and universities. According to VIDS, the number of non-permanent residents with student visas increased to 40,200 in 1990 from 23,900 in 1981.

According to VIDS, the number of nonpermanent residents who held Minister's permits authorizing their residence in Canada because of humanitarian, compassionate or national interest grounds remained about the same each year during the 1980s. In 1990, there were 22,100 non-permanent residents with Minister's permits, up slightly from 20,300 in 1981.

Documented visitors form a small but growing group of non-permanent residents. In 1990, there were 14,500 documented visitors, up from 8,300 in 1981.

Non-permanent residents contribute to social change Non-permanent residents are a heterogeneous element in the Canadian population. The group includes workers, students, applicants for refugee status, those who possess Minister's permits, visitors and an unknown number of people without any legal status in Canada.

Although non-permanent residents may not stay in Canada for substantial amounts of time, as a group, they are a growing component of the overall population. By the last half of the past decade, the number of non-permanent residents each year was about double the annual intake of landed immigrants.

Non-permanent residents are concentrated in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. These metropolitan areas, which all have large landed immigrant populations, likely attract temporary residents because they offer communities of people of the same nationality, areas in which people's mother tongues can be

used in daily life, and arrays of services for those of their national origin.

Inflows of non-permanent residents and landed immigrants to these few urban centres are resulting in social change, including a significant shift in the ethnic origins of these populations. New residents affect the demand for local services, such as health care, education, social assistance and employment programs. In addition, as workers, consumers and taxpayers, non-permanent residents have become important contributors to these urban economies.

- ³ The legal basis for short-term admission of workers to Canada as paid workers was laid with the Employment Authorization Program begun in 1973.
- ⁴ Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1992. Ottawa: Immigration and Refugee Board Catalogue MQ1-1992.
- 5 In addition to refugee claimants whose applications were approved, 16,000 refugees were sponsored to come to Canada in 1992. These individuals have landed immigrant status when they arrive in Canada.
- ⁶ "Refugee claims totalled 14,068, board reports," **Globe and Mail**, May 29, 1993, p.A-3.

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Changes in

by Abdul Rashid

ages are the main source of income for the vast majority of Canadians and their families. Improvements in the living standards of families this century have been largely dependent on wage increases. During the last two decades, however, the wages of additional earners in families became a major source of any rise in living standards.

During the 1900s, economic growth resulted in a considerable increase in annual wages. Over the same period, prices also rose, although not as sharply. Consequently, Canadians' real average annual wage (in 1990 dollars), that is, their average wage after accounting for the effects of inflation, increased 3.6 times to \$24,300 in 1990 from \$6,800 in 1920.1

Changes in wages are closely related to overall economic activity. Real wage growth was limited, for example, during periods of economic downturn including the Great Depression and recent recessionary periods. In contrast, real wages increased dramatically during periods of economic boom, such as that from the beginning of World War II to the end of the 1960s. Real wage growth slowed considerably between 1970 and 1980, as did economic growth. From 1980 to 1990, a decade that began and ended with recessions, wage growth was the lowest this century.



Real Wages

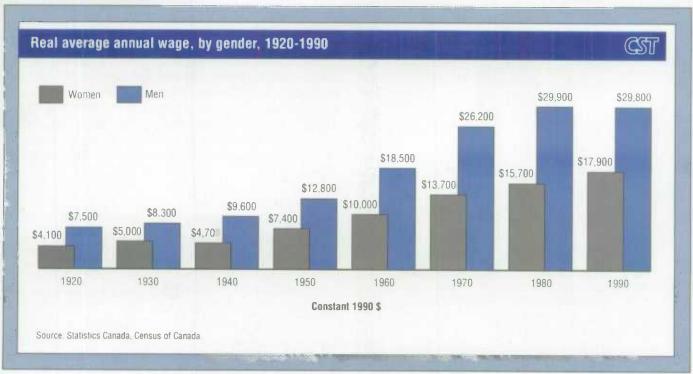


Women's wages remain lower than men's Between 1920 and 1990, both men's and women's real average annual wages quadrupled. Men's average wage rose to \$29,800 in 1990 from \$7,500 in 1920, whereas women's average wage rose to \$17,900 from \$4,100 over the same period.

Throughout the century, women's real average annual wage has remained well below that of men's. During the past decade, some gains have been made. In 1990, women's real average annual wage was 60% of men's, an increase from 53% in 1980.

Similar increases in real wages during the 1920s and 1930s During the 1920s and 1930s, there was both the most severe economic depression in Canadian history and the beginning of a world war. In the late 1920s, unemployment rates began to rise sharply and the number of weeks that people worked decreased. By 1934, the economy had started is recover

In this article, real annual wages are expressed in 1990 dollars, and are adjusted using changes in the Consumer Price Index. They are calculated using the wages of all workers, including those working full-time or part-time for all or part of the year.



slowly, and, with the beginning of World War II, economic growth returned to pre-depression levels.

Canadians' real average annual wage rose 12% to \$7,600 in 1930 from \$6,800 in 1920. During the next decade, the increase was similar (10%) and the real annual wage reached \$8,400 by 1940.

Since the vast majority of wage earners during these two decades were men, the increase in the real average annual wage of men was similar to the overall increase. From 1920 to 1930, men's average wage rose 10%, and then increased another 16% between 1930 and 1940. In contrast, the average annual wage of women rose sharply during the 1920s (increasing 23%), but then dropped during the 1930s (falling 6%). The 1930s was the only decade during which women's real average wage declined. This was due, in part, to an increase in the number of female wage earners, many of whom were working part-time to support the war effort.

Three decades of economic boom begin A long period of economic growth began in the 1940s, during which real wages rose sharply and Canadians' overall standard of living improved dramatically. During the early part of the 1940s, the civilian labour force continued to shrink, as men, in particular, joined the armed forces. In addition, there was an increase in jobs, largely in response to war needs.

