# Poverty Profile 1993 

A Report by the

National Council of Welfare

## POVERTY PROFILE 1993

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## INTRODUCTION

Poverty Profile 1993 is the latest in a series of reports by the National Council of Welfare on poverty in Canada. It includes both national and provincial statistics for 1993 and trends dating back as far as 1980.

Like its predecessors, this report is an analysis of factual material collected by Statistics Canada. It shows which groups of Canadians were poor at a given point in time. However, it does not dwell on the causes of their poverty, and it makes no specific proposals for fighting poverty. Detailed recommendations can be found in other reports by the National Council of Welfare, including A Blueprint for Social Security Reform, Welfare in Canada: The Tangled Safety Net, Women and Poverty Revisited, Pension Reform and Fighting Child Poverty.

Poverty Profile 1993 contains detailed information on poverty by family type, sex, age, education and a host of other variables. It has data on the depth of poverty - that is, how far the incomes of poor people fall beneath the poverty line. There is information about the average incomes of poor people and their main sources of income. One chapter focuses on four groups of special concern: the low-wage poor, children, women and seniors.

The National Council of Welfare hopes this report will shed additional light on a subject that should be close to the hearts of Canadians. One out of every six Canadians was poor at last count, and many more have personal knowledge of poverty because of the financial hardships facing friends, neighbours or relatives who are poor - usually for reasons well beyond their control.

## METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Every year, Statistics Canada conducts a household survey known as the Survey of Consumer Finances to obtain information on the distribution of income and the nature and extent of poverty in Canada. The survey on which this report is based, conducted in April of 1994, sampled 36,892 private households from all parts of the country except for Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Indian reserves, and institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals, and homes for the elderly. The survey looked at incomes for the 1993 calendar year.

The results were published by Statistics Canada under the title Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1993. That publication and a companion booklet entitled Low Income Persons. 1980-1990 are major sources for this report. Statistics Canada also provided previously unpublished data to the National Council of Welfare. We are grateful for the assistance provided by officials of the bureau, especially Kevin Bishop and Edith Lamoureux of the Income and Housing Surveys Section. The analysis and interpretation of the data, however, is the responsibility of the National Council of Welfare, not Statistics Canada.

Information about poverty is obtained by comparing the survey data with the low income cut-offs of Statistics Canada. The cut-offs represent levels of gross income where people spend disproportionate amounts of money for food, shelter and clothing. The bureau has decided over the years - somewhat arbitrarily - that 20 percentage points is a reasonable measure of the additional burden. The average Canadian family spent 36.2 percent of gross income on food, shelter and clothing according to 1986 data on spending patterns, so it was assumed that lowincome Canadians spent 56.2 percent or more on the necessities of life.

The low income cut-offs vary by the size of the family unit and the population of the area of residence. There are seven categories of family size, from one person to seven or more persons, and five community sizes ranging from rural areas to cities with 500,000 or more residents. The result is a set of 35 cut-offs. The cut-offs are updated annually by Statistics Canada using the Consumer Price Index.

The cut-offs used in this report for the year 1993 are technically known as the 1986 base cut-offs, because of the year in which spending on food, shelter and clothing was surveyed. The
entire set of 35 cut-offs for 1993 appears below as Table 1. Comparable cut-offs for 1994 and the National Council of Welfare's estimates of the cut-offs for 1995 appear in the appendix of this report.

## TABLE 1

## STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1993

| Family Size | Community Size |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cities of $500,000+$ | $\begin{aligned} & 100,000- \\ & 499,999 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30,000- \\ 99,999 \end{gathered}$ | Less than 30,000 | Rural <br> Areas |
| 1 | \$ 15,452 | \$ 13,572 | \$ 13,259 | \$ 12,087 | \$ 10,520 |
| 2 | 20,945 | 18,398 | 17,973 | 16,383 | 14,261 |
| 3 | 26,624 | 23,385 | 22,844 | 20,824 | 18,126 |
| 4 | 30,655 | 26,922 | 26,302 | 23,977 | 20,869 |
| 5 | 33,492 | 29,416 | 28,737 | 26,196 | 22,801 |
| 6 | 36,356 | 31,928 | 31,192 | 28,434 | 24,749 |
| $7+$ | 39,101 | 34,343 | 33,551 | 30,585 | 26,620 |

Over the years, Statistics Canada has published several other sets of low income cut-offs, and the bureau started using 1992 base cut-offs as its preferred measure in Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1992. Readers are cautioned that the poverty statistics in this report using the 1986 base cut-offs differ slightly from reports using the 1992 base cut-offs. ${ }^{1}$

For the time being, the National Council of Welfare plans to continue using the 1986 base cut-offs. Other recent reports published by the Council use the 1986 base cut-offs, and a switch in base years could be confusing to readers.

The National Council of Welfare, like many other social policy groups, regards the low income cut-offs as poverty lines and uses the term poor and low-income interchangeably. Statistics Canada takes pains to avoid references to poverty. It says the cut-offs have no official status, and it does not promote their use as poverty lines.

Regardless of the terminology, the cut-offs are a useful tool for defining and analyzing the significantly large portion of the Canadian population with low incomes. They are not the only measures of poverty used in Canada, but they are the most widely accepted and are roughly comparable to most alternative measures.

Poverty statistics are often broken down according to families and unattached individuals. The survey which gathered the data defined a family as "a group of individuals sharing a common dwelling unit and related by blood, marriage or adoption." Most of the data in this report is expressed in terms of families rather than the number of people in family units. An unattached individual is defined as a "person living alone or in a household where he/she is not related to other household members."

