# Profiles of Welfare: 

## Myths and Realities

A Report by the<br>National Council of Welfare

Spring 1998

# PROFILES OF WELFARE: MYTHS AND REALITIES 

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National Council of Welfare

Spring 1998

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
TEN QUICK QUESTIONS ABOUT PEOPLE ON WELFARE ..... 1
ANSWERS TO TEN QUICK QUESTIONS ABOUT PEOPLE ON WELFARE ..... 2
I. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS ..... 4
II. FAMILY TYPE AND FAMILY SIZE ..... 8
III. REASONS FOR ASSISTANCE ..... 14
IV. LENGTH OF CURRENT SPELL ON WELFARE ..... 23
V. YOUNG, OLD AND IN-BETWEEN ..... 32
VI. LEVEL OF EDUCATION ..... 40
VII. OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME ..... 46
VIII. HOUSING ..... 53
CONCLUSION ..... 60
APPENDIX: PROVINCIAL AND TERRITORIAL STATISTICS ..... 63
INDEX TO GRAPHS AND TABLES ..... 77

## TEN OUICK OUESTIONS ABOUT WELFARE

Before reading this report, take a minute to test your knowledge about welfare. The answers appear on the back of this page, along with the appropriate references to data in the text.

Which of the following statements about welfare and welfare recipients are true?

1. Most people on welfare are young people who should be out working.
2. The welfare rolls have fallen significantly since Canada started coming out of the last recession in 1991.
3. Unmarried teenagers make up most of the single-parent mothers on welfare.
4. Long-term dependence on welfare is rare in Canada.
5. Almost all the people on welfare are adults.
6. Disability is not a major reason for people relying on welfare.
7. Many single-parent mothers have lots of kids in order to boost their welfare cheques.
8. Most people on welfare don't really have it so bad, because they get a break on their housing costs by living in subsidized housing.
9. Most people on welfare also have income from part-time work or Employment Insurance or government pensions.
10. People who are well educated almost never wind up on welfare:

## ANSWERS TO TEN OUICK OUESTIONS ABOUT WELFARE

All of the statements about welfare and welfare recipients on the preceding page are false. Here is the truth of the matter, with page references to more detailed information in the text. The percentages in the answers below refer to cases in the welfare database used in this report.

1. Only four percent of the heads of welfare cases in March 1997 were under age 20, and another 12 percent were between 20 and 25 . (Table 8, page 36 )
2. Welfare caseloads continued climbing after the recession ended because of continuing high unemployment. The first decline in total caseloads was in 1995. (Table 1, page 10)
3. Only three percent of the single parents on welfare in March 1997 were under age 20. (Graph I, page 34)
4. Fifty-four percent of the welfare cases in March 1997 had been on welfare continuously for 25 months or more. (Graph F, page 24)
5. Dependent children under 18 accounted for nearly 1.1 million of the people on welfare in March 1997. (Table 9, page 37)
6. Twenty-seven percent of the heads of welfare cases in March 1997 had a disability as a reason for being on welfare. (Graph C , page 15)
7. Nearly half of all single-parent families on welfare in March 1997 had only one child and another 31 percent had only two children. (Graph J, page 39)
8. Only seven percent of the welfare cases in March 1997 were in subsidized housing. (Graph O, page 53)
9. Only 29 percent of the welfare cases in March 1997 had outside income from work, government pensions, support payments, EI or other sources. (Graph M, page 46)
10. Education does not offer absolute protection from welfare. Eleven percent of the heads of welfare cases in March 1997 had attended some form of post-secondary education. (Graph K, page 41)

If you got seven or more answers correct, pat yourself on the back, but keep on reading. If you missed more than two or three answers, you definitely should read on.

The questions and answers in the quiz are related to myths, misconceptions and stereotypes about welfare and people on welfare. All these forms of misinformation stand in the way of understanding one of Canada's most important social programs, and they make it even more difficult to get public support for welfare reform in the best sense of the word.

The National Council of Welfare hopes that this report will dispel many of the myths about welfare and leave in their place a more realistic picture of the millions of Canadians who turn to welfare when they exhaust all other sources of income.

## I. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

For a number of years, the Social Program Information and Analysis Directorate of Human Resources Development Canada and its predecessors at Health and Welfare Canada have worked with provincial and territorial officials to assemble descriptive and statistical information on welfare programs. The National Council of Welfare has drawn on this store of knowledge on numerous occasions as background information in its published reports.

Several years ago, governments took a major step forward in a co-operative venture informally known as the social assistance profile project. The purpose of the project was to assemble a database of welfare statistics that was more or less standard for all provinces. The statistics included information on welfare cases by family type, family size, age group of the head of each case, reasons for assistance, the number of months spent on welfare, housing arrangements, levels of education of the head of case, and sources of income aside from welfare.

The first data were collected for March 1990, and subsequent data were collected for March 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997.

The National Council of Welfare has long been concerned about the minimal amount of reliable and up-to-date information about social programs that is readily available to ordinary Canadians. It subsequently sought and received permission from officials of all provincial and territorial governments to have access to the database for research purposes.

This report is the end result of all these efforts. The National Council of Welfare greatly appreciates the work of the federal, provincial and territorial officials who collect and analyze information about welfare. We hope our report will add to public knowledge about welfare in Canada and will dispel many of the myths about welfare and welfare recipients.

The basic unit of analysis for most of Profiles of Welfare: Myths and Realities is the welfare case, as opposed to the individual welfare recipient. A welfare case consists of an unattached person on welfare or a family on welfare. Unattached people are defined as people living by themselves or in households where they are not related to other members by blood or marriage. Families are couples, married or living common law, or single parents and include
dependent children or other dependent relatives. A family's entitlement to welfare is based on family needs and family income. Except in cases of disability, it is rare for one member of a family to be on welfare and live in the same household with members of the family who are not on welfare.

Welfare recipients are the individuals who rely on welfare for income support. A family of four on welfare, for example, represents one welfare case and four individual welfare recipients. There is limited information in this report about individual welfare recipients except for a few pages about children and seniors in Chapter $V$ and some of the statistics in the appendix.

Unattached persons and families can also be grouped into family types, such as unattached men, unattached women, couples without children, couples with children, and singleparent families. The family types used in this report are not identical to the family types used in Poverty Profile and most other publications of the National Council of Welfare. In the welfare system, a single-parent mother could be a mother of any age with dependent children of any age. In Poverty Profile, the category is limited to single-parent mothers under age 65 with children under age 18.

Much of the information about welfare caseloads by family type has been in the public domain for some time and it is repeated in Chapter II of this report for the convenience of readers and researchers. The same holds true for the historical information on welfare, poverty and unemployment found in the appendix.

The social assistance profile project database contains a wealth of information on welfare, but it is not without its limitations. Some of the data sets are available for all or most provinces for March of each of the six years. Other sets have sizable gaps, either in terms of the years represented or the number of provinces contributing data. Readers will note that the tables and graphs in this report refer to " 95 percent samples" or " 82 percent samples." That means that the data in the particular graph covered 95 percent or 82 percent of the total estimated national caseload of $1,494,800$ as of March 1997.

Yukon, and the Northwest Territories did not supply data to the database for 1997, and New Brunswick did not supply data for some of the categories. Together, the three jurisdictions account for less than three percent of the total national caseload.

There are also gaps in the information provided by Nova Scotia, Ontario and Manitoba, the three provinces that have had two-tier welfare systems for all or most of the last 30 years. Nova Scotia and Manitoba have provided information on provincial welfare programs and not on welfare programs run by municipal governments. There were an estimated 17,400 cases of municipal welfare in Nova Scotia and about 16,400 cases of municipal welfare in Manitoba as of March 1997. Municipal caseloads in the two provinces make up just over two percent of the national caseload.

Most of the samples used in the text are 95 percent samples. That means the samples include all jurisdictions except New Brunswick, Yukon, the Northwest Territories and municipal welfare data in Nova Scotia and Manitoba.

In Ontario, the third province with a two-tier system in 1997, the database includes all provincial welfare cases and 85 percent of the cases on municipal welfare. The National Council of Welfare "grossed up" the municipal data to 100 percent.

Generally speaking, the variables in the database relating to demographic characteristics are consistent in all welfare systems in Canada. Other variables, such as reason for assistance and education, vary greatly from one province to another.

Reason for assistance is one of the most frequent variables used in cross-tabulations in the database, but the data have to be interpreted with great care. Even reasons for assistance such as employment or disability do not mean the same thing in all provinces. For example, some provinces categorize most single-parent families in a job-related category, while others consider single parenthood by itself as a reason for assistance, not just a family type.

Definitions of disability and whether a disabling condition is temporary or permanent vary greatly from province to province. Alberta has a provincially run program independent of the welfare system known as Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped, and several other
provinces are pursuing the idea of splitting off programs for people with disabilities from the welfare system.

Some provinces have reasons for assistance in their welfare programs that are related to age, or they report large numbers of welfare cases in unspecified "other" categories.

Most of the data supplied by the provinces was collected for March in each of the years in the database. A bit of the data from Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba was collected in some other month for some of the years. In all cases, the data represent a snapshot of the welfare caseload at a given point in time. They do not show how the welfare caseload changes from month to month, and they do not track movements on or off welfare.

Despite all these limitations, the database is by far the best source of statistical information on welfare that has been developed in recent years. The National Council of Welfare hopes that welfare officials across the country will continue providing information on a regular basis and that future versions of the database will add even more to our knowledge of one of Canada's most important and least understood social programs.

## II. FAMILY TYPE AND FAMILY SIZE

The chances of people having to rely on welfare at some point in their lives vary greatly by family type. The three most common family types on welfare are unattached men, unattached women, and families headed by single-parent mothers. In both good times and bad, these three family types are overrepresented on the welfare rolls.

Each welfare case consists of one or more individuals on welfare. By definition, all the welfare cases made up of unattached men and women consist of one person each. Welfare cases made up of families tend to be relatively small. The stereotype of welfare families with hordes of children is not even close to the truth.

## Welfare Cases by Family Type, 97 Percent Sample, March 1997



## Graph A

Graph A on the previous page shows welfare cases by family type in March 1997 for all jurisdictions except Yukon and the Northwest Territories. The graph is also missing information from municipal welfare programs in Nova Scotia and Manitoba. Overall, the graph covers $1,452,779$ cases or 97 percent of the estimated total national caseload as of March 1997.

Single-parent mothers and their children accounted for 388,426 welfare cases or 27 percent of the welfare cases in Graph A, unattached women represented 21 percent of the total, and unattached men represented 34 percent. The National Council of Welfare's annual publication Poverty Profile shows that single-parent mothers and unattached women and men are among the family types most likely to be poor, so it is not surprising that they are also among the most likely to be on welfare.

All three family types are overrepresented on the welfare rolls compared to their numbers in the population at large. Single-parent mothers made up 27 percent of the welfare cases in Graph A, but single-parent mothers in the population at large accounted for only six percent of all family types under 65 . Unattached women were 21 percent of welfare cases, but only 12 percent of all family types under 65 . Unattached men were 34 percent of welfare cases and 17 percent of all family types under 65.

One of the other intriguing differences in the graph is the fact that the number of unattached men on welfare is significantly higher than the number of unattached women on welfare. A look at the figures for the entire adult population under 65 shows a similar difference in the number of unattached men and women. Obviously, some unattached men are the fathers of the children of single-parent mothers. The men are living on their own, while the women are living with the children.

The distribution of welfare cases by family type did not change much in the years after the first figures were collected in 1990. Even though the welfare rolls swelled substantially in the wake of the recession of 1990-91, the proportions of different family types on welfare never changed more than a percentage point or two from one year to another.