Several major shifts in the labour force and its composition began during the 1940s. Between 1941 and 1951, for example, the number of people engaged in agriculture and resource-based industries dropped for the first time, and technological advances changed the nature of many jobs. Men were more likely than in the past to enter higher-paying professional, managerial and technical jobs. This was partly a result of changes in demand for

Real average annual wage increases, 1920-1990

43%

37%

2%

1920 1930 1940- 1950- 1960- 1970 1980- 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

labour, and also because many men received training and education following their military service. At the same time, more women were entering the labour force, mostly in relatively low-paying clerical and service occupations. Such occupations were common among women as many had relatively little employment experience, and often left the labour force once they married or had children.

Although the real average annual wage rose 34% during the 1940s to \$11,200 in 1950, the greatest growth in real wages in this century occurred during the next decade. Between 1950 and 1960, the real average annual wage increased 43% to \$16,000. Growth during the 1960s (37%) was similar to that in the 1940s, bringing the real average annual wage to \$21,900 in 1970.

Both men's and women's real annual wages increased sharply between 1940 and 1970. In 1970, men's real average annual wage was \$26,200, up from \$9,600 in 1940. Over the same period, the real average wage of women increased to \$13,700 from \$4,700.

Real wage growth slows during the 1970s During the 1970s, the educational level of the work force continued to rise, as post-secondary education became more common, not only among men but also increasingly among women. At the same time, there was an exceptionally large influx of people into the labour force with little or no employment experience, as baby boomers reached working age. Women, including many who were married, accounted for a large proportion of new wage earners.

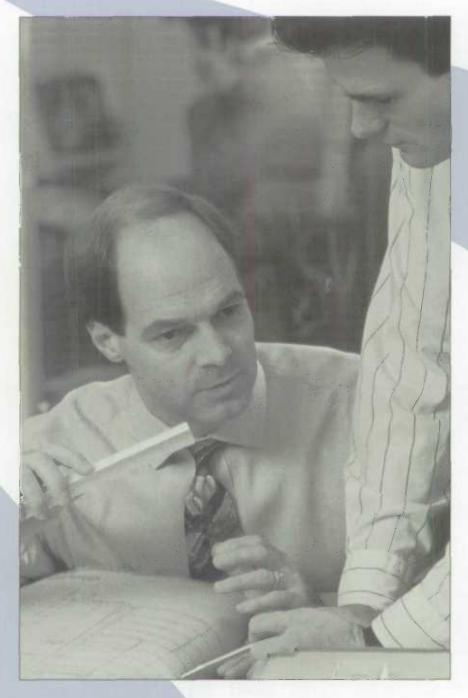
Growth in real wages was slower during the 1970s than it had been previously during the century. Between 1970 and 1980, the real average annual wage rose 9% to \$23,800. Men's real annual wage rose to \$29,900 in 1980, while women's rose to \$15,700.

Men's real wages decline slightly during the 1980s During the 1980s, a decade that began and ended with economic recessions, the highest unemployment rates since the Great Depression were recorded. Also during this period, real average annual wages changed very little. In 1990, the average wage was \$24,300, only 2% higher than it had been in 1980.

For the first time, men's real average annual wage dropped slightly, falling 0.4% to \$29,800 in 1990. In contrast to this decline, women's real average annual wage rose almost as much in the 1980s as it did during the previous decade. Between 1980 and 1990, the real average annual wage of women rose 14% to \$17,900. Women's advancement into more highly-paid, senior positions, partly a result of an improvement in their overall level of education and years of work experience, contributed to this increase.

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 For additional information on this topic, see "Seven Decades of Wage Change," by Abdul Rashid in Perspectives on Labour and Income, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001E, Summer 1993.



raditionally, most husbandwife families in Canada depended on the earnings of just one family member, the husband. As late as 1967, for example, the husband was the only earner in 58% of husbandwife families. By the mid-1970s, however, as married women entered the labour force in increasing numbers, this type of family was replaced by the dual-earner family as the country's norm. In 1975, 42% of married women were in the labour force, up from just 11% in 1951. Since then, the proportion of married women with paid work has continued to grow, such that by 1991 most married women (61%) were participating in the labour force. Consequently, only a minority of husband-wife families in 1991 were traditional-earner families (19%), while most were dual-earner families (61%). A small proportion of families in 1991 had either no earners (15%) or had the wife as sole earner (5%)

TRADITIONAL-EARNER FAMILIES

by Jillian Oderkirk, Cynthia Silver and Marc Prud'homme

Traditional earners are more likely than dual earners to be seniors and older adults. Nonetheless, among some young couples today, only the husband has paid employment. These traditional-earner families differ from their older counterparts as the wife's absence from the labour force is often temporary. Most young wives in these families have recent labour-market experience and have left the labour force to care for young children.

For young families, the benefits of having only one spouse employed potentially include having less stress resulting from trying to balance time for paid work, family responsibilities and personal needs, as well as having more time to actively participate in childrearing. Disadvantages may include having more financial stress because only one spouse's income is supporting the family.

Traditional earners of all ages have, on average, lower family incomes than dual earners. Furthermore, a job loss usually has a greater detrimental impact on the income of a traditional-earner family than on that of a dual-earner family.

Traditional earners are older In 1991, 31% of husbands in traditional-earner families were aged 55 and over, compared with only 12% of husbands in dual-earner families. Similarly, while 35% of husbands in traditional-earner families were under age 40, almost half (47%) of husbands in dual-earner families were that age.

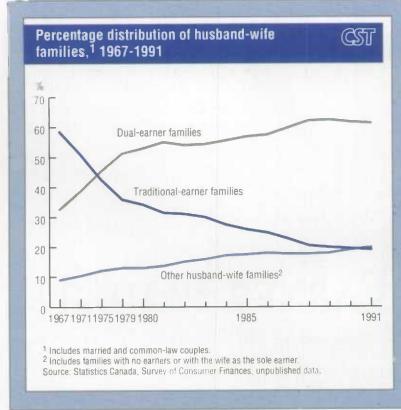
Among all husband-wife families, the incidence of traditional-earner families increases only slightly with age. In 1991, 18% of all families with husbands under age 40 and 20% of all families with husbands aged 55 and over were traditional earners. In contrast, the incidence of dual-earner families drops sharply among older Canadians. The proportion of husband-wife families that were dual earners ranged from 78% of families with

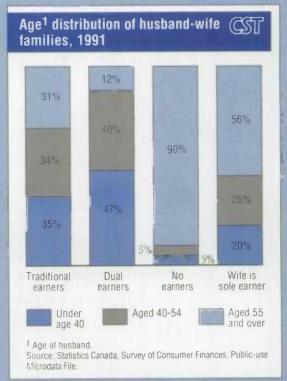
husbands under age 40 and 75% of families with husbands aged 40-54 to only 25% of families with husbands aged 55 and over. Because most older Canadians are retired, almost one-half (46%) of families with husbands aged 55 and over had no earners. This was uncommon among families with husbands under age 40 or aged 40-54, 2% each. Families with wives as the sole income earner were very rare in all age groups, representing 2% of families with husbands under age 40, 3% of families with husbands aged 40-54 and 9% of families with husbands aged 55 and over.