A poor or low-income family has an income below the poverty line, while a "non-poor" family has an income above the poverty line. The same applies for unattached individuals.

Poverty rates compare the number of poor persons, families or unattached individuals in a particular category to all the persons, families or unattached individuals in the same category. For example, there were an estimated 323,000 poor families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under age 65 in 1993. The estimated total number of families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under 65 was 540,000 . The poverty rate was 323,000 divided by 540,000 or 59.8 percent.

Sometimes, the terms incidence of poverty or risk of poverty are used instead of the poverty rate. The meaning of all three terms is the same.

Income refers to money income reported by all family members 15 years or older and includes gross wages and salaries, net income from self-employment, investment income, government transfer payments (for example, the federal child tax benefit, old age security, and provincial tax credits), pensions, and miscellaneous income (scholarships and child support
payments, for example). The definition of income excludes gambling wins or losses, capital gains or losses, receipts from the sale of property or personal belongings, income tax refunds, loans received or repaid, lump sum settlements of insurance policies, and income in kind.

Some sections of this report refer to earnings rather than income. Earnings means gross wages and salaries and net income from self-employment.

## RECENT POVERTY TRENDS

The Canadian economy continued its recovery in 1993, but the number of poor Canadians and the overall national poverty rate kept rising nonetheless. Between 1992 and 1993, the ranks of the poor grew by close to half a million, from $4,320,000$ to $4,775,000$, and the poverty rate went from 16.1 percent to 17.4 percent.

Poverty increased among Canadians of working age in 1993, even though unemployment eased slightly. Especially alarming was the rise in poverty among families headed by men or women under the age of 65 . A total of 993,000 non-elderly families were poor in 1993, and the poverty rate rose to 15.5 percent. It was the first time in at least 14 years that the number approached one million.

The rise in family poverty included families with children under 18 , and the child poverty rate jumped to a 14 -year high of 20.8 percent. The number of poor children hit $1,415,000$, another 14 -year high.

Even Canadians 65 and older did not escape the increase in poverty. Poverty rates rose for both elderly families and seniors living on their own, although they remained well below the rates recorded in the early 1980s. The reasons for the increases between 1992 and 1993 are not apparent.

All in all, 1993 was a sombre year for poor people.

This chapter shows major national trends in poverty from 1980 to 1993 using two types of measures. One looks at Canadians as individuals, the other as members of families or as unattached people living outside families.

## Poverty Trends for Individual Canadians

One type of poverty statistics published by Statistics Canada gives the number of poor people and the poverty rates for people as individuals, as in Table 2. In 1980, the number of
people living in poverty was just over 3.6 million and the poverty rate was 15.3 percent. Both the number of poor people and the poverty rate rose following the recession of 1981-1982, declined slowly through 1989, and started rising again in 1990. By 1993, the number of poor people in Canada was nearly 4.8 million and the poverty rate was 17.4 percent.

| TABLE 2 <br> POVERTY TRENDS, ALL PERSONS |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number of Persons <br> Living in Poverty | Poverty <br> Rate |
| 1980 | $3,624,000$ | $15.3 \%$ |
| 1981 | $3,643,000$ | $15.3 \%$ |
| 1982 | $3,951,000$ | $16.4 \%$ |
| 1983 | $4,406,000$ | $18.2 \%$ |
| 1984 | $4,397,000$ | $18.1 \%$ |
| 1985 | $4,170,000$ | $17.0 \%$ |
| 1986 | $3,976,000$ | $16.0 \%$ |
| 1987 | $3,912,000$ | $15.6 \%$ |
| 1988 | $3,744,000$ | $14.8 \%$ |
| 1989 | $3,487,000$ | $13.6 \%$ |
| 1990 | $3,821,000$ | $14.6 \%$ |
| 1991 | $4,227,000$ | $16.0 \%$ |
| 1992 | $4,320,000$ | $16.1 \%$ |
| 1993 | $4,775,000$ | $17.4 \%$ |

Many of the other poverty statistics followed the same general pattern as the figures for all persons. Child poverty, for example, increased in the early 1980s, as shown in Table 3.

In 1984, well over 1.2 million children under the age of 18 were living in poverty and the poverty rate was 19.6 percent. The number of poor children and the poverty rate declined through 1989, then started to rebound. In 1993, the number of poor children was more than 1.4 million and the poverty rate was 20.8 percent.

| CABLE 3 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number of Children Under 18 Living in Poverty | Poverty Rate |
| 1980 | 984,000 | 14.9\% |
| 1981 | 998,000 | 15.2\% |
| 1982 | 1,155,000 | 17.8\% |
| 1983 | 1,221,000 | 19.0\% |
| 1984 | 1,253,000 | 19.6\% |
| 1985 | 1,165,000 | 18.3\% |
| 1986 | 1,086,000 | 17.0\% |
| 1987 | 1,057,000 | 16.6\% |
| 1988 | 987,000 | 15.4\% |
| 1989 | 934,000 | 14.5\% |
| 1990 | 1,105,000 | 16.9\% |
| 1991 | 1,210,000 | 18.3\% |
| 1992 | 1,218,000 | 18.2\% |
| 1993 | 1,415,000 | 20.8\% |

Additional information on child poverty by family type and provincial child poverty statistics appear later in this report.

Children are poor because their parents are poor, and one of the main reasons for poverty among parents is a lack of good jobs. It should come as no surprise that the poverty rates for adults under age 65 tend to move up and down in line with changes in the unemployment rate.

