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CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

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WOMEN'S WORK CONTINUITY □ YOUNG MEN'S EARNINGS

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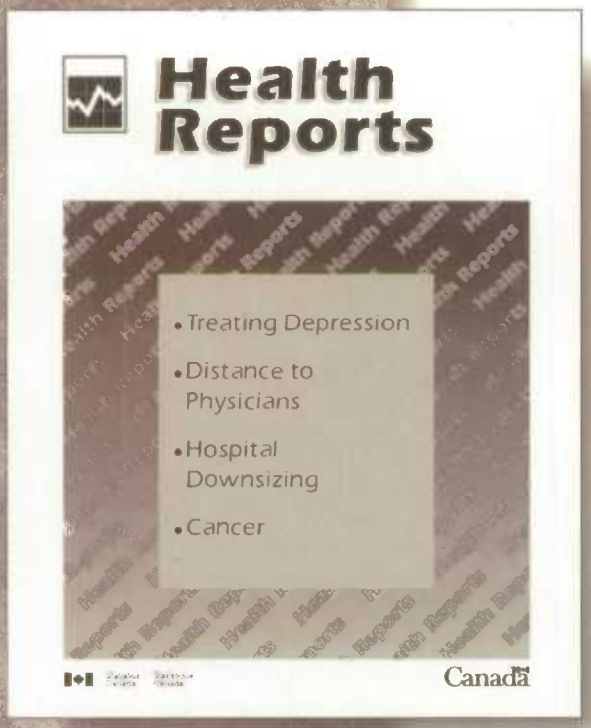

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CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

AUTUMN 1997 No.46

FEATURES

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ON OUR COVER:
The Guide's Home, Algonquin (1914), oil on canvas, 102.6 x 114.4 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

About the artist:
Arthur Lismer was born in Sheffield, England in 1885. At 13, he won a scholarship to the Sheffield School of Art; at 15, he became an illustrator for a city newspaper and sketched many famous people, including George Bernard Shaw and Winston Churchill. In 1906, he attended the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp. He emigrated to Canada in 1911, arriving in Toronto in January. There, he met Lawren Harris, A.Y. Jackson and Tom Thomson. Lismer exhibited in his first Group of Seven show in 1920. He was elected a full member of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1946. Lismer died in 1969. **The Guide's Home, Algonquin**, which was the home of George Rowe and Larry Dickson, was painted using a French impressionist technique reminiscent of Pissaro.

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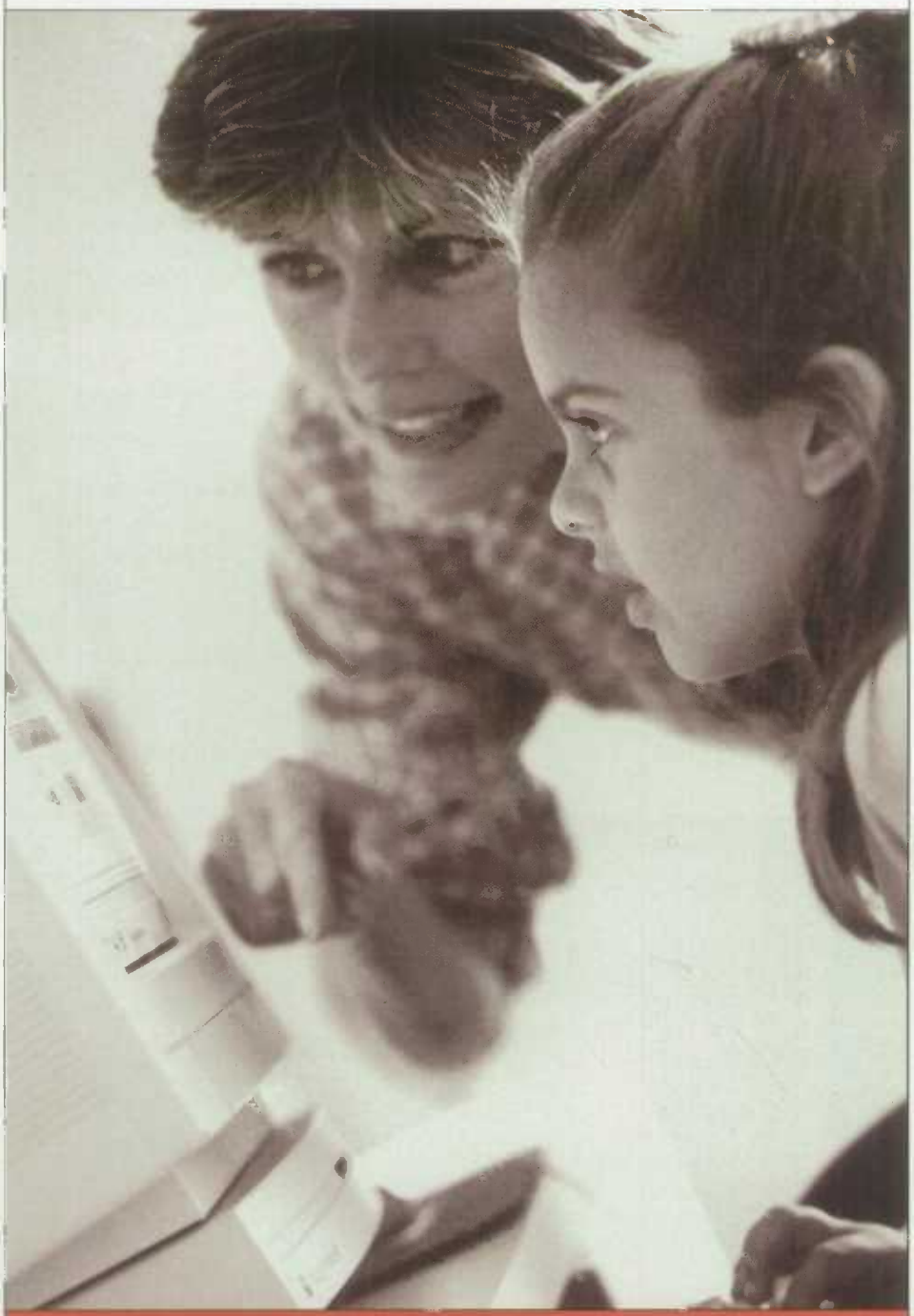
Changes in women's work continuity



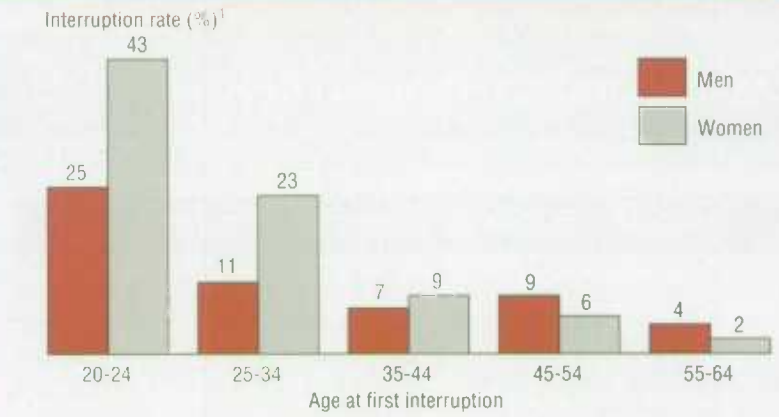
BY JANET FAST AND MORENO DA PONT

Long-term employment interruptions play a significant role in shaping the career paths of individuals who experience them. Employment discontinuity has been shown to affect future employability, advancement opportunities, earnings, and the attitudes of employers and co-workers. Since work and income are considered important to our sense of identity, employment discontinuity can affect our psychological and emotional well-being as well.

Because women are more likely to interrupt their employment for a long period of time, their attachment to the labour force has traditionally been viewed as weaker than men's. But over the last 30 years, women's participation in the paid workforce has increased dramatically. By 1995, the vast majority (91%) of women aged 20 and over had worked for pay at some time during their lives. Contemporary women have also shown increased commitment to lifelong careers, reporting fewer and shorter periods of employment discontinuity than earlier generations of women. However, women continue to experience more career discontinuity than men, and they experience longer interruptions than men. This article describes how women's employment continuity has changed.

Work interruptions occur early in women's careers Almost two-thirds (62%) of all women who had ever worked experienced an interruption in paid work of six months or more. In contrast, just over one-quarter of men (27%) experienced work discontinuity. Regardless of the historical era in which an interruption in paid work occurred, most occurred when women were in their early 20s. Between 1990 and 1994, 43% of women in their early 20s who had ever worked experienced their first interruption. In contrast, 9% of those aged 35 to 44 experienced their first interruption. Interruptions were even less common among those aged 45 and over. The high rate of interruptions in paid work among younger women may be related to their limited work experience and also to higher fertility rates compared with older women.

Interruptions of paid work were more common among young women, 1990 to 1994



[1] Interruptions of paid work that occurred between 1990 and 1994 as a percent of those who had ever worked.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Defining an interruption in paid work

"Work interruptions" was one of the topics covered by the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS). Respondents who had worked steadily for pay for at least six months were asked if they had ever stopped working for pay for a period of six months or more. Respondents who had done so are said to have experienced a long-term interruption in paid work, whether they returned to work or not after the stoppage. Respondents were asked when each interruption of six months or longer started and why it started. If they had returned to paid work, they also were asked how long the interruption had lasted, whether they had returned to the same job, whether the job had similar duties and whether they had returned to a full- or part-time job.[1] Detailed information was collected for as many as four long-term work interruptions. These retrospective questions allow the work interruption patterns of several generations of women to be examined.

The GSS relied on the ability of respondents to recall work interruptions over a lifetime of work. Consequently, this study is subject to recall error because some people may have forgotten interruptions that occurred many years before. This recall task may have proven more difficult for people with longer work histories.

People under age 20 and full-time students who had worked part-time were excluded from the study because of short-term labour market experience. Many older workers indicated that their first interruption occurred at retirement. While retirement has become less permanent than it once was, the nature and consequences of this type of interruption are likely to be quite different from those due to other causes. Consequently, interruptions at retirement were not considered to be interruptions in this study.[2]

Work interruptions were first investigated in a supplement to the Labour Force Survey in 1972. Statistics Canada's Family History Survey in 1984 also examined work interruptions and found that 50% of women and 18% of men who had ever worked experienced a work interruption lasting one year or more.[3] This earlier survey underestimated the differences between men and women because it excluded any interruptions that lasted less than one year, many of which could have been for childbirth. The 1995 GSS addressed this problem by inquiring about work interruptions of six months or more.

[1] Respondents were not asked if they returned to the same employer. A return to the same employer has implications for seniority rights, pension credits and maintenance of rates of pay.

[2] For more information on retirement see "Retirement in the 90s," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1996.

[3] Thomas K. Burch, *Family History Survey - Preliminary Findings*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 99-955-XPB, 1985.

Most women return to work Most women (71%) return to paid work after an interruption. Many of them (31%) settled back into the same job and duties. About one-quarter returned to a job with similar duties, while slightly less than half found new jobs.

However, less than half (47%) of women who had full-time jobs returned to a full-time job; a quarter returned to part-time work. The remainder had not yet returned to paid work at the time of the survey. Many women who worked part-time before they interrupted their paid work returned as part-time employees (42%), while 37% had not re-entered the paid labour force as of 1995. The Canadian National Child Care Survey shows that 31% of part-time workers with children under age 13 worked part-time because of family responsibilities. Since most lengthy interruptions of paid work for women are a result of family responsibilities, a woman's return to paid work may be greatly influenced by the availability of supports such as daycare facilities and home support for children and, in some cases, help for elderly parents.

Women's work interruptions are getting shorter Women's first completed interruptions are now much shorter than they were — an average of 1.4 years for women 25 to 34 compared with 8.1 for women 55 to 64. Shorter interruptions (for women) may have occurred because attitudes toward the role of women in the family and toward paid work have changed. Examining the interruption patterns of older women may give a glimpse of the work attitudes and conditions they experienced when they first started paid work and when their families were first formed. For example, most women aged 55 to 64 in 1995 had started their first job in the 1950s and experienced interruptions during the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast, most women aged 25 to 34 in 1995 had started their first paid jobs in the 1980s and most of their long-term interruptions occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In the 1950s and 1960s, women often left the labour force for extended periods to care for their children. This is reflected in the lengthy career interruptions of older women. Today, young women interrupt their careers for much shorter periods. In the 1950s, only one out of eight women who interrupted their paid work returned to paid work within two years. In the 1990s, over half (55%) returned to work within two years.

Women interrupt their careers for family-related reasons Women's role as caregiver within their families is evident from the work interruption data.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Measuring the duration of interruptions in paid work

The duration of work interruptions reported in this article refers to those who have returned to paid work (i.e., completed interruptions). On average, women's completed interruptions lasted 4.6 years. However, 29% of women who experienced interruptions had not returned to paid work by the time they were interviewed in 1995 (i.e., incomplete interruptions). If incomplete interruptions were also included in the calculation, the average duration would be 8.0 years. Some women who had incomplete interruptions at the time of the survey may eventually return to paid work, thereby increasing the duration further, while others may never return.

The completed interruptions for young women are brief in part because those who had the shortest interruptions would have returned to paid work in 1995. As more young women return to paid work, the average duration of their completed interruptions will increase. However, it is unlikely that it will ever approach that of older women.

Another way of looking at how quickly women return to paid work is to examine the percentage of women who return to paid work within a certain period of time, say two years. The value of this approach is that it covers both complete and incomplete interruptions.

Work interruptions of younger women were much shorter than those of older women

CST

Age in 1995	Ever worked for pay[1]	Interrupted paid work[2]	Returned to paid work within two years of the start of the first interruption[3]	Average duration of first completed interruption
		%		years
Total	91	62	35	4.6
20 to 24	76	33	52	1.0
25 to 34	95	52	62	1.4
35 to 44	96	65	46	3.4
45 to 54	97	70	28	5.6
55 to 64	92	72	18	8.1
65 and over	78	64	7	11.1

[1] As a percent of all women.
[2] As a percent of women who ever worked for pay.
[3] As a percent of women who interrupted their paid work.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Marriage, maternity leave and care of children or elderly relatives (family-related reasons) were the reasons for 62% of women's interruptions of paid work. Although these reasons are still dominant, they are less prevalent than they once were. In the 1950s, family-related reasons accounted for 88% of all women's interruptions, while economic reasons[1] accounted for less than 1%. In contrast, in the early 1990s, less than half (47%) were family-related while economic reasons had grown to represent 22% of all women's interruptions of paid work. Factors that may have influenced this change include lower fertility rates, delayed childbearing and changes in the workplace that enable women to resume work after childbirth.

Contemporary women have fewer children[2], more frequently delay childbearing until they have established their careers, are less likely to interrupt their careers for six months or more for childbirth or child care, and return to paid work after childbirth much more quickly than new mothers of earlier generations.

Looking back at mothers who gave birth to their first child in the 1950s, 63% had steady paid work at some time prior to giving birth, of whom 39% took at least six months leave of absence from paid work at childbirth. Sixty-five percent of women who interrupted their paid

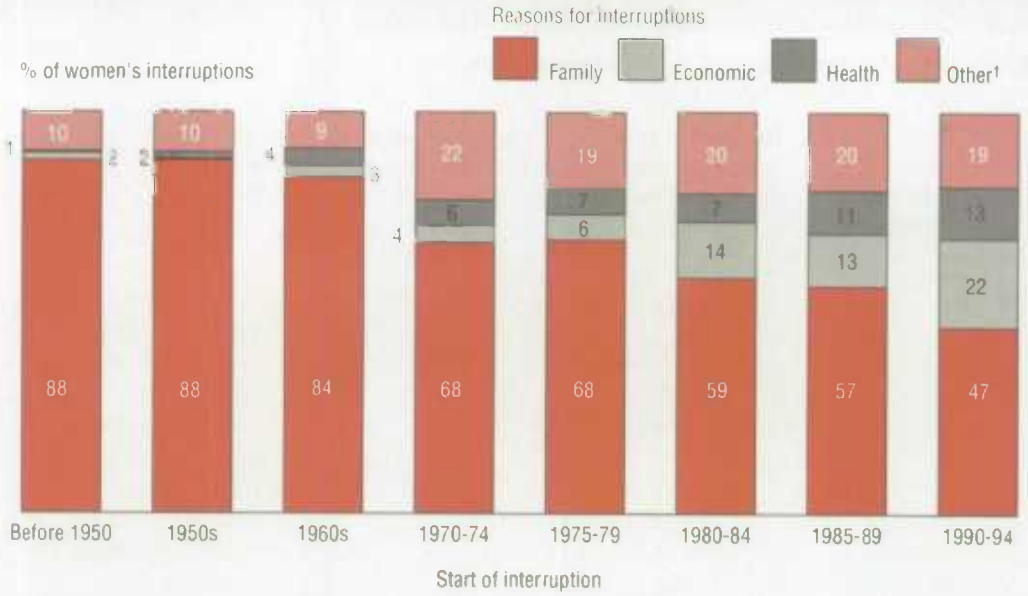
[1] Includes layoff or end of contract, lack of work, business or company closure and seasonal work.