Young traditional-earner families more likely to have children In 1991, among families with husbands under age 40, 89% of traditional earners had children under age 18, compared with 67% of dual earners. Similarly, 73% of young traditional earners had children under age 7, compared with 50% of young dual earners. Among couples in which the husband was aged 40-54, about 60% of both traditional earners and dual earners had children under age 18. The incidence of children under age 7, however, was higher among traditional earners, 21%, than dual earners, 12%.

Traditional-earner families also tend to have more children than do dual-earner families. In 1991, 26% of traditional earners with children under age 18 had three or more children, compared with 18% of dual earners. Similarly, 30% of traditional earners with children under age 18 had two or more under age 7, compared with 18% of dual earners.

Young wives may leave employment temporarily Most women in traditional-earner families have paid work experience, many as recently as five years before the survey. For these women, particularly those who left the labour force to care for





young children, the decision to leave paid work may be temporary. Others, such as older women who left the labour force many years ago, may have limited employment skills and may have withdrawn from the labour force permanently.

In 1991, 64% of women under age 35 in traditional-earner families had done paid work in the past five years, 25% had worked more than five years ago and 11% had never worked. Older women, in contrast, were much less likely to have recent labour-market experience. In 1991, the percentage of older women with paid work in the past five years ranged from 38% of women aged 35-44 to 22% of women aged 55 and over. The percentage with paid work more than five years ago ranged from 50% of those aged 35-44 to 61% of those aged 55 and over. Women aged 55 and over (17%) and aged 45-54 (15%) were more likely than women aged 35-44 (11%) never to have worked.

Some dual earners resemble traditional earners In almost half of all dual-earner families in 1991, both the husband and wife worked full-time, full-year, that is, they each worked 30 or more hours per week for 49 weeks or more. In a minority of dual-earner families, however, one or both spouses had part-time work or had paid work for only a small part of the year. It is unknown whether the lighter work schedules of spouses in these families resulted from choice or labourmarket pressures. However, as a result of lighter work schedules, some families classified as dual earners resemble traditional earners in the amount of time the wife has available outside of paid work.

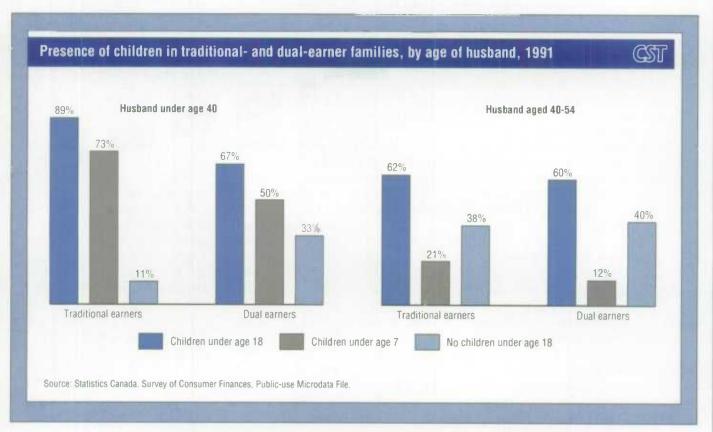
Although full-time work was very common among wives in dualearner families, 27% of those with husbands under age 40, 29% of those with husbands aged 40-54, and 34% of those with husbands aged 55 and over worked mostly part-time in 1991. In addition, 19% of women with husbands under age 40, 13% with husbands aged 40-54 and 13% with husbands aged 55 and over worked for less than 30 weeks, either part-time or full-time, in 1991.

Dual earners more likely to have higher education Among all age groups, the educational attainment of traditional-earner couples was generally lower than that of dual-earner couples. Whereas 44% of husbands and 32% of wives in traditional-earner families had at least some postsecondary education, over half of husbands (54%) and wives (52%) in dual-earner families had this level of education.

Overall, educational attainment was higher among young couples regardless of whether they were traditional or dual earners. Of spouses under age 40, 51% of husbands and 39% of wives in traditional-earner families had at least some postsecondary education, while 57% of both husbands and wives in dual-earner families were so educated. In contrast, among adults aged 55 and over, only 31% of husbands and 25% of wives in traditional-earner families had at least some postsecondary education. Among dual-earner families with husbands aged 55 and over, 40% of husbands and 38% of wives had this level of education.

Traditional-earner families have lower incomes Since the 1960s, traditional-earner families have had considerably lower annual incomes than dual-earner families and this income gap has widened over time. By 1991, the incomes of traditional-earner families averaged 21% lower than those of dual-earner families.

Continued on page 24





Dual-earner couples, with both partners working full-time and with at least one child under age 14, had a higher average annual income in 1991 (\$75,700) than did their single-earner counterparts (\$49,600), according to the Family Expenditures Survey, 1992. Not surprisingly, these families also spent more that year on each of the broad categories of goods and services, such as food, clothing and shelter. Proportions of average family budgets allocated to these broad categories, however, were similar between both family types.

According to the of Family Expenditures Survey, there were about 540,000 households composed of spouses who both worked full-time throughout 1992 and had at least one child under age 14. Another 400,000 households were single-earner families with children under age 14. In these households, one spouse, usually the husband (92%), worked full-time and one spouse was not employed. An additional 850,000 households were couples, with children under age 14, with one partner working part-time and one partner working full-time.

Dual earners spend more, on average, on restaurant food... Although the average size of dual-earner and single-earner households with children under age 14 were identical in 1992 (4.1 people), dual earners spent about \$1,500 more on food than did single earners (\$8,350, compared with \$6,843). This is due partly to dual-earner households spending considerably more money on restaurants (\$2,223) than did single-earner households (\$1,334).