Graph A plots the average annual unemployment rate for people 15 and older against the poverty rate for people ages 18 to 65 , the group most likely to be in the labour force. As the percentage of unemployed people in the work force rose and fell, so did the percentage of adults under 65 living in poverty. In 1980, the unemployment rate was 7.5 percent and the poverty rate for people 18 to 65 was 12.9 percent. In 1993, the unemployment rate was 11.2 percent and the poverty rate was 15.5 percent.

## Unemployment and Poverty Among Working-Age People



One group that is largely immune from high unemployment rates is seniors, because most of them are not in the labour force. The poverty rates for people 65 and older are more a reflection of the health of public and private pension programs than the health of the economy.

Pensions have improved tremendously during the last generation, and this is reflected in poverty rates and numbers for the elderly that have fallen more or less steadily since the first poverty statistics were published in Canada in 1969.

Table 4 shows this long-term decline in poverty. There were occasional increases in poverty from one year to the next, but the overall trend was sharply downward. The number of poor seniors dropped from 731,000 in 1980 to 564,000 in 1992, and the poverty rate plummeted from 33.6 percent in 1980 to a record low of 18.6 percent in 1992.

## TABLE 4

## POVERTY TRENDS, PEOPLE 65 AND OLDER

|  | Number of Seniors <br> Living in Poverty | Poverty <br> Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 | 731,000 | $33.6 \%$ |
| 1981 | 733,000 | $33.0 \%$ |
| 1982 | 648,000 | $28.5 \%$ |
| 1983 | 719,000 | $30.9 \%$ |
| 1984 | 669,000 | $27.9 \%$ |
| 1985 | 669,000 | $27.0 \%$ |
| 1986 | 637,000 | $24.9 \%$ |
| 1987 | 627,000 | $23.8 \%$ |
| 1988 | 634,000 | $23.4 \%$ |
| 1989 | 599,000 | $21.4 \%$ |
| 1990 | 554,000 | $19.3 \%$ |
| 1991 | 590,000 | $20.0 \%$ |
| 1992 | 564,000 | $18.6 \%$ |
| 1993 | 636,000 | $20.5 \%$ |

In 1993, the number of seniors living in poverty rose to 636,000 , and the poverty rate went up to 20.5 percent. The reasons for the increases are not known. There were no major changes in government pension policy during the year. Investment income was down among seniors generally due to lower interest rates, but there were no radical changes in the small amounts of investment income received by seniors who were poor.

## Poverty Trends for Families and Unattached Individuals

While the poverty statistics for persons give a good overview of poverty, it is often more revealing to look at poor people in terms of families or unattached individuals, as in Table 5 on the next page.

The number of poor families and the poverty rate went up in the aftermath of the recession of 1981-1982, declined through 1989 and started rising again in 1990 as Canada entered another recession. The figures for unattached individuals followed much the same pattern.

Throughout the period 1980 to 1992 , the poverty rates for unattached people were roughly three times higher than the rates for families. In 1993, the gap narrowed a bit as the family poverty rate jumped to 14.8 percent and the rate for unattached individuals rose to 37.1 percent.

One reason that families have poverty rates that are consistently much lower than unattached individuals is they often have a second family member in the labour force. The percentage of younger married couples with both spouses in the work force has grown dramatically during the last generation, and two-earner couples now far outnumber one-earner couples. Many older families are couples where both spouses had careers outside the home and where both get pension benefits aside from the federal government's old age security pension.

| TABLE 5POVERTY TRENDS, FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Families |  | Unattached Individuals |  |
|  | Number of Poor Families | Poverty Rate | Number of Poor Unattached | Poverty Rate |
| 1980 | 830,000 | 13.2\% | 1,013,000 | 41.4\% |
| 1981 | 832,000 | 13.0\% | 1,010,000 | 40.3\% |
| 1982 | 905,000 | 14.0\% | 1,034,000 | 40.2\% |
| 1983 | 1,007,000 | 15.3\% | 1,183,000 | 44.9\% |
| 1984 | 1,032,000 | 15.6\% | 1,118,000 | 41.3\% |
| 1985 | 963,000 | 14.3\% | 1,136,000 | 40.8\% |
| 1986 | 924,000 | 13.6\% | 1,112,000 | 38.3\% |
| 1987 | 895,000 | 13.1\% | 1,137,000 | 37.5\% |
| 1988 | 851,000 | 12.2\% | 1,172,000 | 37.7\% |
| 1989 | 786,000 | 11.1\% | 1,100,000 | 34.4\% |
| 1990 | 874,000 | 12.1\% | 1,123,000 | 34.1\% |
| 1991 | 949,000 | 13.1\% | 1,258,000 | 36.5\% |
| 1992 | 991,000 | 13.3\% | 1,247,000 | 36.2\% |
| 1993 | 1,116,000 | 14.8\% | 1,306,000 | 37.1\% |

An even better view of poverty comes by breaking down families and unattached individuals into their major subcategories - which we call family types for want of a better term. The four subcategories of families are married couples where the head of the family is 65 or older; married couples under 65 with children under 18 ; married couples under 65 without children under 18; and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. Altogether, these four subcategories accounted for 83 percent of all poor families in 1993. The other 17 percent was made up of less common family types, such as married couples living with children who
were all 18 or older, single-parent fathers and their children, and brothers and sisters who lived together. The four subcategories of unattached individuals are unattached men under 65, unattached men 65 and older, unattached women under 65 , and unattached women 65 and older. These four subcategories account for 100 percent of unattached individuals.

The importance of a second wage-earner or second source of pension income becomes obvious from the poverty statistics for the four subcategories of families in Graph B. The poverty rates for married couples were all low, regardless of the age of the spouses or the presence of children at home. The poverty rates for families led by single-parent mothers were incredibly high.