[2] David Ford and François Nault, "Changing Fertility Patterns, 1974 to 1994," *Health Reports*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB, Vol. 8, no. 3, Winter 1996.

More new mothers began their career before the birth of their first child

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Family-related reasons became less common for women



[1] Includes returning to school, moving, immigrating and other reasons.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

work for the birth of their first child returned to paid work afterwards, but only 1% did so within two years of the start of the interruption. Although many employed mothers of the 1950s interrupted their work because of childbirth, 20% interrupted their paid work more than three years before the birth of their first child, usually for reasons of marriage or personal or family responsibilities.

By the early 1990s, 85% of new mothers worked for pay at some time prior to the birth of their first child. Fifty-seven percent of employed new mothers interrupted their paid work at childbirth. Unlike mothers of the 1950s, 78% of new mothers who interrupted their paid work returned to work after the birth of their child, 56% within two years of the start of the interruption.

Recent new mothers were more likely to interrupt their paid work at child birth

CST

Mothers who worked at some time prior to the birth of their first child

Year of birth of first child	Interrupted three or more years before birth of first child	Interrupted paid work for six months or more at birth of first child	Did not interrupt paid work for six months or more at birth of first child
		%	
All new mothers	10	47	43
Before 1950	29	25	46
1950s	20	39	41
1960s	13	49	38
1970-74	10	53	37
1975-79	7	47	46
1980-84	4	50	46
1985-89	6	50	44
1990-94	5	57	38

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Recent new mothers returned to paid work more quickly

CST

Mothers who interrupted paid work for six months or more at birth of their first child

Year of birth of first child	Completed interruptions	Returned to work within two years after birth of first child	Average duration of completed interruption at birth of first child
		%	years
All new mothers	81	34	5.1
Before 1950	64	1	10.6
1950s	65	8	11.6
1960s	82	19	7.1
1970-74	84	15	6.6
1975-79	91	25	6.1
1980-84	88	42	3.4
1985-89	84	45	2.0
1990-94	78	56	1.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Education: a factor in work interruptions In general, women with more education experience fewer work interruptions.[3] These findings are expected, as those with more education usually have the most marketable skills and are therefore able to obtain the highest paying and most stable jobs. As well, perhaps those with higher levels of education have the greatest incentive to return quickly to paid work after an interruption because they have the most to lose in foregone earnings. University graduates were least likely to experience interruptions and also had by far the shortest interruptions.

Implications of work interruptions Work interruptions have more serious implications for women than men in terms of earnings, employability and long-term economic well-being because women experience more frequent and longer work interruptions. Many women report not returning to paid work at all and nearly one quarter of those employed full-time before an interruption returned to part-time work. Childbirth and child care remain the predominant reasons for a hiatus in a career, often resulting in interruptions lasting longer than a year.

When a woman does return to paid work, the role of caregiver does not end. Part-time jobs may be viewed as a way of improving the balance between family and job responsibilities. Part-time employment may also be the only available option after a lengthy interruption. Skills may have deteriorated or job requirements may have increased, making it difficult to find a full-time job. Regardless of the reason why women work in part-time jobs, current earnings are affected.

[3] On average, older women have less education than younger women. Age and education interact to influence both the likelihood and duration of interruptions in paid work. Education has a significant effect on interruptions after accounting for differences in age.

Future income can also be affected. Canada Pension Plan, Quebec Pension Plan and private pension plan benefits are based on both length of time over which contributions were made to the pension plan and the amount of earnings upon which contributions were made. Therefore, interruptions can reduce retirement benefits and the long-term well-being of women. Both the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans have provisions to drop low-earning years for periods of reduced labour force attachment while caring for a child under the age of seven. However, private pension plans rarely have these provisions. Because interruptions also often coincide with a reduction in women's earnings, women's ability to invest in Registered Retirement Savings Plans is also hindered.

The rapid pace of technological change may make re-entering the paid work force after an interruption in paid work more difficult as skills and qualifications become obsolete more quickly. This reality may induce people to accelerate their return to paid work. Certainly in today's world, the employability of those who remain out of the paid work force for extended periods is at risk because their once-valued skills may become obsolete and new skills may not have been acquired.

Conclusion Women are less likely today than they were in past decades to interrupt their paid work. In addition, those who do interrupt return to work, and they return more quickly than ever before. Increasing opportunities for post-secondary education have improved the employability of women. The introduction of legislation protecting the jobs of women on maternity leave has provided more recent cohorts of women with greater assurances of re-employment should they interrupt their paid work. Women's earnings are also increasing relative to men's and their earnings increasingly represent a larger portion of family income than in the past.

There will always be work interruptions. But the likelihood, frequency and duration of them is changing, and will probably continue to do so. With the adoption of more family-friendly work arrangements and employment policies, women are better able to remain in the work force and still care for children and other family members. Many other factors also influence work interruptions. Economic conditions, the life cycle, foregone income, decisions on how to care for children or elderly parents, attitudes toward the role of men and women within the family and availability of affordable daycare may all have an effect.

Janet Fast is an associate professor with the Department of Human Ecology at the University of Alberta and **Moreno Da Pont** is an analyst with the Service Division of Statistics Canada.

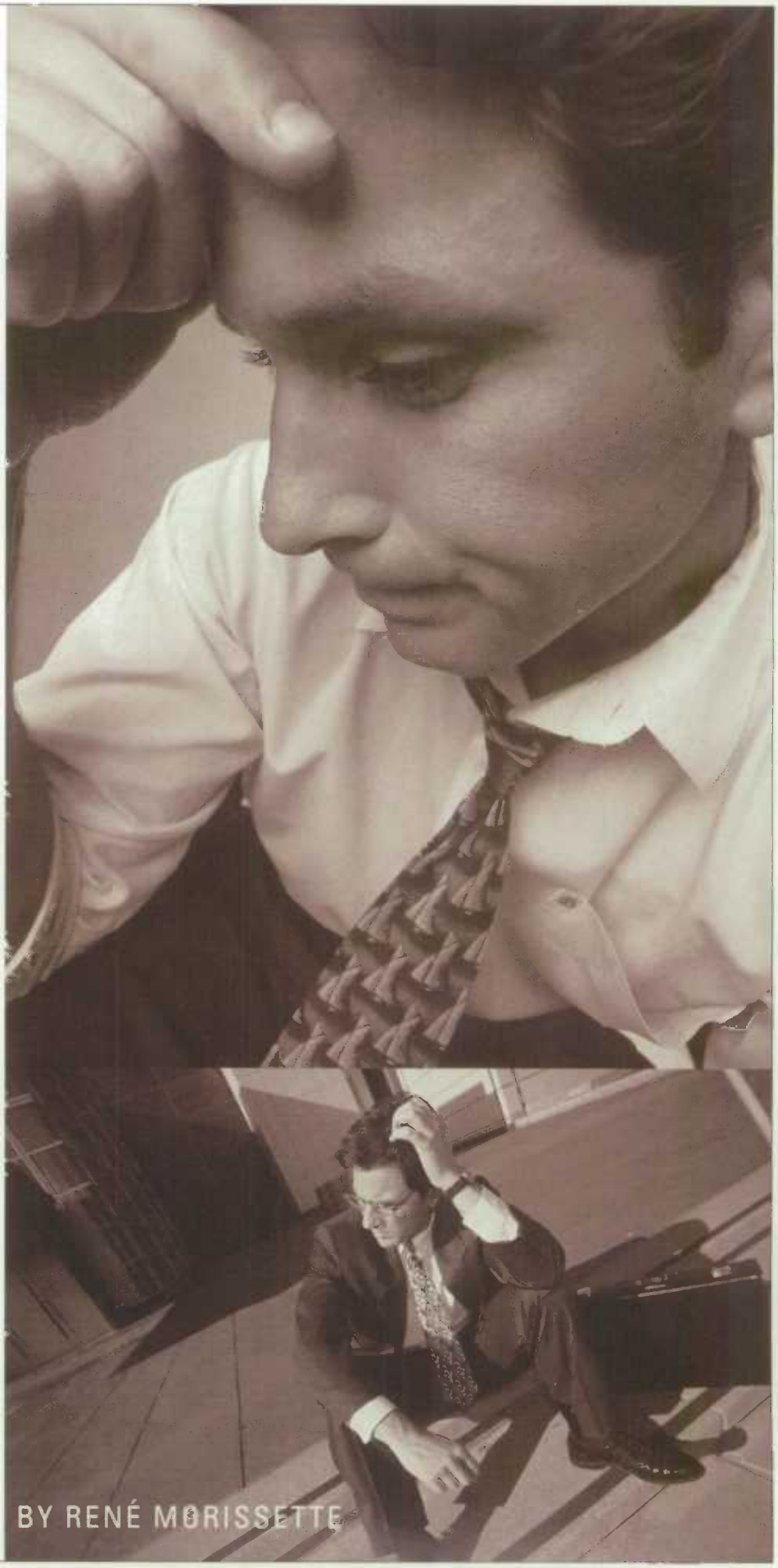
CST

University graduates are least likely to experience paid work interruptions CST

Educational attainment in 1995	Interrupted paid work[1]	Returned to paid work within two years of first interruption[2]	Average duration of first completed interruption
	%		years
University graduates	51	50	3.1
College graduates	61	46	4.1
Trade/technical school graduates	56	34	5.5
High school graduates	67	32	5.1
Never completed high school	65	18	6.7

[1] As a percent of women who ever worked for pay.
[2] As a percent of women who interrupted their paid work.
Note: Respondents' highest level of education in 1995; interruptions may have occurred much earlier when respondents had less education. To reduce the impact of education upgrading, first interruptions due to a return to school are excluded from this table.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

DECLINING EARNINGS OF YOUNG MEN



Generally speaking, newcomers in the job market start out with lower pay than older workers, then as they gain work experience, their earnings rise. Traditionally, the relative difference between wages of younger and older workers has been fairly stable, but since the early 1980s, the earnings gap has been growing. Furthermore, it now takes longer for young men with low earnings to reach a higher income bracket.

This article looks at the decline in the real (inflation-adjusted) earnings of male workers under age 35 that began in the 1980s, and the "legacy" of weaker earning power that has been left to young workers in the 1990s. The analysis is restricted to men because their labour force attachment has historically been stronger than women's over time (see "Changes in women's work continuity" in this issue).

BY RENÉ MORISSETTE

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE 1980s

Earnings fell for men who already had low earnings During the 1980s, the earnings gap widened between working men in the top earnings quintile (20% of male workers reporting the highest earnings) and those in the bottom quintile (20% with the lowest earnings). Between 1981 and 1988, average weekly earnings rose 9% for men in the top quintile, but fell 4% for men in the bottom quintile.[1]

This increase in the inequality of men's weekly earnings was due to changes in both hourly pay and in the number of hours worked for pay. Between 1981 and 1988, the real hourly wages of men in the bottom earnings quintile remained virtually the same, while those of men in the top quintile increased by almost 4%. At the same time, the average number of hours worked by men in the bottom quintile fell by about two hours per week (to 30.9 hours) while those of men in the top quintile rose by almost 2.5 hours (to 45.0 hours). In other words, well-paid workers worked longer hours and increased their weekly earnings while low-paid workers worked fewer hours and saw their earnings fall.

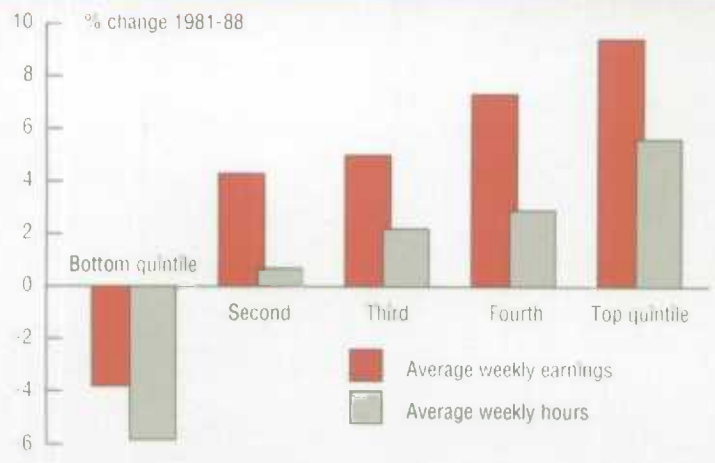
When the effects of wages and hours are isolated to see which factor contributed most to the widening gap in earnings, it is clear that the change in the number of hours was more significant. Between 1981 and 1988, for example, 30% of the increased inequality can be attributed to changes in hours worked, and only 8% to changes in hourly wages. However, the two are highly interdependent, and fully 62% of the growth in men's weekly earnings inequality can be explained by the increasing tendency of high-paid workers to work longer hours (and for low-paid workers to work fewer hours).

Although changes in hourly wages appear to be fairly small, the overall figure masks substantial differences in wages earned by men in different age groups. Between 1981 and 1988, the hourly wages of working men aged 35 and over increased in real terms, while those of men under 35 dropped — by over 15% for those aged 17 to 24, and by about 3% for those aged 25 to 34. This finding echoes earlier studies that show rising disparities in the weekly and annual earnings of younger men.

Economic restructuring hurt earnings of young men Many economic developments may have contributed to widening gaps in earnings among working men of different ages. Two reasons often cited are de-unionization — the declining percentage of unionized workers — and de-industrialization — the shift of

[1] Most comparisons for the 1980s are made between 1981 and 1988 because the labour market conditions — unemployment rates of 7.5% and 7.8%, respectively — were similar.

In the 1980s, both earnings and hours worked fell for male workers in the lowest earnings quintile



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11F0019MPE, No. 80.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Data sources and definitions

The issue of earnings inequality, and more particularly the widening of the gap between low- and high-income earners, has been of considerable interest to researchers in Canada and the United States since the late 1980s. René Morissette is the author of a number of studies on this subject, and this article presents some of the findings of his two most recent studies. Because the analysis addresses earnings over many years, it is necessary to study workers with a fairly stable lifetime work pattern; hence, the study is restricted to male workers, with particular emphasis on workers under the age of 35.

The analysis in the first half of this article, which tracks workers' weekly earnings during the 1980s, uses data for weekly hours worked and for hourly wage rates from a number of surveys: the 1981 Survey of Work History, the 1984 Survey of Union Membership, the 1986-90 Labour Market Activity Surveys, and the Labour Force Survey. Weekly low earnings ranged from $143.90 in 1981 to $138.40 in 1988 (1981 constant dollars). The second half of the article tracks the lengthening duration of periods of low annual earnings over almost 20 years. The study uses longitudinal data from Revenue Canada's T-4 Supplementary tax file for the period 1975 to 1993. Annual low earnings is defined as wages and/or salaries totalling less than $21,073 per year (1993 constant dollars).

employment away from manufacturing jobs and towards services.[2] Although analysis shows that industrial shifts and changes in the unionization rate are significant, they explain no more than 28% to 30% of the weekly earnings inequality among men. More importantly, even when the effects of industry and unionization are controlled for, analysis shows that the real wages of young workers still declined throughout the 1980s. This indicates that other factors contributed to the lost earnings of young men.

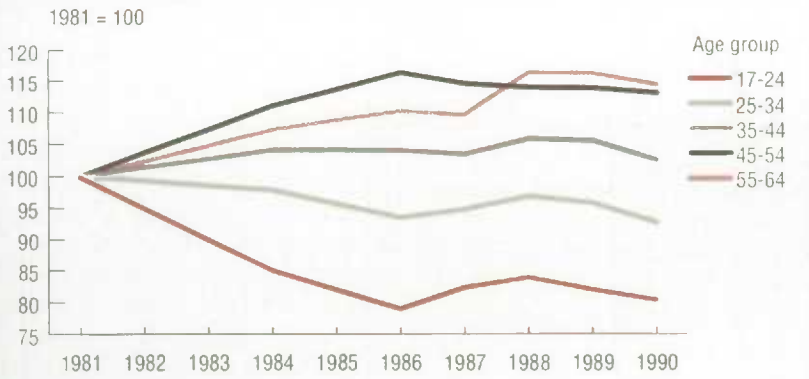
Some observers suggest that falling real minimum wages (down 6% to 20% depending on the province selected) and the rising percentage of workers employed by small firms (which generally pay less) have also contributed to the lower average earnings of young men. But analysis indicates that these factors explain very little of the decline in their real wages.