Table 1 gives the details from March 1990 through March 1997. The figures cover all ten provinces, plus the two territories, and were compiled by officials of Human Resources Development Canada using information in addition to the information in the database. Only four
family types were estimated year after year: unattached persons, couples without children, single-parent families and couples with children. The totals for each year also include a handful of welfare cases that do not fit into one of the four standard categories.

| TABLE 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ESTIMATED WELFARE CASES BY FAMILY TYPE, ALL PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, MARCH 1990-MARCH 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Unattached Persons | Couples without Children | Single <br> Parents | Couples with Children | Total Cases |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1990 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 597,800 \\ 57 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 55,800 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 309,400 \\ 29 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 93,000 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,056,000 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1991 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 710,000 \\ 57 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 62,400 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 349,400 \\ 28 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 117,200 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,239,000 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1992 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 840,900 \\ 57 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 72,900 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 408,200 \\ 28 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 149,000 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,471,900 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1993 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 924,500 \\ 57 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 80,500 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 441,500 \\ 27 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 169,700 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,616,200 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1994 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 948,700 \\ 57 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 81,700 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 465,600 \\ 28 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 179,900 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,675,900 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1995 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 928,300 \\ 56 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 79,900 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 472,500 \\ 28 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 178,600 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,659,200 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1996 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 869,300 \\ 55 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 80,800 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 454,500 \\ 29 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 177,400 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,582,000 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { March } \\ 1997 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 822,600 \\ 55 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 77,500 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 429,600 \\ 29 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 165,000 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,494,800 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |

The number of welfare cases made up of unattached persons, for example, was estimated to be 597,800 or 57 percent of the total of $1,056,000$ welfare cases in March 1990. The number
rose sharply over the next several years before peaking in March 1994, but the percentage of cases remained more or less the same from one year to the next.

The statistics for the other three family types followed the same pattern. As the recession took its toll, all family types were at greater risk of falling onto welfare. As the economy recovered from the recession, the risk of falling onto welfare declined for all family types.

Table 2 on the next page shows variations in family type by province using data for March 1997 from the social assistance profile project. The total of $1,452,779$ cases shown in the table represents 97 percent of the estimated national total of $1,494,800$ cases in Table 1.

The most glaring variations are in Nova Scotia and Manitoba, two provinces which have two-tier welfare systems. Under two-tier systems, provincial caseloads are made up of longerterm recipients, notably single-parent families and people with disabilities, and municipal caseloads are mostly short-term cases where the unattached person on welfare or the head of the family is considered to be employable.

Two of the rows in the table are labelled Nova Scotia Provincial and Manitoba Provincial to set them off from the other provinces. If municipal welfare statistics had been included, the percentages in Nova Scotia and Manitoba would likely have been much closer to the percentage totals shown in the bottom row of the table.

Ontario is also a two-tier welfare province, but it was able to provide statistics on most municipal welfare caseloads. The municipal figures that were provided were "grossed up" in the database to approximate the total caseload.

The table shows a number of smaller variations from province to province that relate to differences in the local economy, differences in welfare policy and demographic differences. The government of Alberta, for example, made a decision in 1993 to discourage young single people from applying for welfare and to steer them to other possibilities. That probably explains in large part why the percentage of unattached persons on welfare in Alberta is well below average.

TABLE 2
WELFARE CASES BY FAMILY TYPE, 97 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Unattached <br> Persons | Couples <br> without <br> Children | Single <br> Parents | Couples <br> with <br> Children | Total <br> Cases |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 17,386 | 3,575 | 7,985 | 6,820 | 35,886 |
| Newfoundland | $48 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Prince Edward | 2,992 | 262 | 1,640 | 714 | 5,614 |
| Island | $53 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $29 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Nova Scotia | 11,991 | 902 | 16,252 | 1,864 | 31,042 |
| Provincial | $39 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $52 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| New | 17,115 | 2,944 | 11,192 | 4,926 | 36,177 |
| Brunswick | $47 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 299,511 | 25,947 | 98,111 | 46,806 | 470,375 |
| Quebec | $64 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 273,588 | 28,816 | 201,900 | 73,491 | 577,795 |
| Ontario | $47 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Manitoba | 11,554 | 816 | 12,119 | 799 | 25,431 |
| Provincial | $46 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $48 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 21,063 | 1,618 | 12,157 | 4,286 | 39,124 |
| Saskatchewan | $54 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 17,534 | 1,997 | 15,684 | 4,878 | 40,093 |
| Alberta | $44 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $39 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| British | 121,256 | 8,136 | 48,760 | 13,090 | 191,242 |
| Columbia | $63 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 793,990 | 75,013 | 425,800 | 157,675 | $1,452,779$ |
| Totals | $55 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $29 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases.

The statistics in the database on family type are also broken down by the number of people in each welfare case. The breakdown by family size is shown in Graph B. The sample
does not include New Brunswick cases or municipal welfare cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba. The graph represents 95 percent or $1,416,602$ of the estimated total of $1,494,800$ cases.

By definition, all the people on welfare classified as unattached persons fall into the oneperson category in Graph B. That category represented 55 percent of the cases on welfare. The two-person households in the graph consisted of couples without children or single parents with one child. The three-person households were single parents with two children or couples with one child, and so on.

What is most striking about the graph is that 95 percent of the welfare cases consisted of four persons or less. Only five percent of all welfare cases had five or more people. Among other things, that meant that most of the families with children on welfare were also small, as we will see in a later chapter of this report.

## Welfare Cases by Family Size, 95 Percent Sample, March 1997



## Graph B

## III. REASONS FOR ASSISTANCE

People go on welfare for many reasons, but two common reasons are related to jobs or disabilities. Lack of work is the largest single reason people are on welfare, and it probably accounts for more than half of all welfare cases. Disability is the second most common reason and is a factor in perhaps one-quarter of all cases. Single parenthood is considered a distinct reason for assistance by some provincial governments, but not by others.

Reasons for assistance vary greatly by family type. Couples with children and unattached people are more likely to have job-related reasons for being on welfare. Couples without children are more likely to be on welfare by reason of disability.

Reasons for assistance also change with age. Cases headed by younger people tend to have job-related reasons for assistance. Disability is the leading reason for assistance for cases headed by people 50 and older. Age itself is considered a reason for assistance for some older people by some provincial governments.

Because of the differences in definitions from one province to another, the statistics on reasons for assistance must be used with caution. Some provinces have done away with most of the traditional reasons for assistance. They view the heads of most of their welfare cases as capable of joining the work force sooner or later, and they classify cases according to the amount of effort it will take for them to reach that goal. Data from these provinces has to be rearranged into the categories used in the welfare database, and the fit is not always a good one.

The latest available statistics on reasons for assistance are shown in Graph C on the next page. It shows that 45 percent of the welfare cases in March 1997 were job-related, 27 percent were related to disabilities, 14 percent gave single parenthood as the reason for assistance, and the remaining 14 percent had "other" reasons for assistance. New Brunswick cases and municipal welfare cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba were not included. Overall, the graph covers 95 percent of the total estimated caseload of $1,494,800$ as of March 1997.

## Welfare Cases by Reason for Assistance, 95 Percent Sample, March 1997



## Graph C

One of the biggest inconsistencies is the way welfare programs classify single parents. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Manitoba regard single parenthood as a reason for assistance by itself. Most other provinces classify all or most single parents in a job-related category, although none of them really expects all single parents in all circumstances to be in the paid labour force.

Since most single parents are women, the reasons for assistance attributed to single parents are one of the main differences between the sexes in the welfare statistics. Graph D on the next page gives the details. The graph has separate pies for cases headed by men and women for all provinces except New Brunswick and British Columbia and municipal welfare in Nova Scotia and Manitoba as of March 1997. The two pies together cover 82 percent of the total national caseload.

## Welfare Cases by Reason for Assistance and Sex of Head of Case, 82 Percent Sample, March 1997



Male Heads
(668,445 Cases)

Female Heads
(747,969 Cases)

## Graph D

The pie on the left, representing unattached men on welfare and families headed by men, shows 52 percent of the welfare cases headed by men had job-related reasons for assistance. Single-parent fathers on welfare accounted for another two percent of cases. The combined total for the two categories was 54 percent.

The pie on the right, representing unattached women and families headed by women, shows 28 percent of the cases were headed by single-parent mothers and 28 percent of the cases were job-related. The two categories add up to 56 percent - close to the combined total of 54 percent for men.

British Columbia was unable to provide a breakdown of heads of cases by sex for March 1997, but it had a similar distribution of reasons for assistance in earlier years. In March 1994, for example, there were 127,270 welfare cases in British Columbia that were categorized as job-
related and another 52,059 cases categorized as single-parent cases for a total of 179,329 cases. The single parent category was discontinued, and the job-related category rose to 188,915 cases in 1995. The increase from 179,329 to 188,915 was about the same as the overall increase in welfare cases from one year to the next.

Aside from the differences in job-related reasons for assistance and single parenthood, there were differences in definitions of disability from province to province. Some provinces have special welfare programs for people with disabilities, such as the Financial Support Program in Quebec, which is clearly set apart from the Work and Employment Incentives Program for welfare cases where disability is not a factor. The lines between programs for ablebodied and disabled welfare recipients are less clear in some other provinces. Similarly, the period of time a person has to be incapacitated to qualify as disabled differs from province to province. The minimum period ranges from 90 days under provincial welfare in Manitoba to six months in Newfoundland to one year in New Brunswick.

Table 3 on the next page shows the number of welfare cases by province in March 1997 for each of the three main categories described above and for a fourth category that covers all other reasons. Many of the miscellaneous reasons for assistance are not specified in the database. The table also gives the percentage of the total caseload in each province for each of the four categories. The total represents 95 percent of the total estimated welfare caseload of 1,494,800 in March 1997.

The table does not show any job-related welfare cases in Nova Scotia. That is because the province was not able to provide a breakdown of its municipal welfare cases. If the municipal cases were included, the job-related percentages would probably have been close to average.

New Brunswick did not provide figures for March 1997, but a year earlier it classified 55 percent of its welfare cases as job-related and 45 percent as disability-related.

The other category in Quebec refers primarily to couples in "mixed" categories under the Work and Employment Incentives Program. The program classifies welfare recipients according to their willingness or ability to look for work or participate in work-related programs. The
mixed category applies where one spouse falls into one category and the other spouse into a different category.

## TABLE 3

WELFARE CASES BY REASON FOR ASSISTANCE, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | JobRelated | Disability | Single Parent | Other Reasons | All Reasons |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Newfoundland | $\begin{gathered} 12,303 \\ 34 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 8,719 \\ & 24 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 7,519 \\ & 21 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 7,345 \\ & 20 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35,886 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Prince Edward Island | $\begin{gathered} 2,599 \\ 46 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,247 \\ 40 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 768 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5,614 \\ & 100 \% \end{aligned}$ |
| Nova Scotia Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17,230 \\ 56 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13,284 \\ 43 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 528 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31,042 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| New Brunswick | Data <br> Not Available |  |  |  |  |
| Quebec | $\begin{gathered} 260,458 \\ 55 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 109,975 \\ 23 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 99,942 \\ 21 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 470,375 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Ontario | $\begin{gathered} 168,164 \\ 29 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 190,394 \\ 33 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 160,731 \\ 28 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 58,505 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 577,795 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Manitoba Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 1,203 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11,956 \\ 47 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11,631 \\ 46 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 641 \\ & 3 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25,431 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Saskatchewan | $\begin{gathered} 14,351 \\ 37 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11,870 \\ 30 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 759 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12,144 \\ 31 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39,124 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Alberta | $\begin{gathered} 23,898 \\ 60 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8,902 \\ 22 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7,293 \\ 18 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 40,093 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| British Columbia | $\begin{gathered} 153,650 \\ 80 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26,595 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10,997 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 191,242 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Totals | $\begin{gathered} 636,626 \\ 45 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 387,889 \\ 27 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 193,923 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 198,164 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,416,602 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |

The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases.