## Poverty Rates for Families



## Graph B

The actual poverty rates for each year from 1980 to 1993 for the four types of families are given in Table 6.

| TABLE 6 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | POVERTY RATES FOR FAMILIES, 1980-1993 |  |  |  |

The rates for single-parent mothers were high without exception throughout the period. The highest rate was 62.8 percent in 1984, and the lowest was 52.9 percent in 1989. By way of comparison, single-parent fathers under 65 with children under 18 had a poverty rate of 34 percent in 1993, the highest rate for single-parent fathers during the entire period. The lowest was 18 percent in 1987.

Married couples with the head of the family 65 or older saw their poverty rates decline throughout the period. The rate of 8.5 percent in 1992 tied the record low of 1990. The rise to 9.7 percent in 1993 was an exception to the downward trend.

Couples where the head of the family was under age 65 experienced ups and downs in poverty rates that corresponded with the ups and downs in the economy. The rates were relatively low for couples with children under 18 and couples without children, although the rates for childless couples were consistently lower.

For unattached people, the poverty rates over the years have varied greatly among the four subcategories based on sex and age. All four subcategories have rates that are significantly higher than the rates for married couples, although none of the recent figures was anywhere near the rates for families led by single-parent mothers.

Trends in poverty among unattached men and women under 65 and men and women 65 and older are shown in Graph $C$ on the next page. The poverty rates for unattached people under 65 tended to rise and fall with unemployment rates, while the rates for older unattached people fell more or less steadily. In both age groups, the poverty rates were noticeably higher for women than men.

The poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 38.1 percent in 1980 and 37.9 percent in 1993. The comparable rates for men were 26.3 percent in 1980 and 32.3 percent in 1993. The gap between the sexes was largest in 1980 at 11.8 percentage points and smallest in 1982 at 3.7 percentage points.

For unattached people 65 and older, the poverty rate for women went from 68.7 percent in 1980 to a record low 45.2 percent in 1992 and rebounded to 47.3 percent in 1993. The rate for men dropped from 57.8 percent in 1980 to a record low 29.2 percent in 1992 before rising to 32.1 percent in 1993. The gap between men and women was smallest at 10.9 percentage points in 1980 and largest at 23.9 points in 1988.

## Poverty Rates for Unattached People Under 65



## Poverty Rates for Unattached People 65 and Older



Graph C

## VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES

Unemployment rates, the adequacy of pension programs, and family type are major determinants of poverty in all parts of Canada, but there are important differences from province to province. Table 7 gives the 1993 provincial statistics for families, unattached individuals, and all persons. For families, poverty rates ranged from a low of seven percent in Prince Edward Island to a high of 17.6 percent in Quebec. The range for unattached individuals was even greater, from 31.2 percent in Saskatchewan to 45 percent in Quebec. Poverty rates for all persons went from 9.9 percent in P.E.I. to 20.7 percent in Quebec.

TABLE 7
POVERTY BY PROVINCE, 1993

|  | Families |  | Unattached Individuals |  | All Persons |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number of Poor Families | Poverty Rate | Number of Poor Unattached | Poverty Rate | Number of Poor Persons | Poverty Rate |
| Newfoundland | 25,000 | 16.1\% | 16,000 | 41.4\% | 100,000 | 17.5\% |
| Prince Edward Island | 3,000 | 7.0\% | 5,000 | 32.2\% | 13,000 | 9.9\% |
| Nova Scotia | 36,000 | 14.5\% | 34,000 | 32.4\% | 147,000 | 16.5\% |
| New Brunswick | 24,000 | 11.9\% | 28,000 | 41.3\% | 104,000 | 14.5\% |
| Quebec | 338,000 | 17.6\% | 422,000 | 45.0\% | 1,431,000 | 20.7\% |
| Ontario | 382,000 | 13.4\% | 392,000 | 32.7\% | 1,599,000 | 15.6\% |
| Manitoba | 41,000 | 14.4\% | 51,000 | 36.7\% | 189,000 | 18.1\% |
| Saskatchewan | 36,000 | 13.8\% | 37,000 | 31.2\% | 160,000 | 17.0\% |
| Alberta | 103,000 | 15.0\% | 126,000 | 38.6\% | 449,000 | 17.6\% |
| British Columbia | 128,000 | 14.0\% | 194,000 | 34.4\% | 584,000 | 17.3\% |
| Canada | 1,116,000 | 14.8\% | 1,306,000 | 37.1\% | 4,775,000 | 17.4\% |

Between 1992 and 1993, family poverty rates rose in all provinces except Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and Alberta. The largest increases were in central Canada. The rate in Quebec rose from 14.9 percent in 1992 to 17.6 percent in 1993, and the rate in Ontario went from 11.2 percent to 13.4 percent. Because of the large populations of Quebec and Ontario, these two increases had a major impact on the increase in the national poverty rate for families in 1993.

Poverty rates for unattached individuals were up in all provinces in 1993 except Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The largest increases were in New Brunswick, Alberta and British Columbia.

For all persons, poverty rates were higher in 1993 in New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia and lower in the other six provinces. As in the case of families, increases in Quebec and Ontario were the main reason for the increase in the national rate for all persons. The Quebec rate for all persons went from 18 percent to 20.7 percent between 1992 and 1993, and the Ontario rate rose from 13.3 percent to 15.6 percent.

The pages that follow contain graphs with detailed information on poverty by province. The top half of each page gives the poverty rates for families and unattached individuals from 1986 through 1993. The bottom half of each page plots provincial poverty rates for all persons from 1980 to 1993. The line with diamond markers and accompanied by percentages shows provincial poverty rates. For purposes of comparison, each graph includes a second line showing the poverty rates for Canada as a whole. The percentages were omitted from this line to avoid confusion in cases where the two lines are close together.