Rather, it appears that technological change has played a more important role in the growing divergence of wages. Machines now do many of the manufacturing jobs previously held by semi-skilled and unskilled workers, who have been displaced to lower-paying jobs, while the better-paying jobs have gone to more highly skilled workers. Young workers in the United States have seen a substantial growth in the earnings inequality between the skilled and the less-skilled: the difference in the hourly wage ratio of university- to high school-educated men grew from 1.30 to 1.74 during the 1980s.[3] And even though the ratio for young university graduates has risen more modestly in Canada — from 1.27 to 1.35 compared with high school graduates — the premium paid for high-skilled labour is now greater than it was 15 years ago.[4]

Other explanations for the declining earnings of young men are difficult to test directly with existing data. It seems plausible, however, that increased competitive pressures following the 1981-82 recession and/or the breakdown of trade barriers have forced Canadian firms to make better use of their current employees. "Better use" may entail extending the hours of highly skilled workers to avoid incurring the costs associated with hiring new employees, such as recruitment and training, benefit packages, Employment Insurance, Canada/Quebec Pension Plan, Workers' Compensation, and so on. Such practices are most likely to discriminate against young people with little work experience. Also, firms that increase their use of part-time employees in order to improve their workforce flexibility may have put younger workers at a disadvantage.

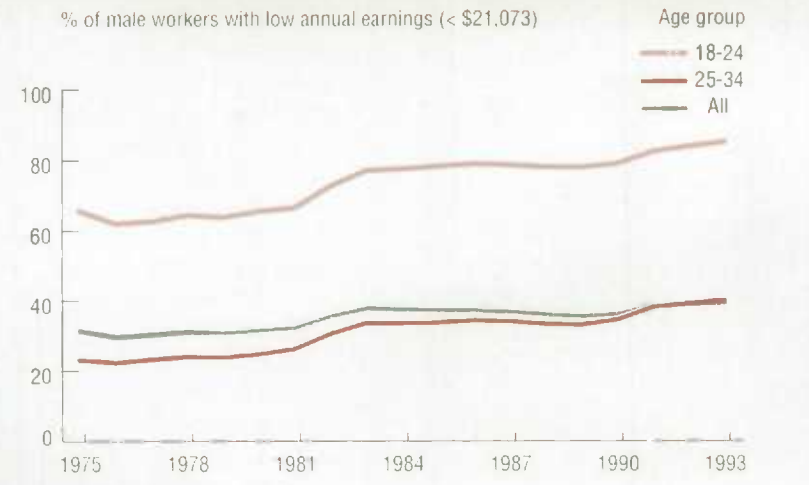
Taken together, all of these factors — the slack labour market, increasing com-

The real hourly wages of male workers under age 35 fell during the 1980s CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11F0019MPE, No. 80.

The proportion of young men with low annual earnings has grown much faster than the average for all working men CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11F0019MPE, No. 94.

[2] Employment in the service sector tends to be polarized between high-wage "knowledge" jobs and low-wage personal service jobs. See "Are service jobs low-paying?" *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE, Spring 1996.

[3] The figures apply to men with one to five years' work experience. K.M. Murphy and F. Welch, "The Structure of Wages," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 107, 1 (1992), pp. 284-326.

[4] Calculated for Canadian men aged 17 to 24, for the period 1981 to 1988.

petition, technological change, increased cost of labour and hiring — helped to reshape the demand for labour in Canada in the 1980s. The effects are still with us, especially for younger male workers.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE 1990s

Upward mobility of young working men stunted Under the pressure of the 1981-82 recession, changes in hours worked, and especially in hourly wage rates for younger men, increased disparities in men's earnings. Earnings still had not returned to pre-recession levels by the end of the decade; consequently, the 1990-92 recession further eroded the position of workers who had not recovered from the blow 10 years before.

Given that weekly earnings of male workers have fallen since the early 1980s, it follows that the proportion of Canadian workers with low annual earnings has increased. Between 1975 and 1993, the percentage of men with low annual earnings ($21,073 in constant 1993 dollars) grew from 31% to 39%. Furthermore, although an increase occurred in all age groups, it was more pronounced among younger workers; the proportion of low earners rose by 9 percentage points among working men aged 35 to 44 (17% to 26%), but it increased by 17 points among those aged 25 to 34 (23% to 40%) and by 20 points among those aged 18 to 24 (65% to 85%).

But it is not clear whether this increase has occurred because new spells of low earnings are more frequent (rising incidence), or because they last longer (growing duration). The distinction between incidence and duration is important because the long-term effects are likely to differ depending on the cause. The data suggest that both factors underlie the growing proportion of working men with low earnings.

There are two reasons why the incidence of low earnings might have risen since the 1970s: a higher percentage of workers fell out of a higher earnings group into the low earnings bracket, perhaps because of layoffs, long spells of unemployment or declining wages; or a higher proportion of men received low earnings when they entered the workforce for the first time (or re-entered after a period of joblessness). The data do not support the first explanation; on the other hand, there is evidence, at least among young men aged 25 to 34, that the incidence of low earnings was rising because more new entrants (and re-entrants) to the workforce were earning less.

After accounting for the effects of the business cycle and for the drop in young men's real earnings, it is clear that workers have also endured longer spells of low earnings. In the labour market of the early 1990s, young men encountered two major difficulties: one, the longer they had low annual earnings, the smaller their chances of rising into a higher earnings group; and two, their chances of ending a spell of low earnings were smaller after the mid-1980s. For example, over the period 1976-1984, a young man aged 18 to 24 with low earnings had a 20% chance of improving his employment income after one year; but between 1985 and 1992, the probability was only 17%. The chances of men aged 25 to 34 improving their earnings also declined after 1985, although the probability of "moving up" was still better than that for men under 25. In contrast, the data suggest that the upward mobility of older low earners aged 35 to 50 did not decline.

Conclusion The earnings position of young men deteriorated through the 1980s and continued into the 1990s. Even after taking account of the drop in real earnings and the relatively high unemployment rates observed since the mid-1980s, it was harder for young working men under age 35 to "move up" the earnings scale (earn more than $21,073 per year). Many factors could explain the

The longer low earnings lasted, the less likely annual earnings improved CST

Probability of moving above low annual earnings threshold

Duration of spell of low earnings	Age group 18-24		25-34		35-50	
	1976-1984	1985-1992	1976-1984	1985-1992	1976-1984	1985-1992
year	%					
1	19.7	16.7	29.1	27.1	28.6	28.6
2	16.6	13.9	23.4	21.6	21.7	21.7
3	15.2	12.7	19.3	17.8	15.0	15.0
4	14.2	11.9	16.6	15.2	12.9	12.9
5	14.4	12.0	14.0	12.8	11.6	11.6
6	13.8	11.5	13.1	12.0	9.6	9.6
7	11.4	9.5	11.7	10.6	8.8	8.8
8	11.4	9.4	10.3	9.3	7.9	7.9
9	11.1	9.2	8.1	7.4	5.5	5.5
10 years or more	7.8	6.4	6.7	6.1	4.7	4.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11F0019MPE, No.94

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Recent earnings and employment data suggest that the 1990s may offer nothing more to many young workers than a repetition of the poor earnings performance seen in the 1980s. This possibility is especially likely among workers under the age of 25. A recent study shows that the transition from school to the workforce is becoming increasingly difficult: the school-to-work transition range has increased from six years in 1984 to eight years in 1996.[1] Furthermore, once these newcomers break into the ranks of the employed, they are more likely to be working fewer hours than their counterparts in the 1980s, and so generally receiving lower earnings. While any number of factors may have contributed to this decline, the result has been a lengthening of the period in which many young adults are working but are probably not making enough to be economically self-sufficient. The consequences of this phenomenon raise many concerns.[2]

[1] Deborah Sunter, *Labour force update*: "Youth and the labour market," March 1997, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 71-005-XPB.

[2] Andrew M. Sum, Neil Fogg and Robert Taggart, "The Economics of Despair," *The American Prospect*, No. 27 (July-August 1996). At http://epn.org/prospect/27/27sum.html

declining upward mobility of young men. For example, more and more young people work part time while attending college or university; as a result, a larger proportion of them might have been "trapped" with low earnings for a long time simply because more of them had combined work and school. If this is the case for many young men, then the long-term effects of an extended period of low annual earnings may not be very great; however, if the reasons for their low earnings include those identified earlier in this article, the implications are more severe.

There is no doubt that young workers seeking employment in the 1980s and early 1990s faced greater problems finding well-paid permanent jobs than their predecessors in the 1970s. Some of these difficulties stemmed from the shift in employment from manufacturing to lower-wage service sector jobs, but the new demand for highly skilled workers was also a factor. It is also possible that technology has made it easier for firms to globalize operations and to contract out to small, low-wage suppliers; in short, firms may have used technology to pursue low-wage strategies that have depressed the earnings of young working men.

• For more information, see *Why has Inequality in Weekly Earnings Increased in Canada?*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11F0019MPE, No. 80, and *Longitudinal Aspects of Earnings Inequality in Canada*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11F0019MPE, No. 94.

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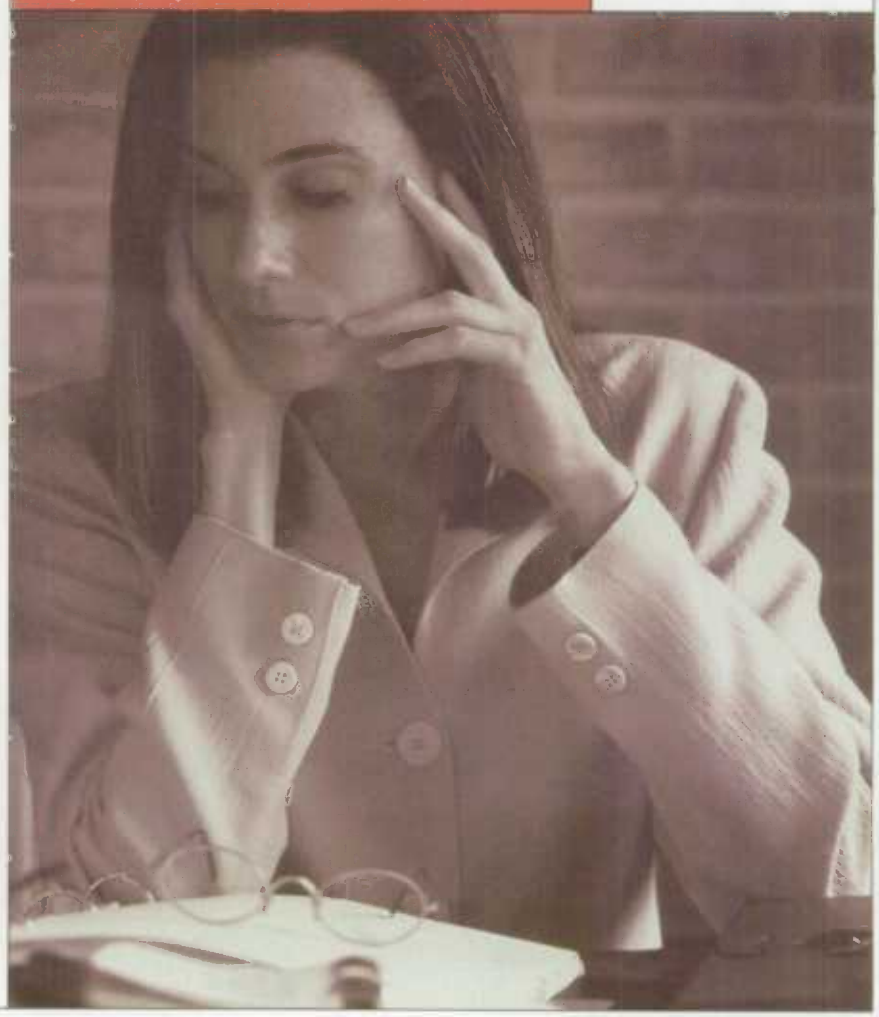
CST

Attitudes Toward Women, Work and Family

by Nancy Zukewich Ghalam

Men and women in Canada have long performed very different kinds of work. For much of the 20th century, men earned an income working in the labour force, while women were responsible for the unpaid work of caring for home and family. The mass entry of women into the labour market over the past few decades, however, has challenged this conventional division of labour according to sex and has led to changing work and family roles for both men and women. Today, nearly half the Canadian workforce is made up of women and the majority of husband-wife families are supported by the employment earnings of both spouses.



Using data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS), this article asks: Are people's ideas still shaped by the traditional division of labour by sex or does their thinking reflect the new reality of women in the workforce? Attitudes are important for many reasons. For instance, they collectively shape public opinion and public policy. Attitudes also influence the behaviour of people and the choices available to them as employers, workers, family members and, more generally, participants in Canadian society.

Women's roles have changed dramatically Although men's roles have evolved in the past few decades, the changes for women have been much more dramatic. Men may be more involved with domestic work and child raising today than they were in the past, but being both a husband/father and a wage earner are still viewed as compatible roles. In the not so distant past, however, being both a wife/mother and a wage earner were not considered compatible by most people. As recently as 1982, only four out of ten Canadians agreed that women should participate in the labour force when they have young children, while nine out of ten agreed if the women had no young children.[1] In the past, a woman was expected to leave the formal workforce when she married to fulfil her role as

[1] Boyd, Monica, *Canadian Attitudes Towards Women, Thirty Years of Change*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984. p.12.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Measuring attitudes

In the 1995 General Social Survey, the following questions were asked of a representative sample of the Canadian population.

(1) In order for you to be happy in life, is it very important, important, not very important or not at all important to be able to take a paying job either outside or inside the home?

(2) Can you tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements?

- An employed mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work for pay.
- Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person.
- Both the man and the woman should contribute to the household income.
- A pre-school child is likely to suffer if both parents are employed.
- A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children.

Measuring attitudes accurately can be a tricky process. Careful thought goes into planning survey questionnaires, especially regarding the language and wording of the questions. The meaning of words and questions can vary, for example, across regions and from one age or socio-economic group to another. Also, the way a question is worded can lead a respondent to agree with the question as it is presented, instead of responding objectively. As well, questions may have a social desirability or politeness bias. For instance, respondents may choose answers that correspond with societal norms, or they may respond the way they think the interviewers expect them to, out of a desire to be polite and co-operative.

Married women now more likely to be in labour force

[1] Single, widowed, separated and divorced.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue nos. 11-516E and 71-201.

wife, mother and care giver — duties which centred on unpaid work in the domestic sphere. For instance, in 1960, less than 20% of married women were labour force participants, compared with 45% of women who were single, divorced, separated or widowed. Since 1984, however, married women have been more likely than their unmarried counterparts to be in the labour force.

Some changes in attitudes seen...

Today, we live in a society in which half of employed people are women and dual-earner families are the norm. In many respects, the attitudes of Canadians reflect this reality. According to the 1995 General Social Survey, 86% of men and 64% of women responded that it is important or very important to their personal happiness to be able to take a paying job. In fact, research has suggested that "[w]ork in the formal economy is an important source of feelings of usefulness and worth for many women."[2]

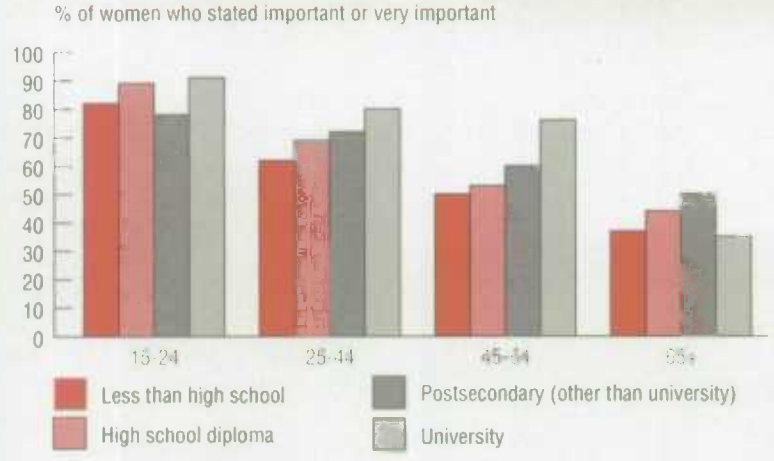
Analysis of Gallup poll data from the 1950s to the 1980s indicates that younger people and those with higher levels of education were most likely to hold views supportive of less traditional roles for women. This was also true of people's attitudes in 1995. For example, among those aged 15 to 24, the vast majority of both men (91%) and women (83%) stated that being able to work for pay is important or very important to their personal happiness. Among those aged 65 and over, this view was held by 75% of men and only 37% of women.

