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The Values of Youth in Canada

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Table of Contents

Summary

What are the values of youth in Canada today? Are they any different from the values youth had 10, 20 or 30 years ago? Do current values show a divergence from the baby-boomer generation and a disconnection between youth and today's social institutions? Or do they demonstrate a more subtle position that continues to connect youth with the other members of society and institutions?

This report examines the above questions within the context of increasing globalization, diversity and urbanization, and major transformations affecting the family and the labour market. It also studies youth values in relation to certain institutions that are considered to be fundamental in Canadian society: family, education, work, the democratic system, as well as bilingualism and multiculturalism. The report analyzes the evolution of young people's values since the 1980s, by illustrating not only the differences in values between youth of the 80s and youth in the new millennium, but also how the gap between the viewpoints of various age groups has narrowed over time. The report will focus on the differences and similarities between youth and older age groups, and between various groups of youth, according to social categories such as gender and education level. The analysis is based primarily on data from the World Values Survey, collected during surveys conducted in Canada in 1981, 1990 and 2000. It is also based on research reports, published scientific papers and chapters in studies dealing with one or more aspects of the identified values.

The report shows that over the past thirty years, the values of different age groups have become more similar, to the point where the values of today's youth are very close to those of older age groups in many regards. Also, despite many claims to the contrary, the values of Canadian youth today are not radically different from those of the youth of the 1980s or 1990s. Today's young people continue to place a high value on family and work, and do not reject the political system in which they live, nor do they demonstrate a massive lack of interest in politics. In addition, census research indicates that youth consider education to be of the utmost importance in opening doors for future employment and assisting them to integrate into society. This is particularly true for youth from immigrant families. Among young people, the most notable differences in values appear to be due to educational differences. This paper shows that youth with lower educational attainment tend to place a higher value on family; fewer of them are concerned with achieving recognition through work, while more of them seek job security and good working hours. They are somewhat less tolerant toward immigrants in the labour market, and place less value on the importance of politics in their lives.

Although values have converged among various age groups, some distinctions remain. First of all, today's youth view work from a different perspective than young people that came before them. They place almost as much importance on work, but their perception of work is different. They view work as being useful (youth seek a good salary and job security), yet they are less focused on the status gained by employment. In terms of political participation, although today's young people have lower participation levels during elections, it is not possible to characterize their overall view of politics as a rejection of the system, as a lack of interest or as disengagement. In 2000, young adults took as much political action as young people the same age did in the early 1980s. The

differences can mainly be seen in the ways that today's youth engage in politics, which is primarily through non-electoral activities and increasingly through means such as the Internet. Finally, although research does not allow for conclusive statements regarding bilingualism and multiculturalism, it would appear that young people position themselves on these issues in a way that differs from the past. The "bi" and "multi" aspects of these concepts appear to be integrated in the perception that young people from official language minority communities and immigrant families have of their own identity. The boundary between self and others appears to have become less defined, allowing these youth to adopt a more fluid identity, while continuing to value their language and culture of origin; this could lead to opportunities to engage in significant intercultural dialogue.

Based on these results, the report identifies a certain number of issues as well as areas where youth values might lead to questioning of public policies in the near future. This questioning relates to major elements of public policies in Canada: those connected with demographic change, ethnic diversification and political participation. The study of youth values invite an examination of these issues and an assessment of the position that young adults might take with respect to these issues in the near future.

Introduction

It is frequently said that youth values differ from those of adults and from youth of a few decades ago. Concerns often arise regarding young people's support of institutions that were established by previous generations, whether they are laws and programs like multiculturalism or health care, or social institutions such as the government, unions and the press. Many questions have also been raised regarding youth's support of traditional democratic institutions, such as political parties, the electoral system, or Parliament, following their low electoral turnout over the past few years. When it comes to this area, today's youth are often described as apolitical, if not apathetic.

However, in some societies, research has shown a trend for youth and adult values to converge – without being uniform across the board – and for divisions in values to exist among youth themselves, particularly when their educational level is taken into consideration (Bigot, 2007; Galland, 2001a; Galland and Roudet, 2001). In Canada, even though some studies have dealt directly with the question of values (for example, see Nevitte, 2002 and 1996), and youth values in particular (see Pronovost and Royer, 2004), research on youth values remains sparse and to date they have not been systematically inventoried and studied. Despite the unique character of the World Values Survey (WVS) database – for which representative surveys on values have been conducted periodically in many societies throughout the world since 1981 – it has not often been used to analyze the perspectives of young people.

Data from the WVS will therefore be the main source used in this paper to depict the values of Canada's youth. We seek to demonstrate how these values have changed since the 1980s, by illustrating not only the differences in values between youth in the 80s and youth in the new millenium, but also how the viewpoints of different age groups have become less different over the years. This report illustrates that, following the European example, the values of different age groups have been converging; the most notable differences in current values can be found in the area of education. This does not mean, however, that the values of today's youth are identical to those of youth 20 years ago, as we will show in this report.

The report examines youth values in the context of increasing globalization, diversity and urbanization, and major transformations affecting the family and the labour market. It seeks to explore the connection between values and youth's relationship with certain institutions that are considered to be fundamental in Canadian society: family, education, work, the democratic system, as well as bilingualism and multiculturalism (the latter two being central to the way Canadian identity is promoted by the Government of Canada). The paper puts particular emphasis on the differences and similarities between youth and older age groups, and between various groups of youth, according to social categories such as gender and education level. Finally, the paper identifies a certain number of issues raised throughout the research, as well as areas where youth values may put into question public policies in the near future.

1. Background

It is important from the outset to define the concepts that guide this paper, specifically those relating to youth and values. We will then explain the scope of the research and issues raised, before moving on to a brief presentation of the methodology.

1.1 Canada's Youth

There are many definitions of the word "youth" and they are often debated. Are youth children, adults, teens, young adults or, to coin a phrase that has become popular, "emerging adults" (Arnett, 2004) or perhaps perpetual adolescents (Anatrella, 1988)? Most definitions of youth emphasize a series of criteria that are psychological, biological or sociological in nature; other definitions are based on ages determined by institutions such as schools or government programs that offer age-differentiated services.

In this paper, youth is approached from the perspective of the life course and transitions made by young people. This type of perspective focuses on social pathways, individual trajectories, transitions and turning points (Elder et al., 2004). In this paper, youth is therefore understood as a period of life where transitions and turning points are condensed: from dependence on the family to financial and housing independence, and to starting relationships and a family. In general, the trajectories of young people take them from being in school to joining the labour market, from living with their parents into their own dwellings and from being single into long-term relationships and starting their own families. As they follow the life course, young people may find themselves going down a road that is more normative and institutionalized, or they may find themselves at the margins of social expectations.

Over the past few years, many researchers have drawn attention to new expressions of these transitions and turning points in the lives of Canada's youth. Barely a few decades ago, youth transitions were linked together, synchronized and fairly standardized. Young people would shift quickly from finishing their education to beginning a family of their own. Nowadays, these transitions are experienced in a very different manner. On one hand, the transition period is marked by a postponement in crossing certain thresholds, and an extension of life as a youth. This can be seen in transitions between school and the labour market, between living at home with their parents and moving out on their own, and between remaining single, forming a serious relationship and starting a family.[1] Spending longer periods of time in school is playing a major role in these changes, especially for women. On the other hand, individual trajectories are less linear than they used to be; they have many twists and turns and are characterized by intermittence, particularly in training and job market entry. Changes in the labour market, as it moves toward a post-industrial economy in which the manufacturing sector focuses more on the production of "knowledge-based products" and "personal services", has made it beneficial to stay in school longer (Beaujot and Kerr, 2007: 16). These changes also seem to have a negative impact on youth's ability to find a stable and permanent job, particularly for those with lower educational attainment. This non-linear extension of youth, accompanied by significant unpredictability and fragmentation in life paths, has been observed in most Western countries.[2] Some studies have shown that, faced with these transformations, youth are being called upon more and more to make decisions on

their own (Walther, 2006), which puts the spotlight on their individual subjectivity in understanding the pathways to adulthood.

1.2 Youth Values

In addition to changes in the labour market that have been driving youth to seek a higher education, other social changes have been affecting the way that young people view the world around them. Globalization of trade and cultural exchanges, increased international mobility and Internet access offer immense opportunities to open up to other cultures and differences; they also incite change in the way that individuals interact with the community in which they live. These trends may potentially have an impact on what is valued by youth, such as bilingualism (and even multilingualism), multiculturalism and the fixed or mobile quality of their sense of belonging to place. Since urbanization and ethnic diversification in Canadian society result in exposure to different cultures, they may also affect youth values.

Finally, population aging presents the possibility of changes in youth values, particularly with respect to their interest in politics. The drop in the demographic weight of youth raises questions as to their participation in society and their opportunities to make a difference in the direction of public debates. If they are less concerned than baby boomers about the importance of health and retirement in these debates, then do they feel left out of politics? While some people believe youth display apathy and a lack of political interest, others may be tempted to interpret young people's views as a form of withdrawal from society in a context where uncertainty about the future is combined with changes that do not always appear to be beneficial to them.

It is from this perspective of social change that it is of interest to study the evolution of youth values. Does this evolution reflect a withdrawal from or an openness to change? Do young people's values today reflect a divergence from society's institutions and from the values of older age groups and youth of previous generations? Do their values appear to have adjusted to the challenges faced by young people as they begin adult life and enter into the commitments and responsibilities adulthood entails?

But what exactly are values? For the purposes of this paper, values are normative signposts that guide opinions and behaviour; as such, they form the basis of representations of life in society and guide the actions of individuals and groups (Bréchon and Tchernia, 2000; Rokeach, 1973, 1968; Roudet, 2001). Although values influence decisions, it is impossible to establish a direct, infallible link between values and behaviour. As we are reminded by Jean-François Tchernia (1995) – following practically all researchers in the field of values – individuals always maintain a certain freedom of action with respect to the principles to which they are attached. Therefore, one cannot instill values in a unilateral manner, since subjectivity and free will are what make changes in values possible and, conversely, they are what oppose attempts to forcibly transform them.

Since youth is a time for socialization and the gradual construction of a self-identity, it is a key period for choosing values and the ideals they represent. Gilles Pronovost, in analyzing the values of 14 to 19 year olds, has formulated a theory that values are first structured at the beginning of adolescence, when there is an initial distancing from the family home, then a second period where "the development of values is affected by

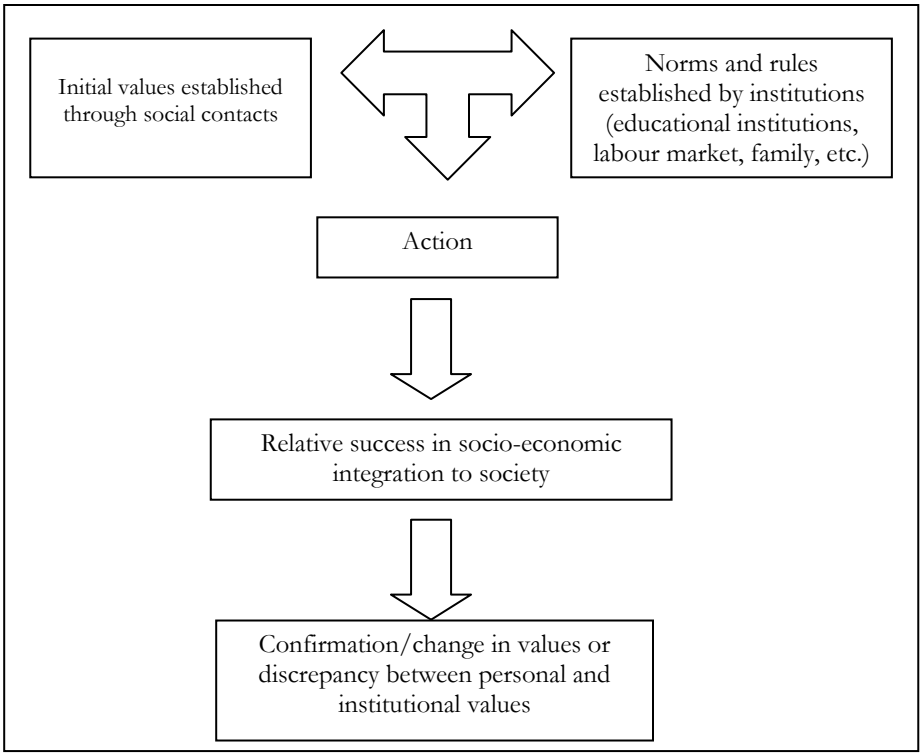
educational success, job prospects, gradual integration into the labour market, and independence that is either attained or sought after" (2007: 39). We would like to add another period, one which begins usually after secondary school when young people are generally aged between 16 and 18 and are no longer under the obligation to maintain ties to institutions like family and school.