The two largest provinces have the most consistent trends for families, unattached individuals and all persons. Ontario's poverty rates were among the lowest in Canada and were well below the national average throughout the period. Quebec's rates were among the highest and well above average. There was much less consistency elsewhere.

Poverty rates were generally above average in Newfoundland. Prince Edward Island generally posted lower than average rates. Nova Scotia normally has poverty rates near the national average, but there have been sharp swings in the rates for unattached people in the last
several years. Poverty rates in New Brunswick were higher than average at the start of the 1980s but have been average or below average in recent years.

Manitoba generally had above average poverty rates. Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia generally had rates for families and all persons that were average or above average, and they had rates for unattached individuals that were below average. Poverty rates for all persons in Alberta once were well below average, but rose dramatically in 1983 and remained average or above average.

Newfoundland


Trends for All Persons


## Percentage Below Poverty Line

$\rightarrow$ Newfoundland Canada

Graph D

## Prince Edward Island


$\square$ Unattached Persons

## Trends for All Persons




Graph E

## Nova Scotia



Trends for All Persons

$\rightarrow$ Nova Scotia - Canada

Graph F

## New Brunswick



Trends for All Persons



Graph G

## Quebec



## Trends for All Persons


$\square$
Graph H

## Ontario


Families Unattached Perzons

## Trends for All Persons


$\rightarrow$ Ontario -Canada
Graph I

## Manitoba



## Trends for All Persons



## Percentage Below Poverty Line

$\square$
Graph J

## Saskatchewan



| Families $\quad:$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Trends for All Persons

Saskatchewan Canada

Graph K

## Alberta


आ

## Trends for All Persons




Graph L

## British Columbia



Trends for All Persons


Graph M

## SNAPSHOTS OF POVERTY IN 1993

Poverty rates vary with family type, sex, age, employment, education, housing and population of area of residence. Among families with children, they vary with the number and age of the children. Among immigrants, there are important differences based on the length of time in Canada.

## Family Type

Probably the most important overall determinant of the risk of poverty is family type. As we described earlier, family type refers to eight subcategories of families and unattached individuals that take account of age and sex as well as family circumstances.

The top half of Graph N arranges the eight family types by poverty rates, with the highest at the left and the lowest at the right. The group with the highest poverty rate was single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The next four bars represent unattached individuals. The poverty rates for unattached women were higher than the rates for unattached men. The three types of husband-wife families had relatively low poverty rates.

The pie graphs on the bottom half of the page show the number of poor families or unattached individuals by family type as a proportion of all poor families or unattached individuals. Among poor families, the two largest groups were couples under 65 with children under 18 and poor families led by single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 .

Among poor unattached individuals, the most revealing comparison was between elderly men and women. Poor unattached women 65 and older outnumbered poor unattached men 65 and older by a margin of four to one. The numbers of poor unattached men and women under 65 were much closer.

## Poverty Rates by Family Type, 1993



## Distribution of Poor Families And Unattached Individuals, 1993



Graph N

## Additional Differences by Age, Sex and Family Type

There are other important differences in poverty rates by age and sex and by age and family type, as shown in Graph 0.

The top half of the graph gives the poverty rates for men and women by age, irrespective of their family status. In all cases, the rates for women were higher than the rates for men, and the differences between the sexes were most pronounced in the youngest and oldest groups. Additional information about poverty among men and women is presented later in this report.

The poperty rates for both sexes were relatively high for the age groups 18 through 24 and 25 through 34 . That is partly a reflection of high unemployment rates among young people and partly because entry-level wages are lower than wages for experienced workers. Poverty rates for both men and women fell in the age groups that follow until the age group 55 through 64. Higher rates in this group tend to reflect the difficulties older workers have when they lose their jobs. The higher rate for women 55 through 64 may also be due to an increasing number of widows.

The rates for older men and women show a widening gap between the sexes. One reason for higher poverty rates among elderly women is the fact that women live longer than men on average. The older groups contain a large number of women who are unattached, many of them widows, and unattached persons invariably have higher poverty rates than married people.

The bottom half of the graph shows how poverty rates vary by age group and family type, using the five family types under age 65 . The poverty rate for the relatively small number of families led by single-parent mothers under age 25 was an incredibly high 90.2 percent. The comparable rates for older families led by single-parent mothers were 58.3 percent for heads of families 25 through 44, and $46: 3$ percent for heads of families 45 through 64 .

Poverty rates for the other four non-elderly family types were also highest among heads of families and unattached individuals under 25 . In the case of the couples under 65 without children and unattached men and women, the poverty rates rose in the age group 45 through 64.

## Poverty Rates for Persons By Age and Sex, 1993



Poverty Rates by Family Type And Age of Head, 1993

四 Under $25 \quad \square$ 25-44 $\square 5-64$

Graph 0

People often change family status several times in the course of their adult lives, and the bottom half of Graph O should be interpreted with this in mind. The poor single-parent mothers under age 25 , for example, are not destined to be the poor single-parent mothers in the two older age groups. They could become poor or non-poor married persons with children, poor or nonpoor married persons without children once the children grow up, or poor or non-poor unattached persons.

## Work Activity

As might be expected, a good job is the best insurance against poverty for Canadians under the age of 65 , and Statistics Canada has several measures that show how the risk of poverty decreases as work activity increases. One of the most revealing relates poverty rates to the number of weeks worked during the year for those under age 65, as shown in Graph P.