The attitudes of women appear to be more closely related to age than to educational attainment. According to the 1995 GSS, young women were more likely than their older counterparts to respond that being able to work for pay is important or very important to personal happiness, regardless of their educational background. For example, among women who had attended university, 80% of those aged 15 to 24 held this view, compared with 35% of women aged 65 and over. On the other hand, men's views on this subject tended to be similar at all ages and levels of educational attainment.

Independence important to women

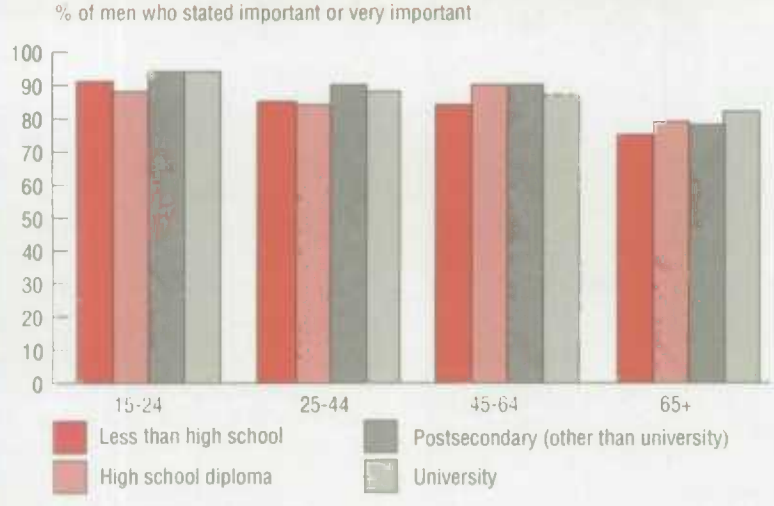
Overall, women were somewhat more likely than men to express attitudes that support women's participation in the labour force and acknowledge the expansion of women's roles beyond the domestic sphere. For example, 73% of women, compared with 68% of men, agreed or strongly agreed that both spouses should contribute to household income. The support for shared responsibility for family income, especially among women, may stem from the fact that working for pay also provides a certain

Age affects women's belief that being able to take a paying job is important to happiness



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Men's belief that being able to take a paying job is important to happiness is consistent across age groups and education levels



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

[2] Armstrong, Pat and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work*, Third Edition, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994, p.211.

degree of economic security and independence. Employment earnings are the main source of personal income for the vast majority of people in Canada. Therefore, the inability to earn an income has a significant bearing on the risk of living in a low-income situation. In fact, many husband-wife families rely on the earnings of both spouses to stay above the low income cut-offs.[3]

Surprisingly, contrary to the general trend, men and women with higher levels of schooling were somewhat *less likely* to agree or strongly agree that both the man and woman should contribute to household income. The decline was most noticeable among men: agreement levels ranged from 73% of men with less than a high school diploma to 65% of men with a university degree.

Working for pay the best way for a woman to be independent On the issue of independence, women and men were equally likely to agree that having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person (45% and 44%, respectively), but women were twice as likely as men (10% versus 5%) to strongly agree with this statement. Furthermore, about 50% of men at all levels of educational attainment agreed or strongly agreed that a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person. Among women, levels of agreement varied slightly, from 53% of women with a high school diploma to 59% of women who had attended university.

...yet traditional views persist The persistence of traditional views in a modern society has resulted in conflicting attitudes. People see value in women being in the workforce but feel that the family, especially young children, may suffer as a result. For example, 59% of men and 67% of women agreed or strongly agreed that an employed mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work for pay. At the same time, over half of those surveyed (59% of men and 51% of women) agreed or strongly agreed that a pre-school child is likely to suffer if both parents are employed. The latter question, however, referred specifically to children of pre-school age, whereas the former referred to children of all ages. This suggests that respondents may believe that younger children have a greater need for maternal attention than older children.

Overall, people's attitudes tended to correspond with their own work and family arrangements. For example, 78% of women who were employed or looking for a job in 1995[4] agreed or strongly agreed that an employed mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother

Attitudes of people aged 15 and over, by sex, 1995 CST

	Very important	Important	Not important	Not at all important	Don't know[1]	Total[2]
Importance of being able to take a paying job						
			%			
Men	37	49	9	1	3	100
Women	18	46	26	4	4	100
Total	27	48	18	3	4	100

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know[1]	Total[2]
Employed mother can have warm relationship with children						
			%			
Men	8	51	27	3	10	100
Women	14	53	20	2	9	100
Total	11	52	24	3	10	100
Having a job is best way for a woman to be independent						
			%			
Men	5	44	35	3	12	100
Women	10	45	33	3	8	100
Total	7	45	34	3	10	100
Man and woman should contribute to household income						
			%			
Men	12	56	19	0	11	100
Women	15	58	15	1	9	100
Total	13	57	17	1	10	100
Pre-school child will suffer if both parents are employed						
			%			
Men	11	48	28	2	9	100
Women	11	40	34	3	10	100
Total	11	44	31	3	9	100
A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children						
			%			
Men	4	42	32	2	18	100
Women	6	40	37	4	11	100
Total	5	41	35	3	15	100

[1] Includes "No opinion"
[2] Includes "Not stated". Also, rows may not add to 100% because of rounding.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

[3] See Statistics Canada, *Characteristics of Dual-Earner Families in 1994*, Catalogue no. 13-215-XPB.

[4] Main activity during the 12 months prior to the survey.

who does not work for pay. In contrast, 64% of women whose main activity was keeping house agreed or strongly agreed that a preschool child is likely to suffer if both parents are employed.

Women remain primary care givers Despite high levels of female labour force participation, many Canadians believe that home and children take precedence over working for pay in women's lives. In 1995, 46% of both men and women agreed or strongly agreed that "while a job is all right, what most women really want is a home and family." However, a considerable share of people (34% of men and 41% of women) disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement, while the remainder (18% of men and 11% of women) responded that they did not know or had no opinion.

These data suggest that the expectation remains for women, even when employed, to maintain primary responsibility for home and family. In 1992, men and women aged 25 to 44 who worked full-time and had children under age 19 each spent, on average, about ten hours per day on total paid and unpaid work activities. However, these women devoted 1.6 hours more per day to unpaid work than their male counterparts.[5]

Conclusion Attitudes are dynamic and constantly changing. Our ideas and experiences shape the world around us and, in turn, the world shapes our ideas and experiences. As this analysis has shown, attitudes can vary by sex, age and level of education. However, characteristics such as age and education may be interrelated (i.e., people aged 25 to 44 are more likely than people over age 65 to have attended university). Thus, it is difficult to determine from this preliminary analysis which factors have the greatest impact on people's views.

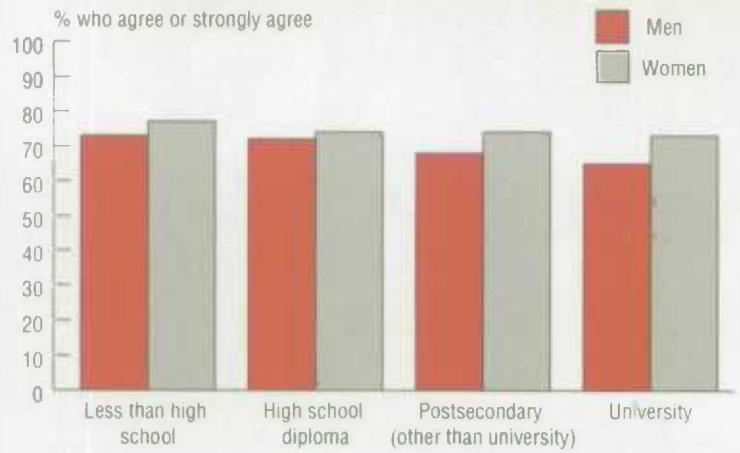
Do Canadians still hold traditional ideas about appropriate roles for women and men? The findings of this analysis confirm previous research that suggests "traditional sex roles for women and men fade slowly."[6] It is perhaps not surprising that people's attitudes toward women, work and family are somewhat contradictory and characterized by both traditional and contemporary views of the division of labour by sex.

[5] Frederick, Judith A., *As Time Goes By... Time Use of Canadians*. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-544E.

[6] Boyd (1984), p.23.

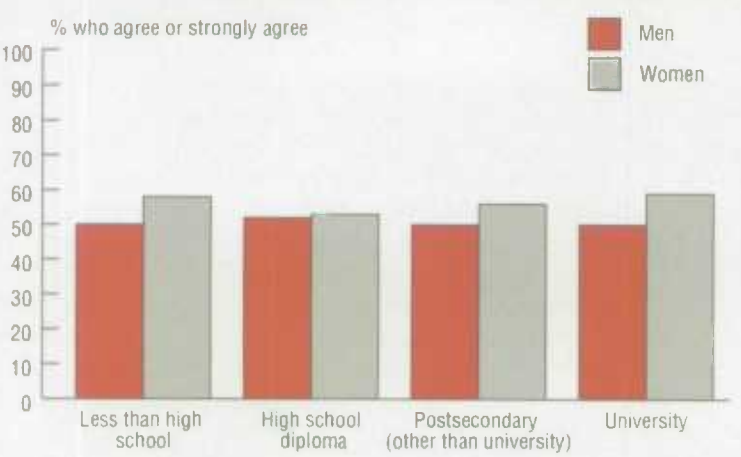
Nancy Zukewich Ghalam is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

Most people believe that both the man and the woman should contribute to household income



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Many believe that having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

MAPPING CANADA'S

Growing Population

The 1996 Census counted 28,846,761 people in Canada on May 14, 1996, up 5.7% since the 1991 Census. This growth in population was due to international migration and natural increase (births minus deaths), in almost equal proportion. Almost one-quarter of the country's total population increase originated in the census metropolitan area of Toronto.

Population growth in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario exceeded the national average, as did increases in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. In Newfoundland, the number of people enumerated fell for the first time since the province joined Confederation in 1949.

The 1996 census enumerated 17,864,646 people living in the 25 census metropolitan areas (CMAs), an increase of 6.4% over the 1991 Census. More than a third (36%) of Canada's population lived in the four most populous CMAs — Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver and Ottawa-Hull.

The rate of population growth slowed for most provinces and territories between 1991 and 1996, compared to the previous inter-censal period 1986 to 1991. Only Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island and the Northwest Territories grew faster than in the previous five-year period. But despite the stability in the growth rate, Canada's average annual population increase of 1.1% is the highest of all G-7 industrialised nations.[1]

Population continues to move west The 1996 Census confirmed that Canada's population is shifting from east to west. In 1951, 15% of Canadians lived in Alberta and British Columbia; by 1996, the percentage had increased to 22%. Ontario's share of the population also increased from 33% to 37%. Over the same period, the proportion of the population in the Atlantic provinces fell from 12% to 8%, while the percentage in Quebec declined from 29% to 25%. Manitoba's share of the national population slipped from 6% in 1951 to 4% in 1996, while Saskatchewan's dropped from 6% to 3%.[2]

British Columbia British Columbia is the only province that has grown at a faster rate than the national average in every census since Confederation. And 1996 was no exception: the Census counted 3,724,500 people, an increase of 13.5%, more than twice the national average of 5.7%. International migration accounted for about 45% of this rapid growth, interprovincial migration for 35% and natural increase for the rest.

Contributing to British Columbia's high population growth was Vancouver. With the number of its residents rising by over 14% between 1991 and 1996, Vancouver was the nation's fastest growing CMA as large population increases were recorded in almost all of the municipalities which make up the CMA. British Columbia also had the fastest growing municipality with more than 5,000 inhabitants: the population of Whistler, just north of Vancouver, jumped almost 61%. In absolute numbers, however, this represents an increase of just 2,713 people, to 7,172.

British Columbia also claimed three of Canada's four most rapidly expanding municipalities with a population of more than 100,000: Surrey gained almost 60,000 inhabitants, rising 24% over five years, while the population of both Abbotsford and Coquitlam rose by 21%.

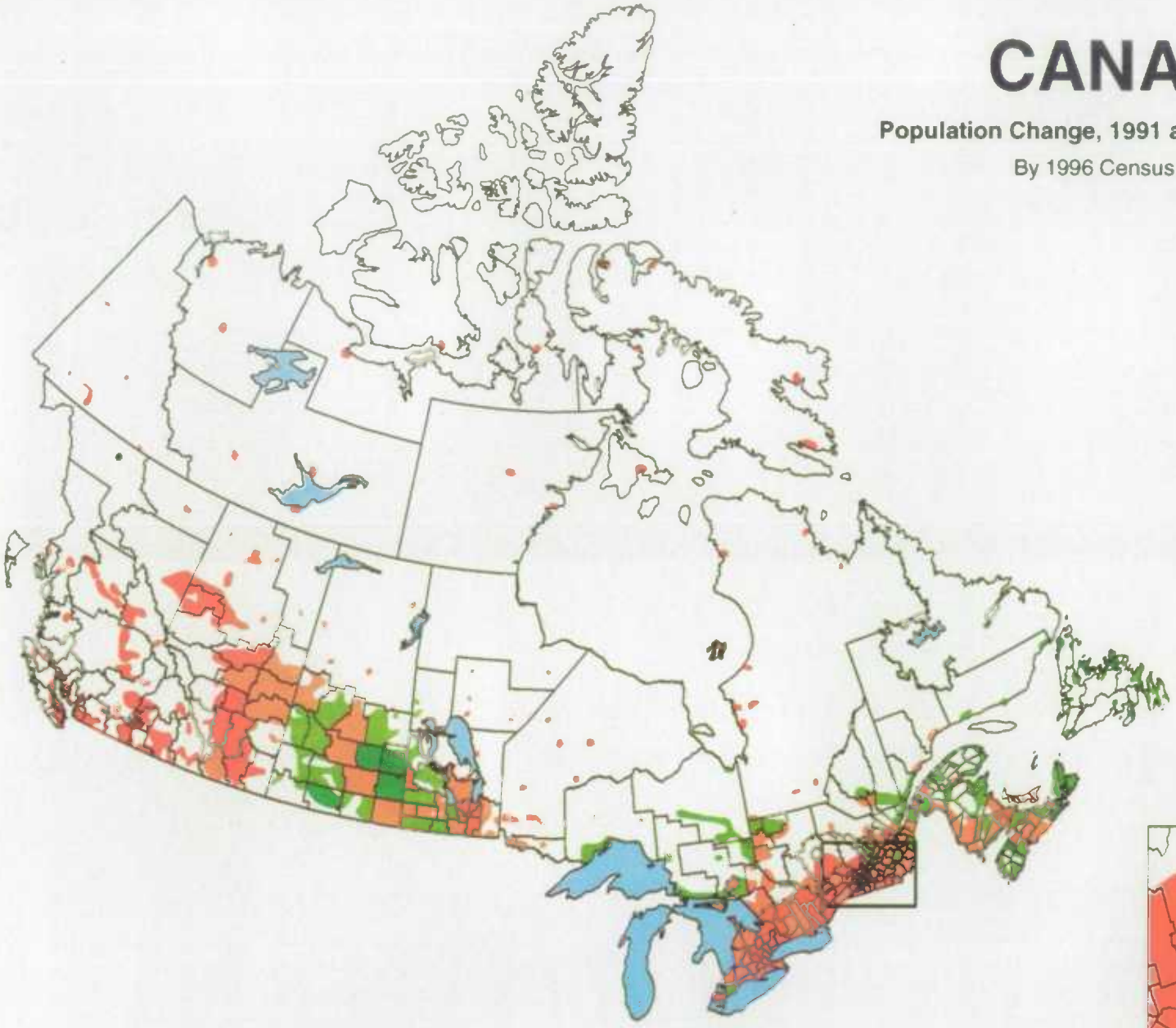
[1] Average annual increases for the other G-7 nations varied from 0.1% for Italy to 1.0% for the United States between 1990 and 1995.

[2] The year 1951 is used as a benchmark because it is the first census that included Newfoundland.