This last period, that of youth described above in a lifecourse perspective, is a period marked by less rigid forms of socialization with family, peers and friends. It is also a period in which youth are confronted with the need to find their social and economic niche in society, which involves making important choices about education (e.g. choosing whether or not to pursue post-secondary education) and going through many transitions that lead to integration into "adult" society (e.g. entering the labour market, renting or buying a home, finding a life partner and raising a family). As such, youth can be perceived as an important period of life in terms of values: values serve as a guide in making decisions about social and professional integration. Through this transition process, youth may find their values confirmed or rejected in their interactions with institutions.

Figure 1 proposes a conceptualization of the links between values and institutions throughout the transition process leading to adult life. In this figure, young people's initial values, which are primarily established through social contacts within the family and at school, are confronted throughout the process of their multiple transitions into adult life, by norms and rules put in place by institutions, the most important of which are school, work and family at this stage of their lives. Their values act as guides in the face of these norms and rules that can either constrain or support young people in achieving social and professional integration. Youths' values can therefore be confirmed, rejected or questioned throughout this process; some youth will shift their values, while others will experience a discrepancy between their values and those of society's institutions.

Figure 1

Conceptual Links Between Values and Institutions in The Transition Process to Adulthood



It should be noted that although societies are generally based upon common values characterized by a certain level of stability (Assogba, 2004; Roudet, 2001), values are not shared by all, and are subject to change. They continue to shift due to fairly rapid social changes, as well as tensions and opposing values that provoke change. Hence, in a given society, value systems may be multipolar (Bréchon, 2000), which may or may not contribute to weaken social cohesion, depending on the degree of difference that separates groups in their fundamental values.

1.3 Research Issues and Choice of Institutions

Values have often been analyzed using large national and international surveys, first under the leadership of the European Values Survey (EVS), then the World Values Survey (WVS). The vast scientific production resulting from these surveys over the years[3] have aimed at identifying changes in values and comparing societies. It has been discovered that in Western societies, tolerance and permissiveness have been increasing, while politics and religion have been decreasing in importance, which is explained by the significant social and economic security experienced by these societies since the end of World War II (Inglehart, 1993).

Although this general trend also applies to Canada, other changes over the past two or three decades may have had more of an impact on young people making the transition to

adulthood. As we have mentioned, these changes pertain specifically to shifts in the labour market toward a post-industrial economic order, population aging, growth of ethnocultural diversity, urbanization, and globalization of socio-economic exchanges. Have these changes instilled a gap between youth and adult values? Or have differences in values between certain groups of youth become more pronounced? What is the connection between these values and the ways that youth now perceive large institutions in Canadian society, particularly those associated with the democratic system? Do we find a divergence from existing institutions, which might explain, in the case of the democratic system in particular, the drop in young people's formal political participation? Or are new relationships being forged with institutions, which will contribute to the emergence of new ways of acting and participating?

This research paper attempts to answer the above questions by painting a portrait of youth values, within various social categories, in relation to a certain number of institutions in Canadian society. The youth values examined in this paper are connected to:

- family
- education
- work
- the democratic system
- bilingualism and multiculturalism.[4]

These institutions were chosen for three reasons. First of all, youth transitions are intimately linked to the first three institutions, particularly given the fact that society's current conditions are such that many young adults tend to remain dependent on their parents, prolong their education, experience more instability in trying to enter the labour market and put off starting a family of their own. Secondly, major societal issues currently relate to all of the identified institutions: aging relatives and young adults depending on the family unit for prolonged periods of time, young people dropping out of school at a time when post-secondary education has taken on greater importance in a knowledge-based economy, the economic crisis and predictions of labour shortages in certain areas of the economy, drops in electoral participation (particularly among youth), and questioning about the significance and scope of bilingualism and multiculturalism in a society that is becoming more and more diversified due to immigration. The third reason follows from these issues, since they spark interest in government measures affecting each of these institutions.

1.4 Data, Analysis and Direction

Given the limited amount of research done on youth values in Canada, this paper will focus on the analysis of data that will provide an overall picture of youth values. We have therefore selected and analyzed Canadian data found in the aggregated file of the World Values Survey (European Values Study Foundation and World Values Survey Association, 1981-2004), based on surveys conducted in Canada in 1981, 1990 and 2000.[5,6] These surveys allow for a systematic review of the evolution and orientation of youth and adult values over two decades, as well as a more in-depth analysis of the differences and similarities between various age groups and various groups of youth. During each wave of the survey, respondents aged 18 and older were chosen randomly from all of the Canadian provinces. All respondents were interviewed in person. In 1981, the total

population sampled was 1, 254 Canadians; in 1990, the total was 1, 730 and in 2000, the total was 1, 931.[7]

> The World Values Survey (WVS) is a global network of social science researchers who study changes in values and their effects on social and political life. The WVS, in collaboration with the European Values Survey (EVS), has conducted representative national surveys in 97 societies that correspond to close to 90% of the world's population. These surveys were conducted in five waves between 1981 and 2007.

Throughout the paper we turn to other research to supplement the analysis when it seems relevant to do so, or when the WVS data does not allow for substantial exploration of either of the topics covered. We have thus identified published studies, scientific papers and research reports that add to the analysis of the quantitative data. Overall, this methodological approach enables us to further explore the issues being studied, to identify knowledge gaps and to highlight future implications for research and government intervention.

1.5 Following The Trail of Youth Values: Age Groups, Cohorts and Generations

This paper analyzes data on the values of people belonging to *age groups*, starting in the early 1980s, according to the availability of data. The age groups examined were 18-29 year olds (youth), 30-49 year olds, and individuals 50 years and over. These categories were used so that we could group together a sufficient number of respondents for analysis and comparison purposes, while maintaining an age category that would cover today's youth. While it was possible to "track" these age groups in the past through the World Values Survey, it must be pointed out that the data does not cover the same people from one survey wave to the next, and the age groups used do not permit accurate tracking of a childhood cohort over the years. For this reason, we will not use the term "cohort" in analyzing values for youth and other age groups at different times of the study. We prefer to use the term "age group", and we will ensure to situate them in time (1981, 1990 or 2000) each time that we refer to one of the selected age groups (18-29, 30-49 and 50 and over).

We will also refrain from using the term "generation" to refer to specific age groups, since the concept of *sociological generation* refers to "a group of cohorts experiencing the same generational situation, sharing common traits that are distinct from others." (Chauvel,1998: 20). Hence, a sociological generation consists of individuals who lived during the same time period and interacted with each other in a context defined by events and specific social, economic and political influences. Within the Canadian data set of the World Values Survey, while those in the 18-29 group in 1981 (i.e. born between 1953 and 1962) could well be described as belonging to a specific generation, i.e. the baby-boomers, their years of birth would not encompass the entire generation. Similarly, those in the 30-49 year old group for the same survey year were born in a period that overlapped the baby-boomers and the previous generation, since many individuals in this group of respondents were born before WWII. This type of consideration also applies to the other two survey waves.

To these considerations, we must add the fact that an *historical generation* appears when individuals experience situations of such importance that they develop a distinct "generational conscience", and throughout their lives these individuals maintain specific traits can be easily identified. The effects of such a generation are generally felt throughout all of society and leave an imprint on the cohorts that follow them, and sometimes even those that precede them. The baby-boomers, who were young in the 1960s, are the most recent example of this, and no doubt the most memorable in the North American collective consciousness. While there is an abundance of literature on more recent generations (i.e. "X" and "Y" generations), it is not easy to define their specific start and end dates (Gauthier, 2008). Also, as the following analysis will show, the values of youth in 2000 are very similar to those of 18-29 year olds in 1981 (i.e. a group that falls within the baby-boomer generation). Hence, we fail to see today in the study of youth values the conditions of autonomization and differentiation that are required to produce a new generation (Attias-Donfut, 1988). To account for these considerations regarding the notion of a generation, this paper will use the word "generation" to refer to the baby-boomer generation, and "intergenerational" to qualify connections between the baby-boomer generation and the age groups being studied.

In sum, although the WVS data presented in this paper is not taken from a longitudinal tracking study and the proposed analysis does not track cohorts over time, it does nevertheless allow us to:

1) make a comparison over time between the values of individuals who were young in the early 1980s and those of individuals who were young in the first decade of the new millenium;
2) measure differences between age groups at various moments in time; and
3) examine the differences between individuals in the 18-29 age group.

2. Youth Values and Their Connection to Institutions

This section of the document examines youth values relating to family, education, the labour market, the political system and finally, bilingualism and multiculturalism. Each sub-section goes into detail on youth values in these areas, discussing how they have evolved, where data permits. The implications for research and public policies are described in the following section of the paper (Section 3).

2.1 Family: Still Strongly Valued, But There Has Been a Major Change in How Childhood is Perceived

Although households and family structure have continued to diversify and the portion of families among the total number of households has dropped from one census to another (Milan, Vézina and Wells, 2006), Canadians of all ages and from different backgrounds continue to consider family to be of capital importance, as do citizens of other Western countries. Qualitative research studies on youth values and the family all point in the same direction: family holds a key place in the value schemes of young peoples, despite certain inevitable tensions (Charbonneau, 2004; Royer, 2006, Royer et al., 2004; Belleau and Le Gall, 2004). Supporting data shows that since the early 1990s, the value of family has not swayed (Table 1). Close to 9 people out of 10, in all age groups, consider it to be a very important aspect of life, and only a very small minority (less than 2%) feel that

family is not important. The importance of family has even increased slightly since 1990 in the 30-49 year old group and the 50+ group. If we look at the younger population, we can see that in 2000, women rated somewhat higher than men in considering family to be very important; this opinion was just as popular among those without a secondary school diploma as those with a diploma and those who had some postsecondary education.

Table 1

Individuals Who Feel that Family is ''Very Important'' by Age Group and, in the 18-29 Group, by Gender and Educational Level, 1990 and 2000* (%)

	1990	2000	x^2 (3) 1990 vs 2000
Age groups			
18-29	89	89	*5.01*
30-49	92	95	*11.63*†
50+	94	95	*4.03*
Age group effect $X^2(6)$=	*9.46*	*41.51*†	
Within the 18-29 group			
Males	81	84	*3.93*
Females	98	93	*5.17*
Gender effect X^2 (2)=	*33.85*†	*9.79*†	
Education 1**	n.d.	91	-
Education 2**	n.d.	85	-
Education 3**	n.d.	84	-
Education effect X^2 (4)=		*6.09*	

* Data not available for 1981.
** Education 1: Secondary school not completed; Education 2: Secondary school completed; Education 3: University education partially or fully completed.
† Statistically significant comparison, p< .05
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

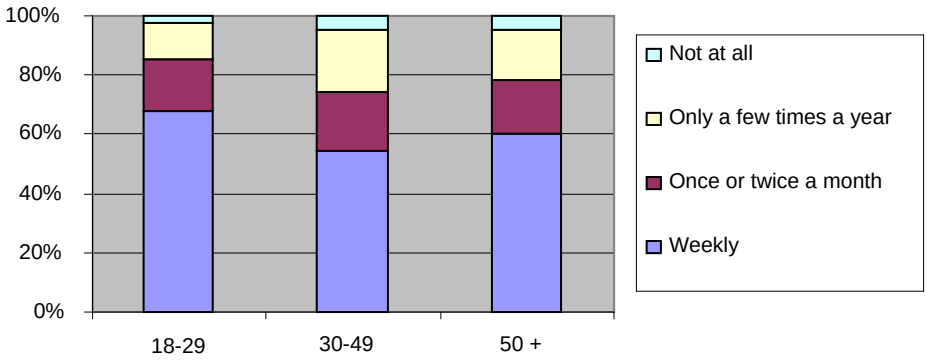
There is no indication that this situation will change in the future. When asked whether, in the context of future changes, it would be good for the family to be of greater importance, more than 90% of Canadians agreed, apart from youth in the early 1980s, of which more than 85% also agreed. A decade or two later, this group of people is among those who responded most positively to the question, which infers that opinions on the importance of family tend to converge with age.[8]