Heads of families and unattached people under 65 who worked only one to nine weeks in 1993 had the highest poverty rates, while those who worked full-time or almost full-time had low rates. As with other poverty statistics, the rates were consistently lower for families than unattached people, because many families had earners in addition to the head of the family. In fact, families in all age groups with one earner had a poverty rate of 22.2 percent in 1993, while families with two earners had a poverty rate of only 6.9 percent, and families with three or more earners had a poverty rate of 2.9 percent.

Poverty rates for both families and unattached individuals also vary with the type of work done. Table 8 is arranged so that occupational groupings with the lowest poverty rates for family heads come first and the highest rates come last. The ranking of poverty rates for unattached individuals is somewhat different. In both cases, however, family heads and unattached individuals in managerial jobs had the lowest poverty rates, and workers in service industries had the highest rates.

## TABLE 8

POVERTY RATES BY OCCUPATION, 1993

| Occupational Group | Family Heads | Unattached Individuals |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Managerial | $4.2 \%$ | $9.5 \%$ |
| Processing and Machining | $7.1 \%$ | $15.2 \%$ |
| Professional | $7.8 \%$ | $17.6 \%$ |
| Product Fabrication | $8.4 \%$ | $31.6 \%$ |
| Transport | $10.1 \%$ | $17.9 \%$ |
| Construction | $11.3 \%$ | $29.3 \%$ |
| Clerical | $12.1 \%$ | $23.6 \%$ |
| Sales | $14.4 \%$ | $24.6 \%$ |
| Farming, Fishing, Forestry | $16.2 \%$ | $27.1 \%$ |
| Services | $22.2 \%$ | $48.1 \%$ |

## Number and Age of Children

We have seen how poverty rates vary by family type. Rates for two-parent families are relatively low, and rates for families led by single-parent mothers are sky-high. Within these general ranges, the rates vary noticeably with the number and age of children.

The top half of Graph Q on the next page shows the poverty rates for two-parent families and the bottom half shows the rates for families led by single-parent mothers. Although the patterns are not perfect, the two parts of the graph suggest that poverty rates increase with the number of children but decrease once the youngest child reaches school age.

For example, the poverty rate for two-parent families with two children under age seven was 16.5 percent in 1993. The rate for families with two children of mixed age groups - one under seven and one seven through 17 - was 14.5 percent. The big drop, to 10.4 percent, occurred among families with two children both seven or older.

The same pattern was evident among families with two children led by single-parent mothers. The poverty rate was 88.9 percent when both children were under seven, it fell to 74.9 percent when one of the children was seven or older, and it fell again to 48.1 percent once both children had reached seven.

It would be logical to expect that the risk of poverty is higher for families of all types with very young children, because the job of caring for infants and toddlers often keeps mothers out of the labour force. Mothers are more inclined to take jobs outside the home once their youngest children are off to school.

As an aside, it is interesting to note from other statistics that families led by single-parent mothers had fewer children on average than two-parent families. In 1993, poor single-parent mothers under 65 had an average of 1.84 children, and single-parent mothers who were not poor had an average of 1.55 children. Among couples under 65 with children, poor couples had 2.0 children on average and non-poor couples had 1.84 children.

# Poverty Rates for Two-Parent Families Under 65, by Number and Age Group Of Children Under 18, 1993 



# Poverty Rates for Single-Parent Mothers <br> Under 65, by Number and Age Group Of Children Under 18, 1993 



## Education

The risk of poverty normally decreases as people get more schooling. The top half of Graph R shows poverty rates in excess of 19 percent for heads of families who had eight years of schooling or less or who had some high school, but did not graduate. The lowest poverty rates were family heads with university degrees. The same general pattern was true for unattached individuals.

Seen another way, there were a disproportionate number of poor people with low levels of education. Of the unattached people who were poor in 1993, 50 percent did not finish high school. Among unattached people who were not poor, only 28 percent failed to finish high school. Of the families who were poor in 1993, 43 percent were headed by people who did not finish high school. The comparable figure for heads of families who were not poor was 30 percent.

To get a better idea of the relationship between education and poverty, we looked at poverty rates by family type as well as by level of education. The bottom part of Graph $\mathbf{R}$ shows the poverty rates by family type, with the highest rates at the left of the graph. The darkly shaded bars are poverty rates for family heads or unattached individuals who did not graduate from high school. The lighter bars are poverty rates for family heads or unattached individuals with a high school diploma or better.

The patterns are similar to the patterns for family type alone shown earlier in this report. The poverty rate for families led by single-parent mothers with less than a high school education was 77.2 percent - by far the highest rate among all those who did not graduate from high school. Single-parent mothers who did graduate had a poverty rate of 52.3 percent - again the highest of any family type. This shows that family type and level of education both influence a person's risk of poverty.

Poor education can be either a cause of poverty or an effect. Young people who drop out of school may be poor because they lack the skills needed to get good jobs. On the other hand, young women who drop out of school if they get pregnant may be poor because of the hardships associated with single parenthood. The fact that they are poorly educated is a result of their family circumstances rather than an immediate cause of poverty.

## Poverty Rates by Highest Level Of Education Completed, 1993



## Poverty Rates by Family Type And Level of Education, 1993



Graph R

## Homeowners and Renters

Statistics on poverty and housing are collected in three categories: homeowners with mortgages, homeowners without mortgages, and renters. Graph $S$ gives the poverty rates by housing status for families and unattached individuals under 65 and elderly families and unattached individuals.

For both groups, poverty rates were higher for unattached individuals than for families, and renters had higher poverty rates than homeowners with or without mortgages. However, the top and bottom portions of the graph show some interesting differences between the two age groups. For the under 65 group, poverty rates increased from the category homeowners with mortgages to owners without mortgages to renters. For the 65 and older group, the pattern was different: homeowners without mortgages had lower poverty rates than homeowners with mortgages.