CANADA

Population Change, 1991 and 1996 Censuses

By 1996 Census Division



Source: 1996 Census of Canada
Produced by the Geography Division, Statistics Canada, 1997

Population in census metropolitan areas in 1996 and 1991

	Rank		Population	
	1996	1991	1996	1991
Toronto	1	1	4,263,757	3,898,933
Montréal	2	2	3,326,510	3,208,970
Vancouver	3	3	1,831,665	1,602,590
Ottawa-Hull	4	4	1,010,498	941,814
Edmonton	5	5	862,597	841,132
Calgary	6	6	821,628	754,033
Québec	7	8	671,889	645,550
Winnipeg	8	7	667,209	660,450
Hamilton	9	9	624,360	599,760
London	10	10	398,616	381,522
Kitchener	11	12	382,940	356,421
St.Catharines-Niagara	12	11	372,406	364,552
Halifax	13	13	332,518	320,501
Victoria	14	14	304,287	287,897
Windsor	15	15	278,685	262,075
Oshawa	16	16	268,773	240,104
Saskatoon	17	17	219,056	210,949
Regina	18	18	193,652	191,692
St. John's	19	19	174,051	171,848
Sudbury	20	21	160,488	157,613
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	21	20	160,454	160,928
Sherbrooke	22	22	147,384	140,718
Trois-Rivières	23	23	139,956	136,303
Saint John	24	24	125,705	125,838
Thunder Bay	25	25	125,562	124,925

Source: 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population

The Prairie provinces Alberta recorded population growth of 5.9%, just a little above the national average. Natural increase was responsible for about 65% of this growth, and international migration for about 30%. Saskatchewan, the only province to record a loss of population between 1986 and 1991, counted a 0.1% gain, to 990,237 people in 1996. Meanwhile, Manitoba's population increased a moderate 2% between censuses.

Ontario From 1991 to 1996, the population of Ontario increased by 6.6%, or 668,688 people, to 10,753,573. International migration accounted for 60% of this growth and natural increase for the rest.

About half of Ontario's growth occurred in the CMA of Toronto, where international migration accounted for more than half the increase in the population. This immigration contributed to making Toronto the first CMA in Canada with more than four million people – 4,263,757 in 1996. The large population increase in the Toronto CMA was due to small population increases (about 3%) in the central municipalities coupled with strong growth in many of the municipalities on the outskirts. Meanwhile, Mississauga passed the half-million mark, at 544,382 people.

Quebec Growth of 3.5% between 1991 and 1996 pushed the population of Quebec over the seven million mark, as the Census counted 7,138,795 people. Natural increase was responsible for about 65% of this growth, and international migration for most of the rest.

The CMA of Montréal recorded overall growth of 3.7%, even though the two large central municipalities — the City of Montréal (-0.1%) and Montréal-Nord (-4.6%) — experienced population declines. The CMA's growth was fuelled by rapidly increasing population in its smaller constituent municipalities, many of which recorded growth rates of more than 25%.

The Atlantic provinces The population of Prince Edward Island increased by 3.7%, to 134,557 people, the result of natural increase (55%) and interprovincial migration (35%). However, relatively slow growth occurred in New Brunswick (2.0%), and Nova Scotia (1.0%) during the five-year period between the 1991 and 1996 censuses.

Newfoundland Newfoundland recorded its first population decline since it joined Confederation in 1949. The 1996 Census counted 551,792 people in Newfoundland, a 2.9% decline since 1991. The loss was caused by migration to other provinces. At the same time, though, the number of inhabitants in the CMA of St. John's grew 1.3%.

The territories The population of the Yukon increased by 10.7%, to 30,766 inhabitants, between 1991 and 1996, while that of the Northwest Territories rose 11.7%, to 64,402 people. In both territories, natural increase accounted for the growth. In the case of the Northwest Territories, high fertility rates and declining mortality rates among its Aboriginal population contributed substantially to the increase.

The Leisurely Pursuit of Reading

Recent discussion about the literacy of Canadians has centred mainly on the importance of strong literacy skills to meet the demands of new technology, productivity and global competitiveness. This emphasis has focused the debate exclusively on the economic dimension of literacy. But because reading is one of society's main conduits of culture, knowledge and entertainment, strong literacy skills can also enhance a person's quality of life. To provide some measure of this aspect of literacy, this article briefly describes the reading habits of Canadian adults outside the workplace.

by Susan Crompton

Literacy requirements not as high for reading at home Some level of literacy is necessary to complete common everyday household chores and activities such as paying bills, following a recipe and doing home repairs. However, data from the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) suggest that these reading tasks are generally not as demanding as those at work. Because people at all but the lowest level of literacy (Level 1) were engaged in everyday reading tasks with similar frequency, IALS researchers concluded that Level 2 ability is adequate for most ordinary literacy tasks outside the workplace.[1]

Although dealing with bills, catalogues or recipes may demand little in the way of literacy skills, reading "for fun", that is, reading undertaken as a leisure activity, seems to require a higher level of skill. This can be seen in the most common leisure-time literacy activity, reading the newspaper. The majority of Canadians aged 16 and over (87%) read a newspaper at least once a week. However, a newspaper is not a homogeneous entity: it consists of multiple sections designed to appeal to multiple interests. According to the IALS, some sections — advertisements, local news, sports, horoscopes, TV listings and advice columns — are read with almost equal frequency by people at all literacy levels (except Level 1). For example, people at Level 2 are no less likely to read the sports section than people at Level 4/5. But people at the highest literacy level are most likely to read those sections containing more complex information: national and international news, editorials, articles on health and lifestyle, and book or movie reviews.

People at the higher literacy levels were also more likely to report engaging in literacy activities outside the workplace. Nevertheless, many people at Level 1 reported reading a newspaper (70%) or book (30%) at least once a week, and a significant minority write letters (19%) or visit a library (10%) at least once a month. Given these findings, it seems reasonable to assume that people with weak literacy skills do not forego reading altogether — they simply read at a lower level of complexity. This interpretation is supported by data on reading habits from the 1992 General Social Survey.

[1] *Reading the Future: A Portrait of Literacy in Canada*. Statistics Canada/Human Resources Development Canada/National Literacy Secretariat. Catalogue no. 89-551-XPE.

Who reads for fun?[2] On an average day in 1992, about 4 in 10 Canadians aged 25 and over (39%) spent some of their leisure time reading books, magazines or newspapers. Adults with higher education levels were more likely to read during their leisure time — about half of university graduates (51%) reported leisure-time reading compared with only one-third (33%) of Canadians without a high school diploma. Given the strong link between education and literacy skills, this difference in leisure-time reading habits is not surprising. Interestingly, women at almost all educational levels were slightly more likely than men to be readers.

Older Canadians were most likely to take time to read: 56% of those aged 65 and over, compared with 43% of those aged 45 to 64 and only 30% of those aged 25 to 44. This reflects the fact that seniors have more time available for recreational activities — 7.7 hours per day in 1992, compared with 5.4 hours for Canadians under 65.

What do people read? Men and women exhibit distinctly different reading preferences. On an average day in 1992, men were moderately more inclined to read newspapers — 29% versus 23% of women — while women were almost twice as likely to read books — 20% compared with 11% of men. This marked difference between the sexes holds across all educational levels. The types of books favoured by men and women also differ substantially, with 60% of women book-readers reporting that the last book they had read was fiction, compared with only 45% of men.

Different age groups also exhibit different choices. On an average day in 1992, 26% of Canadian adults aged 25 and over read newspapers and 16% read books. But those aged 45 and over were very keen consumers of news, being twice as likely to read a newspaper as a book. In contrast, 25- to 44-year-olds were only moderately more likely to choose a newspaper (17%) than a book (13%) for their leisure-time reading.

How much time do readers spend reading? People who read during their leisure time devote a substantial amount of time to the printed word: readers aged 25 and over are immersed in books, magazines and newspapers for almost an hour-and-a-half a day — an average of 84 minutes. Because seniors have more leisure time, they spend much more time

[2] Youths aged 15 to 24 were excluded from the analysis of reading habits because they are still students, and their inclusion may skew the two categories for incomplete education, that is "less than high school" and "some postsecondary."

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER CST

Defining literacy

This article uses data from the 1994 International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) and the 1992 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use. In the past, literacy measures divided people into two very separate categories — the literate and the illiterate — and usually used highest level of schooling to make the distinction. In contrast, the IALS defined literacy as the ability to understand and use printed and written documents in daily activities to achieve goals, and to develop knowledge and potential. As such, literacy was measured as a continuum of successive levels of skill; this continuum was separated into five levels, with the lowest level being "Level 1" and the highest "Level 5."[1]

The IALS assessed adult literacy skills in three areas: prose, document and quantitative skills. All three areas concern the information-processing skills of respondents — that is, the ability to locate, integrate, construct and generate information — but the emphasis is somewhat different for each type. *Prose literacy* measures the skills needed to understand texts seen in everyday life, such as newspaper articles or instruction manuals; *document literacy* assesses the skills needed to understand forms such as job applications or transportation schedules, maps, tables and graphs; and *quantitative literacy* describes the numeracy skills needed for such tasks as balancing a chequebook or verifying an invoice. Only prose literacy is of interest in this study.

Data on reading as a leisure activity, presented in the second half of this article, were drawn from the 1992 GSS on time use. The GSS did not collect data on literacy skills, but for purposes of this analysis, level of educational attainment has been used as a proxy for literacy. The table below — presenting the IALS prose literacy level by educational attainment — shows that education is correlated with literacy skills.

[1] For more information, see *Reading the Future: A Portrait of Literacy in Canada*, Statistics Canada/Human Resources Development Canada/National Literacy Secretariat, Catalogue no. 89-551-XPE.

The prose literacy skill of Canadians aged 16 and over is closely linked to their level of education CST

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4/5
		%		
Less than Grade 8	89	9	--	--
Completed primary school	59	29	12	--
Some secondary school	25	36	32	7
Secondary school graduate	12	31	40	18
Community college graduate	7	23	45	25
University graduate	--	11	33	56

-- Amount too small to be expressed.
Source: Statistics Canada/Human Resources Development Canada/National Literacy Secretariat, Catalogue no. 89-551-XPE.

reading than younger adults. Readers aged 65 and over spend 109 minutes on this leisure activity, compared with 82 minutes for readers aged 45 to 64 and only 70 minutes for those aged 25 to 44.

The data also show that readers at all educational levels are equally dedicated to their habit. It is true that people with lower levels of education are, presumably because their literacy skills are weaker, less likely to be readers; but those who do read devote just as much time to it as readers with higher levels of education. For example, readers with less than high school spend an average of 87 minutes per day on leisure-time reading, while university graduates dedicate 82 minutes.

The average reader aged 25 and over devotes the same amount of time each day — about 38 minutes — to newspapers and books, for a total of 76 minutes or 90% of daily reading time; magazines account for about 8 minutes. And although men and women who read spend the same amount of time on this activity, women dedicate the majority of their reading time to books, while men dedicate their time to newspapers.

While women's preference for reading books seems unrelated to their educational level, men's interest does seem to be linked to education. Male readers with no more than high school devote less than one-quarter of their leisure-time reading to books, while those with postsecondary and university education devote well over one-third.

Summary Almost 40% of adult Canadians spend almost an hour and a half of their leisure time each day immersed in the pleasures of the printed word. Yet reading for fun should be considered more than a diverting form of entertainment. The International Adult Literacy Survey found strong evidence that literacy is maintained and strengthened through practice — like a muscle, if it is not used regularly, it atrophies. Reading during their leisure hours probably helps people to retain or improve their literacy skills, especially if

Level 2 literacy skills seem to be adequate for most everyday reading tasks outside the workplace

CST

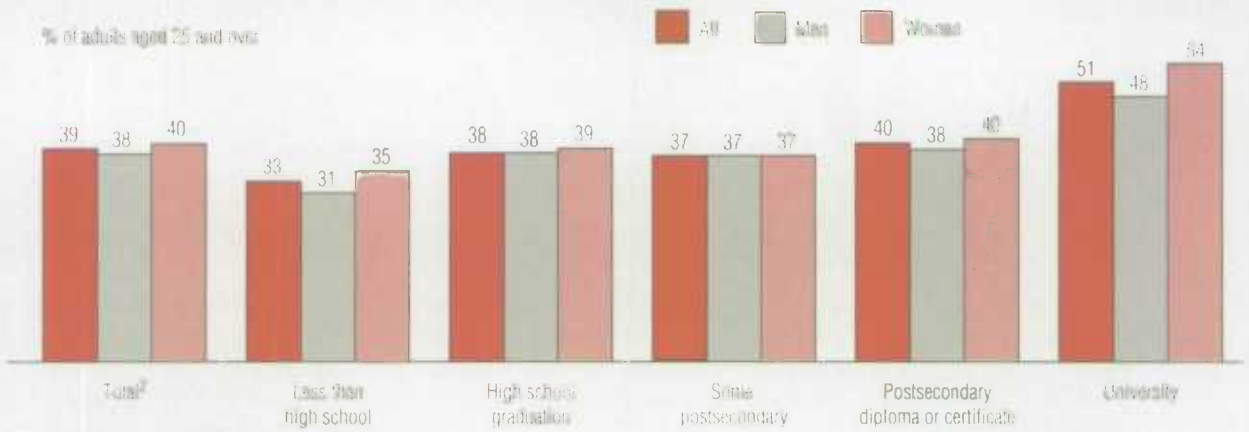
% of Canadians aged 16 and over who read... at least once a week

	Letters or memos	Reports, articles, magazines or journals	Manuals or reference books, including catalogues	Diagrams or schematics	Bills, invoices, spreadsheets or budget tables	Directions or instructions for medicines, recipes or other products
Level 1	32	41	24	5	34	37
Level 2	51	67	49	15	52	53
Level 3	55	69	53	21	60	54
Level 4/5	59	78	55	23	69	62

Source: Statistics Canada/Human Resources Development Canada/National Literacy Secretariat, Catalogue no. 89-551-XPE.

Canadians with higher education are more likely to read during their leisure time[1]

CST



[1] Using level of education as a proxy for literacy skills.
[2] Includes respondents whose educational level is not known.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1992 General Social Survey.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER CST

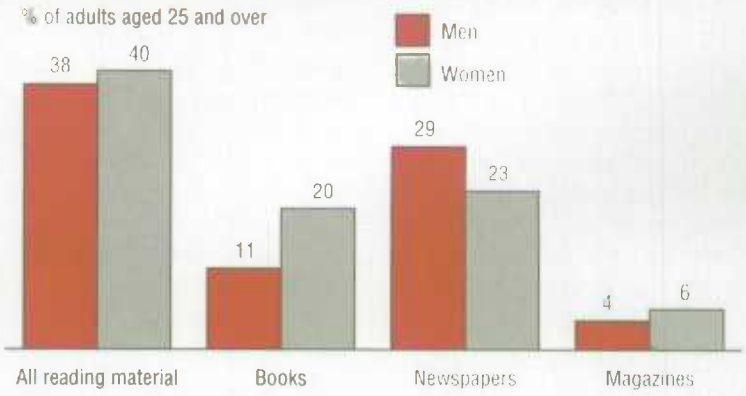
A rough ride for Canada's book and periodical publishers

Canadian periodical publishers faced rough times during the first half of the 1990s. Between 1990-91 and 1994-95, the number of titles published fell by 7% while total annual circulation dropped by 3 million copies. Over the same period, the number of full-time employees in the industry slipped by 3%, while part-time positions dropped 8% to 1,600. However, revenues averaged about $860 million per year, and profits showed steady growth, reaching almost 8% of total revenues by 1994-95.

The book publishing industry also underwent a period of decline in the early 1990s. Between 1990-91 and 1993-94, book publishers increased the total number of their titles by 23% but net sales in Canada remained flat, full-time employment dropped 7%, and pre-tax profits dipped to just over 5%. In 1994-95, however, the industry's outlook improved considerably as before-tax profits rose to almost 7%, with 71% of firms reporting profits, suggesting that recessionary pressures accounted for the industry's poor performance in the early years of the decade.

• For more information, see *Canada's Culture, Heritage and Identity: A Statistical Perspective*. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 87-211-XPB, 1997.

Women are twice as likely as men to choose books for their leisure-time reading CST



Source: Statistics Canada, 1992 General Social Survey.