If we look at an ascending view of the family, starting with a person's relationship with their parents, we can see that young people are the ones who spend the most time with their parents and extended family (Graph 1). This might be attributed to the fact that a large number of young adults still live with their parents until they reach their mid or late twenties (Clark, 2007; Mitchell, 2006), or they live nearby when they are starting a family as a young couple. Having a relationship with one's parents is also looked upon very favourably, and this perception has not changed much since the early 1980s. Respect and

love for parents were unconditional for more than 70% of those aged 18-29 and 30-39 in 2000, as compared to slightly more than 80% among those 50 or older.[9]

Graph 1

Time Spent With Parents or Relatives, by Age Group, 2000



Overall significance test: Chi-square= 27.66, df = 6, p<.001

Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

When we observe relationships with children, we see that a major evolution has taken place in family values. This change relates to the number of children and the qualities that parents feel it is their duty to teach their children. In terms of the ideal number of children, larger families (with more than 2 children) have become less and less the norm since the early 1990s, although 38% of young adults aged 18-29 stated in 2000 that the ideal number of children in a family was three or more (Table 2). In 2000, the ideal number of children was two for a clear majority of respondents aged 18-29 (57%) and 30-49 (55%)[10], while this view was shared by 47% of individuals 50 and over; this difference between age groups is explained by a preference, among the 50+ group, for larger families, no doubt reflecting their own childhood experiences or, for the older members of that group, their experience as parents of large families. It should also be noted that among younger men and women, the ideal number of children is similar from one decade to another.

Given the number of children that young families are actually having, it seems clear that, between the desired outcome and the actual results[11], there are still a number of hurdles for couples to overcome these days. Stability in love relationships often follows employment stability, which often comes after longer periods of studies in the past (Gauthier and Charbonneau, 2002; Molgat and Charbonneau, 2003). Often, even before their first child is born, working conditions, salary levels, and the couple's aspirations regarding their romantic relationship and the material environment in which they would like raise a family, surface as obstacles to wanting children (Gauthier and Charbonneau, 2002; Quéniart, 1994). In this context, it is not surprising to find that young adults plan less often to have a large family, and end up having fewer children than they may have originally desired.

Table 2

Ideal Number of Children in a Family, by Age Group, 1981, 1990 and 2000 (%)[12]

	1981	1990	2000
18-29			
1 child	3	3	4
2 children	52	49	57
3 or more children	45	45	38
30-49			
1 child	1	2	3
2 children	56	51	55
3 or more children	42	45	40
50+			
1 child	5	7	2
2 children	41	38	47
3 or more children	58	60	49

18-29	1981		1990		2000	
	M*	F*	M*	F*	M*	F*
1 child	3	3	3	3	4	4
2 children	53	51	47	50	58	57
3 or more children	44	47	47	44	38	38

* M: Males; F: Females
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Over the past couple of decades, more and more importance has been placed on the many qualities that can be developed in childhood, which presupposes a greater investment in children, not only by their parents, but also by daycare services and educational institutions. Hence, we have seen an ongoing increase, in all age groups, and at the time of each of the three WVS surveys, of the importance placed on the following qualities: work ethic, sense of responsibility, imagination, tolerance and respect, thriftiness, determination and perseverance, faith, generosity and obedience (Table 3). Nearly all of these qualities increased significantly in value (shaded boxes), while appreciation of the others increased at a slower pace. The differences between the age groups can be seen most clearly between the oldest (50+) and the other age groups with respect to qualities such as a sense of responsibility, thriftiness and faith (highest percentage among the 50+ group), in addition to imagination and determination/perseverance (lowest pecentage).

Table 3

Evolution of Qualities in Children that are Deemed Important, by Age Group, 1981 and 2000

	Quality deemed important in 1981 (%)			Quality deemed important in 2000 (%)			Growth from 1980 to 2000		
	18-29	30-49	50+	18-29	30-49	50+	18-29	30-49	50+
Hard work	18	21	21	53	49	55	35†	28†	34†
Feeling of responsibility	38	44	40	69	76	83	31†	32†	43†
Imagination	14	11	6	46	36	22	32†	25†	16†
Tolerance and Respect	51	56	52	81	80	81	30†	24†	29†
Thriftiness	13	17	13	18	23	37	5	6†	24†
Determination/ perseverance	26	26	12	53	52	41	27†	26†	29†
Religious faith	18	22	34	20	30	38	2	8†	4
Generosity	21	19	21	50	44	43	29†	25†	22†
Obedience	22	19	21	31	29	30	9†	10†	9†

† Statistically significant comparison, p< .05
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

In general, these trends allow us to affirm that now more than ever, children are expected to develop certain qualities. How can this evolution be explained? Can we surmise that it is the result of parents stressing to their children the importance of performance, parents preventing antisocial behaviour from an early age, and parents investing in their children's emotional and educational development? The increase in advice given to parents concerning the education of their children may have contributed to raising expectations, as it could also have spurred respondents to choose a greater number of qualities in 2000 than in 1981. Above and beyond these numerous possible interpretations, we can nevertheless establish a connection between the reported evolution and representations of the ideal family size. Parents may feel that if they have more than a certain number of children, their educational efforts may not measure up to societal expectations, which are constantly rising.

2.2 Education: Education as a Value for the Future and for Social and Labour-Market Integration

Little research has been done on Canadian youth values relating to education. There have also not been many large-scale quantitative surveys that would provide data on Canadian youth values relating to school and educational levels.[13] For the purposes of this section of the paper, we have therefore had to consult other research done among certain communities and populations in order to get a picture of youth values relating to education.

In the area of education, it must be noted first of all, that there is very strong social and political discourse in Canada on the importance of pursuing postsecondary education in the context of an increasingly knowledge-based economy, in order to facilitate entry into

the labour market. In fact, among all OECD countries, Canada has the highest rate of postsecondary education among 25-34 year olds: 60% for women and 47% for men (OECD, 2006). In this perspective, the questions of the value of education and the way young people perceive school do not generally appear as problematic. This may help to explain the lack of research being done in this area.

Nearly all of the studies we consulted showed that educational attainment and receiving a diploma were highly valued by youth in general. This particularly stood out amongst youth at the secondary school level, who see education as a path leading to employment, a career and social success (Royer et al., 2004). For them, education is a means of "becoming someone"; it is a precursor to their future autonomy, since it will enable them to find a good job, and it is viewed as a long term investment in their career. From this perspective, an education is valued since it paves the way to the future, and its immediate usefulness is rarely emphasized (ibid.).

Secondary school level youth from first or second generation immigrant families also value education, as indicated in a survey conducted in 1999 involving approximately 1200 students attending secondary school in the Bordeaux-Cartierville district of Montreal (Belleau and Bayard, 2002; Belleau and LeGall, 2004). Of these youth, 58% of whom were born outside of the country and 35% of whom had immigrant parents, two-thirds of the girls and close to 60% of the boys said that they planned to attend university. However, these aspirations varied according to the country of origin. In this district, youth from southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Croatia, etc.), East and Southeast Asia, and North America, were more inclined to obtain a college diploma (DEC) than youth from other parts of Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. The latter students were more interested in attending university. It should be noted, however, that other analyses have shown that overall, young Canadian adults who are first or second generation immigrants from East and Southeast Asia, as well as visibility minority youth from these areas of the world, have higher than average access rates to postsecondary studies (Boyd, 2002; Molgat, 2008; Molgat and Saint-Laurent, 2004). According to the study conducted in Bordeaux-Cartierville, youth from southern Europe are the most likely to want to enter the job market as quickly as possible, which confirms the results of another study conducted on young adults of Greek and Portuguese descent in the Montreal area (Meintel and Le Gall, 1995); in Toronto, recent data shows that aside from Black youth, Portuguese and Spanish youth have the highest dropout rate (approximately 40%) from secondary school (Brown, 2008).

Most Canadian research on the educational integration of youth from immigrant families, particularly those who are born outside of Canada and arrive before the age of 15, and those who are second generation immigrants, shows that these youth aged 15 to 19 attend school just as often – if not more – than youth born in Canada to non-immigrant parents; they do not run into problems at school and are no more likely to drop out than the children of parents born in Canada (Boyd, 2002; Lock and Hanvey, 2000; Moisset et al., 1995; Sullivan 1988). Research into attendance at postsecondary institutions bears similar results: immigrants aged 20 to 24 are twice as likely to pursue a postsecondary education as youth born in Canada (Lock and Hanvey, 2000). These observations have led some researchers to define the transitions of these youth as "triumphant" (Boyd and Grieco, 1998). While their parents' educational background somewhat explains their success, it is generally accepted that these youth, their parents and their communities all

place a high importance on school and educational attainment as primary tools for integrating into Canadian society (Boyd, 2002; Krahn and Taylor, 2005; Molgat and Saint-Laurent, 2004).

However, analyses of the situation of Black youth from the Caribbean living in the greater Toronto area bring other dynamics to light. While youth in this group are often defined by their over-representation among those who drop out of school or are less successful (Royal Commission on Learning, 1995), an in-depth analysis of statistics showed that young adults who arrive from the Caribbean at a preschool age, and those who are second generation immigrants (i.e. born in Canada), attend postsecondary education in numbers that are equivalent to or higher than the average for 20-24 year olds in Canada (Richmond, 1993). However, it should be mentioned that it is particularly young black women in Toronto, born into Caribbean families in Canada, that have proportionally higher numbers enrolling in university than young Canadian women as a whole (46% versus 41%); as for young black men, they tend to have much less success than young men as a whole (26% versus 36%) (Simmons and Plaza, 1998).

At the college level, a recent quantitative survey involving more than 500 students at the Sainte-Foy CEGEP in Quebec sought to better understand the social reasons for educational success (Roy, 2004, 2006), by focusing on youth values. This research showed to what degree youth – in this case, young adults attending a postsecondary institution – felt that their education was important to them. In a paper written on the values of these young college students, Roy stated that they considered their education to be of the utmost importance (Roy, 2004). Hence, nearly 78% of the youth enrolled at the CEGEP considered their educational success to be "very important". Although the percentage is higher for young women (83%) than young men (70%), both genders placed educational success at the top of their list of values. This study also revealed that these young college students, particularly the women, would group together values clearly associated with educational success, such as efforts to succeed, the success itself, family, and the significance of the diploma.

Finally, it should be mentioned that other studies, more qualitative in nature, illustrate that young adults and their parents have by and large accepted as a norm that longer studies pave the way to a successful entry into the professional world. It has been accepted to the point where it has become a value justifying the family as an essential means of support throughout the journey of prolonged education. This support is asked for and provided, even in a context where trial and error take place, when studies are dropped and picked up again, and young adults experiment with the labour market, resulting in education sometimes not being completed until young people have reached their the late twenties (Charbonneau, 2004). In many of these situations, parents will strongly encourage their adult children to continue in or return to school, while allowing them to live at home (ibid. ; Molgat, 2007a, 2007b).