There are also interesting differences in the distribution of poor families and unattached individuals by age group. For those under 65,65 percent of the poor families and 87 percent of the poor unattached individuals were renters. For those 65 and older, the percentage of renters fell to 35 percent for poor families and 64 percent for poor unattached individuals. Many of the rest of the poor seniors were homeowners without mortgages. Presumably, most of the poor seniors who were homeowners without mortgages had paid off their mortgages during the course of their working lives but still wound up in poverty because their annual retirement incomes were very low.

## Poverty Rates for Homeowners And Renters Under 65, 1993



Poverty Rates for Homeowners
And Renters 65 and Older, 1993


| Families $\quad$ Unattached Persons |
| :--- | :--- |

Graph S

## Year of Immigration

Poverty rates were relatively low for families with heads who immigrated to Canada prior to 1980, and they were relatively high for families with heads who arrived in the 1980s or later. Among unattached individuals, poverty rates were lowest among those who immigrated in the 1960s and highest among those who arrived after 1979.

The poverty rate for all families headed by immigrants was 19.7 percent in 1993, and the poverty rate for all unattached immigrants was 43.6 percent. The comparable rate for families with Canadian-born heads was 13.6 percent, and the comparable rate for unattached people born in Canada was 36 percent.

## Poverty Rates for Immigrants By Period of Immigration, 1993



## Graph T

## Area of Residence

Graph U shows poverty among families and unattached people by the size of their communities. Each of the five categories in the graph corresponds to a set of poverty lines based on community size. The low income cut-offs are higher in urban areas than rural areas, and that explains in part why poverty rates in the largest cities are noticeably higher than poverty rates in the country.


## DEPTH OF POVERTY, THE POVERTY GAP, AND NEAR POVERTY

It is one thing to measure the risk of poverty and quite another to measure its severity. Poverty rates show the percentage of the population which is poor each year, but they do not show whether poor people are living in abject poverty or a few dollars below the poverty line. For that, we need measures of the "depth of poverty." Depth of poverty statistics also allow us to calculate the "poverty gap" to show how much additional income would be needed to bring all Canadians out of poverty. Finally, it is useful to have information about the "near poor" or those people who live just above the poverty line and who would become poor with a small drop in income.

Several types of statistics are available on the depth of poverty. Two particularly useful measures show the average incomes of poor Canadians as a percentage of the poverty line and the depth of poverty in dollars below the poverty line.

## Depth of Poverty By Family Type, 1993



Graph V

Graph V on the preceding page shows the average incomes of poor Canadians as a percentage of the poverty line for the eight family types which were highlighted in previous chapters. The groups are arranged with the poorest at the left of the graph and the least poor at the right. Unattached men under 65 . were the poorest of the eight family types in 1993, with total incomes that were only 54.9 percent of the poverty line on average. Poor married couples 65 and older were at the other end, with average incomes of 83.5 percent of the poverty line.

Depth of poverty can also be expressed in dollars as the difference between the poverty line and the average income of poor families or unattached individuals. Table 9 shows the depth of poverty by family type for the years 1980 and 1993, with all the figures given in 1993 dollars to factor out the effects of inflation over the years.

| TABLE 9 <br> AVERAGE DEPTH OF POVERTY BY FAMILY TYPE <br> IN CONSTANT 1993 DOLLARS, 1980 AND 1993 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Family Type |  |  |  | Dollars Below <br> Poverty Line <br> in 1980 | Dollars Below <br> Poverty Line <br> in 1993 |
| Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18 | $\$ 9,884$ | $\$ 8,566$ |  |  |  |
| Couples under 65 with Children under 18 | $\$ 8,144$ | $\$ 7,677$ |  |  |  |
| Unattached Men under 65 | $\$ 7,054$ | $\$ 6,229$ |  |  |  |
| Unattached Women under 65 | $\$ 6,139$ |  |  |  |  |
| Childless Couples under 65 | $\$ 6,586$ | $\$ 5,946$ |  |  |  |
| Unattached Men 65 and Older | $\$ 3,927$ | $\$ 2,848$ |  |  |  |
| Unattached Women 65 and Older | $\$ 3,308$ | $\$ 3,184$ |  |  |  |
| Couples 65 and Older |  | $\$ 2,492$ |  |  |  |

The eight family types in Table 9 are arranged so that the two family types with the largest depth of poverty in 1980 came first - that is, single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 and couples under 65 with children under 18. The overall order is different when the statistics are given in dollars rather than percentages, because the poverty lines for families are much higher in dollar terms than the poverty lines for unattached individuals.

There were noticeable declines between 1980 and 1993 in the depth of poverty among all family types except couples 65 and older. Statistics Canada did not publish depth of poverty data for unattached people by sex for 1980. However, if recent data are any guide, the differences between the sexes were relatively small in $1980 .{ }^{2}$

| TABLE 10  <br> TOTAL POVERTY GAP BY FAMILY TYPE, 1993  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Family Type | Poverty Gap | Percentage <br> of <br> Total Gap |
| Couples under 65 with Children under 18 | $\$ 2,879,000,000$ | $19.8 \%$ |
| Unattached Men under 65 | $\$ 2,863,000,000$ | $19.7 \%$ |
| Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18 | $\$ 2,764,000,000$ | $19.0 \%$ |
| Unattached Women under 65 | $\$ 2,502,000,000$ | $17.2 \%$ |
| Couples under 65 without Children | $\$ 906,000,000$ | $6.2 \%$ |
| Unattached Women 65 and Older | $\$ 874,000,000$ | $6.0 \%$ |
| Unattached Men 65 and Older | $\$ 250,000,000$ | $1.7 \%$ |
| Couples 65 and Older | $\$ 237,000,000$ | $1.6 \%$ |
| Others | $\$ 1,239,000,000$ | $8.8 \%$ |
| Total Poverty Gap | $\$ 14,514,000,000$ | $100.0 \%$ |

Using the average depth of poverty in dollars for different family types and the number of families or unattached individuals in each group, it is possible to calculate Canada's total "poverty gap," or the amount of additional income that would be required to bring all Canadians above the poverty line in any given year.