...and wives' clothing Wives in dualearner households with both spouses working full-time and with children under age 14 spent about twice as much money on clothing (\$1,374), on average, as did wives in single-earner households with children that age (\$675). The gap was smaller between husbands: men in dual-earner households with children



under age 14 spent, on average, \$845 on their own clothing in 1992, compared with an average of \$636 among men in single-earner families. These dual earners spent more, on average, on children's clothing (\$1,546) than did their single-earner counterparts (\$911). This may be partly because single earners were more likely than dual earners to have infants and very young children. Younger children generally require less expensive clothing than older children.

Home ownership more common among dual earners Dual earners who both worked full-time and had children under age 14 spent more, on average, for shelter in 1992 (\$11,678) than did their single-earner counterparts (\$9,128). This is because dual earners (86%) were not only more likely than single earners (79%) to own a home, they were also more likely to have purchased a larger and more expensive home. In 1992, homes of dual earners averaged 7.4 rooms, while those of single earners averaged 6.7 rooms. Mortgage interest payments accounted for a large part of the difference between the shelter expenditures of dual and single earners.

Dual-earner households have more appliances and electronics Dual earners who worked full-time and had children under age 14 also had a more extensive inventory of household appliances and home entertainment equipment than did their single-earner counterparts. Differences were not large, however, with the biggest gap related to the ownership of gas barbegues: 80% of dual earners had one in 1992, compared with 71% of single earners. The proportion of dual earners owning labour saving appliances such as washers, dryers or dishwashers was only 4 to 5 percentage points higher among dual earners than among single earners. VCRs had almost reached a saturation point among dual earners. with 93% owning one. VCRs were also common among single earners (82%).

Home computer equipment, while less prevalent overall, was owned by 38% of dual earners, compared with 27% of single earners. Home computer ownership may help parents fulfil workplace requirements, as well as

assist both parents and children with their education programs. In 1992, dual-earner households were twice as likely as single-earner households to have expenditures for postsecondary education.

Single earners (92%) were slightly less likely than dual earners (97%) to operate a car or truck for personal use. Expenditures on driver's licenses indicate that fewer members of single-earner families maintain a driver's license. In 1992, 59% of dual-earner households, compared with 50% of single-earner households paid to obtain or renew one or more driver's licenses.

Dual earners more likely to have recreation equipment and vacation homes Overall, dual earners who both worked full-time and who had children under age 14 spent more, on average, than did single earners with one spouse working full-time and children under age 14 on recreation equipment. The few exceptions tend to be equipment common among families with young children, such as playground equipment, cameras and film. Except for bowling, dual earners spent more for every type of recreation service. This was also true for all types of reading material. Dual-earner households (53%) were more likely than single-earner households (45%) to have dogs or cats.

Dual-earner households, often with more discretionary income than single-earner households, were more likely to have purchased vacation-related items in 1992. Six percent of dual earners owned a vacation home, compared with 4% of single earners. Similarly, 9% of dual earners rented vacation homes, compared with 6% of single earners. In addition, dual-earner households (54%) were more likely than single-earner households (46%) to have used traveller accommodation, such as hotels and motels.

Children's care and education

Child-care expenses (excluding occasional baby-sitting) are more common, as well as much greater, in dual-earner households with both spouses working

full-time and children under age 14 than in households of their single-earner counterparts. In 1992, 46% of dual earners, compared with 15% of single earners, had expenditures for child care. Of those with expenditures, the average cost was \$3,072 for dual-earner households, compared with \$986 for single-earner households. Dual-earner households, on average, spent more than twice as much on children's camps (\$74) as did single earners (\$32).

Charitable donations and savings Single-earner households spent, on average, less on gifts and contributions in 1992 (\$898) than did dual-earner households (\$1,207). However, single earners contributed, on average, the same amount to religious organizations (\$312) as did dual earners (\$320).

During 1992, dual-earner households saved or invested an average of about \$4,670² (including home equity). Traditional-earner households, on the other hand, saved or invested an average of only about \$200.

² This represents the difference between any investment in assets and any increase in debt during 1992.

	All	Couples with chi	ldren under age 14
	households	Dual earners ¹	Single earners ²
		\$	
Food	5,686	8,350	6,843
Shelter	8,102	11,678	9,128
Household operation			
(including child care)	1,974	3,841	2,042
Household furnishings			
and equipment	1,372	2,224	1,642
Clothing	2,222	4,030	2,405
Transportation	5,640	8,022	6,450
Health care	867	1,268	1,044
Personal care	844	1,316	987
Recreation	2,300	3,683	2,481
Reading, printed matter	248	352	245
Education	430	774	433
Tobacco and alcohol	1,410	1,587	1,199
Miscellaneous	1,322	1,852	1,191
Total current consumption	32,416	48,977	36,090
Personal taxes	9,378	17,187	11,190
Security (insurance			
and premiums)	2,289	4,696	2,750
Gifts and contributions	1,464	1,207	898
Total expenditures	45,548	72,067	50,928

¹ Couple worked full-year full-time.

¹ These are called single-earner households and not traditional-earner households because in some the wife is the sole earner.

One parent worked full-year full-time, the other did not work. Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Family Expenditures, 1992.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Measuring traditional- and dual-earner families Estimates of traditional- and dual-earner families, by selected age groups, were derived from the Survey of Consumer Finances Public-use Microdata Files. Some microdata file records have been edited to protect confidentiality. Consequently, derived estimates will differ marginally from those obtained from unmodified Statistics Canada files. However, the analysis and conclusions are unaffected by these differences.

Families are classed as having been traditional or dual earner based on their circumstances at the time the Surveys of Consumer Finances were taken. Over the life course, however, families may move from one class to another, as spouses enter or leave the labour force to accommodate changing family responsibilities and needs.



This was down from a gap of 23% in 1987, but up substantially from a gap of 14% in 1967.