The other category in Ontario includes a large number of single parents. Many of the rest of the people in the other category are people 55 and older.

The small percentage of job-related cases in Manitoba is due to the absence of data on municipal welfare caseloads.

The category for other reasons in Alberta includes a number of people who are considered to be temporary additions to the welfare rolls. Many of these people have health problems or family responsibilities of one kind or another. The disability total is noticeably lower than in most other provinces, because Alberta has a program called Assured Support for the Severely Handicapped that is separate from welfare. A total of 20,796 people received AISH benefits in March 1997 in addition to the welfare cases related to disability.

In British Columbia, the job-related category is made up of all the cases that fall under Basic Income Assistance, and the disability category is made up of GAIN (Guaranteed Available Income for Need) for the Handicapped. The other category includes some people ages 60 to 65 and some people 65 and older who receive GAIN for Seniors. None of these categories is a perfect match with the categories used elsewhere.

In addition to the variations from province to province, there are also important variations in reasons for assistance by family type and age.

Graph $E$ on the next page shows reasons for assistance according to family type. Among couples with children on welfare, job-related reasons for assistance accounted for 70 percent of total cases, and disability accounted for another 19 percent. Single parenthood and job-related reasons for assistance made up most of the pie for single-parent families on welfare. Disability was a more important reason for assistance among unattached persons on welfare and couples without children. Disability represented the reason for assistance for 38 percent of the unattached persons on welfare and 42 percent of the couples without children.


Graph E


Welfare Cases by Family Type
And Reason for Assistance,
95 Percent Sample, March 1997


Unattached Persons
(776,875 Cases)

## TABLE 4

## WELFARE CASES BY AGE GROUP AND REASON FOR ASSISTANCE, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Job- <br> Related | Disability | Single <br> Parent | Other <br> Reasons | Totals by <br> Age Group |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Under | 27,687 | 5,260 | 7,377 | 16,203 | 56,528 |
| 20 | $49 \%$ | $9 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $29 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 96,880 | 20,520 | 29,890 | 23,082 | 170,373 |
| $20-24$ | $57 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $18 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 98,108 | 27,862 | 37,183 | 22,249 | 185,402 |
| $25-29$ | $53 \%$ | $15 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 106,479 | 40,903 | 41,770 | 22,178 | 211,331 |
| $30-34$ | $50 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 102,172 | 48,896 | 38,157 | 18,212 | 207,437 |
| $35-39$ | $49 \%$ | $24 \%$ | $18 \%$ | $9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 82,311 | 50,451 | 23,071 | 12,041 | 167,874 |
| $40-44$ | $49 \%$ | $30 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 61,180 | 49,667 | 10,742 | 7,875 | 129,464 |
| $45-49$ | $47 \%$ | $38 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 42,757 | 50,301 | 4,141 | 6,267 | 103,465 |
| $50-54$ | $41 \%$ | $49 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 16,321 | 50,078 | 1,392 | 21,471 | 89,261 |
| $55-59$ | $18 \%$ | $56 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $24 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 2,214 | 39,805 | 177 | 32,237 | 74,432 |
| $60-64$ | $3 \%$ | $53 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $43 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 65 and | 515 | 4,145 | 22 | 16,342 | 21,024 |
| Older | $2 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $78 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 636,626 | 387,889 | 193,923 | 198,164 | $1,416,602$ |
|  | $45 \%$ | $27 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

All three of the main reasons for people going on welfare - job-related reasons, disability and single parenthood - vary sharply with the age of the heads of welfare cases. Table 4 on the previous page gives the details.

Job-related reasons for assistance fall dramatically among older people on welfare. In the age group 20 through 24, there were 96,880 cases in March 1997 with job-related reasons for assistance or 57 percent of the welfare cases in that age group. In the age group 60 through 64 , there were only 2,214 cases with job-related reasons or three percent of the cases.

Just the reverse was true of disability as a reason for assistance. Unattached people on welfare or heads of welfare cases with disabilities represented 20,520 cases or 12 percent of the total in the age group 20 through 24 . The figures were up dramatically to 50,078 cases or 56 percent of the cases in the age group 55 through 59. One reason for the increase is that the risk of disability and ill health increases with age. Another reason for the increase is due to the cumulative nature of the welfare caseload. It includes people who were permanently disabled in their $20 \mathrm{~s}, 30 \mathrm{~s}, 40 \mathrm{~s}$ or 50 s and remained on welfare in the years that followed.

Finally, single parenthood as a reason for assistance is obviously related to the prime child-bearing years for women. The number of welfare cases citing single parenthood as the reason for assistance starts declining sharply among single parents in their 40s.

## IV. LENGTH OF CURRENT SPELL ON WELFARE

Two of the big gaps in our knowledge of Canada's social safety nets are how often people rely on welfare and the length of each "spell" on welfare. A younger, able-bodied person might wind up on welfare for a few months at a stretch every few years when jobs are harder to get. An older person with chronic disabilities might find that welfare is the only realistic source of income year after year.

Tracing patterns of welfare use over the course of a person's life is difficult to do, especially as the composition of family members changes and people move from one province to another. The welfare database uses the next best alternative by reporting data on the length of a person's current spell on welfare or the amount of time the person had been on welfare continuously as of the time the data were collected.

At the one end of the scale are people whose current period of time on welfare was three months or less. Some of them were undoubtedly on welfare for the first time in their lives, while others had relied on welfare sometime in previous years as well. At the other end of the scale are people whose current spell on welfare was for more than two years. Many of these people were no doubt out of the paid labour force for many years, but the database does not record spells of welfare for specific periods of time longer than two years.

The database shows very few differences in spells on welfare from one family type to the next, but there are huge differences when spells on welfare are compared to reasons for assistance. Cases with job-related reasons for assistance tend to have short spells on welfare, while welfare cases arising from disabilities tend to last longer.

The database also shows a rise in long-term cases in the years after 1990. Shorter-term cases appear to rise in bad economic times and fall in good times. However, the longer-term cases have been rising more or less steadily since 1990. The reasons for this are not altogether clear, but the pattern is very alarming.

Graph F shows the distribution of welfare cases by the length of time they were on welfare as of March 1997. The total cases in the graph cover 95 percent of the estimated
national total of $1,494,800$ cases. Fifty-four percent of the cases in the graph had been on welfare for 25 months or more. Another 14 percent had been on welfare for 13 to 24 months.

## Welfare Cases by Length of Current Spell on Welfare as of March 1997, 95 Percent Sample



Graph F

The percentage of short-term cases probably would have been a bit higher if the database included data from municipal welfare programs in Nova Scotia and Manitoba. Municipal welfare rolls are made up primarily of able-bodied people who would normally be in the paid labour force. Their current spells on welfare would normally be relatively short.

Quebec is the only province which has published statistics on the total amount of time people spent on welfare as well as the length of their current spells on welfare. Graph $G$ on the next page compares the data from March 1997 with the total time spent on welfare over the period from January 1975 to September 1995.

# Welfare Cases in Quebec by Current Spell on Welfare as of March 1997 



Graph G
Welfare Cases in Quebec by Total Period of Time on Welfare, January 1975 to September 1995


The pie in the top half of the graph shows Quebec had a higher than average percentage of welfare cases where the current spell was 25 months or more. The March 1997 figure for Quebec was 64 percent, compared to the national average of 54 percent in Graph F. The percentage of welfare cases where the current spell was no more than six months was 14 percent in Quebec compared to the national average of 21 percent.

The pie in the bottom half of the graph reveals a different pattern when the measure used is the total time spent on welfare over a period of 20 years. The five white slices of the pie represent 25 months or more on welfare just as the single white slice in the pie at the top. As of September 1995, 18 percent of all cases had been on welfare for periods of time adding up to between two and four years, 13 percent were on welfare for four to six years, nine percent for six to eight years, seven percent for eight to ten years and 31 percent for ten years or more. The five white slices add up to 78 percent of the total Quebec caseload.

Among cases on welfare for short periods of time only, six percent were on welfare for a total of under six months sometime during the previous 20 years, compared to 14 percent with a current spell on welfare of under six months.

The differences between the pies are not surprising in light of the cumulative nature of many of the cases on welfare by reason of disability. People with severe disabilities and no other means of support aside from welfare would probably be on welfare year after year, not just for a year or two. The proportion of long-term disability cases would grow year after year as new people came onto the welfare roles.

The statistics on current spells on welfare are almost identical for all four family types, but there are striking differences when it comes to spells on welfare and reasons for assistance. People on welfare who are looking for work tend to have shorter rather than longer spells on welfare. People with disabilities and single parents tend to have longer spells on welfare. Table 5 on the next page shows the March 1997 data. The total of $1,416,602$ represents 95 percent of the estimated national total of $1,494,800$.

The columns of the table show the major reasons for assistance broken down by the length of the current spell on welfare. In all cases, the largest single group was on welfare for

25 months or more, but the relative size of this group varied greatly with the reason for assistance.

Forty-four percent of the job-related welfare cases, for example, had current spells on welfare of 12 months or less. The overwhelming majority of cases related to disability and 58 percent of the cases where single parenthood was given as the reason for assistance had current spells of 25 months or more.

TABLE 5
WELFARE CASES BY LENGTH OF CURRENT SPELL ON WELFARE
AND REASON FOR ASSISTANCE, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Job- <br> Related | Disability | Single <br> Parent | Other <br> Reasons | All <br> Reasons |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $0-3$ <br> Months | 120,343 <br> $19 \%$ | 16,627 <br> $4 \%$ | 20,701 <br> $11 \%$ | 20,000 | 177,670 |
| $4-6$ | 77,626 | 13,127 | 13,080 | 15,960 | 119,794 |
| Months | $12 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $7 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $8 \%$ |
| $7-12$ | 85,471 | 20,537 | 18,010 | 20,143 | 144,162 |
| Months | $13 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $9 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $10 \%$ |
| $13-24$ | 101,607 | 39,057 | 28,025 | 31,699 | 200,388 |
| Months | $16 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $16 \%$ | $14 \%$ |
| $25+$ | 251,258 | 296,903 | 113,185 | 110,177 | 771,522 |
| Months | $39 \%$ | $77 \%$ | $58 \%$ | $56 \%$ | $54 \%$ |
|  | 320 | 1,638 | 923 | 185 | 3,066 |
| Unknown | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ |
|  | 636,626 | 387,889 | 193,923 | 198,164 | $1,416,602$ |
| Totals | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ |


| TABLE 6 <br> WELFARE CASES BY CURRENT SPELLS ON WELFARE, MARCH 1990 TO MARCH 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | March 1990 | March <br> 1992 | March <br> 1994 | March <br> 1995 | March 1996 | March 1997 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% Change, } \\ & \text { 1990-1997 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 0-3 <br> Months | $\begin{gathered} 152,111 \\ 24 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 238,643 \\ 25 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 210,024 \\ 19 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 198,048 \\ 18 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 156,696 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 143,287 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | -5.8\% |
| $4-6$ <br> Months | $\begin{gathered} 69,100 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 131,643 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 123,987 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 114,667 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 98,277 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 88,024 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | 27.4\% |
| $\begin{gathered} 7-12 \\ \text { Months } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 70,597 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 136,935 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 143,098 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 132,916 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 120,786 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 99,617 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | 41.1\% |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { 13-24 } \\ & \text { Months } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 81,606 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 142,446 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 186,337 \\ 17 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 175,234 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 159,933 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 139,477 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | 70.9\% |
| $\begin{gathered} 25+ \\ \text { Months } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 260,809 \\ 41 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 305,968 \\ 32 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 430,091 \\ 39 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 461,336 \\ 42 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 472,833 \\ 46 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 472,763 \\ 50 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | 81.3\% |
| Totals In Table | $\begin{gathered} 634,581 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 961,767 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,098,385 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,086,545 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,019,440 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 946,225 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ | 49.1\% |
| Estimated National Totals | 1,056,000 | 1,471,900 | 1,675,900 | 1,659,200 | 1,582,000 | 1,494,800 | 41.5\% |
| Sample Size Shown in Table | 60\% | 65\% | 66\% | 65\% | 64\% | 63\% |  |
| The table does not include New Brunswick or Quebec or municipal welfare cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The database also shows a trend to longer spells on welfare in recent years, presumably because of the difficulties in finding work in the aftermath of the last recession. Table 6 on the previous page shows current spells on welfare in eight provinces from March 1990 through March 1997. Quebec was excluded from the graph because data on current spells were not available for all six years, and New Brunswick did not provide data for any of the six years. The estimated total caseloads and the sample sizes are shown in the final rows for reference.