Readers spend almost 1.5 hours of their leisure time reading, regardless of their level of educational attainment CST

	Minutes per day spent reading by readers			
Level of education[1]	**Total**	**Books**	**Newspapers**	**Magazines**
Men aged 25 and over	**83**	**29**	**48**	**7**
Less than high school	88	21	62	5
High school graduation	75	16	49	10
Some postsecondary	84	37	40	6
Postsecondary diploma or certificate	80	33	39	8
University	84	32	46	6
Women aged 25 and over	**84**	**45**	**30**	**9**
Less than high school	86	43	34	8
High school graduation	81	42	29	9
Some postsecondary	88	52	27	9
Postsecondary diploma or certificate	87	45	33	9
University	79	46	25	7

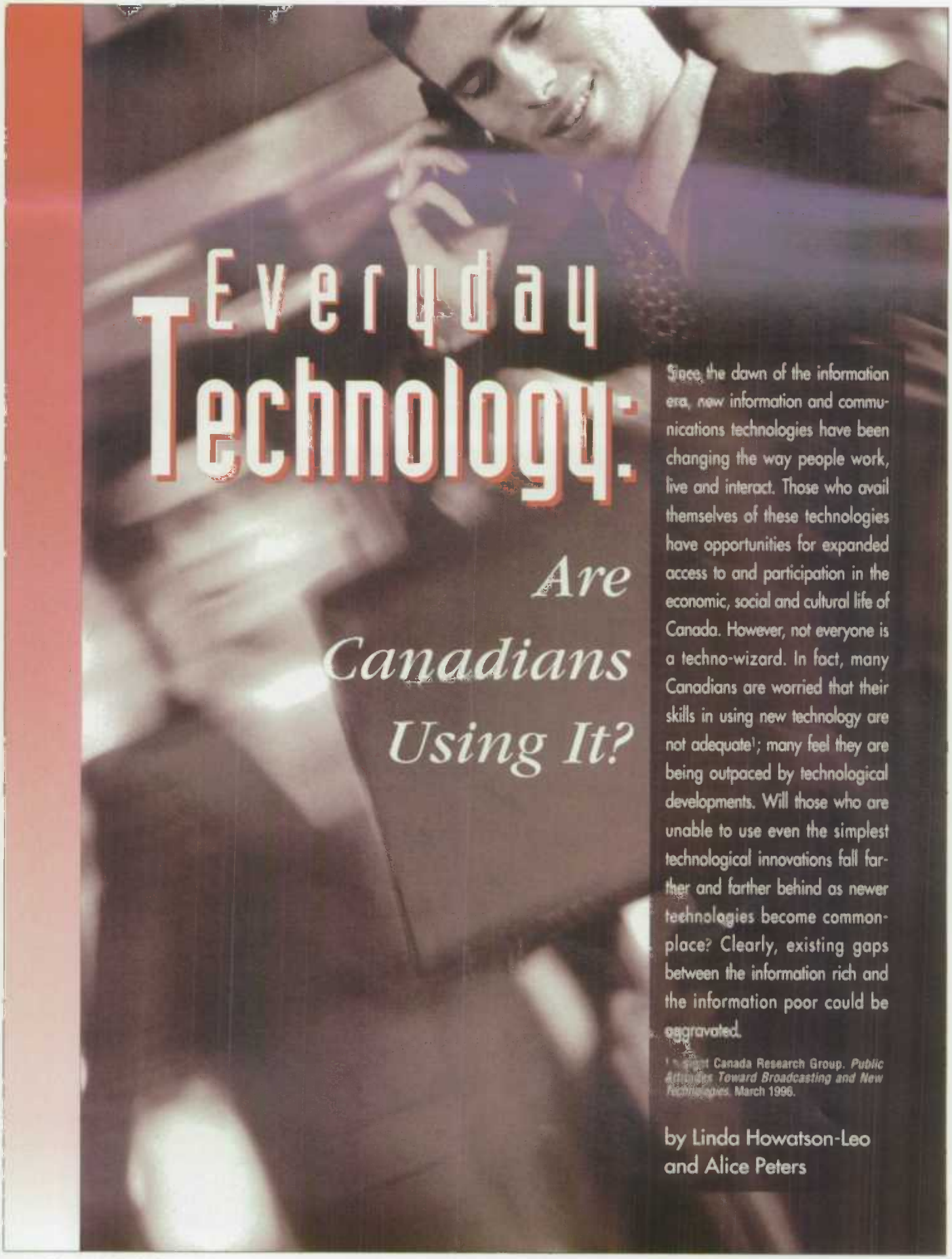
[1] Using level of education as a proxy for literacy skills. See table in Backgrounder, Defining literacy for distribution of literacy skills by educational attainment.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1992 General Social Survey.

they do not read a great deal on the job. Reading outside the workplace — whether the sports page, a celebrity profile, a whodunnit — contributes to Canadians' ability to participate more fully in the social, cultural and economic life of their community.

• For more information, see "Adult Literacy in Canada, the United States and Germany," *Canadian Social Trends*, Winter 1996; and *Reading the Future*, Statistics Canada/Human Resources Development Canada, National Literacy Secretariat, Catalogue no. 89-551-XPE.

Susan Crompton is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.

CST



Everyday Technology: Are Canadians Using It?

Since the dawn of the information era, new information and communications technologies have been changing the way people work, live and interact. Those who avail themselves of these technologies have opportunities for expanded access to and participation in the economic, social and cultural life of Canada. However, not everyone is a techno-wizard. In fact, many Canadians are worried that their skills in using new technology are not adequate[1]; many feel they are being outpaced by technological developments. Will those who are unable to use even the simplest technological innovations fall farther and farther behind as newer technologies become commonplace? Clearly, existing gaps between the information rich and the information poor could be aggravated.

[1] Angus Reid Canada Research Group. *Public Attitudes Toward Broadcasting and New Technologies*. March 1996.

by Linda Howatson-Leo and Alice Peters

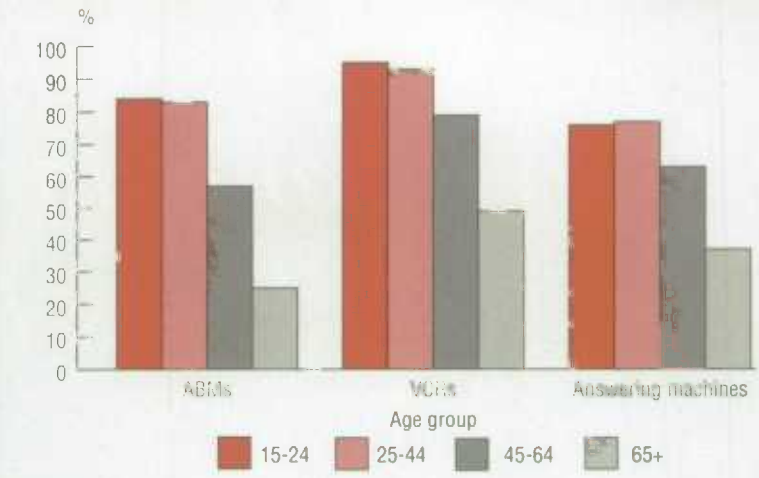
This article explores several areas that suggest that, indeed, some Canadians are at risk of being left out of the technological revolution. Because the access point for many basic services is increasingly provided by machines and not humans, being "left out" could have serious implications. For instance, touch-tone telephones must be used to access information and services of almost any institution — including medical services and governmental services — yet some people still have rotary dial telephones. More sophisticated second-generation banking machines are being introduced and may eventually handle basic financial services such as mortgage and loan applications, RRSP deposits, and insurance. Canada Employment Centres have replaced their bulletin board system with Job Bank machines for job hunting; while these machines are considered "user-friendly," they do require at least minimum proficiency with automated services.

The 1994 General Social Survey (GSS) gathered data on the use of simple everyday automated products and services that have become widely available over the last 15 years, such as automated banking machines (ABMs), video cassette recorders (VCRs), and answering machines. These are neither new nor largely work-related and they do not require a great deal of expertise or knowledge to use. People who do not use these types of automated products and services will be unlikely to use more advanced technology. The GSS data show that most people who are not using even the simplest technological innovations are those who are socially and financially disadvantaged. The elderly and those with low levels of education and income are at the greatest risk of being isolated by the new ways in which services are provided.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Another issue affecting the use of technology is need. Those who do not need a given technology will probably not bother acquiring it. Seniors, for example, probably do not need the automated products and services discussed in this article as much as younger people simply because they have more time available. People who are at school, at work, or at home raising children typically use ABMs, VCRs and answering machines because these devices help them make more efficient use of their time. On the other hand, seniors may have more choice than working-age Canadians about whether to use automated products and services: they can choose to stand in line at a bank, they can watch a television program when it is broadcast, and they may be at home more often to answer the telephone. Seniors, however, like others, need to be familiar with using automated services to access information and assistance from medical, governmental, and other institutions.

Seniors not big users of everyday technology



Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

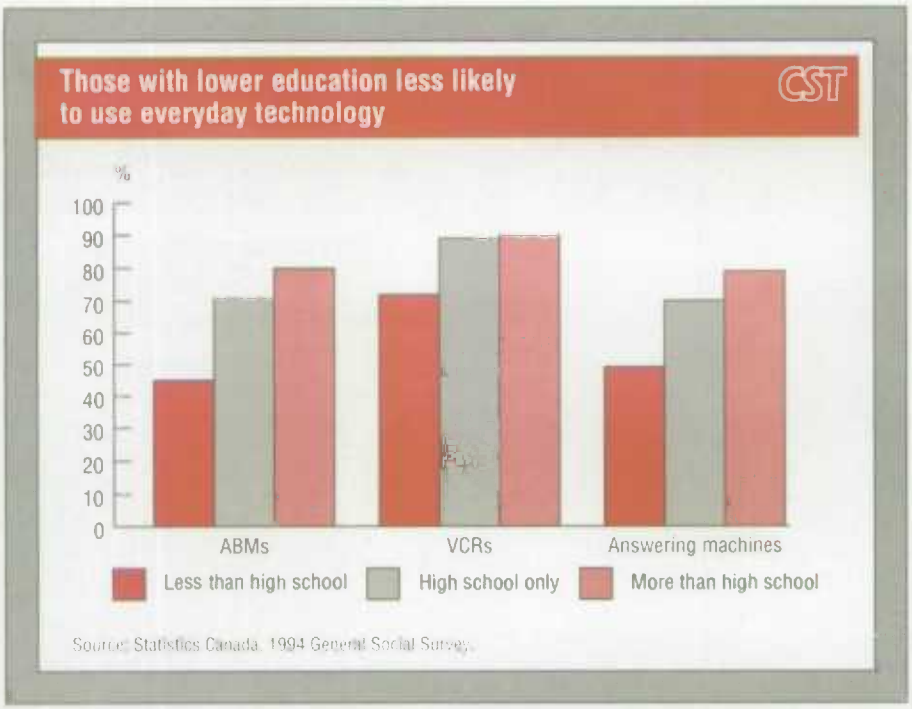
Few seniors use everyday technology

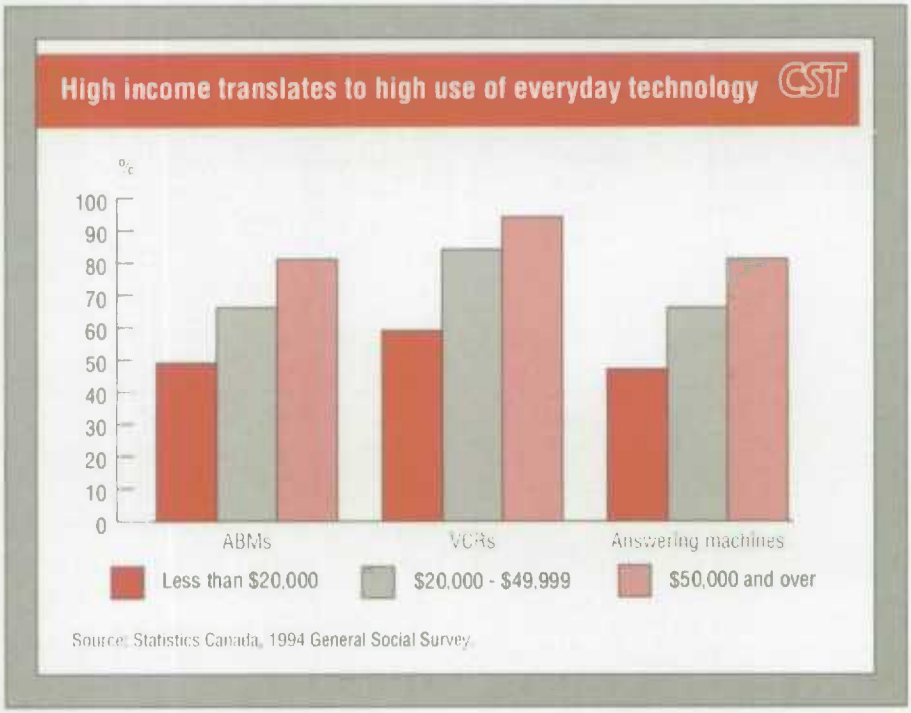
According to the 1994 General Social Survey, only 25% of Canadian seniors (aged 65 and over) had used an ABM in the previous year, compared with 83% of those aged 25 to 44. Approximately half the seniors surveyed had used a VCR in the previous year, compared with 93% of the 25- to 44-year-old respondents. Only 37% of Canadian seniors had used an answering machine, whereas 77% of those aged 25 to 44 had used one.

Those with higher levels of education were more apt to use ABMs, VCRs, and answering machines. For example, 80% of Canadians with some postsecondary education had used an ABM in the previous year, compared with 45% of those who had not completed high school. Most of those surveyed had used a VCR in the previous year, regardless of education level, but those with less than high school were the least likely to have used one. Seventy-nine percent of those with postsecondary education had used an answering machine in the previous year, compared with only 49% of those who had not completed high school.

Low income levels play role too

People in households with higher income levels are more likely to be users of everyday technology. Almost half of those with household income below $20,000 had used an ABM in the previous year, but usage rates climbed to 81% for those with household income greater than $50,000. The percentage of people who had used a VCR in the previous year ranged from 59% (those with household





income less than $20,000), to 94% (those with household income above $50,000). Only 47% of those with household income below $20,000 had used an answering machine in the previous year, compared with 81% of those with household income above $50,000.

According to 1994 GSS data, 81% of urban dwellers had used an ABM in the previous year, compared with 56% of rural residents. Of course, in rural areas, ABMs are less readily available than in urban centres. About 70% of those living in "the city" had used an answering machine in the previous 12 months, compared with about 60% of those living in "the country." Interestingly, use of VCRs was almost equal for both groups.

Many more computers in the home In the last decade, the proportion of households with computers has tripled to 32% (from 10% in 1986). Income is a key indicator of possession: in 1996, households in the highest quintile (the 20% of households with the highest income) were over four times more likely to have a computer than those in the lowest quintile (57% compared with 14%).

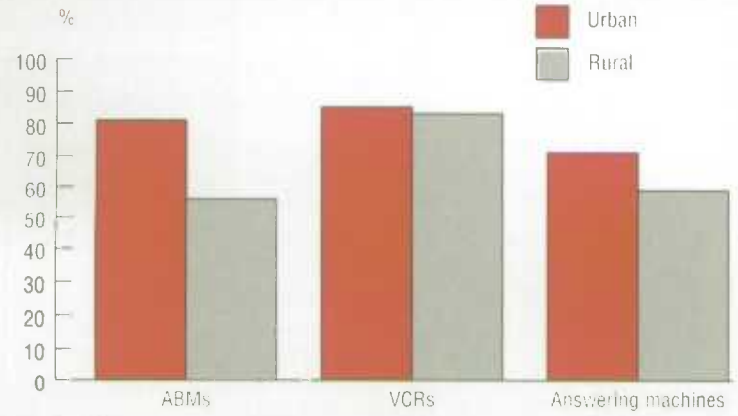
The likelihood of having a computer in the home is also closely related to the presence of children in the family. In 1996, 45% of households with children under 18 years of age had a computer, compared with 18% a decade earlier. Households with children were also more likely to have a modem and to be using the Internet. Increasing use of computers in the classroom and higher levels of computer literacy among the young are two factors contributing to this trend. According to the 1994 GSS, 81% of people aged 15 to 24 were able to use a computer, the highest rate of any age group.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

"Controlling for" age

There are strong interrelationships between age, education level, and income level. In general, seniors have lower levels of education and income than do younger population groups. Removing the effects of age on education and income levels is therefore important — called "controlling for" age — to have a clear view of the impact of these other two variables on technology use. When the effect of education was examined while controlling for age, it was found that, regardless of age group, those with lower levels of education were less likely to use ABMs, VCRs, and answering machines. Similarly, when the effect of income level on technology use was examined, while controlling for age, it was found that Canadians at lower income levels, regardless of age group, were the least likely to use these technologies.

Urbanites bigger users of everyday technology than rural residents



Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

Households with children most likely to have computers

Type of household	Estimated number of households ('000) Total	With a home computer	With a modem-equipped computer	Use the Internet from home
One person	2,803	416	211	101
Single family without children under 18 years of age	4,271	1,297	662	322
Single family with children under 18 years of age	3,774	1,685	791	355
Multi-family	565	204	107	66

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 13-218-XPB.

Technology - the next generation In 1996, only about half the households with a modem-equipped computer were using the Internet from home (7% of all homes in Canada). Banks are introducing home banking services via telephone and personal computer, and "smart cards," on which prepaid amounts are stored. Job searching on the Internet has become routine. At the end of 1995 there were 2.6 million cellular telephone subscribers in the country, up 39% from the previous year. The next generation of technology in this area is fast approaching. Soon, new digital cellular phones will be able to send short text messages, faxes and e-mail. As well, new two-way paging services will allow subscribers to receive voice messages directly on their pagers, send and receive faxes, and access information from the Internet.