The widest gap between the incomes of traditional- and dual-earner families in 1991 occurred among families in which the husband was under age 55. Among families in which the husband was under age 40, the average income was 24% lower for traditional earners (\$43,000) than for dual earners (\$56,400). The average income of traditional-earner families in which the husband was aged 40-54 (\$53,800) was 27% lower than that of dual-earner families with husbands that age (\$73,800). Among families in which the husband was aged 55 and over, the average family income of traditional earners (\$57,300) was 18% less than that of dual earners (\$70,000).

Earnings of wives responsible for higher dual-earner incomes The average income of traditional-earner families is lower than that of dual-earner families not because husbands in dual-earner couples have higher earnings, but because the earnings of wives contribute significantly to dual-earner family income. The contribution to family income made by the earnings of other family members is minimal.

In 1991, the average earnings of husbands under age 40 in traditional-earner families (\$36,400) exceeded that of

husbands in dual-earner families (\$32,400). Husbands in older age groups earned similar amounts. In 1991, the average earnings of husbands aged 40-54 in both family types was \$41,000. Likewise, the average earnings of husbands aged 55 and over in both family types was \$32,000.

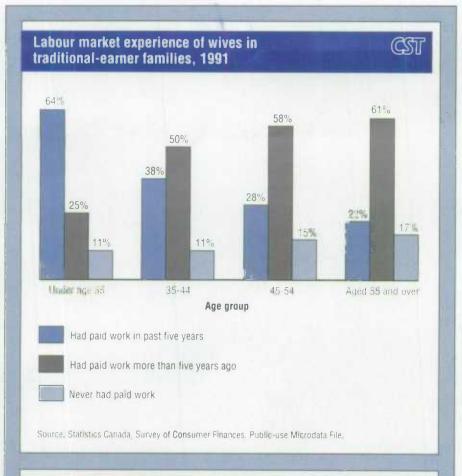
The earnings of wives in dual-earner couples, on average, accounted for close to 30% of total family income in 1991. That year, the average earnings of wives in dual-earner couples ranged from \$18,400 among those under age 40 to \$17,600 among those aged 55 and over. The proportion of family income contributed by wives' earnings ranged from a high of 33% in families with husbands under age 40 to a low of 25% in families with husbands aged 55 and over.

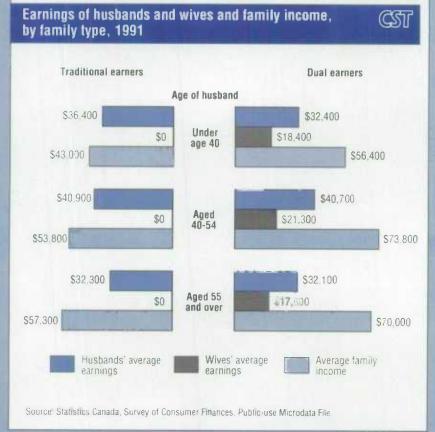
Government transfer payments, such as Family Allowances, the Child Tax Credit, Social Assistance and Unemployment Insurance, accounted for 10% of the income of traditional-earner families, compared with 6% of that of dual-earner families. Pensions, as well as investment income such as bonds, stocks and rental real estate, comprised 8% of the income of traditional-earner families, and 4% of that of dual-earner families. Earnings of family members, other than the husband and wife, accounted for 9% of the income of traditional-earner families and 5% of the income of dual-earner families.

Low family income more common among traditional earners In 1991, 14% of traditional-earner families had incomes below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cutoffs¹ (LICOs), compared with 4% of dual-earner families. Low family incomes would have been more common among dual-earner families (15%) than among traditional-earner families, however, if the earnings of wives in dual-earner couples were not included in family income.

The incidence of low family income is higher among young traditional-earner families. In 1991, 22% of traditional-earner families with husbands under age 40 had low family incomes, compared with 12% of those with husbands aged 40-54 and 8% of those with husbands aged 55 and over. Among dual-earner families, the incidence of low income was much less common, with only 5% of families with husbands under age 40 and 3% of both families with husbands aged 40-54 and aged 55 and over having incomes below the LICOs.

Among traditional-earner families, 19% with children under age 18 and 22% with children under age 7 had incomes below the LICOs in 1991. In contrast, about 5% of dual earners with children under age 18 and with children under age 7 had family incomes that low. The incidence of low income would have been much higher among dual-earner families with children under age 18 (18%) and with children





under age 7 (20%) if wives' earnings were not included in family income.

Traditional earners not likely to become more common Among the minority of young couples in which only the husband has paid employment, the wife has often left the labour force to care for young children. Unlike women of past generations, these women will likely return to the labour force when their childrearing responsibilities have lessened. This is partly because young women today are, on average, better educated and have more labour-market experience than older women. As well, many women value the self-esteem and financial independence that paid work can provide.

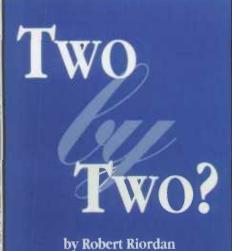
In most husband-wife families, however, both spouses have paid work because of financial pressures, as well as personal preferences. These families have become today's reality, and as a result, there is pressure on institutions, such as employers, schools and many other public- and private-sector services also to evolve. Improved access to flexible working hours and employment-leave arrangements, affordable and flexible child-care and elder-care arrangements, before- and after-school programs, and extended service-sector business hours are among the changes sought by dualearner families.

¹ These cut-offs were determined from analysis of 1986 family expenditure data. Families who, on average, spent 20% more of their total income than did the average family on food, shelter and clothing were considered to have low incomes. The LICO for a family of three living in Canada's largest cities was \$25,761 in 1991.