2.3 Paid Work is Highly Valued; However, Job Preferences are Changing

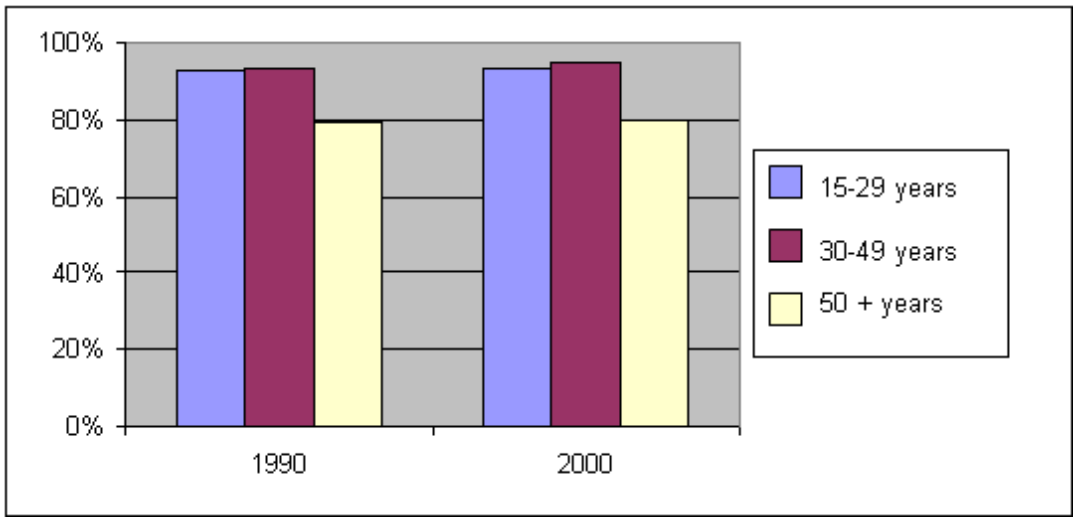
Although some European research has shown that work is less valued in the lives of today's youth, particularly in relation to spare time and leisure activities (Tchernia, 2005), Canadian data in the WVS presents a multi-faceted picture of the situation, as is also the case in France (Galland, 2001b).

In a recent article, Gauthier and Vultur (2006) stated that young people's relation to work must be placed in context with other values that they consider to be important, such as family, education, leisure activities and spare time. The researchers suggest that although work is still important to youth, their attitude toward it is now directed more toward expressive values: it is more important for a job to be interesting than for it to be stable or well paid; it should contribute toward an individual's personal growth. This trend was also noted by Royer and her colleagues in their study of youth aged 14 to 19 (2004), and by Gendron and Hamel, who studied youth who did not obtain a college diploma (2004). However, Gendron and Hamel observe that secondary school drop-outs have a completely different relationship with work: "work represents an essential activity, that is seen […] in terms of material gain rather than the satisfaction of personal achievement." (ibid., p. 146).

The data analyzed for this paper presents a slightly different portrait than the one just described. First of all, WVS data supports the idea that work remains a key value for respondents of working age. Hence, a large majority of individuals feel that work is highly important or fairly important in their life (Graph 2).[14] with the exception of the 50+ group, which includes a significant number of retired individuals. Also, from 1990 to 2000, the percentage of youth that held this opinion rose slightly, as was the case for the other age groups.

Graph 2

Percentage of Individuals who Consider that Work is Very Important or Rather Important in Their Life, by Age Group, 1990 and 2000



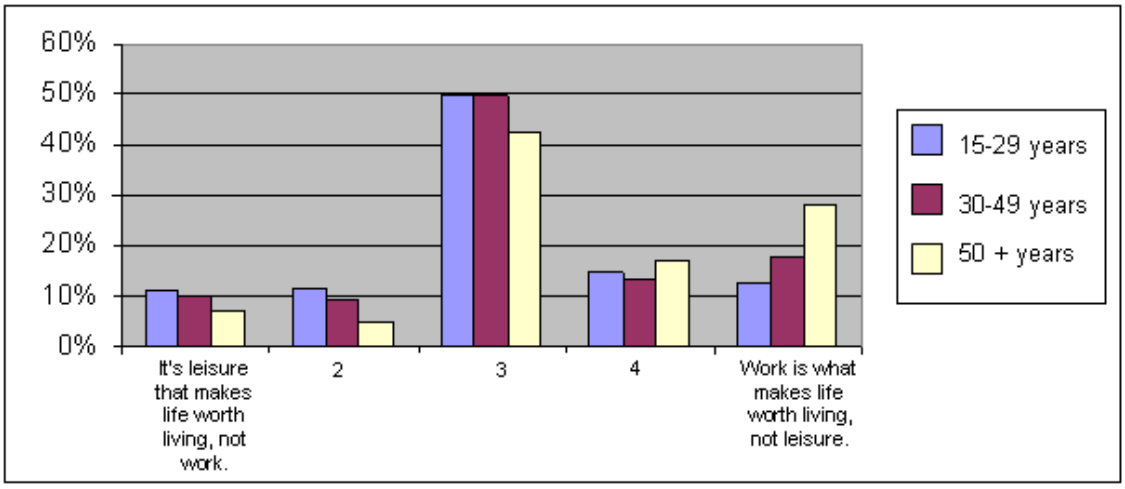
Overall significance test: 1990 – Chi-square= 75.56, df = 2, p<.001; 2000 – Chi-square= 95.78, df = 2, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

WVS data also assists in observing the relative value of work. In examining work in relation to leisure activities and spare time, and in assessing the importance of work as a duty towards society, we get a clearer picture of the value of work. On one hand, we can see that youth tend to look at the importance of work in relation to leisure activities and spare time (Graphs 3 and 4); on the other hand, they have less of a tendency than their

seniors to think that work is a duty towards society (Graph 5).[15] This does not mean that they will never change their opinion, especially when we consider that the 18-29 group includes individuals who are still in school, living with their parents, with no family obligations. The nature of their employment, which is initially focused on beginning a career, either part-time or under contract, usually at a lower rate of pay, may also contribute to an attitude that favours leisure activities and spare time.

Graph 3

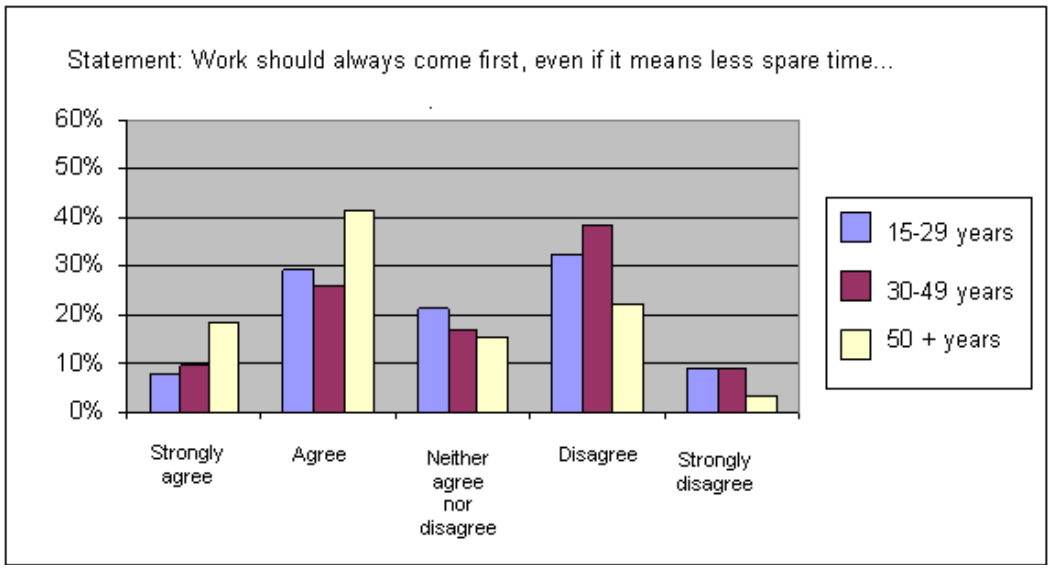
Importance of Work Compared to Leisure Activities, by Age Group, 2000



Overall significance test: Chi-square= 63.27, df = 8, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Graph 4

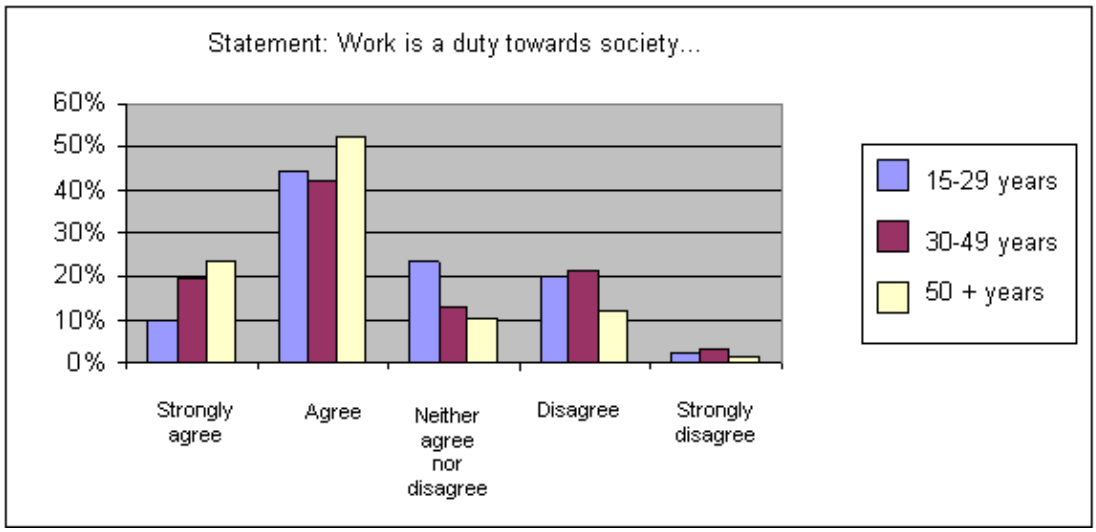
Importance of Work Compared to Spare Time, by Age Group, 2000



Overall significance test: Chi-square= 117.12, df = 8, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Graph 5

Perception of Work as a Duty Towards Society, by Age Group, 2000



Overall significance test: Chi-square= 88.20, df = 8, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

When we examine an individual's relation to work itself, we observe differences between WVS data and the research results presented above, with respect to the importance of salary and job stability. According to WVS data, what young adults value about work has significantly changed since the beginning of the 1980s (Table 4). First of all, it should be

noted that, contrary to the findings of Gauthier and Vultur (2006), Royer (2004) and Gendron & Hamel (2004), as of 2000, salary is the most important job criteria for young adults. This criteria has even gone up by 10 percentage points, while the need for a job to be interesting, previously at the top of the list, has dropped by 5 percentage points. Despite its drop, this last element is still one of the top five job criteria (identified in bold in tables 5 and 6), along with good pay (+10), chances for promotion (-2), job security (-5) and good hours (+5).

Changes in youth work values have created a considerable gap with the views of their seniors on nearly half of the criteria proposed by the WVS. The shaded figures in the first column of the "Difference from 1981 to 2000" section show differences of more than 10 percentage points between youth and one or more of the other age groups. The downward trend of criteria such as initiative, responsibility and abilities might correspond to major changes in the labour market and to delays in searching for a full-time job by young adults who are continuing their postsecondary education. Hence, the types of jobs held by youth have shifted over the past twenty years, with a movement toward atypical jobs, i.e. temporary, contract, part-time, multiple jobs, self-employment, etc. (Bourdon and Vultur, 2007), which may have contributed to lowering job expectations.

Table 4

Job Preferences by Age Group, 1981 and 2000

	Important in a job in 1981 (%)			Important in a job in 2000 (%)			Difference between 1980 and 2000		
	18-29	30-49	50+	18-29	30-49	50+	18-29	30-49	50+
Good pay*	**73**	**77**	**66**	**83**	**77**	**69**	**+10**†	**0**	**+3**
Not too much pressure	34	22	34	26	26	30	-8†	+4	-4
Good job security*	**68**	**65**	**62**	**63**	**66**	**66**	**-5**	**+1**	**+4**
A job respected by people in general	40	34	43	32	37	36	-8†	+3	-7†
Good hours*	**50**	**47**	**47**	**55**	**50**	**40**	**+5**	**+3**	**-7**†
An opportunity to use initiative	59	60	52	40	56	48	-19†	-4	-4
Generous holidays	26	27	33	25	30	24	-1	+3	-9†
A job in which you feel you can achieve something*	**74**	**74**	**69**	**72**	**74**	**72**	**-2**	**0**	**+3**
A responsible job	56	55	53	36	42	48	-20†	-13†	-5
A job that is interesting*	**79**	**72**	**69**	**74**	**72**	**67**	**-5**	**0**	**-2**
A job that meets one's abilities	63	61	61	47	50	57	-16†	-11†	+4

*: The five highest-ranked job criteria for the 18-29 year old group.
† Statistically significant comparison, p< .05%
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

In general, the aspects of a job that were important to 18-29 year olds in 1981 are very similar to the preferences of the 30-49 year olds in 2000 (Table 4). There has only been a noticeable change in "a responsible job" and "a job that meets one's abilities", where the percentage of individuals who consider these criteria to be important has dropped significantly. It would therefore appear that, where these two criteria are concerned, changes in viewpoints are associated with experiences faced on the labour market. It will be interesting to see whether the opinions of those in the 18-29 group in 2000, which were significantly different from their seniors, hold steadfast over time.