The number of welfare cases with current spells of 25 months or more rose from 260,809 cases in March 1990 to 472,763 cases in March 1997. That represented an increase of 81.3 percent, much higher than the overall rise in caseloads of 49.1 percent in the eight provinces.

The number of cases with spells of 13 through 24 months went up from 81,606 cases in 1990 and peaked at 186,337 cases in March 1994 before declining to 139,477 in March 1997.

The shorter-term spells on welfare peaked in 1992 or 1994 and fell through March 1997. The number of current spells of three months or less dropped sharply from 238,643 cases in March 1992 to 143,287 cases in March 1997. The 1997 figure was 5.8 percent lower than the comparable number of cases at the beginning of the recession in 1990.

Finally, there are significant differences in spells on welfare when the statistics are broken down by province as in Table 7 on the next page. The differences from one province to the next are starkest in the first and fifth columns, representing the shortest and longest spells on welfare.

The range of cases with current spells on welfare of three months or less went from four percent of cases in Newfoundland to 28 percent of cases in Alberta. The percentage of welfare cases with current spells of 25 months or more was highest in Newfoundland at 76 percent and lowest in Alberta at 25 percent.

The figures for Newfoundland and Alberta have changed very little since 1990 and apparently have little to do with the hard times that followed the last recession or changes in welfare policy by governments of the two provinces.

## TABLE 7

## WELFARE CASES BY LENGTH OF CURRENT SPELL ON WELFARE AS OF MARCH 1997, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE

|  | $0-3$ <br> Months | 4-6 <br> Months | $7-12$ <br> Months | $13-24$ <br> Months | $25+$ <br> Months | Totals |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Newfoundland | $\begin{array}{r} 1,422 \\ 4 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1,252 \\ 3 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2,081 \\ 6 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 3,857 \\ 11 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 27,274 \\ 76 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 35,886 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Prince Edward Island | $\begin{array}{r} 704 \\ 13 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 587 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 574 \\ 10 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 771 \\ 14 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2,978 \\ 53 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,614 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Nova Scotia Provincial | $\begin{array}{r} 3,299 \\ 11 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1,691 \\ 5 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1,342 \\ 4 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 4,345 \\ 14 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 18,405 \\ 59 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 31,042 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| New <br> Brunswick | Data <br> Not Available |  |  |  |  |  |
| Quebec | $\begin{gathered} 34,383 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 31,770 \\ 7 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 44,545 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 60,911 \\ 13 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 298,759 \\ 64 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 470,375 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Ontario | $\begin{array}{r} 86,594 \\ 15 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 48,580 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 59,562 \\ 10 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 86,708 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 295,252 \\ 51 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 577,795 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Manitoba Provincial | $\begin{array}{r} 1,783 \\ 7 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1,836 \\ 7 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2,555 \\ 10 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 3,497 \\ 14 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 15,760 \\ 62 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 25,431 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Saskatchewan | $\begin{array}{r} 6,248 \\ 16 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 3,777 \\ 10 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 4,626 \\ 12 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 5,628 \\ 14 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18,845 \\ 48 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 39,124 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Alberta | $\begin{array}{r} 11,351 \\ 28 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7,808 \\ 19 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 5,299 \\ 13 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 5,640 \\ 14 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9,995 \\ 25 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 40,093 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| British <br> Columbia | $\begin{array}{r} 31,886 \\ 17 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 22,493 \\ 12 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 23,578 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 29,031 \\ 15 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 84,254 \\ 44 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 191,242 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Totals | $\begin{gathered} 177,670 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 119,794 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 144,162 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 200,388 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 771,522 \\ 54 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,416,602 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |

The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases.

Newfoundland has long had very high rates of unemployment, and that might explain why its welfare caseload is so heavily laden with long-term welfare cases. Alberta has a program separate from welfare called Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped. One reason for the small proportion of long-term cases is that many people with severe disabilities who would be on the welfare rolls elsewhere in Canada rely on AISH in Alberta. The AISH caseload was 20,796 as of March 1997, far more than the number of Albertans with current spells on welfare of 25 months or more.

The percentages of short-term welfare cases would likely be higher in Nova Scotia and Manitoba if municipal welfare cases were included in the figures.

## V. YOUNG, OLD AND IN-BETWEEN

One of the sad realities of Canada in the 1990s is the large number of children living in welfare families. Nearly 1.1 million children under the age of 18 - about 15 percent of all children or one of every seven children - were on welfare as of March 1997. Most of the families with children on welfare were headed by single parents, and most of the families had only one or two children.

On the other hand, very few seniors have to rely on welfare because of income security programs that are run by the federal government. Many low-income people 65 and older receive the Guaranteed Income Supplement and the Old Age Security pension rather than welfare. Some low-income people 60 to 65 qualify for Spouse's Allowances.

That leaves the people in the age groups in between. There are striking variations in the age groups of adults on welfare according to their family types. Many of the parents who head welfare families are under the age of 50 . Many of the couples on welfare who have no children at home are over the age of 50 . Unattached people tend to be more evenly distributed over the entire range of age groups.

Graph H on the next page shows the distribution of welfare cases in March 1997 by the age group of the head of the family or unattached person on welfare. The cases in the graph represent 95 percent of the estimated national caseload of $1,494,800$ cases. New Brunswick welfare cases and municipal cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba are not included.

People between the ages of 20 and 60 made up 89 percent of unattached people or heads of households on welfare. Only four percent were under age 20, and only seven percent were 60 or older.

# Welfare Cases by Age of Head of Family or Unattached Person, 95 Percent Sample, March 1997 



## Graph H

The distribution of cases by age group differs noticeably for households with and without children, as shown in Graph I on the next page.

The two pies in the top half of the graph show welfare cases made up of couples with children and single-parent families. The slices of the pies for families headed by parents between the ages of 50 and 60 were combined with the slices of the pies for parents 60 and older because there were so few parents on welfare over age 60.

A total of 87 percent of the couples with children on welfare included parents in their $20 \mathrm{~s}, 30 \mathrm{~s}$ or 40 s , and 91 percent of the single parents were also in their $20 \mathrm{~s}, 30 \mathrm{~s}$, or 40 s . That should come as no surprise, because most parents have children when they are in their 20s and 30 s , and most children are still at home when their parents are in their 40 s . What may come as a surprise is the fact that teenage single parents made up only three percent of all single parents on welfare.


The distribution is different for the unattached people and couples without children shown in the two pies in the bottom half of the graph. The distribution of unattached persons on welfare tends to be more even in the middle age groups compared to the distribution of families with children on welfare. The distribution of couples without children is heavily weighted in favour of older couples. Fifty-seven percent of the pie for the childless couples on welfare was made up of couples where the head of the family was at least 50 years old. The two white slices of the pie representing heads of cases 50 to 60 and 60 and older are huge compared to the white slices of the pies for the two types of families with children.

The distribution by age is roughly similar from province to province, as shown in Table 8 on the next page. The grand total is the same as in Graph H , but the figures are broken down by five-year rather than ten-year age groups.

For the provinces combined, 76 percent of the cases were headed by people in their 20 s , 30 s or 40 s. Only four percent of case heads were under 20 and only one percent were 65 or older.

Seniors are unlikely to wind up on welfare because of the federal government's benefits for seniors and the supplementary benefits for older people provided by some provincial and territorial governments. Only 21,024 cases in March 1997 were headed by people 65 or older. Presumably, some of these people were recent immigrants or refugees 65 or older who did not qualify for the federal benefits paid to the vast majority of seniors.

| TABLE 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| WELFARE CASES BY AGE GROUP OF HEAD OF CASE, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | <20 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | 45-49 | 50-54 | 55-59 | 60-64 | 65+ | All Ages |
| Newfoundland | $\begin{gathered} 2,003 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,833 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,158 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,921 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,454 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,736 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,059 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,646 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,269 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,583 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 224 \\ & 1 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35,886 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Prince Edward Island | $\begin{aligned} & 255 \\ & 5 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 605 \\ & 11 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 672 \\ & 12 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 757 \\ & 13 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 730 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 592 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 528 \\ & 9 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 421 \\ & 7 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 395 \\ & 7 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 310 \\ & 6 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 343 \\ & 6 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5,614 \\ & 100 \% \end{aligned}$ |
| Nova Scotia Provincial | $\begin{aligned} & 258 \\ & 1 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,118 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,064 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,544 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,749 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,847 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,977 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,718 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,398 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,985 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 384 \\ & 1 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31,042 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| New <br> Brunswick | Data <br> Not Available |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Quebec | $\begin{gathered} 15,382 \\ 3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 48,899 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 53,808 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 65,259 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 66,355 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 58,292 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 48,608 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 42,738 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 37,827 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29,237 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,970 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 470,375 \\ 100 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Ontario | $\begin{gathered} 22,932 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 70,771 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 78,411 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 90,439 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 87,779 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 68,050 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 49,404 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 36,684 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31,048 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29,467 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12,809 \\ 2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 577,795 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Manitoba Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 1,133 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,749 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,658 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,836 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,633 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,626 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,026 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,548 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,367 \\ 5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,302 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 549 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25,431 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Saskatchewan | $\begin{gathered} 2,626 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7,039 \\ 18 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6,051 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,639 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,882 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,651 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,847 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,400 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,110 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,693 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 186 \\ & 0 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39,124 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Alberta | $\begin{gathered} 1,272 \\ 3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,138 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,641 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6,285 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6,257 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,670 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,393 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,827 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,260 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,819 \\ & 5 \% \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 531 \\ & 1 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 40,093 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| British Columbia | $\begin{gathered} 10,667 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25,221 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 27,939 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29,651 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 28,598 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22,410 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 16,622 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11,483 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 9,587 \\ & 5 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7,036 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,028 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 191,242 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Totals | $\begin{gathered} 56,528 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 170,373 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 185,402 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 221,331 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 207,437 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 167,874 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 129,464 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 103,465 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 89,261 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 74,433 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21,024 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,416,602 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Data on children were more difficult to extract from the welfare database, because some provinces did not provide detailed breakdowns by age group for members of welfare families under the age of 19. As an alternative, the National Council of Welfare did its own calculations using the data on family size. We assumed that there was one adult in each single-parent family and two adults in each two-parent family and that all the other members of the families were children.

The results for March 1997 are shown in Table 9. Because the calculations are estimates, the figures for each province and the totals were rounded to the nearest thousand. Because of the rounding, some of the totals appear to be off by 1,000 .