These innovative electronic "gadgets" may only be available to and used by a very small segment of the population. But as usage becomes more widespread (as it did with cellular phones), more services connected to these technological conveniences will likely be offered. Data from the 1994 GSS concerning use of ABMs, VCRs, and answering machines have shown a widening technology gap is occurring, to the detriment of the elderly and those with low levels of education and income. These groups could become further disadvantaged as such fundamental tasks as job hunting and banking increasingly require some level of competence in using technology. To lessen the gap between the information rich and the information poor, wider access to the benefits of new technology is needed, so that "basic and essential" information and services are available to all Canadians.

Linda Howatson-Leo and **Alice Peters** are analysts with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CST

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Helping Canadians get online

SchoolNet is a joint federal, provincial and territorial initiative, the purpose of which is to link elementary and secondary schools, colleges, universities and libraries across Canada to the Internet.[1] SchoolNet's goal is to have all 23,000 schools and libraries connected by 1998.

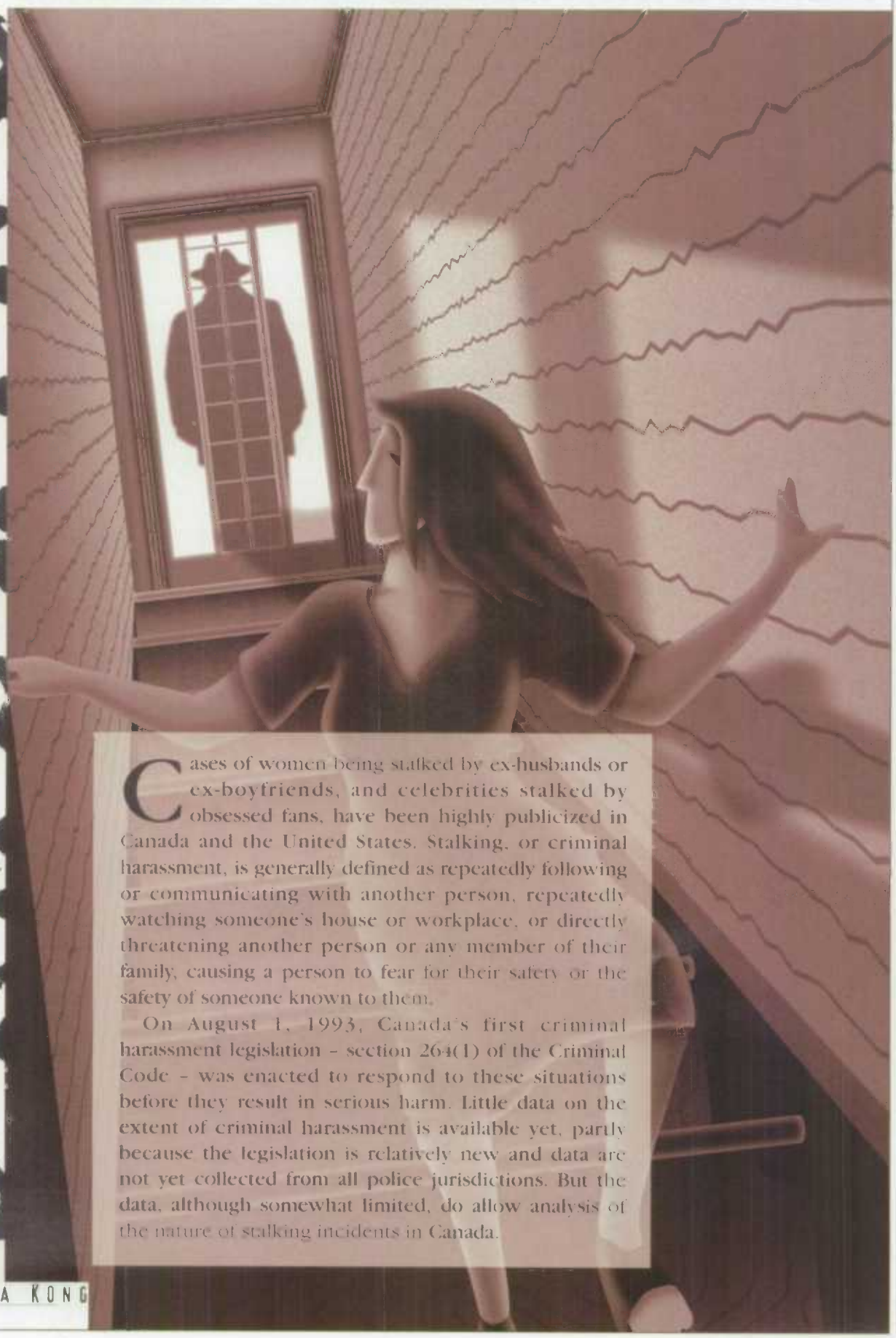
Community ACCESS, which is a joint federal, provincial and territorial initiative managed by Industry Canada, helps rural and remote communities provide affordable public access to the information highway.[2] The mandate of the project is to assist communities in establishing and operating Internet access sites in low cost public locations, such as schools and public libraries.

[1] See Industry Canada's SchoolNet: http://www.schoolnet.ca and Computers for Schools Program: http://info.ic.gc.ca/ic-data/cfs/index.html

[2] See Industry Canada's Community Access Program: http://cnet.unb.ca/cap

STALKING

CRIMINAL HARASSMENT IN CANADA



Cases of women being stalked by ex-husbands or ex-boyfriends, and celebrities stalked by obsessed fans, have been highly publicized in Canada and the United States. Stalking, or criminal harassment, is generally defined as repeatedly following or communicating with another person, repeatedly watching someone's house or workplace, or directly threatening another person or any member of their family, causing a person to fear for their safety or the safety of someone known to them.

On August 1, 1993, Canada's first criminal harassment legislation – section 264(1) of the Criminal Code – was enacted to respond to these situations before they result in serious harm. Little data on the extent of criminal harassment is available yet, partly because the legislation is relatively new and data are not yet collected from all police jurisdictions. But the data, although somewhat limited, do allow analysis of the nature of stalking incidents in Canada.

BY REBECCA KONG

Relationship of accused to victim is key Literature on the subject suggests that one of the defining characteristics of criminal harassment is the relationship of the accused to the victim. There are various types of accused-victim relationships, meaning that the motives for this crime may vary. For example, in a marital or dating relationship, perpetrators may be motivated by their refusal to believe that the relationship has ended. In other relationships, like friendships or acquaintanceships, perpetrators may believe that their victims are equally in love with them, or that the victims might return their affections if they would only get to know the perpetrator better. The difference between "courting" and "stalking" behaviour is that stalking makes people afraid for themselves or for their friends and family.

Work-related criminal harassment occurs when a victim is harassed by a co-worker, unsatisfied client, former employee or person protesting the type of work being carried out by the victim or his/her business (e.g., abortion clinic, logging company). Criminal harassment may also occur between disputing neighbours.

Most female victims stalked by former partner According to police statistics, victims of criminal harassment are usually women who are stalked by men.[1] Data from the Revised Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey show that 80% of almost 7,500 victims during 1994-95 were female and that 88% of about 5,400 persons accused of criminal harassment were male. A large proportion of these women (57%) were stalked by an ex-husband or (ex-)boyfriend.

Research on wife assault suggests that it is not uncommon for an abusive husband or partner to continue to pursue a woman after the relationship has ended. The 1993 Violence Against

[1] Justice Canada. *A Review of section 264 of the Criminal Code (Criminal harassment)* (draft report) 1996.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

The legislation

Bill C-126, first read in the House of Commons in April 1993, was introduced in response to several highly publicized murders of women who had been killed by their estranged partners. Following on the heels of legislative reforms in the United States (where anti-stalking laws were first enacted in 1990), the Bill contains a number of reforms intended to better address family violence and violence against women.

The Bill also sought to provide better protection to victims of criminal harassment. Before the legislation was enacted, stalkers could be charged with such offences as uttering threats, intimidation, trespassing, indecent or harassing phone calls, or assault by threatening. Alternatively, persons fearing injury to themselves or their families, or damage to their property, could seek a "peace bond" or "no contact order" against the accused. However, these methods were criticized as inadequate since the accused had to have either threatened or physically harmed the victim before the authorities could take any action. Moreover, non-violent yet harassing behaviour, such as repeatedly sending gifts and letters and constantly following or watching another person, could rarely be handled by the legal tools available at the time.

Section 264 of the Criminal Code attempts to remedy these inadequacies by specifically addressing harassing behaviour and imposing more serious penalties. Under Section 264, harassment is now viewed as a hybrid offence, that is the Crown may prosecute the offence as either a summary or an indictable offence. As a summary offence, criminal harassment carries a maximum penalty of six months imprisonment and/or a fine not exceeding $2,000; as an indictable offence, it carries a maximum penalty of imprisonment not exceeding five years.

Most victims of criminal harassment were women, the majority of whom were stalked by a former partner[1]

CST

Accused's relationship to victim		Total victims	Female victims	Male victims
Total	(no.)	5,023	4,046	977
	(%)	100	100	100
			%	
Husband		1.5	1.9	--
Ex-husband		31.1	38.7	--
Wife		0.1	--	0.3
Ex-wife		1.8	--	9.0
(Ex-)boyfriend		13.6	16.9	--
(Ex-)girlfriend		0.8	--	3.9
Other family		4.7	3.7	8.6
Casual acquaintance		27.9	23.5	46.1
Work relationship		4.9	3.4	11.3
Stranger		8.1	7.3	11.5
Other		1.5	0.6	5.5
Relationship unknown		4.1	4.1	3.9

-- Data not applicable.
Totals may not add due to rounding.
[1] Includes only incidents where an accused was identified. Based on a non-random sample of 130 police agencies, accounting for 43% of the national volume of crime. These data are not nationally representative.
Source: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 1994 and 1995.

Women Survey reported that, for about 20% of women who had been in abusive relationships, the violence continued during or after the couple separated; furthermore, in 35% of these cases, the violence actually became more severe at the time of separation. Homicide statistics tell the same story, showing that women are generally at greater risk of being killed by their spouse after separation: between 1974 and 1992, women were six times more likely to be murdered by their husband after leaving him than when living with him.

Although the largest proportion of female victims were criminally harassed by a current or former partner, many were also stalked by casual acquaintances (24%), strangers (7%), other family members (4%) and persons known through work relationships (3%).

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Crime Reporting Survey and the Adult Criminal Court Survey

The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS), in co-operation with the policing community, collects detailed information on police-reported criminal incidents through the Revised Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey. In 1995, 130 police agencies, which accounted for 43% of criminal incidents reported in Canada, responded to the Revised UCR Survey. However, because the participating police forces represent a non-random sample, the incidents reported are not nationally representative; in fact, over 90% of criminal harassment reports in the sample were from Quebec and Ontario. Furthermore, the majority of incidents examined in this article were reported by the largest police departments — Toronto and Montreal accounted for 30% and 25%, respectively, of stalking incidents reported.

This article draws on data from the Revised UCR Survey for the calendar years 1994 and 1995 combined, the most recent years for which criminal harassment statistics are available. Since the analysis focuses on the accused-victim relationship, meaning that the relationship of the accused to the victim must be clearly known, incidents with no victim and/or with more than one accused were dropped from the sample. The article is therefore based on records of 4,768 incidents of criminal harassment involving 5,023 victims and 4,768 accused.[1] And although stalking can involve more serious violations of the Criminal Code, harassment was the most serious offence in 96% of the incidents examined in this study.

The analysis of court cases is based on data from the seven jurisdictions that reported to the Adult Criminal Court Survey (ACCS) in 1994: Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Saskatchewan, the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The ACCS provides data on federal and provincial/territorial statutes charges and municipal by-law infractions heard in adult criminal courts in Canada. This article uses the detailed information on completed charges, appearances and cases for federal statute offences. Data were collected for 972 cases involving a total of 1,110 charges of criminal harassment (a number of cases might include multiple charges of harassment). The data reported account for only 34% of the total provincial court caseload, and the vast majority (79%) of charges in the sample originated from Quebec. Therefore, the findings should be interpreted with some caution.

Definitions of the accused-victim relationship

Husband/wife: at the time of the incident, the accused was the victim's spouse through marriage or common-law relationship.

Ex-husband/ex-wife: at the time of the incident, the accused was separated or divorced from the victim.

(Ex)-boyfriend/(ex)-girlfriend: at the time of the incident, the relationship between the accused and the victim was long-term and/or that of a close friend or intimate (excludes same-sex relationships or friendships).

Casual acquaintance: at the time of the incident, a social relationship existed that was neither long-term nor close, and includes persons known only by sight such as neighbours.

Work relationship: at the time of the incident, the workplace or business was the primary source of contact between victim and accused; the category includes co-workers, business partners, employee-customer, employee-employer, and non-commercial relationships such as student-teacher or physician-patient.

Other family: the victim and accused are related but not through marriage; for example, parents, children, other immediate family members (brothers, sisters) or extended family members.

Stranger: the victim does not know the accused.

Other: relationships not included in the previous categories, such as same-sex partners (current or former) and long-term and/or close friends of the same sex (current or former).

[1] If an incident involves two or more victims, the analysis will result in a multiple counting. For example, if a woman and her child are stalked by the woman's ex-husband, the incident and the accused will be examined under two categories: "ex-husband" and "other family." The Revised UCR Survey reported a total of 213 incidents with multiple victims and one accused.

In contrast, male victims of stalkers were most likely to be harassed by a casual acquaintance (46%); few were stalked by an ex-spouse (9%) or (ex-)girlfriend (4%). Over one in ten (11%) male victims were stalked by persons with whom they had a work relationship.

Few incidents result in injury According to data filed in police reports, few victims (5%) actually experienced physical injury and less than half a percent of stalking incidents involved a homicide or attempted murder.[2] But the general absence of physical harm does not mean that harm is not done. Police may not have known that a homicide victim had previously been stalked if the victim had never reported the harassment. And research suggests that the threat of harm alone can affect the victim's emotional and physical well-being.[3]

This reaction is not surprising, given the invasive nature of harassment and that stalkers usually follow, watch or make contact at the victim's home or place of work. Police data show that the majority of incidents occurred at the victim's home. Although workplace locations cannot be identified from police-reported data, victims being criminally harassed by someone known through work were more likely to be stalked at a corporate/commercial place or a public institution.

Victims' reactions to criminal harassment may also depend on the involvement of other offences. In fact, one in four stalking incidents was accompanied by other offences such as uttering threats, assaults, harassing phone calls, mischief, breach of probation, violating bail and breaking and entering.

Victims do not want charges laid in one in five incidents[4] In harassment cases where the stalker was identified, the majority of the accused (70%) were charged; however, in 19% of incidents, charges were not laid because the victim was reluctant to pursue the matter. Victims involved in work relationships with their stalkers were most hesitant to lay charges (32%) as were men harassed by their ex-wives (27%). A minority of women stalked by an ex-husband or (ex-)boyfriend also preferred not to lay charges (17% and 12%, respectively), after reporting the incident to police.

A high proportion of charges are withdrawn In 1994, provincial courts in seven jurisdictions participated in the Adult Criminal Court Survey (ACCS). Data show that 23% of the harass-

[2] This finding is similar to that of Justice Canada's analysis of a sample of cases, wherein 91% of victims suffered no physical injury; and a study conducted in British Columbia found that even when victims did experience physical violence, "none suffered grievous bodily harm." Attorney General, British Columbia, 1995. *The Report of the Criminal Harassment Unit Part II: The Nature and Extent of Criminal Harassment in British Columbia*, pp. 22-23.

[3] Kathleen G. McAnaney, Laura A. Curliss and C. Elizabeth Abeyta-Price. "From Imprudence to Crime: Anti-Stalking Laws" (1993) 68 *The Notre Dame Law Review*, page 851; and Harvey Wallace and Joy Silverman, "Stalking and Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome" (1996) LXIX *The Police Journal*, page 25.

[4] Excludes the one-quarter of incidents in which the stalker was not identified.