Although youth opinions about work were considerably different from those of their seniors in 2000, this does not mean that all youth shared the same viewpoint. Major differences are observed, depending on the respondent's gender and educational level, with respect to many of the criteria identified by the WVS (Table 5). The main differences between males and females (shaded boxes) are related to pay and job security, which are considered to be more important among young men than young women. "A job in which you feel you can achieve something" was a criteria that was chosen more often by women. It could be that these differences are more of a reflection of the respondents' educational level rather than their gender, given that those with the

highest educational attainment – which includes a majority of females – put less emphasis on job security and more on feeling they could achieve something in a job, than those with lower educational attainment.

Table 5

Job Preferences for 18-29 Year Olds, by Gender and Educational Level (in %), 2000[16]

	All 18-29 yr olds as a whole	Males	Females	Education 1**	Education 2**	Education 3**
Good pay*	**83**	**88**	**78**	**83**	**84**	**82**
Not too much Pressure	26	26	26	30	24	18
Good job security*	**63**	**66**	**60**	**67**	**61**	**55**
A job respected by people in general	32	29	35	31	28	39
Good hours*	**55**	**55**	**56**	**59**	**52**	**46**
An opportunity to use initiative	40	40	41	38	37	54
Generous holidays	25	27	23	25	23	26
A job in which you feel you can achieve something*	**72**	**67**	**76**	**68**	**71**	**84**
A responsible job	36	37	35	34	38	38
A job that is interesting*	**74**	**37**	**35**	**70**	**72**	**88**
A job that meets one's abilities	47	46	48	45	50	51

*: The five highest-ranked job criteria for the 18-29 year old group.
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.
**: Education 1: Secondary school not completed; Education 2: Secondary school completed; Education 3: University education partially or fully completed.

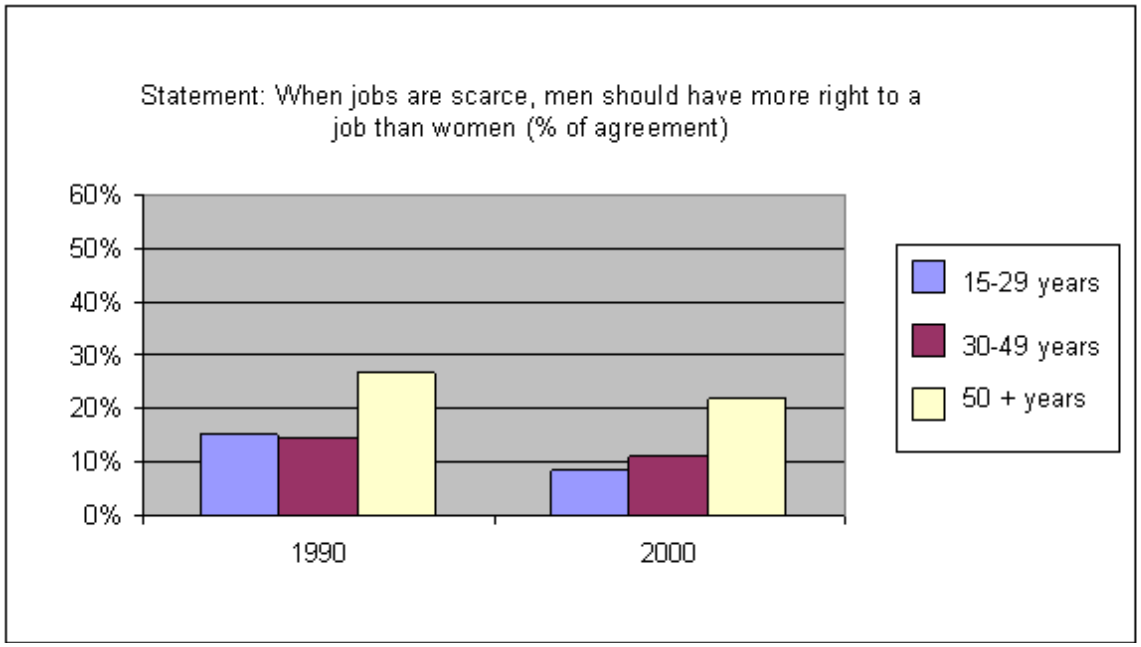
Educational levels are where differences are most noticeable between the genders. Similar percentages among different education levels are only obtained in four categories (non-shaded figures), including pay, which is the only one of the four that appears in the five highest-ranked job criteria for 18-29 year olds. Among the other highest-ranked criteria, those with a higher educational attainment are more in favour of a job that is interesting and a job in which they feel they can achieve something, while those with lower educational attainment put more emphasis on good job security and good working hours.

Finally, it may be interesting to note that youth have less traditional and more open viewpoints than in the past with respect to the participation of women and immigrants in the labour market. Compared to their seniors, and to youth who participated in the previous WVS, youth interviewed in 2000 were less willing to restrict the access of these groups to the labour market in the event of possible job scarcity (Graph 6 and 7). It should be mentioned that when the studies were conducted, youth unemployment rates were relatively high compared to their seniors and compared to the current situation. Hence, we can conclude that values around this element have actually changed significantly, since a reduction was observed in all age groups—although the reduction was less significant in the 50+ group. Among youth, women and higher educated

individuals of both genders remained more open and tolerant: only 34% of women and 16% of higher educated individuals agreed with the statement that Canadians should be given priority when jobs are scarce.[17]

Graph 6

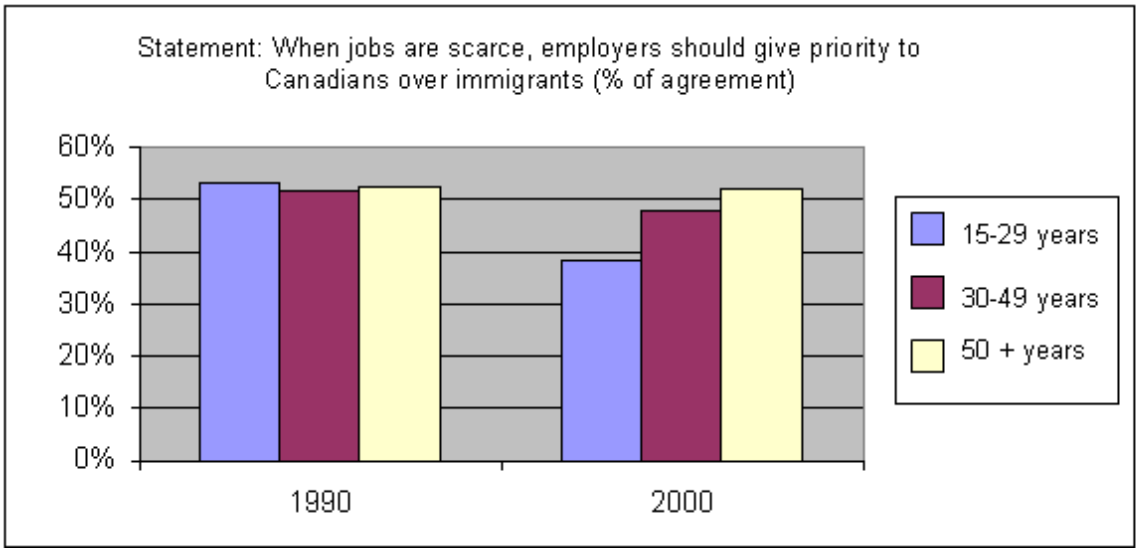
Women's Right to Employment When Jobs are Scarce, by Age Groups, 1990 and 2000



Overall significance test: 1990 – Chi-square= 46.75, df = 4, p<.001; 2000 – Chi-square= 68.55, df = 4, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Graph 7

Priority Should be Given to Canadians Over Immigrants When Jobs are Scarce, 1990 and 2000



Overall significance test: 1990 – Chi-square= 2.47, df = 4, p = .65 ; 2000 – Chi-square= 22.96, df = 4, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

2.4 The Democratic System and Political Participation. Youth are Still Interested and Active, but in Less Traditional Ways…

There is a widespread perception that today's youth are less politicized, ask fewer questions, and have even lost a sense of collective values. Ironically, this perception is mostly held by baby boomers (Roy, 2008: 2). Such negative perceptions may not be surprising given that youth are the social group for which media depictions are the farthest from reality (ibid.: 1). In terms of electoral participation however, the image does not appear to be that far from reality: in fact, youth participation in elections has been dropping since the 1980s and was less than 40% for youth under 25 in 2004, compared to 75% for 58-67 year olds (Elections Canada, 2005).

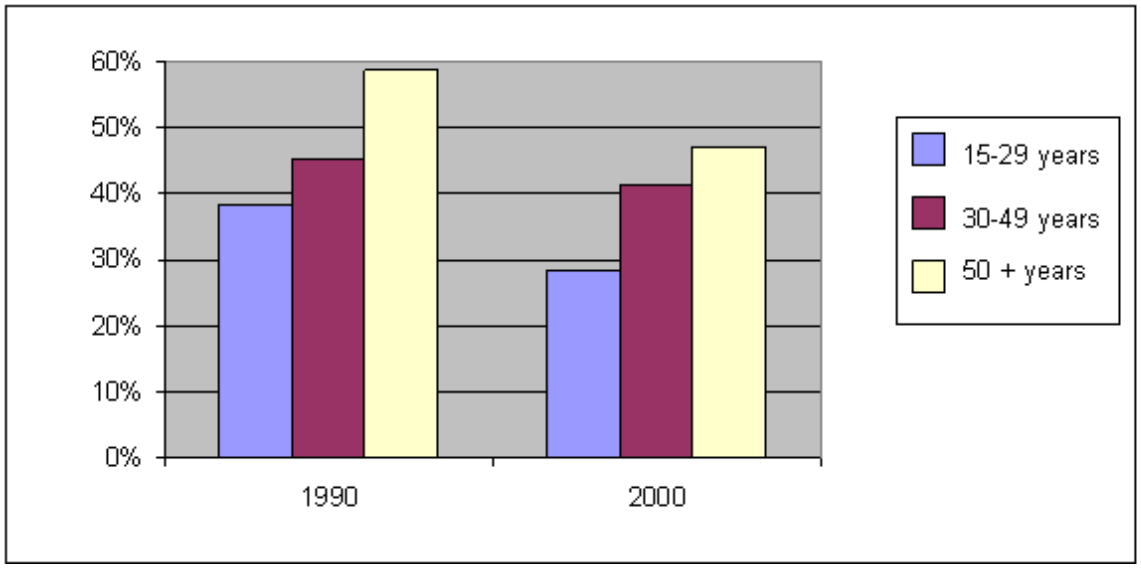
However, as indicated in a Canadian Policy Research Networks review, certain data and research have shed light on false perceptions by showing, on one hand, that youth are still not very different from their seniors in terms of their interest in political matters, and on the other hand, that youth are interested in forms of participation other than voting (O'Neill, 2007), both within the sphere of so-called "non-traditional" political action (Milan, 2005) and in the area of volunteer work, where they have higher participation rates than other age groups (Statistics Canada, 2006). Taken as a whole, these interests contradict the claims that youth are less and less interested in community.