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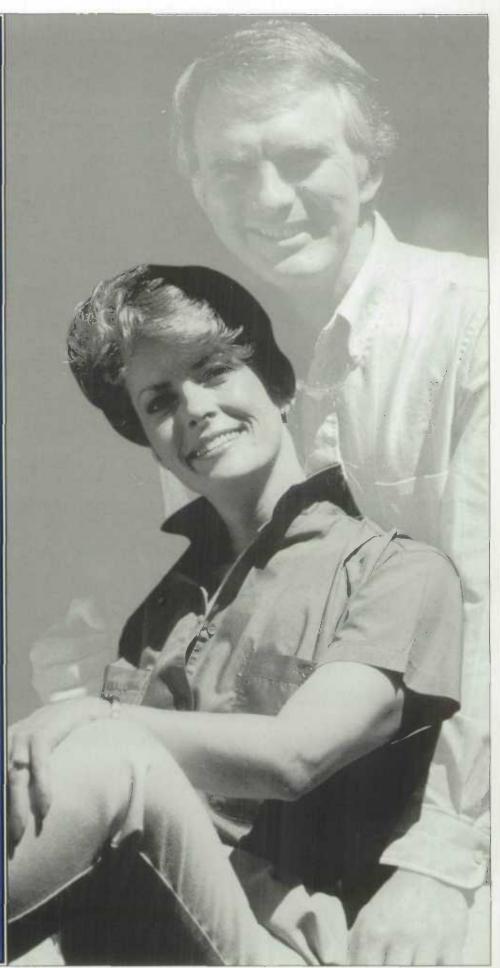


1994 International Year of the Family Année internationale de la famille



Sex Ratios of Unattached Canadians

More women than men in Canada are unattached, that is, they are not currently married or living in a common-law union. This does not necessarily mean, however, that men's chances of finding a spouse are greater than women's. This is because an overall comparison of the number of unattached men and women does not account for age, nor does it provide an indication of people's desire to be in a relationship.



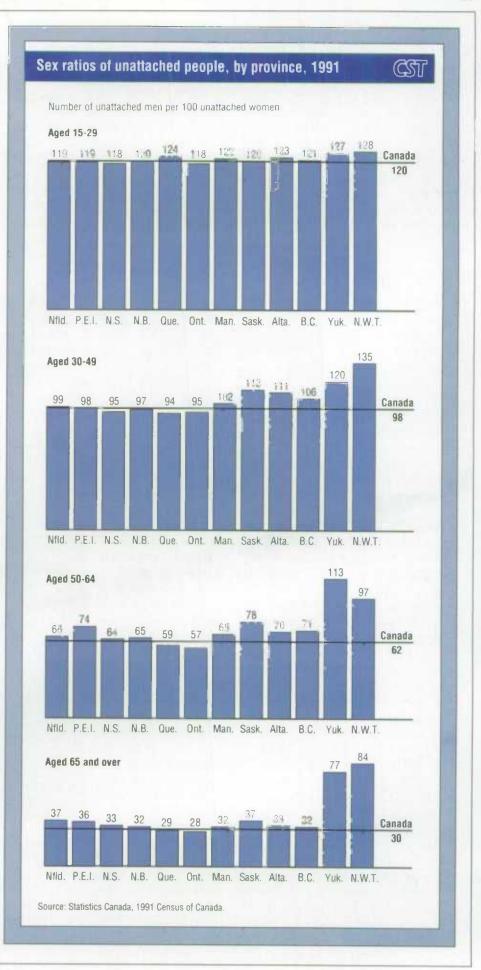
According to the 1991 Census, there were 87 unattached men aged 15 and over for every 100 unattached women that age. Among unattached Canadians under age 30, however, there were actually more men than women. In contrast, among unattached seniors, women far outnumbered men. Sex ratios in large urban centres tended to resemble this national pattern, whereas in smaller communities, imbalances in male to female ratios were generally more extreme at all ages.

Several factors influence the ratio of unattached men to women. They include the sex ratio at birth; migration; the presence of a military base or prison; the tendency of men to marry younger women; the greater likelihood of men than of women to find another partner when their marriage or common-law union ends; and mortality rates and life expectancy. Thus, in small Northern towns where occupations attract proportionately more men than women, and in communities where there is a military base or a prison for men, for example, unattached men tend to greatly outnumber women. In contrast, in communities with large senior populations or with nursing homes for seniors, women, who generally live longer than men, predominate.

More unattached men under age 30 in every region According to the 1991 Census, among unattached people aged 15-29, there were 120 men for every 100 women. This is largely because men tend to be older than women when they marry or enter a common-law union.

Among people under age 30, unattached men outnumbered women in all large urban areas and most small communities in 1991. Differences were not as great, however, in urban areas. Among Canada's five largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs), Montreal had the highest ratio of young unattached men to women (119 to 100), compared with 117 to 100 in Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull and Edmonton and 116 to 100 in Toronto. In contrast, there were more than 135 unattached men aged 15-29 for every 100 women that age

¹ The sex ratio is a demographic tool to measure the balance between the numbers of males and females. In this article, sex ratios were calculated for unattached people (those not married or living common law) by dividing the number of unattached men aged 15 and over by the number of unattached women that age, and multiplying by 100.



in the smaller communities of Val-d'Or and Cowansville, Quebec and Fort St. John, British Columbia. The imbalance among unattached young adults was even greater in Grand Centre, Alberta and Estevan, Saskatchewan, where there were more than 150 men for every 100 women.

Only in North Battleford, Saskatchewan and Brandon, Manitoba were the numbers of young unattached men and women equal.

Differences were not as great across provinces and territories as across cities and towns. The Northwest Territories, the Yukon and Quebec had the highest sex ratios in 1991, with 128, 127 and 124, unattached men aged 15-29, respectively, for every 100 comparable women. Nova Scotia and Ont-

ario had the lowest ratio, with 118 unattached young men for every 100 women.

Nationally, similar numbers of unattached male and female baby boomers. As most people aged 30-49 – the baby-boom generation – are either married or living common law, it is not surprising that the numbers of unattached men and women that age are similar. In 1991, among unattached baby boomers, there were 98 men for every 100 women.

The ratio of unattached men to women aged 30-49 generally is lower in Eastern than in Western CMAs. Among Canada's five largest CMAs, Montreal and Ottawa-Hull each had a sex ratio of 90 unattached men for every 100 women in 1991, compared with 91 to 100 in Toronto, 103 to 100 in Edmonton and 104 to 100 in Vancouver. In some smaller Western and Northern communities, unattached male baby boomers greatly outnumber their female counterparts. In 1991, there were about 150 unattached men aged 30-49 for every 100 comparable women in Prince Rupert, British Columbia: Fort McMurray and Grand Centre, Alberta; and Estevan, Saskatchewan. In Kitimat, British Columbia,

the difference was even more extreme, with over 200 unattached men for every 100 women.