## TABLE 9

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN ON WELFARE, 97 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Children in Single- <br> Parent Families | Children in Two- <br> Parent Families | Totals |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Newfoundland | 12,000 | 13,000 | 25,000 |
| Prince Edward Island | 3,000 | 2,000 | 5,000 |
| Nova Scotia Provincial | 30,000 | 4,000 | 35,000 |
| New Brunswick | 17,000 | 10,000 | 27,000 |
| Quebec | 156,000 | 92,000 | 248,000 |
| Ontario | 386,000 | 158,000 | 544,000 |
| Manitoba Provincial | 22,000 | 2,000 | 24,000 |
| Saskatchewan | 24,000 | 10,000 | 34,000 |
| Alberta | 29,000 | 11,000 | 40,000 |
| British Columbia | 82,000 | 26,000 | 108,000 |
| Totals | 761,000 | 329,000 | $1,090,000$ |

The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases.

The table shows an estimated 1,090,000 children on welfare in March 1997-761,000 children in single-parent families and 329,000 children in two-parent families.

By way of comparison, there were a total of $1,481,000$ children living in poverty or 20.9 percent of all children in 1996, when the last available figures were compiled by Statistics Canada. Low-wage or "working poor" families with children account for most of the difference between the number of children on welfare and the number of poor children.

However, the welfare database is made up of families with children who were on welfare during the month of March 1997, and who may not have been on welfare for the other 11 months of the year. The Statistics Canada figures represent families who were poor for the entire year. Some of them were on welfare the entire year, while some of the parents were in the paid labour force for all or most of the year.

The number of children in two-parent families is deceptively low in Nova Scotia and Manitoba because of the lack of data from municipal welfare programs. Employable couples with children are normally on municipal rather than provincial welfare in the two provinces.

Graph J on the next page shows the number of welfare families with one, two, three and four or more children in single-parent families and two-parent families. The two pies in the graph are proportional to show that the number of single-parent families on welfare is larger than the number of couples with children on welfare.

The numbers are estimates by the National Council of Welfare, so the figures have been rounded to the nearest thousand. The graph shows 415,000 single-parent families with children on welfare as of March 1997 and 153,000 two-parent families with children on welfare. Detailed data were not available from New Brunswick, so the graph covers 95 percent of the estimated national caseload.

Nearly half of the single-parent families on welfare had only one child in the family, 31 percent had two children, 13 percent had three children, and only seven percent of the families had four or more children. This flies in the face of the myth about single-parent mothers having oodles of children in order to boost their welfare incomes.

The pattern was much the same for two-parent families on welfare. Thirty-four percent of the families had only one child, 35 percent had two children, 19 percent had three children, and only 12 percent had four or more children.

## Welfare Cases by Family Type \& Number of Children, 95 Percent Sample, March 1997



Single-Parent Families
(415,000 Cases)

Graph J

## VI. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

One of the more intriguing questions for welfare analysts in recent years is whether large numbers of able-bodied people are "trapped on welfare" because they lack the education or skills needed to get decent jobs or whether they wind up on welfare primarily because the economy is not creating enough jobs.

Most provincial governments have come to accept the trapped on welfare explanation and are placing greater emphasis on enhancing the employability of welfare recipients. A few provinces have taken extraordinary steps to get welfare recipients to upgrade their education or participate in training programs to improve their job readiness. Ontario has gone to the extreme of incorporating "workfare" into its welfare system. Under workfare, able-bodied people could be forced to do specific jobs as a condition of welfare. Most of the workfare jobs that are created in the months ahead are expected to be menial or dead-end jobs.

The statistics on education in the welfare database are far from conclusive, but they raise questions about some of these provincial efforts. They suggest that many heads of welfare cases have enough schooling to get at least a toehold in the work force, and they also suggest that disability or aging may be bigger problems than lack of education for many welfare recipients.

Roughly speaking, heads of cases with a high school education or better tend to have jobrelated reasons for being on welfare. People with less than a high school education are more likely to have a disability as a reason for assistance. The welfare database also shows that low levels of education are more of a problem in Atlantic Canada than in other parts of the country.

The data on education are less complete and less precise than the data in other chapters of this report.

The database is missing information for British Columbia, most of the information for New Brunswick, municipal welfare cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and provincial welfare cases in Ontario. A sizable number of cases fell into the "other and unknown" category. The provincial reports cover no more than 954,652 cases or 64 percent of the estimated national
caseload of $1,494,800$ cases as of March 1997. For some cross-tabulations, the sample size drops to 43 percent.

The figures are less precise because of differences in provincial education systems and also because of ambiguities in the categories used in the database. Some provinces consider that "secondary school" starts in Grade 7, while others say it starts in Grade 9. Most provinces reported whether heads of welfare cases had attended a particular level of school rather than whether they had completed a particular level.

Finally, since education does not determine the size of a person's welfare cheque, welfare workers may not always ask if the information that they have on education is up to date. People who are on and off welfare several times over the course of the years, for example, could complete their education between spells on welfare and never have the change recorded in their welfare files.

## Welfare Cases by Education of Head of Case, 64 Percent Sample, March 1997



## Graph K

Graph K gives an overview of the available data in all provinces except British Columbia. Thirteen percent of the unattached persons or heads of families had no more than a primary school education, 59 percent had been to secondary school, and 11 percent had attended a college, university or technical school at the post-secondary level. The level of education of the remaining 17 percent of the cases is not known.

Some striking differences appear when the data are broken down by province as in Table 10 on the next page. The four Atlantic provinces had relatively high percentages of welfare cases where the head had only primary school education and relatively low percentages of cases where the head had some post-secondary education.

In other provinces, welfare cases where the head had been at least to secondary school were by far the most common.

## TABLE 10

## WELFARE CASES BY EDUCATION OF HEAD, 64 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Primary | Secondary | Post- <br> Secondary |  <br> Unknown | All <br> Levels |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Newfoundland | 12,709 | 19,054 | 2,691 | 1,432 | 35,886 |
| Prince Edward | 1,790 | 2,722 | 765 | 337 | 5,614 |
| Island | $32 \%$ | $48 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Nova Scotia | 12,209 | 13,421 | 1,602 | 3,810 | 31,042 |
| Provincial | $39 \%$ | $43 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| New | 18,450 | 13,603 | 1,881 | 2,243 | 36,177 |
| Brunswick | $51 \%$ | $38 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 51,239 | 262,933 | 50,425 | 105,778 | 470,375 |
| Quebec | $11 \%$ | $56 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Ontario | 7,523 | 181,659 | 43,705 | 38,031 | 270,918 |
| Municipal | $3 \%$ | $67 \%$ | $16 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Manitoba | 4,258 | 13,233 | 1,085 | 6,847 | 25,431 |
| Provincial | $17 \%$ | $52 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $27 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 9,817 | 24,451 | 1,280 | 3,576 | 39,124 |
| Saskatchewan | $25 \%$ | $62 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 2,322 | 28,917 | 4,359 | 4,495 | 40,093 |
| Alberta | $6 \%$ | $72 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| British |  |  |  |  |  |
| Columbia |  |  | Data |  |  |
|  | 120,317 | 559,993 | 107,793 | 166,549 | 954,652 |
| Totals | $13 \%$ | $59 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $17 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases.
The statistics for Ontario include municipal, but not provincial welfare cases.

The database shows striking differences in the reasons for assistance by level of education, as shown in Graph L on the next page. The data cover all provinces except New Brunswick, Ontario and British Columbia and municipal welfare cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba. The cases shown in the graph add up to 647,557 or 43 percent of the estimated national total, and the three pies where the levels of education were reported added up to 521,282 cases or 35 percent of the national total.

The white slices of the pies show that job-related reasons for welfare increased with a person's level of education. Job-related reasons accounted for 34 percent of the cases where the head never got past primary school, 60 percent of the cases where the person went to secondary school, and 69 percent of cases where the person attended college or university.

Conversely, disability as a reason for assistance declined sharply as the level of education rose. As shown in the black slices of the pies, disability accounted for 36 percent of the cases where the head of the household had no more than a primary school education. The comparable figures were 14 percent for heads of welfare cases who had been to high school and 11 percent for people who had been to college or university.

Even with the gaps and shortcomings in the database, it seems clear that many of the people on welfare who are poorly educated are people with disabilities. Some of them may face barriers that are more significant than a lack of schooling, and some of them may not be good candidates for conventional learning programs.

Meanwhile, many of the people who are well educated have job-related reasons for being on welfare. What they really need is more jobs rather than more schooling.


## VII. OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

Welfare is the social safety net of last resort, so it should come as no surprise that many welfare recipients do not have other major sources of income. At the same time, a small proportion of welfare recipients do get a few dollars from other sources to help make ends meet.

Graph $M$ shows the percentage of welfare cases in all provinces except New Brunswick in March 1997 and municipal welfare programs in Nova Scotia and Manitoba. Overall, the graph covers $1,416,602$ welfare cases or 95 percent of the estimated national caseload of 1,494,800.


The first five bars of the graph up to the vertical line show individual sources of outside income, and the two bars to the right of the vertical line show the percentage of cases with some outside income and the percentage of cases with no outside income.

The figures on top of the first five bars add up to 36 percent, but the sixth bar is only 29 percent. The difference is because some people on welfare had more than one individual source of outside income. Single parents, for example, could be working a few hours a month and receiving child support payments from a former spouse at the same time.

The bar representing transfer payments refers to benefits from a very short list of government income support programs, including federal pension programs for people 60 and older, Canada Pension Plan benefits, pensions for war veterans, and workers' compensation. It does not include the two broadest federal programs, the GST Credit for low-income people and the Child Tax Benefit for low-income and middle-income families with children. If the GST Credit and Child Tax Benefit were included, the bar of the graph for transfer payments would have been at or near 100 percent.

Only one percent of the welfare cases were getting Employment Insurance benefits. One reason the figure was so low is that people would normally have to see their EI benefits run out completely before they could qualify for welfare. The one percent of cases shown in the graph could include people who were just exhausting their EI benefits and going on welfare for the first time. It may also include people who needed help while they waited for their first EI cheques to come in and people who needed welfare to top up EI payments that were not enough to live on.

The two bars to the right of the vertical line shows that 29 percent of welfare cases had some form of income aside from welfare, and the other 71 percent had no outside income at all.

The proportions and the "mix" of outside incomes are noticeably different when the data are broken down by family type. Graph N on the next page shows the differences in detail. The graph covers all provinces except New Brunswick and British Columbia and municipal welfare programs in Nova Scotia and Manitoba - $1,225,360$ cases in all or 82 percent of the estimated national caseload.
 Income in Addition to Welfare, 82 Percent Sample, March 1997


There were some significant differences in the percentages of welfare cases with no other outside income. The figure was 52 percent for couples with children, 57 percent for singleparent families, and 55 percent for couples without children, but it was 82 percent for unattached persons.

Wages were a relatively common source of outside income for couples with children on welfare. Child support or alimony was the most common source of outside income for singleparent families on welfare, but wages were a close second. Transfer payments and wages were the main sources of outside income for the other two family types on welfare, but both percentages were extremely low for unattached persons.