The WVS allows us to observe that interest in politics has been on the decline since at least 1990 in all age groups (Graph 8). In fact, this decline has most affected the 50+ age group. Between 1990 and 2000, the percentage of this group that considered politics to

be very important or rather important in their lives fell to 47%. During the same period, this rate dropped to 29% among youth and to 41% among 30-39 year olds. If we examine the declines, we observe a narrowing of the gap between the viewpoints of the oldest and youngest respondents, but a widening of the gap between the youngest age group and the 30-39 year olds. There may be cause for concern over the drop in interest among the 18-29 year olds in 2000, if we consider the fact that respondents who were in the 18-29 group in 1990 seem to have more or less maintained their viewpoint as they aged. Could this have an effect on the 18-29 age groups to come? Within the 18-29 group, men (32%), more than women (24%), and particularly university graduates (45%), considered politics to be very important or rather important in their lives.[18]

Graph 8

Percentage of individuals who consider that politics are very important or rather important in their life, by age group, 1990 and 2000



Overall significance test: 1990 – Chi-square= 46.10, df = 2, p<.001; 2000 – Chi-square= 36.69, df = 2, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

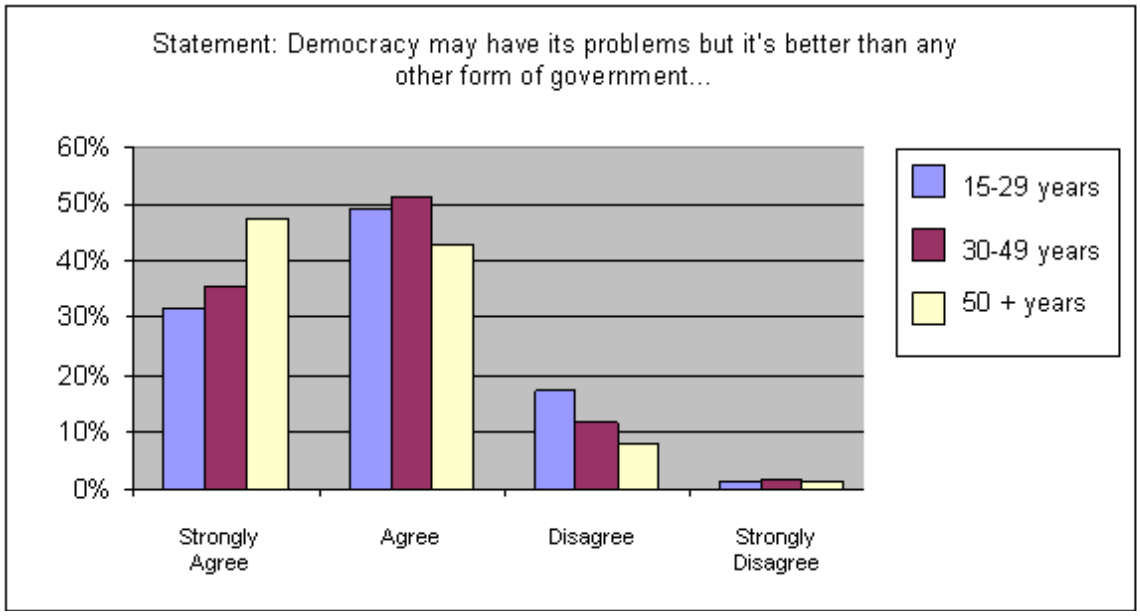
It is this decline in the importance of politics in people's lives, particularly among the younger respondents, that raises so many questions. Does it conceal a questioning of democracy or a lack of confidence in our system of political representation? Does it signify a lack of interest in politics in general, to the point where youth no longer discuss it? Is this decline accompanied not only by a drop in election participation rates, but also a loss of interest in other forms of political action or social engagement in general? Answers to these questions are provided in the paragraphs below.

Is democracy being questioned? Youth and their seniors have clearly indicated that even though they feel that democracy as a political system is a source of dissatisfaction, it still remains the best form of government (Graph 9). Youth are more skeptical of democracy, but more than 8 out of 10 people in the 18-29 age group consider it to be the best alternative, which is only slightly lower than in the 30-49 age group. Although there was

not much of a difference in opinion between young men and women, educational attainment was an important factor in differentiating between opinions: higher educated individuals tended more than lower educated individuals to consider democracy as the best system (93 vs 76%).[19]

Graph 9

Satisfaction with Democracy as a Political System, by Age Group, 2000



Overall significance test: Chi-square= 45.68, df = 6, p<.001
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Although democracy as a political system is not strongly disputed, the same cannot be said for one of Canada's largest democratic institutions—Parliament. In fact, since the early 1980s, the percentage of individuals that have confidence in Parliament has not risen above 50%, for all three of the age groups being studied (Table 6). However, data has shown that the opinion of 18-29 year olds has not really changed much in this regard, and it is actually the confidence of the older respondents that has fallen to the same level as the younger age group. Once again, educational level made a difference in the results for youth. Basically, the higher the educational attainment, the more confidence youth tend to place in Parliament.

Table 6

Confidence in Parliament by Age Group and, Within the 18-29 Group, by Gender and Educational Level (''A Great Deal'' and ''Quite a lot'' Were Combined), 1981 and 2000

	1981 (%)	2000 (%)	Change 1981-2000
Age groups			
18-29	39	39	0
30-49	45	40	-5
50+	47	43	-4
Within the 18-29 group			
Males	38	40	+2
Females	39	37	-2
M vs F, X^2 (3)=	*1.07*	*10.66†*	
Education 1**	*	33	-
Education 2**	*	43	-
Education 3**	*	55	-
Overall education, X^2 (6)=	-	*20.40†*	-
Gap 1 vs 2	-	*10†*	-
Gap 1 vs 3	-	*22†*	-
Gap 2 vs 3	-	*12†*	-

*: Data not available
**: Education 1: Secondary school not completed; Education 2: Secondary school completed; Education 3: University education partially or fully completed.
† Statistically significant comparison, p< .05%
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

A lack of interest in politics? Although interest in politics has been waning, particularly within the youngest age group, political matters continue to be the topic of discussion for the majority of individuals in all age groups (Table 7). As was the case for confidence in Parliament, the greatest declines were in the 30-49 and 50+ age groups, closing the gap between the viewpoints of each age group. Differences were noted within the 18-29 group, both between men and women, and between higher and lower educated individuals: men and higher educated individuals are more likely to discuss politics.

Table 7

Percentage of Individuals Who Discuss Political Matters With Their Friends, by Age Group and, Within the 18-29 Group, by Gender and Educational Level (with ''frequently'' and ''occasionally'' combined), 1981 and 2000

	1981 (%)	2000 (%)	Change 1981-2000
Age groups			
18-29	59	58	-1
30-49	76	64	-12†
50+	72	66	-6†
Within the 18-29 group			
Males	67	64	-3
Females	52	51	-1
M-F gap	15†	13†	
Education 1**	*	48	-
Education 2**	*	67	-
Education 3**	*	75	-
Overall education, X^2 (6)		*26.96†*	
Gap 1 vs 2	-	*19†*	
Gap 1 vs 3	-	*27†*	
Gap 2 vs 3	-	*8*	

* Data not available
** Education 1: Secondary school not completed; Education 2: Secondary school completed; Education 3: University education partially or fully completed.
† Statistically significant comparison, p< .05%
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

The end of political involvement? Although some youth continue to display bouts of militancy within political parties, studies indicate that youth are more interested in defending causes than in attending political rallies and participating in more practical aspects of a political organization (Quéniart, 2008). In light of this, it is not surprising that youth do not participate much in political parties and are disinterested in their activities. However, when it comes to "non-traditional" forms of political participation and defending causes or rights – related to the environment or globalization, for instance – a large number of youth participate in many political activities (MacKinnon et al., 2007).

WVS data on membership (and not simply participation) in voluntary organizations and activities tend to confirm that youth are scarcely present in political parties and political action organizations, but that this trend has been ongoing since the early 1980s (Table 8). Their membership in these organizations has also been lower than individuals in the 50+ group since the early 1980s. Over the past thirty years however, there has been an increase in the number of youth that belong to art, music and cultural organizations, as well as groups interested in protecting the environment and/or defending animal rights, and to professional associations. In all other types of organizations, youth involvement has not changed significantly. It should be mentioned that in 2000, youth were very

involved in art, music and cultural organizations (25%) and in sports and recreational organizations (34%), in significantly higher numbers than the 50+ group.

Table 8

Involvement with Voluntary Organizations and Activities, by Age Group, 1981 and 2000

Type of organization/Area of activity	1981 (%)			2000 (%)		
	18-29	30-49	50+	18-29	30-49	50+
Senior assistance	5	14[a]	20[ab]	7	11[a]	20[ab]
Religious organizations	24	34[a]	41[a]	20	26[a‡]	39[ab]
Art, music, culture	10	11	8	25[‡]	24[‡]	17[ab‡]
Unions	11	16	7[ab]	11	18[a]	13[b‡]
Political parties	4	4	9[ab]	3	6[a]	8[a]
Political action	-	-	-	5	8	10[a]
Human rights	2	4	3	3	5	6[a‡]
Environment, animal rights	4	6	4	8[‡]	8	11[‡]
Professional associations	7	19[a]	9[b]	13[‡]	22[a]	16[b‡]
Youth work	10	14[a]	4[ab]	12	14	7[ab‡]
Sports and recreational activities	-	-	-	34	32	19[ab]
Womens groups	-	-	-	5	7	11[ab]
Peace movement	-	-	-	0.2	3[a]	3[a]
Health	-	-	-	7	11[a]	14[a]
Consumer rights	1	2	.2	-	-	-

[‡] Significance difference from 1981, p<.05
[a] Significance compared with 18-29 year olds, p<.05
[b] Significance compared with 30-49 year olds, p<.05
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

We might wonder why youth are not very interested in more traditional types of political participation. Some claim that youth are repulsed by sterile confrontations linked to partisan policies, and speculate on the emergence of a new "millenium" generation. Resistant to traditional divisions, more open to cool-headed debates and consensus, and seeking credible information in the media, in which they place little confidence, this generation could be on the verge of "transforming" politics, at least in the United States (Winograd and Hais, 2008). However, in our opinion, caution should be taken in making such a statement, which seeks to attribute an original expression and precise characteristics to an entire age group. Statements about the emergence of new political generations are numerous and must be treated with caution, particularly since there has not been a lot of change in youth commitment to various forms of action outside of traditional electoral politics, as can be observed below.

The table below (Table 9) effectively demonstrates that out of five different types of political action, youth's connection with political action has systematically remained stronger than the other age groups, signifying that they are just as committed as they were in the past. In this respect, they are not much different from youth in the early 1980s who, as we know, were baby boomers, known for their high political interest. Although fewer youth than the 30-49 group have actually participated in the types of actions mentioned[20], this might be explained by their lower number of years of life experience. The table also shows that there has been relative stability in the youngest

age group with respect to political action, while the 30-49 age group and particularly the 50+ age group have taken an increased interest in the different types of political actions, from 1981 to 2000. Here, once more, we can see a convergence of viewpoints.

It is particularly within the 18-29 group that divisions are noted, especially between men and women, with women being less attracted than men to any political action more radical than signing a petition. On this subject, Hooghe and Stolle (2004) have noted that political actions preferred by young women, such as fundraising and signature gathering, tend to be overlooked in research on political involvement. Finally, while WVS data presented by educational level is not conclusive, some researchers claim that individuals with higher educational attainment have higher electoral participation rates and are more likely to belong to political parties (Gidengil et al., 2003; Cross and Young, 2004).

Table 9

Political Action Taken, by Age Group (with ''have done'' and ''might do'' combined) 1981 and 2000 (%)

	Signing a petition		Joining in boycotts		Attending lawful protests		Joining unofficial strikes		Occupying buildings or factories	
	1981	**2000**	**1981**	**2000**	**1981**	**2000**	**1981**	**2000**	**1981**	**2000**
Age groups										
18-29	93	93	67	68	72	70	34	45†	34	36
30-49	92	93	69	70	61	66	24	37†	17	22†
50+	79	90†	39	51†	39	48†	6	22†	2	12†
In the 18-29 group										
Males	92	94	72	73‡	76	77‡	41‡	50‡	38	43‡
Females	95	93	63	62‡	68	62‡	26‡	39‡	30	28‡

† Indicates a significant change compared to 1981, at p< .05
‡ Indicates a significant disparity between men and women, at p<.05.
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Naturally, there are many forms of political action that are not included in the above table, including all political action taken on the Internet (petitions, discussion groups, information campaigns) or the boycotting of certain products or choosing to buy others (Milan, 2005; Quéniart, Jacques and Jauzion-Graverolle, 2007). O'Neill (2007) comments on these forms of political action, suggesting that it is important to take them into account and to better understand them in order to better identify youth political involvement. It is likely that these forms of action, although accessible to everyone, now spark the interest of youth who have grown up in the Internet era more than any other age group. To understand the attraction and the opportunities to get closer to youth politics, it is no doubt necessary to study these forms of political commitment more closely, comparing their influence on different age groups and socio-economic categories and distinguishing the various means of getting involved through the Internet, particularly with regard to the personal commitment level that results from these different practices. Finally, we should also be aware that the connections established with these new technologies during youth will not disappear over time, which allows us

to theorize that these connections may actually be making long term changes in the link between individuals and politics.