On the other hand, unattached women in their 30s and 40s lived in disproportionate numbers in Rimouski and Matane, Quebec; Edmundston, New Brunswick;

and Brandon, Manitoba: each with 77 men for every 100 women in 1991. The gap was greatest in Joliette, Quebec, where there were only 72 unattached men per 100 women.

The East-to-West pattern that existed for the CMAs in 1991 was reflected in provincial sex ratios. Ontario and provinces to the East had fewer unattached men than women aged 30-49, and the Western provinces and the Territories had more.

Quebec had the lowest ratio (94 unattached men for every 100 women), while the Northwest Territories had the highest at 135 per 100.

Wider gap in sex ratio of unattached people aged 50-64 In 1991, there were only 62 unattached men aged 50-64 for every 100 women that age in Canada. In this age group, including "war babies" and children of the Depression, the higher mortality rate and shorter lifespan of men than of women begins to strongly influence the sex ratio. A second major influence is the greater likelihood of men than

of women to find another partner after a relationship has ended.

For the most part, the sex ratio among unattached people aged 50-64 was lower in the East than in the West in 1991, similar to the pattern for the baby boomers. That year, for every 100 unattached

women aged 50-64, the Toronto and Ottawa-Hull CMAs each had 53 comparable men and the Montreal CMA had 54. In contrast, the Edmonton CMA had 65 unattached men aged 50-64 for every 100 women and the Vancouver CMA, 67.

Large differences in the numbers of unattached men and women aged 50-64 were most noticeable in Camrose, Alberta (42 men per 100 women); Woodstock and Cobourg, Ontario (43 and 45 men per 100 women, respectively); Edmundston, New Brunswick (44 men per 100 women); and Gander, Newfoundland (38 men per 100 women).

In communities where unattached men aged 50-64 outnumbered comparable women, they did so by a much smaller margin. As is the case in the younger age groups, unattached men tended to be relatively numerous in some of Canada's more remote communities. In Terrace and Kitimat, British Columbia, unattached men aged 50-64 outnumbered women by ratios of 114 and 120 to 100, respectively. The ratio was only marginally higher in Fort McMurray, Alberta (122 to 100) and in Thompson, Manitoba (126 to 100). The highest ratio in this age category was in Labrador City, Newfoundland, where there were 133 unattached men aged 50-64 for

every 100 unattached women of the same age.

Provincial and territorial sex ratios among unattached people aged 50-64 followed the national pattern of fewer unattached men than women. The ratio of unattached men aged 50-64 to comparable women was most balanced in the Northwest Territories, at 97 to 100. Ontario had the lowest ratio, with only 57 unattached men per 100 women.



Women greatly outnumber senior men Among unattached seniors aged 65 and over, there were only 30 men for every 100 women in 1991. Men's life expectancy tends to be shorter than women's, leaving many senior women widowed, and therefore unattached. In

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Marriage rate. The marriage rate (the number of people who many in a given year for every 1,000 single, widowed or divorced people) peaks for people aged 25-29 and drops steadily for older age groups. Up to age 30, women's marriage rate is higher than men's and consequently, unattached men outnumber unattached women. Among those aged 30-34, the marriage rate is similar for both genders. After age 40, men are consistently more likely to marry than are women. For example, men aged 50-54 were twice as likely to marry in 1990 as were their female counterparts (41 of every 1,000 men, compared with 21 of every 1,000 women). Men in their early 60s were four times as likely as women to marry (24 of every 1,000 men, compared with less than 7 of every 1,000 women).



Ratio at birth, mortality and migration main determinants of overall sex ratios In general, 105 boys are born for every 100 girls. Because of higher mortality rates among males than females, however, the sex ratio drops with every birthday. By the time people are in their 40s, the sex ratio is roughly equal. From then on, the ratio of men to women steadily decreases.

Selective migration may also contribute to an imbalanced sex ratio. For example, young men seeking to improve their financial situation may be attracted to Northern communities where high-wage occupations exist. Other people may move in order to advance their education or to improve their skills or job opportunities. Relatively mild climates, such as in British Columbia or Southern Ontario, may attract retired people.

Between 1986 and 1991, men aged 35-54 were more likely than women that age to migrate. The reverse held true for younger and older age groups.

addition, women who have never married are more likely to survive to old age than are men in that situation.

Sex ratios for unattached seniors in Canada's largest CMAs closely resembled the national ratio. For every 100 unattached senior women, there were 30 men in both Vancouver and Edmonton, 27 in Toronto, 26 in Montreal and 25 in Ottawa-Hull.

The imbalance was even more extreme in some smaller communities. In Tillsonburg, Ontario, for example, there were only 20 unattached senior men for every 100 comparable women. Ratios were also small in Port Hope, Cobourg and Chatham, Ontario, and in Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec, where there were just over 20 men for every 100 women in the unattached senior population.

Only one community in 1991 among those studied had a balanced sex ratio among seniors. In Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, where the number of unattached seniors is very small, there was the same number of men as women. The community with the next highest representation of unattached senior men was Whitehorse, Yukon, where there were 65 men for every 100 women.

There was no East-to-West pattern in provincial sex ratios for unattached seniors in 1991. However, among seniors, as was the case among younger unattached people, men were relatively more numerous than women in the Territories. In 1991, there were 77 unattached senior men for every 100 women in the Yukon, and 84 per 100 in the Northwest Territories. Provincial ratios for unattached seniors ranged from 28 men per 100 women in Ontario to 37 per 100 in Saskatchewan and Newfoundland.