## TABLE 11

## SOURCES OF OUTSIDE INCOME BY REASON FOR ASSISTANCE, 82 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Job- <br> Related | Disability | Single <br> Parent | Other <br> Reasons | Total <br> Cases |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Wages | 89,053 | 29,888 | 42,559 | 29,917 | 191,817 |
| Transfer | $18 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $16 \%$ | $16 \%$ |
| Payments | $2 \%$ | 66,534 | 4,371 | 28,921 | 111,254 |
| Support | 12,860 | 5,815 | 49,220 | 11,871 | 79,766 |
| Payments | $3 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $7 \%$ |
| Unemployment | 8,786 | 1,252 | 2,415 | 1,571 | 14,024 |
| Insurance | $2 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ |
| Some Outside | 120,017 | 100,980 | 86,903 | 64,756 | 372,655 |
| Income | $25 \%$ | $28 \%$ | $45 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $30 \%$ |
| No Outside | 362,959 | 260,316 | 107,021 | 122,411 | 852,707 |
| Income | $75 \%$ | $72 \%$ | $55 \%$ | $65 \%$ | $70 \%$ |
|  | 482,976 | 361,296 | 193,924 | 187,166 | $1,225,360$ |
| Totals | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

Some of the differences in outside incomes among the four family types are due to differing reasons for assistance. Table 11 on the previous page breaks down some of the major sources of income according to the reasons for being on welfare. As in Graph N, the table covers $1,225,360$ cases or 82 percent of the estimated national total in March 1997.

The first four rows of the table show the number and percentage of welfare cases which received outside income from specific sources. The next two rows show the number and percentage of cases with some outside income or no outside income.

One of the largest figures in the top part of the table is the 89,053 cases with job-related reasons for being on welfare which reported wage income. Even so, that figure represented only 18 percent of the 482,976 cases with job-related reasons for assistance.

Transfer payments were most important source of outside income for welfare cases related to disability. They were claimed by 66,534 cases or 18 percent of those with disability as a reason for assistance.

Wages and alimony or child support were both important sources of income for heads of cases claiming single parenthood as a reason for assistance.

The percentage of welfare cases reporting some outside income or no outside income also varied substantially by province, as shown in Table 12 on the next page.

The lowest percentages with some outside income were 20 percent of the cases in Newfoundland and 24 percent of the cases in Quebec. Both provinces also reported very low percentages of welfare cases with wage income.

The highest percentage of cases with outside income was 51 percent in Saskatchewan. That figure is misleading, however, because Saskatchewan reported some benefits for families with children as transfer payments. The 32 percent of cases with transfers is out of line with the data for other provinces.

| TABLE 12WELFARE CASES WITH OUTSIDE INCOME, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Wages | Transfer Payments | Support <br> Payments | Employment Insurance | Other Income | Some Outside Income | No Outside Income | Total Cases |
| Newfoundland | $\begin{gathered} 1,126 \\ 3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,410 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,324 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 702 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,225 \\ 3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 7,023 \\ & 20 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 28,866 \\ 80 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35,886 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Prince Edward Island | $\begin{aligned} & 977 \\ & 17 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 818 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 338 \\ & 6 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 147 \\ & 3 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 321 \\ & 6 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,538 \\ 45 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,076 \\ 55 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5,614 \\ & 100 \% \end{aligned}$ |
| Nova Scotia Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 3,820 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,311 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7,473 \\ 24 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 146 \\ & 0 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,773 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11,904 \\ 38 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19,138 \\ 62 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31,042 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| New Brunswick | Data <br> Not Available |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Quebec | $\begin{gathered} 38,081 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 34,945 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20,004 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,206 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25,398 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 113,552 \\ 24 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 356,823 \\ 76 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 470,375 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Ontario | $\begin{gathered} 110,789 \\ 19 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 54,861 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 44,657 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6,086 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31,652 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 198,237 \\ 34 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 379,557 \\ 66 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 577,795 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Manitoba Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 3,768 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,372 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,659 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 248 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 436 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6,833 \\ 27 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18,598 \\ 73 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25,431 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Saskatchewan | $\begin{gathered} 4,985 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12,437 \\ 32 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,129 \\ 3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 381 \\ & 1 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 997 \\ & 3 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20,064 \\ 51 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $19,060$ $49 \%$ | $\begin{gathered} 39,124 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Alberta | $\begin{gathered} 9,211 \\ 23 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,100 \\ 3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,182 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 729 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 848 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12,504 \\ 31 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 27,589 \\ 69 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 40,093 \\ 100 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| British Columbia | $\begin{gathered} 18,992 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9,382 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13,363 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,271 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,246 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 41,839 \\ 22 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 149,403 \\ 78 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 191,242 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Totals | $\begin{gathered} 191,749 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 120,636 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 93,129 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15,916 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 64,896 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 414,494 \\ 29 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,002,110 \\ 71 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,416,602 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Finally, the high percentage of support payments in Nova Scotia is due to the fact that the only data reported were from provincial welfare. If municipal welfare statistics had been available, the percentage of cases with support payments probably would have been close to the average shown in the bottom row. However, the figures for Manitoba are close to average even without municipal caseload statistics.

New Brunswick did not provide information to the database for 1997, but the figures for previous years were in line with the national averages. In March 1996, for example, 14 percent of New Brunswick's welfare cases had wage income, nine percent had transfer payments, two percent had support payments, two percent had Employment Insurance benefits and two percent had other sources of income. Thirty percent of the province's caseload had some form of outside income, and the remaining 70 percent had no outside income.

## VIII. HOUSING

Housing is one of the biggest financial burdens for people on welfare and for low-income people in general. Housing that is decent, affordable and suitable to a family's needs is not always easy to find. Many families on fixed incomes have to scrimp on other essentials to be able to have better housing.

The housing arrangements of people on welfare depend in large part on provincial welfare and housing policies and to a lesser extent on traditional housing patterns that vary from one part of the country to another. Home ownership has long been the preference in Atlantic Canada, and the percentage of welfare cases living in their own homes is higher there than in other parts of the country.

## Welfare Cases by Housing Type, 95 Percent Sample, March 1997



## Graph 0

Most of the unattached individuals and families on welfare are renters rather than homeowners. As Graph O shows, 68 percent of all welfare cases in March 1997 were in rental housing and seven percent were in subsidized housing, which could be considered a form of rental housing. The graph covers welfare cases in all provinces except for New Brunswick and municipal welfare cases in Nova Scotia and Manitoba and represents 95 percent of the estimated national caseload.

The housing arrangements of welfare cases differ noticeably by family type, as shown in Graph $P$ on the next page. The two pies in the top half of the page represent couples with children and single-parent families. The categories room and board and living with relatives were so small that they were included with the "other and unknown" category for the two types of families with children. In both types of families, rental housing is the most common arrangement by far. A small portion of families on welfare own their own homes or live in subsidized housing. Presumably, many of the homeowners were living in their own homes at the time they went on welfare and it was better for them to stay put and keep paying their mortgages rather than to move.

The two pies in the bottom half of the graph show housing arrangements for unattached persons and couples without children. Among unattached persons, the two slices of the pie for room and board and living with relatives are fairly small, but they represented most of the welfare recipients who were boarding or living with relatives in March 1997. Among couples without children, 23 percent were homeowners, 69 percent were renters and the rest were in other arrangements.


The types of housing for welfare cases vary enormously with the reasons for assistance, as shown in Table 13. Job-related welfare cases accounted for 50 percent of the renters in the table and 50 percent of the cases living with relatives. Both figures are noticeably higher than the 45 percent of job-related cases overall shown in the bottom row of the table. Conversely, job-related welfare cases made up only 39 percent of the cases in their own homes, 21 percent of the cases in subsidized housing and two percent of the cases in residential centres.

TABLE 13
WELFARE CASES BY HOUSING AND REASON FOR ASSISTANCE, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997

|  | Job- <br> Related | Disability | Single <br> Parent | Other <br> Reasons | All <br> Reasons |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Own Home | 38,059 | 33,653 | 11,903 | 13,458 | 97,074 |
|  | $39 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Rent | 478,474 | 213,138 | 144,208 | 130,033 | 965,853 |
| $50 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $15 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $100 \%$ |  |
| Subsidized | 20,001 | 34,684 | 31,667 | 10,940 | 97,291 |
| Housing | $21 \%$ | $36 \%$ | $33 \%$ | $11 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Room \& | 52,437 | 56,781 | 2,921 | 14,957 | 127,096 |
| Board | $41 \%$ | $45 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $12 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Living with | 39,711 | 28,036 | 2,393 | 10,045 | 80,185 |
| Relatives | $50 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Residential | 251 | 12,287 | 16 | 1,132 | 13,686 |
| Centres | $2 \%$ | $90 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| Other Housing | 7,691 | 9,310 | 817 | 17,599 | 35,416 |
| \& Unknown | $22 \%$ | $26 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $50 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 636,626 | 387,889 | 193,923 | 198,164 | $1,416,602$ |
| Totals | $45 \%$ | $27 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

There are striking differences in the column for welfare cases with disability as the reason for assistance. Disability was cited as the reason for assistance in 27 percent of all welfare cases, but it accounted for 35 percent of the welfare cases living in their own homes, 36 percent of the cases in subsidized housing, 45 percent of the cases in room and board arrangements, 35 percent of the cases living with relatives, and 90 percent of the cases living in residential centres. The only type of housing where people with disabilities on welfare were under-represented - and then only slightly - was rental housing.

Single parents on welfare made proportionately more use of subsidized housing and were much less likely to board or to live with relatives.

Finally, there are interesting variations in the housing arrangements of welfare cases from one province to another. They are partly due to local or regional housing preferences, partly a function of the availability of subsidized housing, and partly the result of housing options that are promoted by provincial welfare officials - such as "encouraging" single people to make room and board arrangements rather than having their own apartments. Table 14 on the next page shows the differences in detail.

The proportion of homeowners among welfare cases was highest in the Atlantic provinces - presumably because of the region's long-standing preference for home ownership. The percentage of welfare cases living in their own homes was well above the average of seven percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of renters in the Atlantic provinces was well below the average of 68 percent.

The same pattern was evident in the New Brunswick statistics for March 1996. Nineteen percent of the New Brunswick cases owned their own homes, 49 percent lived in rental housing, 18 percent were in room and board arrangements, 12 percent lived with relatives, and the remaining two percent were other and unknown.

The percentage of welfare cases in rental housing was extremely high in Alberta and British Columbia.

Room and board arrangements were more common in Quebec and Saskatchewan than in other provinces.

| TABLE 14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| WELFARE CASES BY TYPE OF HOUSING, 95 PERCENT SAMPLE, MARCH 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Own <br> Home | Rent | Room \& Board | Subsidized Housing | Live with Relatives | Other \& Unknown | All Housing Types |
| Newfoundland | $\begin{aligned} & 7,210 \\ & 20 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11,828 \\ 33 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,898 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,211 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10,188 \\ 28 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,551 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35,886 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Prince Edward Island | $\begin{aligned} & 734 \\ & 13 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3,060 \\ & 55 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 357 \\ & 6 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 664 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 799 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5,614 \\ & 100 \% \end{aligned}$ |
| Nova Scotia Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 4,479 \\ 14 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17,698 \\ 57 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,128 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,836 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,901 \\ 16 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31,042 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| New Brunswick | Data <br> Not Available |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Quebec | $\begin{gathered} 34,526 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 290,890 \\ 62 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 68,715 \\ 15 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10,674 \\ 2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 60,167 \\ 13 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,403 \\ 1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 470,375 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Ontario | $\begin{gathered} 34,383 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 410,167 \\ 71 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 41,449 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 69,223 \\ 12 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22,571 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 577,795 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Manitoba Provincial | $\begin{gathered} 1,059 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $11,647$ $46 \%$ | $\begin{aligned} & 424 \\ & 2 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5,542 \\ 22 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,010 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,749 \\ 19 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25,431 \\ .100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Saskatchewan | $\begin{gathered} 2,759 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22,550 \\ 58 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,479 \\ 11 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2,399 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,047 \\ 8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3,890 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39,124 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Alberta | $\begin{gathered} 2,419 \\ 6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 33,519 \\ 84 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4,111 \\ 10 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .0 \\ & 0 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 44 \\ 0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 40,093 \\ 100 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| British Columbia | $\begin{gathered} 9,504 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 164,494 \\ 86 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6,680 \\ 3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 965 \\ & 1 \% \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9,599 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 191,242 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Totals | $\begin{gathered} 97,073 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 965,853 \\ 68 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 126,130 \\ 9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 96,996 \\ 7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 77,041 \\ 5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 53,507 \\ 4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1,416,602 \\ 100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| The statistics for Nova Scotia and Manitoba do not include municipal welfare cases. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The overwhelming majority of welfare cases in subsidized housing were in Ontario: 69,223 out of the total of 96,996 . A closer look at the database shows that most of them were unattached people or single-parent families. This is presumably because of Ontario's policies on subsidized housing and the availability of subsidized housing to people under 65.