2.5 Bilingualism and Multiculturalism: Youth are More Open, Negotiating Their Identities

As an officially bilingual and multicultural country, Canada attempts to reflect social reality through concrete rights and privileges. A special status has been conferred on French and English – and on official language minority communities in provinces where the majority speak the other official language – due to the populations and communities present when the country was founded. However, the influx of immigrants from various origins beginning in the 1960s, along with the rise of new social movements, Quebec nationalist movements and Aboriginal movements, complicated the question of Canadian identity.

It was within this context that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was mandated to examine Canada's identity based on the Canadian French-English duality (Dupont and Lemarchand, 2000). Pointing out the critical situation of the Francophone minority with respect to language and culture, this Commission recommended making English and French the country's official languages. Although the issue of bilingualism was quickly settled, biculturalism appeared to be a much more complicated matter. In order to adapt the State to the new Canadian multi-ethnic reality, and to avoid granting Quebec special status at the federal level, a nationwide multiculturalism policy was introduced by the federal government in 1971. A "cultural mosaic" model was designed – one in which different minorities were invited to celebrate and share their uniqueness in a spirit of respect for universal values. From then on, cultural pluralism was celebrated as an integral part of the modern Canadian identity – at least, in the representation depicted by the Canadian government. Nowadays, when it comes to institutions and public policies, the expression "*multiculturalism*" means more than simply constitutional recognition of the multicultural nature of Canada; it also includes various government measures designed to "*improve relations between ethnic minorities and components of the population who represent the majority.*" (Saouab, 1993).

In a context where Canadian society is undergoing a demographic evolution which due to immigration is contributing to increased ethnic diversity in the population, we might wonder how individuals, particularly youth, feel about bilingualism and multiculturalism. Is bilingualism still meaningful to young adults at a time when, in many regions, French is often perceived as just one language among many, and where globalization seems to promote linguistic homogenization to English? And what do they think of multiculturalism? Is there a perception that ethnic diversity could pose a "threat" to unity and integration within society? Or, on the other hand, are youth generally more open and tolerant toward diversity than other age groups, as is the case in European countries (Galland and Roudet, 2001 and 2005)? Finally, we might also wonder how youth construct their identity in an ethnically and culturally diversified society. Do individuals remain attached to a set identity, connected to a specific location, language and culture of origin, or is their identity a blending of different cultures, influenced by exposure to diversity?

A recent study by the Association for Canadian Studies (Jedwab, 2007)[21] answers some of these questions. The study indicated that young Canadians (18-24) are much more likely than their seniors (65+) to value official language equality, accommodation of ethnic and religious minorities, bilingualism and multiculturalism (Table 10). In comparison to the population as a whole, and compared to the other categories listed in Table 8, they are still the most likely to feel that these aspects are very important to defining Canadian identity. Only Francophones, and the Quebec population in particular, tend to value bilingualism (+11%) and equality of the country's official languages (+12 %) more than youth overall. It would no doubt be useful to study these trends further to identify where youth converge and diverge, by comparing Francophone youth with Anglophone youth and youth that speak other mother tongues, and by comparing Quebec youth to other youth in Canada.

Table 10

Attachment to Issues and Symbols That Reflect Canadian Values, 18-24 and 65+, 2007, ("very important" responses) (%)

	Age		Mother tongue			Region		Respon-dents as a whole
	18-24	65+	French	English	Other	Quebec	Outside of Quebec	
Bilingualism	45	35	56	28	35	54	30	43
Equality between English and French in Canada	46	39	58	35	36	57	35	40
Multiculturalism	57	34	33	44	55	33	46	43
Reasonable accommodation of ethnic and religious minorities	41	25	28	33	32	28	33	31

Source: Shared Canadian Values: Issues and Symbols Study, Association for Canadian Studies, 2007.

Although young adults are generally more tolerant and open than their seniors when it comes to language and ethnocultural diversity, recent qualitative research also suggests that youth who belong to ethnic or language minority groups are shifting in their view of multiculturalism and bilingualism.

Recent consultations held across Canada on the subject of diversity and Canadian policies on multiculturalism[22], suggest that youth born in Canada to immigrant parents (i.e. second generation immigrants) may be more likely than their parents to identify themselves as Canadians and may see less relevance in identifying themselves with a unique ethnic background. This would be particularly true for youth from intercultural families (Lock Kunz and Sykes, 2007). Sykes claims that "Psychological and socio-cultural outcomes are best if based on multiple cultural heritages that are managed and

reconciled by the individual in an open-ended and fluid manner" (2008: 20). However, Sykes also points out that, for second generation immigrant youths, feeling that they belong to Canadian society remains a hot topic of debate and further research is required to determine whether or not a problem exists within this group of individuals in terms of constructing an identity and a sense of belonging.

Participants in the consultation process mentioned above also suggested that, in the context of globalization (i.e. access to worldwide communications through the Internet and the increased ease of traveling) there now exists a "multicultural generation" of youth who "negotiate their multiple identities in a global context" (ibid.). Research done by Dwaine Plaza (2006) on young Canadian offspring of Indo-Caribbean and African Caribbean immigrants demonstrate that the development of an ethnic identity in youth involves a complex correlation between culture, environment and community, and that the process is characterized by a shifting and constant gathering of new hybrid identities. By constantly negotiating their identities, within themselves and with others around them, these young adults question multiculturalism as it is officially conceived in Canada, particularly with respect to how multicultural relations are approached.

A similar observation was made during recent research on youth from official language minority communities in Canada. More and more researchers interested in the identity of these youth are discovering the complexity and multiplicity of their linguistic and cultural identities (Pilote and Magnan, 2008). Some researchers initially evoked the notion of a "bilingual identity" (Farmer and Labrie, 2003; Hébert, 1995) to describe the shift from one linguistic boundary to another. However, in areas where there is a strong ethnic culture, youth tend to shift beyond the boundaries of the two official language communities. Hence, "for young [minority francophones], there is nothing wrong with crossing the linguistic boundary of the anglophone community; they are francophone, anglophone, bilingual, Lebanese, Somalian, etc. all wrapped up in one. Their sense of identity is fluid, permeable, unstable… " (Pilote and Magnan, 2008). Linguistic practices of bilingual and trilingual youth in Montreal also attest to this shifting from one language to another, depending on the geographical location and the degree of formality required when exchanges and discussions are taking place (Lamarre et al., 2002).

Researchers do not lack for words when it comes to describing this new reality and the ways that these youth, through their use of language and their relationships with their own (minority) community, the majority community, the multicultural nature of society and, on a larger scale, the world itself, value not only their own language and culture, but also those of the majority and sometimes other communities as well. The expressions "asymmetrical hybridity" (Dallaire and Denis, 2005) and "identity ambivalence" (Pilote, 2004 and 2007) are highly revealing of the way that official language minority youth negotiate these relationships. 'Asymetrical hybridity' for example, refers to relations of power between English and French language groups, which vary depending on the region of Canada, while 'identity ambivalence' emphasizes strategic elements that not only help individuals reconcile the influences and attractions of different communities as they define themselves, but also help them to integrate into several worlds at once—worlds that they interact with each day (Pilote and Magnan, 2008). However, with respect to the development of minority communities, the question remains as to whether placing value on the blurring of identities fits in with the general will of linguistic

minority communities, which is largely carried by educational institutions that have a much more static view of identity (2007; Magnan and Pilote, 2007).

While research is quite revealing about the fluid nature of identities constructed by youth in official language minority communities and in ethnic groups, we have not identified research that would help to establish the viewpoint of youth belonging to the majority. This observation raises questions about research on identity construction in Canada. How do these youth react in the face of increasing ethnocultural diversity? Do they have a dynamic perception of identity that would not only make them more open and tolerant to differences, but also more at ease in taking part in intercultural dialogue? Although we are inclined to respond positively to this last question – perhaps with more confidence in cases where youth live in areas where they are more exposed to diversity – this remains a hypothesis that needs to be studied in future research.

3. Results and Implications

3.1 Relatively Stable Values and Narrowing of the Intergenerational Gap

What have we learned from this analysis of Canadian youth values? First of all, the relative stability of youth values should be underscored. The current values of Canadian youth are not much different from those of youth in the early 1980s or 1990s, despite the popular perception that the opposite is true. Today's youth still place family and work first in their lives, and do not reject the political system in which they live; neither do they display a mass disinterest in politics. Moreover, although available data does not allow us to trace the evolution of school-related values, research identified in this paper demonstrates that education is still of high importance with respect to future employment prospects and integration into society, particularly for youth in immigrant families.

Secondly, it is important to note that youth have not distanced themselves from the values held by older age groups; rather, the gap has been reduced – at least with respect to institutions for which WVS data is available (family, work, political system and participation). Similarities in values are now seen most clearly between 18-29 year olds and 30-49 year olds, which means that changes in values brought about by young adults in the early 1980s not only affected this group in a permanent manner, but also significantly influenced the context in which younger groups were raised. We can speculate that there has been a generational effect associated with the baby boom, since youth who were aged 18 to 29 in 1981 were born between 1952 and 1963. We can also surmise that they brought in values associated with their generation: social demands for greater freedom of expression, greater tolerance, wider access to educational institutions, etc.

3.2 Distinct Differences and the Importance of Education

Although there has been a convergence of values, we must point out certain aspects where differences are observed. Today's youth have views about the labour market that contrast with those of youth that came before them. They place as much importance on work as youth did in the past. However, work is viewed in a more utilitarian manner (youth seek good pay and good job stability) and less as a means of obtaining status in

society. Youth appear to be less demanding in seeking opportunities to use initiative at work and in matching their abilities with a type of job. These trends might be explained by the fact that young adults are now dealing with more unstable jobs that are not permanent, due to their longer studies at educational institutions and to the restructuring of the labour market that has affected the quality of the jobs that they can access.

Differences are also observed in elements relating to political participation. Although youth have lower electoral participation levels than in the past, it is not possible to generalize that their overall view of politics is due to a rejection of the system, a lack of interest or disengagement. On the contrary, in 2000, young adults took as much political action as young people their age did in the early 1980s. The differences are seen more in the means used by today's youth to keep up with politics, which is primarily through non-electoral activities, and more and more through means such as the Internet.

Moreover, although the current state of research does not permit a definitive statement to be made, it would appear that today's youth are interested in bilingualism and multiculturalism in a way that differs from the past. The "bi" and "multi" aspects of these concepts appear to be embodied by ethnic and official-language minority youth, and by youth from immigrant families, in their perception of their self-identity. The boundary between self and others appears to have become less defined, allowing these youth to adopt a more fluid identity, while continuing to value their language and culture of origin – particularly for minority francophone youth – which could lead to opportunities to engage in significant intercultural dialogue.

Finally, it must be noted that differences also appear within the 18-29 group in 2000. Although the differences do not seem to be that great between young men and women, they are more noticeable between youth with different educational levels. While it is important to bear in mind that some members of this age group had not yet completed their studies at the time of the survey, WVS data show that youth with lower educational attainment tend to place a slightly higher value on family; fewer of them are concerned with achieving recognition through work, but they are more likely to seek job security and good working hours. They are somewhat less tolerant toward immigrants in the labour market, and place a lesser degree of importance on the role of politics in their lives.

3.3 Elements to be Explored Further

The highlights of the World Values Survey (WVS) data analyzed for this report provide an overview of the evolution in Canadian youth values. Other studies examining the differences between rural and urban youth, for instance, or between francophone and anglophone youth, as well as analyses of more recent WVS data, which will be released continuously, would certainly enable a more in-depth and updated portrait than what has been presented in this paper.