Most incidents of criminal harassment occurred in the victim's home[1]

CST

Accused's relationship to victim	Number[2]	Total (%)	Residence	Commercial/ corporate place	Street/ public transit	Public institution	Parking lot	School	Open area
					%				
Total	5,023	100	69	11	10	3	2	3	1
Husband	75	100	91	3	1	1	--	1	--
Ex-husband	1,574	100	77	7	8	1	2	1	1
Wife	3	100	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ex-wife	88	100	78	10	3	2	1	--	2
(Ex-)boyfriend	684	100	75	11	7	1	1	2	--
(Ex-)girlfriend	38	100	87	5	3	--	--	--	--
Other family	234	100	82	6	8	1	2	--	--
Casual acquaintance	1,402	100	64	11	13	3	2	4	1
Work relationship	246	100	36	39	5	9	1	7	--
Stranger	408	100	45	16	22	7	2	3	3
Other	77	100	75	10	3	1	1	3	--
Relationship unknown	204	100	65	13	9	4	1	3	1

-- Amount too small to be expressed.
Totals may not add due to rounding.
[1] Includes only incidents where an accused was identified. Based on a non-random sample of 130 police agencies, accounting for 43% of the national volume of crime. These data are not nationally representative.
[2] Includes unknown location.
Source: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 1994 and 1995

An accused stalker is charged in over two-thirds of criminal harassment cases reported to police[1]

Accused's relationship to victim	Total	Type of clearance by police [2]		
		Cleared by charge	Cleared otherwise: Victim reluctant to pursue laying charges	Cleared otherwise: Other [3]
		%		
Total	100	70	19	11
Husband	100	83	9	8
Ex-husband	100	75	17	9
Wife	100	--	--	--
Ex-wife	100	56	27	17
(Ex-)boyfriend	100	82	12	5
(Ex-)girlfriend	100	68	24	8
Other family	100	73	15	12
Casual acquaintance	100	64	23	13
Work relationship	100	57	32	12
Stranger	100	64	20	15
Other	100	65	17	18
Relationship unknown	100	70	24	6

-- Amount too small to be expressed.
Totals may not add due to rounding.
[1] Includes only incidents where an accused was identified. Based on a non-random sample of 130 police agencies, accounting for 43% of the national volume of crime. These data are not nationally representative.
[2] Clearance rate is 100% because an accused was identified in all incidents.
[3] Includes reasons beyond the department's control, departmental discretion and other.
Source: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 1994 and 1995.

ment cases originally filed in provincial court were moved to a superior court. This may indicate that these cases were of a more serious nature than harassment alone; for example, 59% of criminal harassment cases involving sexual assault, and 31% of those involving assault, were transferred to superior court. The outcome of these transferred cases is unknown.

However, the data show that the outcomes of criminal harassment cases remaining in provincial court are rather different than those for minor assault, which is a similar type of charge. Although the accused in 36% of harassment cases were found guilty (including conditional and absolute discharges and guilty pleas), a full 39% of harassment cases were dropped (including withdrawn, dismissed and stayed).[5] By contrast, 57% of minor assault charges resulted in a conviction and only 27% were dropped.

While Bill C-126 clearly states that criminal harassment is a serious crime, it appears that relatively few cases are prosecuted as an indictable offence. ACCS data from the seven reporting jurisdictions show that 60% of stalkers found guilty were sentenced to probation (two-thirds for at least one year), while another 33% of convicted stalkers received a prison term (most less than six months). Cases involving a more serious violent offence in addition to a criminal harassment charge were more likely to receive a prison sentence (56%) than those in which the most serious offence was criminal harassment (19%).

Summary Legislators have responded to society's intolerance for stalking behaviour by naming it a criminal offence. However, as with any crime, legislation alone cannot prevent its occurrence. While stalking may not be new behaviour, it is "new" to the legal system. Therefore, increased knowledge of the nature and extent of criminal harassment is essential in helping agencies better understand and respond to it.

To date, statistics reported by a non-representative sample of police departments show that the majority of reported cases involve female victims, most of whom are stalked by previous partners. Yet, current statistics give only partial insight into the effect of stalking on its victims. Police and court data also show that a large number of cases are being dropped due to the victim's reluctance to take part in laying charges. As the amount of data available from police and courts increases, and as research on the issue builds, more information will be available to help deepen our understanding of criminal harassment and improve the responses of the justice system.

[5] Justice Canada's examination of a sample of criminal harassment cases found that the victim's unwillingness to participate in the court process or desire to drop charges influenced the Crown's decision whether or not to continue the prosecution.

• For more information, see *Juristat*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE, Vol. 16, no. 12. Also "Wife Assault in Canada," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1994.

Rebecca Kong is an analyst with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends *in the classroom*

Lesson plans for "**Attitudes Toward Women, Work and Family**" and "**Changes in Women's Work Continuity**"

Objectives

- ❑ To appreciate how attitudes toward work and family differ.
- ❑ To understand how women's role in the labour force has changed.
- ❑ To appreciate how attitudes toward work and family influence behaviour.
- ❑ To work independently and cooperatively in groups.

Activity 1

1. Conduct a small survey of student attitudes toward women, work and family. Ask the students if they agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

   a) having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person;

   b) a preschool child is likely to suffer if both parents are employed;

   c) a job is all right, but what most women want is a home and children.

Record the number of agree and disagree responses for male and female students separately for each statement.

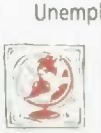
2. Have the students read "Attitudes Toward Women, Work and Family."
3. Compare the class response to the statements in step one to those in the article.
4. Discuss how attitudes toward women, work and family differ between young and old people and between men and women.

Activity 2

1. Read "Changes in Women's Work Continuity."
2. Discuss what impact women's role as caregiver within the family has upon women's participation in the labour force and how interruptions in women's paid work have changed over time. Have the teacher summarize the points.
3. Divide the class into groups of male and groups of female students. Have the female groups discuss the role they foresee for themselves at work and within the family. Have the male groups discuss what role they foresee for their spouse in the family and at work if they were to marry.
4. Have each group present the roles they foresee for women in the family and at work, while the teacher summarizes the points.
5. Discuss what implications these roles have on the long-term well-being of women.

Using other resources

- ❑ Visit Statistics Canada's internet site at http://www.statcan.ca to find women's labour force participation by age for several countries. Look under "Canadian Dimensions - The People."
- ❑ Read about how women's participation in the labour force has changed in the early 1990s in **Perspectives on Labour and Income**, Autumn 1995, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE.
- ❑ Use the **E-STAT** CD-ROM from Statistics Canada to find data on labour force participation rates for women. Search in the **CANSIM** time series under the Topic "Employment and Unemployment" to find this information.



Share your ideas!

Do you have lessons using **CST** that you would like to share? Send your ideas or comments to Joel Yan, Dissemination Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0T6. FAX (613) 951-4513 or Internet E-mail: yanjoel@statcan.ca.

EDUCATORS – You may photocopy Educators' Notebook and the articles "Changes in women's work continuity" and "Attitudes Toward Women, Work and Family" for use in your classroom.

SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1	28,542.2	28,947.0	29,255.6 R	29,615.3 R	28,846.8 F
Annual growth (%)	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.1 R	1.2	1.2
Immigration[1]	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810	265,405	234,457 F	215,470 R	208,791 PP
Emigration[1]	40,395	39,760	43,692	45,633	43,993	44,807	45,949	47,230 PP
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	13.4	13.2	12.9	12.5 E
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	7.0	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.4	5.3 E
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.6	•
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	808	879	1,096	1,184	1,198	1,130	1,044	1,079
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	13,086	13,165	12,916	12,842	13,015	13,292	13,506	13,676
– goods sector (000s)	3,928	3,809	3,582	3,457	3,448	3,545	3,653	3,681
– service sector (000s)	9,158	9,356	9,334	9,385	9,567	9,746	9,852	9,995
Total unemployment (000s)	1,065	1,164	1,492	1,640	1,649	1,541	1,422	1,469
Unemployment rate (%)	7.5	8.1	10.4	11.3	11.2	10.4	9.5	9.7
Part-time employment (%)	16.6	17.0	18.1	18.5	19.1	18.8	18.6	18.9
Women's participation rate (%)	58.3	58.7	58.5	58.0	57.9	57.6	57.4	57.6
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	34.1	34.7	35.1	34.9	34.3	–	–	–
INCOME								
Median family income	43,995	45,618	46,389	47,199	46,717	48,091	48,079	•
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	11.1	12.3	13.0	13.5	14.6	13.5	14.2	•
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	66.0	67.7	69.6	71.9	72.2	69.8	73.1	•
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	5,075.3	5,141.0	5,218.2	5,284.2	5,347.4 P	5,402.4 P	5,465.5 E	5511.0 E
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	831.8	856.6	903.1	931.0	951.1 P	964.7 E	961.2 E	961.2 E
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,573	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,356	3,552	3,621 E	3,532 E
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.5	5.8	6.3	6.4	6.2	5.9	5.7	•
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1	37.0	36.3	36.0	•
– women	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7	40.2	39.7 R	39.3	•
% of deaths due to cancer – men	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.4 R	27.9	28.3	30.3	29.3 E
– women	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.3	26.9	27.0	27.3	27.9 E
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	5.9	6.2	6.7	6.8	6.7	6.2	6.1	•
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	908	970	1,056	1,077 R	1,072	1,038 R	995	•
– property	5,271	5,593	6,141	5,868 R	5,524 R	5,212 R	5,235 R	•
– homicide	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.0	2.0	•
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes[2] (1995 $000,000)	175,372.4 R	183,505.7 R	190,745.5 R	207,245.8 R	214,317.3 R	215,567.4	208,494.6	•
– as a % of total expenditures	56.1 R	56.0 R	56.8 R	58.5 R	60.0 R	60.1	58.3	•
– as a % of GDP	23.0 R	24.5 R	26.7 R	28.8 R	29.4 R	28.2	26.9	•
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5	3,086.2	2,910.0	•
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries[m] (000s)	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1	3,340.8	3,420.0	3,500.2
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries[m] (000s)	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0	3,100.2	3,070.9	•
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 $) – annual % change	+2.4	-0.2	-1.8	+0.8	+2.2	+4.1	+2.3	+1.5
Annual inflation rate (%)	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8	0.2	2.1	1.6
Urban housing starts	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988	127,346	89,526	101,804

– Not available • Not yet available P Preliminary data E Estimate m Figures as of March IR Revised intercensal estimates
PD Final postcensal estimates PP Preliminary postcensal estimates PR Updated postcensal estimates R Revised data F Final data

[1] For year ending June 30.

[2] Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.

Women's family incomes drop by almost one-quarter after separation

In the first year following a marital separation, women's family income falls by 23% while men's rises by 10% (income is adjusted for number of family members). These changes vary according to family type. For example, income fell by 31% for women who became lone parents and by 32% for women who became single, but increased by 8% for women who formed a new relationship. Similarly, the family income of men with children changed only slightly (+1%), but the income of single men (+14%) and men in new relationships (+11%) was significantly higher after separation. Two factors help to explain this disparity in family income: men generally earn more than women, so that upon separation women experience a major loss of financial support; second, most of the time, separated women have custody of the children.

Family Income After Separation,
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 13-588-MPB, no. 5

Majority of women over 40 have mammograms

The annual number of mammograms performed in Canada has increased significantly in the last decade. Canadian women had 1.4 million mammograms in 1994, compared with 250,000 in 1985. The increase is due to the fact that mammograms are now prescribed for women aged 50 to 69 to screen for early breast cancer. By 1994-95, 64% of women aged 40 and over had had at least one mammogram, including 74% of women in their fifties and 71% of women in their sixties.

Health Reports, Vol. 8, no. 3
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB

Fertility higher in marriages than common-law unions

The total fertility rate in Canada was 1.64 children per woman of child-bearing age. But there was a notable difference in fertility rates for married women compared with women in common-law unions. Women who were married throughout their reproductive life had twice as many children (2.87) as women in a common-law relationship (1.44). Since Quebec has a much higher proportion of common-law unions, it stands out with a higher fertility rate for common-law unions —1.58 children — than the other provinces — 1.30 children.

Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1996
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE

Radio still has lots of fans

Canadians spent an average 21 hours a week listening to the radio in autumn 1995, about 30 minutes less than they had four years earlier. Since 1986, when Statistics Canada first began to publish provincial data, people in Quebec have proved to be the most avid radio listeners in the country. And 1995 was no different, as they were tuned into the radio for 22 hours a week, while residents of British Columbia spent the least amount of time, at 18.6 hours. Women are bigger fans than men, averaging 22.2 hours of listening a week, compared with 21.8 hours for men.

Culture Statistics Program
Statistics Canada, Culture,
Tourism and Centre for Education Statistics

"Open skies" pact fuels high growth in air travel

The volume of air travellers between Canada and the United States has increased greatly since the "Open Skies" agreement was signed in February 1995. Between 1995 and 1996, the number of cross-border trips by plane lasting one or more nights rose by 18% for Canadians and by almost 12% for Americans. Vancouver Airport has benefitted the most from the "Open Skies" agreement, recording a 37% increase from 1994 to 1996 in the number of air travellers (Canadian and foreign) entering or re-entering Canada from the United States. The Toronto and Montreal airports recorded increases of 23% and 11%, respectively.

International travel: advance information
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 66-001-PPB

Family's socioeconomic status affects children's educational performance

Canadian children aged 4 to 11 from families with low socioeconomic status are more likely to have difficulty in school. They are three times more likely than children in the highest status families to be in some type of remedial education program, while children from high status families are twice as likely to be in programs for gifted children. However, results of intervention programs in some school districts suggest that appropriate support and assistance to disadvantaged children can help them improve their educational performance; further research on this subject will be possible with data from future cycles of the survey.

National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth: School component 1994-95,
Statistics Canada, Centre for Education Statistics

Canadians and the sun

Although Canadians express concern about getting sunburn or skin cancer as a result of overexposure to the sun, the majority do not consistently adopt protective measures. The most common preventive measure — reported by over half of Canadians aged 15 and over — is wearing sunglasses. However, less than half always or usually adopt other measures such as applying sun screen, wearing protective clothing, covering their head or seeking shade. Not surprisingly, one in five Canadians reported getting sunburned at least three times during the summer of 1996.

Sun Exposure Survey
Statistics Canada, Special Surveys Division

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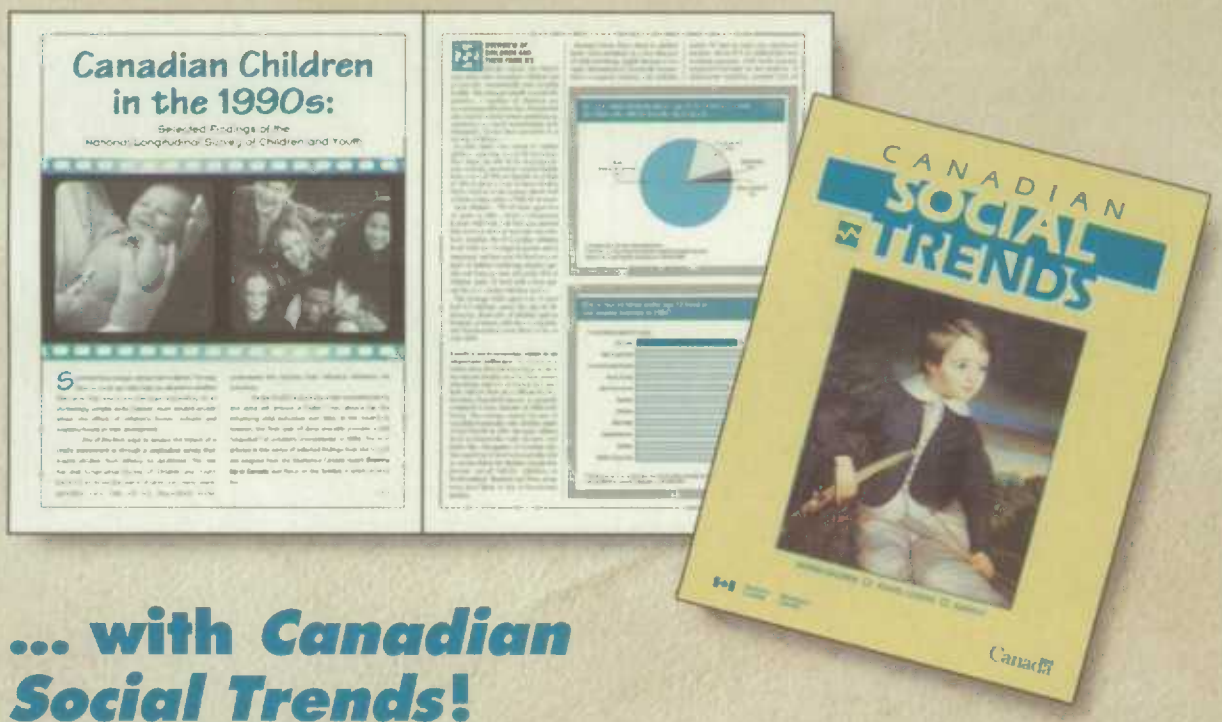

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