Finally, the percentage of welfare cases living with relatives was proportionately the highest in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Quebec. However, a number of the Manitoba cases listed as other and unknown were young people on welfare with no housing costs who were living at home with their parents.

## CONCLUSION

Profiles of Welfare: Myths and Realities is a gold mine of new statistical information about welfare in Canada. The National Council of Welfare is very pleased to be able to put this information into the public domain with the co-operation of federal and provincial officials. Every person who reads this report will learn something new. And every person will be reminded that popular notions about welfare and welfare recipients are sometimes quite far removed from the truth.

There are literally hundreds of observations that could be made from the information in the social assistance profile project database. In our view, three of the most important observations are as follows:

* There is no such thing as a "typical" welfare case.
* Welfare is a vital support for children as well as adults.
* Welfare has become a long-term source of income for a surprisingly large number of Canadians.

First and foremost, we hope that the people who read this report will be struck by the diversity of welfare caseloads in Canada. The welfare rolls are made up of older people as well as younger people, people with disabilities as well as people who are able-bodied, and people who are well educated as well as people who are poorly educated. Every chapter of this report is testimony to the varied backgrounds and circumstances of people on welfare. They differ in their reasons for assistance, family types and sizes, housing arrangements, length of time on welfare, and outside sources of income. Stereotypes about welfare are certain to be inappropriate.

Given all the publicity about child poverty in recent months, it should come as no surprise that more than one million of the people on welfare as of March 1997 were children under the age of 18 . They were on welfare for one simple reason: their parents or guardians were on welfare.

Some readers may find this point too obvious to mention, but it is not always obvious in the development of welfare policies in all provinces. Ontario, for example, did not exempt families with children when it arbitrarily slashed its welfare rates in October 1995. Other provinces talk of improving government benefits for children to "take children off welfare" without acknowledging that it is impossible to do so without taking their parents off welfare at the same time.

Perhaps the most disturbing data in the database was information about the length of current spells on welfare. As of March 1997, 54 percent of the welfare cases had been on welfare continuously for 25 months or more. Supplementary data from Quebec suggest that a sizable number of these cases could be on welfare for many years at a stretch. Given the low levels of income provided by welfare, it seems unlikely that people would consciously choose to live on welfare year after year. It is sad to think that governments have been unable to come up with better ways of managing the economy and creating more job opportunities for the people who are willing and able to take advantage of them.

That brings us to the larger issue raised by this profile of welfare caseloads: What do we do with all the new information? The National Council of Welfare has never supported the idea of simply counting poor people and then walking away. The whole point of the exercise has to be finding better ways of fighting poverty.

The welfare database gives us a good snapshot of caseloads in Canada as of March 1997. It does not tell us, however, precisely how or why the people on welfare got there in the first instance or predict how and when they might get off welfare in the future.

We would hope that social policy analysts both inside and outside government will use the database as a spur to continue pursuing their own research and developing new policy options. Among the most urgent options are dealing with the problem of long-term dependency on welfare, finding more and better jobs for people, improving financial support for single parents, and promoting government income supports for people with severe disabilities that are more appropriate than welfare.

We would also hope that ordinary Canadians express their support for governments dealing with these larger issues. Better welfare policies are in the interest of all Canadians,
because everyone is at risk of falling on welfare at some point in their lives. The numbers speak for themselves: the estimated $1,494,800$ welfare cases as of March 1997 represented an estimated $2,774,900$ individual children, women and men or nearly ten percent of Canada's population.

Losing a job, losing a spouse, and losing good health are some of the reasons that people go on welfare. The biggest myth of all would be to assume that most of us are immune to any of these personal tragedies or the many other misfortunes that can lead to reliance on welfare.

## APPENDIX

## HISTORICAL PROVINCIAL AND TERRITORIAL STATISTICS

The pages that follow contains historical data for Canada and each province and territory. Each page consists of a graph showing the trends of recent years and a table with figures for all or most of the years from 1980 through 1997.

The information on the number of welfare recipients and the number of welfare cases was supplied by Human Resources Development Canada from information obtained from provincial and territorial officials. There are no caseload statistics for 1980, because there are none that are fully consistent with the statistics kept in subsequent years. Welfare statistics for Yukon and the Northwest Territories were published as combined figures prior to 1983, so there are no separate figures for earlier years.

The unemployment statistics are annual averages rounded to the nearest 1,000 that were calculated by Statistics Canada and published in Historical Labour Force Statistics. The Bureau does not collect unemployment statistics for the two territories. The unemployment figures cover Canadians 15 years old or older, including seniors, but the bulk of the labour force consists of people under the age of 65 .

The statistics on poor people under 65 were calculated by Statistics Canada using the Bureau's 1986 base version of its low income cut-offs for each year from 1980 through 1996. The figures for 1997 will not be published until late in 1998. The National Council of Welfare and most other social policy research groups regard the low income cut-offs as poverty lines, even though Statistics Canada does not. The category poor people under 65 was chosen for this report because welfare is by and large a social safety net for people under 65. Low-income seniors are normally able to take advantage of federal, provincial and territorial income support programs for the elderly.

Information on the number of welfare cases and the number of individuals on welfare is collected once a year, normally in March. The figures in the tables are snapshots of welfare at one point in time and may not reflect caseloads during other months of the year. The unemployment and poverty statistics cover the entire year.

## Canada


$\rightarrow$ Welfare Recipients

* Unemployed People

Welfare Cases
Poor People Under 65

|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | $1,334,000$ | n/a | 900,000 | $2,894,000$ |
| 1981 | $1,418,400$ | 734,300 | 933,000 | $2,910,000$ |
| 1982 | $1,502,800$ | 788,100 | $1,363,000$ | $3,303,000$ |
| 1983 | $1,832,900$ | 985,000 | $1,504,000$ | $3,687,000$ |
| 1984 | $1,894,900$ | $1,028,500$ | $1,450,000$ | $3,728,000$ |
| 1985 | $1,923,300$ | $1,058,000$ | $1,381,000$ | $3,501,000$ |
| 1986 | $1,892,900$ | $1,048,900$ | $1,283,000$ | $3,339,000$ |
| 1987 | $1,904,900$ | $1,051,700$ | $1,208,000$ | $3,285,000$ |
| 1988 | $1,853,000$ | $1,018,400$ | $1,082,000$ | $3,110,000$ |
| 1989 | $1,856,100$ | $1,022,100$ | $1,065,000$ | $2,888,000$ |
| 1990 | $1,930,100$ | $1,056,000$ | $1,164,000$ | $3,267,000$ |
| 1991 | $2,282,200$ | $1,239,000$ | $1,492,000$ | $3,637,000$ |
| 1992 | $2,723,000$ | $1,471,900$ | $1,640,000$ | $3,756,000$ |
| 1993 | $2,975,000$ | $1,616,200$ | $1,649,000$ | $4,139,000$ |
| 1994 | $3,100,200$ | $1,675,900$ | $1,541,000$ | $4,408,000$ |
| 1995 | $3,070,900$ | $1,659,200$ | $1,422,000$ | $4,498,000$ |
| 1996 | $2,937,100$ | $1,582,000$ | $1,469,000$ | $4,535,000$ |
| 1997 | $2,774,900$ | $1,494,800$ | $1,414,000$ | $4 / a$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |

## Newfoundland


$\rightarrow$ Welfare Recipients

* Unemployed People

Welfare Cases
Poor People Under 65

|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 48,500 | n/a | 28,000 | 119,000 |
| 1981 | 50,400 | 20,400 | 30,000 | 90,000 |
| 1982 | 54,700 | 22,000 | 36,000 | 108,000 |
| 1983 | 51,900 | 22,900 | 41,000 | 139,000 |
| 1984 | 53,300 | 21,800 | 46,000 | 117,000 |
| 1985 | 49,100 | 20,900 | 47,000 | 113,000 |
| 1986 | 47,000 | 19,700 | 44,000 | 111,000 |
| 1987 | 50,500 | 21,400 | 41,000 | 105,000 |
| 1988 | 47,900 | 20,300 | 39,000 | 83,000 |
| 1989 | 44,800 | 19,600 | 38,000 | 73,000 |
| 1990 | 47,900 | 21,700 | 42,000 | 80,000 |
| 1991 | 51,800 | 23,500 | 45,000 | 91,000 |
| 1992 | 59,800 | 25,600 | 49,000 | 102,000 |
| 1993 | 68,100 | 32,200 | 49,000 | 91,000 |
| 1994 | 67,400 | 35,400 | 50,000 | 102,000 |
| 1995 | 71,300 | 35,400 | 44,000 | 110,000 |
| 1996 | 72,000 | 36,000 | 46,000 | 88,000 |
| 1997 | 71,900 | 36,000 | 44,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |

## Prince Edward Island


$\rightarrow$ Welfare Recipients

* Unemployed People

Welfare Cases

- Poor People Under 65

|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 9,400 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 6,000 | 13,000 |
| 1981 | 10,100 | 4,500 | 6,000 | 17,000 |
| 1982 | 11,300 | 4,900 | 7,000 | 16,000 |
| 1983 | 11,300 | 5,000 | 7,000 | 12,000 |
| 1984 | 9,800 | 4,400 | 7,000 | 15,000 |
| 1985 | 9,600 | 4,300 | 8,000 | 14,000 |
| 1986 | 9,200 | 4,400 | 8,000 | 12,000 |
| 1987 | 9,300 | 4,500 | 8,000 | 14,000 |
| 1988 | 8,900 | 4,400 | 8,000 | 13,000 |
| 1989 | 8,300 | 4,200 | 9,000 | 12,000 |
| 1990 | 8,600 | 4,300 | 10,000 | 13,000 |
| 1991 | 10,300 | 5,100 | 11,000 | 15,000 |
| 1992 | 11,800 | 5,700 | 12,000 | 12,000 |
| 1993 | 12,600 | 6,200 | 12,000 | 11,000 |
| 1994 | 13,100 | 6,400 | 12,000 | 13,000 |
| 1995 | 12,400 | 6,100 | 10,000 | 14,000 |
| 1996 | 11,700 | 5,800 | 10,000 | 15,000 |
| 1997 | 11,100 | 5,600 | 11,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |

## Nova Scotia



| $\rightarrow$ | Welfare Recipients | $\cdots \cdots$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\rightarrow$ Welfare Cases |  |  |
| $\rightarrow$ | Unemployed People | - |


|  | Welfare Recipients | Welfare Cases | Unemployed People | Poor People Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 51,200 | n/a | 35,000 | 103,000 |
| 1981 | 62,400 | 27,700 | 37,000 | 112,000 |
| 1982 | 64,600 | 29,200 | 48,000 | 128,000 |
| 1983 | 69,000 | 31,400 | 49,000 | 134,000 |
| 1984 | 67,500 | 32,200 | 52,000 | 123,000 |
| 1985 | 73,600 | 34,300 | 54,000 | 120,000 |
| 1986 | 72,100 | 35,300 | 53,000 | 115,000 |
| 1987 | 73,000 | 35,600 | 51,000 | 108,000 |
| 1988 | 73,800 | 36,600 | 43,000 | 98,000 |
| 1989 | 75,600 | 38,100 | 42,000 | 104,000 |
| 1990 | 78,400 | 39,600 | 46,000 | 101,000 |
| 1991 | 86,200 | 44,000 | 52,000 | 117,000 |
| 1992 | 92,600 | 46,800 | 56,000 | 129,000 |
| 1993 | 98,700 | 50,200 | 63,000 | 130,000 |
| 1994 | 104,000 | 53,100 | 58,000 | 145,000 |
| 1995 | 104,000 | 53,200 | 53,000 | 151,000 |
| 1996 | 103,100 | 52,900 | 56,000 | 150,000 |
| 1997 | 93,700 | 48,400 | 55,000 | n/a |

## New Brunswick


$\rightarrow$ Welfare Recipients

Welfare Cases
Poor People Under 65

|  | Welfare Recipients | Welfare Cases | Unemployed People | Poor People Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 66,300 | n/a | 32,000 | 95,000 |
| 1981 | 67,400 | 29,600 | 34,000 | 115,000 |
| 1982 | 62,700 | 29,700 | 41,000 | 126,000 |
| 1983 | 70,100 | 35,000 | 44,000 | 133,000 |
| 1984 | 68,600 | 35,100 | 45,000 | 127,000 |
| 1985 | 69,100 | 35,400 | 47,000 | 104,000 |
| 1986 | 68,800 | 35,800 | 46,000 | 96,000 |
| 1987 | 73,700 | 36,400 | 43,000 | 103,000 |
| 1988 | 70,600 | 35,400 | 40,000 | 88,000 |
| 1989 | 67,700 | 34,600 | 42,000 | 86,000 |
| 1990 | 67,200 | 34,800 | 41,000 | 90,000 |
| 1991 | 71,900 | 37,800 | 43,000 | 89,000 |
| 1992 | 78,200 | 41,500 | 44,000 | 87,000 |
| 1993 | 78,100 | 42,100 | 44,000 | 90,000 |
| 1994 | 73,500 | 40,000 | 44,000 | 103,000 |
| 1995 | 67,400 | 36,500 | 41,000 | 118,000 |
| 1996 | 67,100 | 35,500 | 41,000 | 107,000 |
| 1997 | 70,600 | 36,200 | 46,000 | n/a |

## Quebec




* Unemployed

Welfare Cases
Poor People Under 65

|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 511,900 | n/a | 306,000 | 959,000 |
| 1981 | 532,900 | 302,300 | 327,000 | 949,000 |
| 1982 | 561,900 | 325,400 | 428,000 | $1,038,000$ |
| 1983 | 675,800 | 396,800 | 441,000 | $1,080,000$ |
| 1984 | 705,900 | 415,300 | 412,000 | $1,165,000$ |
| 1985 | 708,700 | 424,400 | 390,000 | $1,072,000$ |
| 1986 | 693,900 | 416,100 | 365,000 | $1,048,000$ |
| 1987 | 649,600 | 390,100 | 349,000 | $1,024,000$ |
| 1988 | 594,000 | 357,900 | 325,000 | $1,048,000$ |
| 1989 | 559,300 | 340,700 | 324,000 | 861,000 |
| 1990 | 555,900 | 343,900 | 359,000 | $1,000,000$ |
| 1991 | 594,900 | 366,200 | 423,000 | $1,109,000$ |
| 1992 | 674,900 | 413,400 | 450,000 | $1,032,000$ |
| 1993 | 741,400 | 450,700 | 467,000 | $1,214,000$ |
| 1994 | 787,200 | 473,000 | 438,000 | $1,248,000$ |
| 1995 | 802,200 | 479,400 | 408,000 | $1,283,000$ |
| 1996 | 813,200 | 483,100 | 430,000 | $1,288,000$ |
| 1997 | 793,300 | 470,400 | 420,000 | $n / a$ |

## Ontario



|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 354,800 | n/a | 310,000 | 903,000 |
| 1981 | 389,800 | 203,100 | 305,000 | 887,000 |
| $1982 n$ | 406,800 | 214,900 | 458,000 | $1,028,000$ |
| 1983 | 471,200 | 253,100 | 497,000 | $1,181,000$ |
| 1984 | 484,600 | 261,500 | 442,000 | $1,057,000$ |
| 1985 | 485,800 | 264,900 | 404,000 | $1,002,000$ |
| 1986 | 485,800 | 266,400 | 361,000 | 896,000 |
| 1987 | 518,400 | 283,400 | 321,000 | 880,000 |
| 1988 | 533,500 | 288,200 | 272,000 | 826,000 |
| 1989 | 588,200 | 314,400 | 280,000 | 801,000 |
| 1990 | 675,700 | 349,200 | 351,000 | 962,000 |
| 1991 | 929,900 | 474,900 | 538,000 | $1,128,000$ |
| 1992 | $1,184,700$ | 600,800 | 609,000 | $1,173,000$ |
| 1993 | $1,287,000$ | 656,900 | 604,000 | $1,384,000$ |
| 1994 | $1,379,300$ | 696,800 | 547,000 | $1,376,000$ |
| 1995 | $1,344,600$ | 678,400 | 501,000 | $1,505,000$ |
| 1996 | $1,214,600$ | 611,900 | 528,000 | $1,570,000$ |
| 1997 | $1,149,000$ | 578,300 | 502,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |



## Saskatchewan



## - Welfare Recipients <br> Welfare Cases <br> Poor People Under 65

|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare Cases | Unemployed People | Poor People Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 41,400 | n/a | 20,000 | 87,000 |
| 1981 | 43,800 | 22,600 | 21,000 | 117,000 |
| 1982 | 48,400 | 23,600 | 29,000 | 119,000 |
| 1983 | 59,700 | 29,500 | 36,000 | 141,000 |
| 1984 | 63,700 | 31,400 | 39,000 | 155,000 |
| 1985 | 64,000 | 31,600 | 41,000 | 150,000 |
| 1986 | 62,700 | 30,800 | 39,000 | 164,000 |
| 1987 | 62,100 | 30,500 | 37,000 | 135,000 |
| 1988 | 60,300 | 29,900 | 38,000 | 143,000 |
| 1989 | 57,200 | 28,000 | 37,000 | 135,000 |
| 1990 | 54,100 | 26,800 | 35,000 | 144,000 |
| 1991 | 53,400 | 26,700 | 36,000 | 147,000 |
| 1992 | 60,400 | 30,500 | 40,000 | 148,000 |
| 1993 | 68,200 | 35,000 | 40,000 | 144,000 |
| 1994 | 81,000 | 40,200 | 34,000 | 151,000 |
| 1995 | 82,200 | 40,400 | 34,000 | 147,000 |
| 1996 | 80,600 | 39,800 | 33,000 | 145,000 |
| 1997 | 79,700 | 39,100 | 30,000 | n/a |

## Alberta



|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 76,100 | n/a | 44,000 | 225,000 |
| 1981 | 78,100 | 31,500 | 48,000 | 191,000 |
| 1982 | 91,700 | 36,300 | 98,000 | 230,000 |
| 1983 | 130,600 | 51,500 | 137,000 | 331,000 |
| 1984 | 117,100 | 47,000 | 144,000 | 373,000 |
| 1985 | 124,100 | 52,600 | 131,000 | 329,000 |
| 1986 | 126,600 | 57,000 | 131,000 | 310,000 |
| 1987 | 150,500 | 71,200 | 128,000 | 357,000 |
| 1988 | 149,800 | 69,900 | 109,000 | 326,000 |
| 1989 | 151,700 | 71,200 | 98,000 | 331,000 |
| 1990 | 148,800 | 69,300 | 97,000 | 336,000 |
| 1991 | 156,600 | 72,500 | 117,000 | 356,000 |
| 1992 | 188,300 | 89,600 | 135,000 | 442,000 |
| 1993 | 196,000 | 93,600 | 139,000 | 407,000 |
| 1994 | 138,500 | 64,500 | 126,000 | 387,000 |
| 1995 | 113,200 | 54,100 | 116,000 | 442,000 |
| 1996 | 105,600 | 50,500 | 107,000 | 402,000 |
| 1997 | 89,800 | 41,700 | 93,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |

## British Columbia



|  | Welfare <br> Recipients | Welfare <br> Cases | Unemployed <br> People | Poor People <br> Under 65 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 122,800 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 93,000 | 263,000 |
| 1981 | 128,000 | 66,300 | 97,000 | 294,000 |
| 1982 | 144,900 | 75,200 | 176,000 | 349,000 |
| 1983 | 228,800 | 127,900 | 203,000 | 383,000 |
| 1984 | 257,100 | 146,000 | 220,000 | 443,000 |
| 1985 | 267,600 | 153,400 | 215,000 | 450,000 |
| 1986 | 255,700 | 147,600 | 194,000 | 428,000 |
| 1987 | 247,700 | 142,300 | 189,000 | 407,000 |
| 1988 | 241,100 | 138,000 | $\ddots$ | 166,000 |
| 1989 | 230,000 | 133,000 | 153,000 | 342,000 |
| 1990 | 216,000 | 125,700 | 142,000 | 339,000 |
| 1991 | 244,000 | 144,500 | 176,000 | 397,000 |
| 1992 | 279,300 | 167,700 | 190,000 | 461,000 |
| 1993 | 323,300 | 193,800 | 179,000 | 506,000 |
| 1994 | 353,500 | 210,400 | 180,000 | 535,000 |
| 1995 | 374,300 | 221,800 | 173,000 | 562,000 |
| 1996 | 369,900 | 214,700 | 176,000 | 596,000 |
| 1997 | 321,300 | 191,200 | 175,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |

## Northwest Territories




## Yukon



|  | Welfare Recipients | Welfare Cases |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | Figures not available until 1983 |  |
| 1981 |  |  |
| 1982 |  |  |
| 1983 | 1,300 | 700 |
| 1984 | 1,100 | 600 |
| 1985 | 1,500 | 800 |
| 1986 | 1,400 | 600 |
| 1987 | 1,200 | 500 |
| 1988 | 1,100 | 500 |
| 1989 | 900 | 500 |
| 1990 | 1,000 | 500 |
| 1991 | 1,200 | 600 |
| 1992 | 1,700 | 1,000 |
| 1993 | 2,500 | 1,400 |
| 1994 | 2,400 | 1,300 |
| 1995 | 2,100 | 1,100 |
| 1996 | 1,700 | 1,000 |
| 1997 | 2,000 | 1,100 |

## INDEX TO GRAPHS AND TABLES

## Variable

| Family Type | $8,10,12,20,34,39,48,55$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Reasons for Assistance | $15,16,18,20,21,27,45,49,56$ |
| Provincial Breakdowns | $12,18,30,36,37,43,51,58$ |
| Current Spell on Welfare | $24,25,27,28,30$ |
| Education | 41,43 |
| Other Sources of Income | $46,48,49,51$ |
| Housing | $53,55,56,58$ |
| Age | $21,33,34,36$ |
| Children | 37,39 |
| Family Size | 13,39 |

## Page Numbers

$8,10,12,20,34,39,48,55$
$15,16,18,20,21,27,45,49,56$
$12,18,30,36,37,43,51,58$
$24,25,27,28,30$
41, 43
46, 48, 49, 51
$53,55,56,58$
$21,33,34,36$
37, 39
13, 39

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