Likewise, it would be useful to conduct a more thorough analysis of the connection between youth values and institutions. In other words, *to what degree* is the evolution in youth values explained by societal shifts affecting family, the labour market, the democratic system, education, multiculturalism and bilingualism policies, etc.? And *on the flip side*, can institutions themselves evolve as a result of youth values?

Finally, there is no doubt that future studies into values must focus more on other elements that are important in the lives of young adults. In this paper, we were unable to compare how different age groups value education, bilingualism and multiculturalism due to a lack of data. At a time when participation rates in postsecondary education are very high, and bilingualism and multiculturalism policies lie at the heart of a desire to forge a Canadian identity, it would be important to conduct a more systematic study into these questions.

3.4 Implications for Public Policy

Youth values raise a number of questions regarding public policy issues in Canada, including those related to demographic changes, ethnic diversification of the population and political participation. Studying youth values allows us to take another perspective on these issues and assess what position young adults might have in the near future.

3.4.1 Demographic Changes and the Connection Between Education, Work and Family

Demographic changes in Canada over the next few years will especially affect the working age population (Beaujot, McQuillan and Ravenera, 2007; Denhez, 2007) and might put a lot of pressure on young adults as they enter the labour market. Based on a scenario where there is average growth in the population, Beaujot, McQuillan and Ravenera (2007) show that the ratio of persons reaching working age (15-24) compared to persons reaching retirement age (55-64) will continue to decrease over the next few decades; by 2016, there will be more people leaving the job market than entering it. According to Denhez, who observes that the overall labour supply, expressed in terms of hours of work per capita, will decline over this same period, "compensating effects" may need to be considered (Denhez, 2007). These effects pertain to an increase in productivity linked to the educational level of young cohorts.

From a perspective of labour-market policy and the ability of a society such as Canada to economically sustain an aging population with an increasing life expectancy, the observations made above might point to the introduction of measures aimed at encouraging young adults to pursue a postsecondary education, increasing their participation and productivity in the labour market, and increasing fertility.[23] Although, as we can see by the increasing and already high number of postsecondary graduates, pursuing an education appears to be highly valued and promoted by various levels of government within Canada, job integration and starting a family raise other issues, such as job volatility and salary levels when a person first enters the labour market.

Finding the means to increase the labour-market participation of young adults without going against the overall desire to improve fertility may not be easy. No doubt, these means will need to include assurances of better job security and better salaries, which rank in youth's top job preferences. Decent salaries and job security are also important in that they allow couples, in particular young women, to contemplate having a family. That is why McDonald (2007) concluded in his study into fertility policies that, in order to promote fertility, social priorities must be placed on supporting family life. The resulting stability would enable young parents to respond to the family values that have been identified in this paper, which relate to the desire to have children, to have quality

parent-child relationships, and to ensure the successful socialization and schooling of their children.

3.4.2 Ethnocultural Diversity, Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

Canadian society is becoming more and more diversified, and this trend should continue over the next few decades due to high immigration levels and the variety of countries of origin of the immigrants. This diversity is marked not only by an increase in so-called 'visible' minorities, but also an increase in allophone immigrants and observers of non-Christian religions; finally, the rapid increase in the Aboriginal population and the bilingual context of Canada are also contributing factors (Antal, 2007). Although Canadian society appears to be doing well at accommodating ethnic, cultural and religious differences, these elements still cause some tension in terms of religious symbols or articles of clothing worn during professional or sports activities.

Today's youth appear to value ethnocultural diversity in all of its forms and integrate into their identity the contribution of cultures and languages other than the ones that they learn through their family or geographical location of origin. Although, according to existing research, this phenomenon is particularly noticeable among the offspring of linguistic and ethnocultural minorities, it seems to favour a greater acceptance of others and their differences in the sense that identities are negotiated, without rejecting youth origins or the groups to which they belong. As such, it strikes us as important to promote exchanges and meeting places that allow for identities to be negotiated, particularly for youth who are less exposed to ethnocultural diversity due to the fact that they live in ethnoculturally homogenous communities.

3.4.3 Political Participation

Some researchers claim that youth often feel as if they hold little power and are second class citizens (Ginwright, Cammarota and Noguera, 2006). Although this may explain their relatively low turnout at elections, it has not prevented young adults from continuing to value democracy and to take political action outside of the traditional arenas of political parties and elections. This political action may take the form of discussions on political matters, or actions such as signing petitions, boycotting and attending demonstrations. These forms of participation contribute to the democratic health of Canadian society; it therefore strikes us as important that they not be belittled when presented in political arenas and in the media. These forms of participation appear to be important, especially since young people's confidence level – for youth with lower educational attainment, in particular – in the Canadian institution of Parliament, has remained fairly low since the early 1980s. It would be useful to initiate reflection and dialogue with youth, to determine their views on the future course of this institution (including provincial and territorial legislatures), so that confidence of young adults in the Canadian democratic system can be deepened.

Over the past few years, the value that youth place in less traditional forms of political participation has been accompanied by an increase in the possibilities offered by the Internet (online petitions, discussion groups, information campaigns, etc.). The fact that

the connections established with these new information and communication technologies during youth will not disappear over time should lead to the development of measures and means to encourage their use.

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this paper leads to the conclusion that the values of today's youth are not much different from those of their predecessors. It also suggests that changes in youth values since the early 1980s should be described in terms of an evolution and a convergence of values between generations, rather than differences that have led to a break with the past. This does not mean that young adults now form a group having the same values across the board. It must be noted that education level is a significant element that differentiates values among youth. As a result of this analysis, it can also be stated that young Canadians have not withdrawn the face of major social and technological changes over the past few decades. In fact, the opposite is true: they have demonstrated open-mindedness toward change, although it must be stated that they are still seeking greater stability in their lives through employment.

When it comes to youth values, concerns about how youth relate to the institutions that were established by previous generations no doubt have merit. That being said, it is preferable to speak of youth values shifting away from these institutions, rather than saying that that youth have broken away from them completely, which would then mean that a succession of negative and irreversible shifts have occurred and for which no corrective action was taken. The existing shifts raise questions about the way that public policies should appeal to youth in addressing the major social issues of the next decade, including those related to demographic changes, transformation of the labour-market and jobs, family, ethnocultural diversification and political participation. Social demands for positive youth involvement on these issues will no doubt be better received if public policy answers to these same issues reflect their values.

Notes

[1] See papers by Clark (2007), Beaujot and Kerr (2007), Fournier et al. (2002), Gauthier (2003); Mitchell (2006), Molgat (2002) and Shaienks et al. (2006), among others.

[2] See Bidart (2005), Biggart and Walther (2006), Leccardi and Ruspini (2005), Settersten, Furstenberg and Rumbaut (2005), Shanahan (2000) and Walther et al. (2002).

[3] See, for example, Ashford and Timms, 1992; Bréchon, 2000; Galland and Roudet, 2005; Inglehart, 1977, 1995; Inglehart, Besanez and Moreno, 1998; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Riffault, 1994; Stoetzel, 1983.

[4] Religion and spirituality together also constitute an interesting dimension of youth values. However, they were not retained in this project due to time and resource constraints.

[5] We would like to thank Glenn Thompson, a Psychology PhD candidate at the University of Ottawa, and Meriem Ait-Ouyahia, Policy Research Initiative (PRI) Analyst, who were able to quickly and diligently process the World Values Survey data.

[6] It should be noted that Canadian data from a new World Values Survey (2005) was not available at the time of writing this paper.

[7] Further details on the methodology used to conduct these surveys are available on the World Values Survey web site: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>.

[8] Data not presented as a graph or table.

[9] Data not presented as a graph or table.

[10] The number of desired children (2) was established in other research (Beaujot, 2000; Dandurand, 2001).

[11] This disparity was also noted by researchers in a study conducted in the 1980s (Balakrishnan et al., 1993)

[12] To simplify the presentation of data, significance tests for Table 2 have been presented in an appendix.

[13]The WVS survey does not contain any questions that assist in analyzing values connected to school or education. Also, Canadian studies on education rarely provide data on values related to education; when perceptions are given, the analysis does not often take age into consideration (e.g. reports on the survey of Canadian Attitudes Toward Learning conducted by the Canadian Council on Learning).

[14] Data on the importance of work is not available for 1981.

[15] Data for graphs 3, 4 and 5 are only available for 2000.

[16] To simplify the presentation of data, significance tests for Table 5 have been presented in an appendix.

[17] Data not presented in a graph or table.

[18] Data not presented in the form of a graph or table.

[19] Data not presented in the form of a graph or table.

[20] Data not presented in the form of a graph or table.

[21] The Shared Canadian Values: Issues and Symbols study was conducted in 2007 by Léger Marketing by surveying approximately 1500 Canadians aged 18 and older. The sampling was representative of the Canadian population.

[22] These consultations were held with representatives from the three levels of government in Canada, community organizations, the business community, the media, and immigration and diversity experts (Lock Kunz and Sykes, 2007)

[23] It should be noted that immigration, for which levels are already high in Canada, will not be able to solve the problem of the aging population. See the analysis by Beaujot, McQuillan and Ravenera (2007: 10-11).

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Appendix 1: Table Including Significance Tests

Table 2. Ideal Number of Children in a Family, by Age Group, 1981, 1990 and 2000 (%)

	1981 '1'		**1990 '2'**		**2000 '3'**		$x^2(4)$ ***Year***	$x^2(2)$ ***1 vs 2***	$x^2(2)$ ***1vs 3***	$x^2(2)$ ***2 vs 3***
18-29 'A'							*6.69*	-	-	-
1 child	3		3		4					
2 children	52		49		57					
3 or more children	45		45		38					
30-49 'B'							*6.18*	-	-	-
1 child	1		2		3					
2 children	56		51		55					
3 or more children	42		45		40					
50+ 'C'							*17.14*†	*.79*	*8.24*†	*13.76*†
1 child	5		7		2					
2 children	41		38		47					
3 or more children	58		60		49					
Age effect X^2 *(4)=*	*28.45*†		*34.32*†		*19.95*†					
A vs B X^2 *(2)=*	*3.47*		*2.39*		*1.89*					
A vs C X^2 *(2)=*	*16.90*†		*24.93*†		*16.04*†					
B vs C X^2 *(2)=*	*21.16*†		*24.08*†		*11.81*†					
Within 18-29 group	1981 (1)		1990 (2)		2000 (3)					
	M*	F*	M*	F*	M*	F*				
1 child	3	3	3	3	4	4				
2 children	53	51	47	50	58	57				
3 or more children	44	47	47	44	38	38				
M vs F X^2*(3)=*	*.33*		*.73*		*.04*					

* M: Males; F: Females;
† Statistically significant comparison p< .05
Source : World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.

Table 5. Top Job Criteria for the 18-29 Year Olds, by Educational Level (%), 2000

	Total # of 18-29 yr olds	**M**	**F**	**M vs F x^2 (1)**	**Education 1****	**Education 2****	**Education 3****	**Education x^2 (2)**	**1vs2 x^2**	**1vs3 x^2**	**2vs3 x^2**
Good pay*	83	88	78	6.20†	83	84	82	.20	-	-	-
Not too much Pressure	26	26	26	.009	30	24	18	3.92	-	-	-
Good job security*	63	66	60	1.44	67	61	55	4.21	1.35	3.87†	.67
A job respected by people in general	32	29	35	1.49	31	28	39	2.76	-	-	-
Good hours*	55	55	56	.043	59	52	46	4.60	1.65	4.09†	.60
An opportunity to use initiative	40	40	41	.09	38	37	54	6.97†	<.01	6.32†	4.94†
Generous holidays	25	27	23	.69	25	23	26	.22	-	-	-
A job in which you feel you can achieve something*	72	67	76	3.55	68	71	84	7.19†	.25	7.18†	4.30†
A responsible job	36	37	35	.124	34	38	38	.66	-	-	-
A job that is interesting*	74	37	35	<.01	70	72	88	10.37†	.21	10.31†	6.95†
A job that meets one's abilities	47	46	48	.17	45	50	51	1.14	-	-	-

* : The five highest-ranked job criteria for the 18-29 year old group.
† Significance compared to < .05%
**: Education 1: Secondary school not completed; Education 2: Secondary school completed; Education 3: University education partially or fully completed.
Source: World Values Survey, Canada, 1981-2000.