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ANNUAL LABOUR FORCE ESTIMATES, 1946-1993



Employment,	Unemployment	Participation		ce (000s)	Labour for	lation aged	Popu
population ratio (%)	rate (%)	rate (%)	Unemployed	Employed	Total	15 and over (000s)	
53.1	3.4	55.0	163	4,666	4,829	8,779	1946
53.6	2.2	54.9	110	4,832	4,942	9,007	1947
53.3	2.3	54.6	114	4,875	4,988	9,141	1948
53.0	2.8	54.5	141	4,913	5.055	9,268	1949
51.8	3.6	53.7	186	4,976	5,163	9,615	1950
52.4	2.4	53.7	126	5,097	5,223	9,732	1951
51.9	2.9	53.5	155	5,169	5,324	9,956	1952
51.5	3.0	53.1	162	5,235	5,397	10,164	1953
50.5	4.6	52.9	250	5,243	5,493	10,391	1954
50.6	4.4	52.9	245	5,364	5,610	10,597	1955
51.7	3.4	53.5	197	5,585	5,782	10,807	1956
51.5	4.6	54.0	278	5,731	6,008	11,123	1957
50.	7.0	53.9	432	5,706	6,137	11,388	1958
50.6	6.0	53.8	372	5,870	6,242	. 11,605	1959
50.4	7.0	54.2	446	5,965	6,411	11,831	1960
50.2	7.1	54.1	466	6,055	6,521	12,053	1961
50.7	5.9	53.9	390	6,225	6,615	12,280	1962
50.9	5.5	53.8	374	6,375	6,748	12,536	1963
51.0	4.7	54.1	324	6,609	6,933	12,817	1964
52.3	3.9	54.4	280	6,862	7,141	13,128	1965
55.4	3.4	57.3	251	7,242	7,493	13,083	1966 ¹
55.4	3.8	57.6	296	7,451	7,747	13,444	1967
5 5 .6	4.5	57.6	358	7,593	7,951	13,805	1968
55.3	4.4	57.9	362	7,832	8,194	14,162	1969
54.5	5.7	57.8	476	7,919	8,395	14,528	1970
54.	6.2	58.1	535	8,104	8,639	14.872	1971
54.9	6.2	58.6	553	8,344	8,897	15,186	1972
56.4	5.5	59.7	515	8,761	9,276	15,526	1973
57.	5.3	60.5	514	9,125	9,639	15,924	1974
56.	6.9	61.1	690	9,284	9,974	16,323	1975
56.	7.1	61.1	726	9,477	10,203	16,701	1976
56.	8.1	61.6	849	9,651	10,500	17,051	1977
57.	8.3	62.7	908	9,987	10,895	17,377	1978
58.	7.4	63.4	836	10,395	11,231	17.702	1979
59.	7.5	64.1	865	10,708	11,573	18,053	1980
59.	7.5	64.8	898	11.001	11,899	18,368	1981
57.	11.0	64.1	1,308	10,618	11,926	18,608	1982
56.	11.8	64.4	1,434	10,675	12,109	18,805	1983
57.	11.2	64.8	1,384	10,932	12,316	18,996	1984
58.	10.5	65.3	1,311	11,221	12,532	19,190	1985
59.	9.5	65.7	1,215	11,531	12,746	19,397	1986
60.	8.8	66.2	1,150	11,861	13,011	19,642	1987
61.	7.8	66.7	1,031	12,245	13,275	19,890	1988
62.	7.5	67.0	1,018	12,486	13,503	20.141	1989
61.	8.1	67.0	1,109	12,572	13,681	20,430	1990
59.	10.3	66.3	1.417	12,340	13,757	20.746	1991
58.	11.3	65.5	1,556	12,240	13,797	21,058	1992
57.	11.2	65.2	1,562	12,383	13,946	21,392	1993

¹ Includes the population aged 15 and over beginning in 1966. Data prior to 1966 are based on the population aged 14 and over. Estimates for 1966 to 1974 have been adjusted to conform to current concepts. Estimates prior to 1966 have not been revised.

STATISTICS CANADA - CATALOGUE 11-008E

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	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	992	1993
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,203.8 IR	26,549.7 IR	26.894.8 IR	27,379.3 IR	27,790.6 IR	28.117.6 PR	28.435.6 PR	28,753.0
Annual growth (%)	1.0 IR	1.3 IR	1.3 IR	1.8 IR	1.5 IR	1.2 PR	1.1 PR	1.1
Immigration ¹	88.639 F	130,813 F	152,413 F	178.152 F	202,979 F	219,250 F	239,435 R	257,465
Emigration [‡]	50.595 F	47.707 F	40,978 F	40,395 F	39,760 F	43,692 PR	48.519 PR	46,437
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.7	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3 A	14.0	
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.1	6.4		
Divorce rate (per 1.000)	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8		
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	915	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11.531	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383
- goods sector (000s)	3,477	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302
- service sector (000s)	8,054	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9.082
Total unemployment (000s)	1,215	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562
Unemployment rate (%)	9.5	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2
Part-time employment (%)	15.5	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3
Women's participation rate (%)	55.3	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5
Unionization rate - % of paid workers	34.1	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1		
INCOME								
Median Lattily income	36.858	38.851	41,238	44,460	46.069	46,742	47,719	
% of families with low income (1986 Base)	13.6	13.1	12.2	11.1	12.1	13.1	13.3	
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.8	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6		
EDUCATION			1110					
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,938.0	4,972.9	5.024.1	5.074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4 F	5.295.1 P	
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	796.9	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4 R	917.4 R	946.3
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,218	2.384	2,415	2,600	2,673 R	2,947	3.136 R	¢ 10.0
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.5	*		
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease - men	41.4	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1		
- women	44.9	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0		
% of deaths due to cancer – men	25.9	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1		
- women	25.5	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0		
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	6.0	5.9	5.9	6.0	6.2	*		
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	808	856	898	948	1,013	1,100 R	1,122	
- property	5,714	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841 R	6,394 R	6,110	
- homicide	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.8 R	2.7	
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes? (1990 \$000,000)	159,560.3 R	163,207.6 R	165,341.3 R	171,434.6 R	175.640.0	*	*	
- as a % of total expenditures	56.4	56.1	56.2	56.2	56.7		1	
- as a % of GDP	26.1	25.5	24/7	24.9 R	26.2 R			
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,136.7	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	0
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,652.2	2,748.5	2.835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiarieum (000s)	1.892.9	1,904.9	1,853.0	1.856.1	1.930.1	2.282.2	2,723.0	*
ECONOMIC INDICATORS							8	
50° (1966 \$) – annual % Changs	+3.3	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4 F	-0.2 R	-1.7	+0.7 A	
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.2	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8
Urban housing starts	170,863	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140.126	129,988
		,010	100,000	100,020	.00,020	100,004	170,120	123,300

For enquiries and information call the Statistics Canada Regional Office nearest you:

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