The poverty gap in 1993 was $\$ 14.5$ billion, as shown in Table 10 on the previous page. Four family types accounted for more than three-quarters of the gap: couples under 65 with children under 18 ; unattached men under 65 ; single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18; and unattached women under 65. The ranking of these four groups changes from year to year, but no other family types come close to the size of their poverty gaps.

Canada's poverty gap rose and fell in recent years in much the same way that poverty rates rose and fell, as shown in Graph W . All the dollar figures have been expressed in constant 1993 dollars to show the trends with the effects of inflation removed. The gap was $\$ 11.9$ billion in 1980, it rose to $\$ 14.4$ billion in 1983 in the wake of the recession, and it fell for most of the rest of the decade. With the start of another recession in 1990, the gap rose once again.

## Canada's Total Poverty Gap In Constant 1993 Dollars



In addition to information on the depth of poverty, Statistics Canada also has information on "near poverty" or families and unattached individuals who are just above the poverty line. In 1993, there were 1.3 million unattached individuals with incomes below the poverty line and another 420,000 with incomes between the poverty line and 125 percent of the line. There were 1.1 million poor families and another 595,000 families with incomes between 100 and 125 percent of the poverty line.

With sizable numbers of Canadians living just below or just above the poverty line, the poverty statistics could change dramatically with major changes in the economy or major changes in government policy.

To get an idea of the possibilities, the National Council of Welfare recalculated the 1993 poverty rates for unattached individuals and families based on hypothetical best-case and worstcase scenarios.

In the best-case scenario, we assumed that all poor people with incomes between 75 and 100 percent of the poverty line got increases in income large enough to put them over the poverty line. The number of poor unattached individuals would have fallen from 1.3 million to 749,000 under this scenario, and the number of poor families would have dropped from 1.1 million to 617,000 .

The worst-case scenario assumes that all people with incomes between 100 and 125 percent of the poverty line suddenly lost enough income to fall into poverty. The number of poor unattached people would have climbed from 1.3 million to 1.7 million, and the number of poor families would have gone from 1.1 million to 1.7 million.

Neither of these scenarios is likely to occur within the population as a whole, but there are thousands of people living near the poverty line who move in or out of poverty every year. Large numbers of seniors, for example, have incomes very close to the poverty line, and even a modest improvement in government programs for seniors could make a significant difference in the poverty rates.

## POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME

One measure of the financial plight of poor people is how far they live below the poverty line. Another is how their incomes compare to average incomes. Table 11 gives the average income of poor Canadians by family type in 1993, the average income of all Canadians by family type, and the relationship between the two. For example, unattached men under 65 who were poor had a total income of $\$ 8,071$ on average in 1993. The income of all unattached men under 65, both poor and non-poor, was $\$ 27,388$ on average. The average income of the poor amounted to 29 percent of the average income of all unattached men under 65.

\left.| TABLE 11 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| INCOMES OF THE POOR COMPARED TO AVERAGE INCOMES, 1993 |  |  |$\right]$| Income of |
| :---: |
| Family Type |

The differences between the average incomes of the poor and all Canadians are sometimes striking. Poor couples under 65 with children under 18 had an average family income of $\$ 19,782$ in 1993, for example, while the average income of all couples with children under 18 was $\$ 59,687$ or roughly three times as large.

The differences were much less in the case of unattached seniors and single-parent mothers, because average incomes were much less. The average income for poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 was $\$ 15,010$ in 1993, but the average income of all single-parent mothers was only $\$ 23,440$ - much less than average incomes for all husband-wife families.

Obviously, many poor Canadians rely on government programs of one kind or another to help make ends meet. In some cases, the amounts provided by governments are surprisingly modest, and the amounts provided by earnings and non-government sources of income are substantial. In other cases, especially in the case of poor seniors, governments provide a very large portion of total income.

Table 12 shows the average amount of government assistance received by poor families and unattached individuals in 1993. The family types are ranked according to the amount of government assistance, with the smallest amounts first. The second column gives the average incomes of poor families and unattached individuals from all sources - the same figures as the previous table. The third column gives the percentage of total income from government sources.

Government programs of one kind or another provided 46 percent of total income on average for poor unattached women under 65 in 1993; 53 percent of total income for poor unattached men under 65; 47 percent for poor childless couples under 65; 47 percent for poor couples under 65 with children under 18 ; and 72 percent for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. They provided 91 percent of total income for poor unattached women 65 and older; 94 percent for poor unattached men 65 and older; and 87 percent for poor senior couples.

| TABLE 12 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO THE POOR, BY FAMILY TYPE, 1993 |  |  |  |
|  | Average <br> Family Type <br> Government <br> Assistance | Average <br> Income <br> from All <br> Sources | Government <br> Assistance as <br> Percentage of <br> Total Income |
|  | $\$ 3,781$ | $\$ 8,198$ | $46 \%$ |
| Unattached Women under 65 | $\$ 4,266$ | $\$ 8,071$ | $53 \%$ |
| Unattached Men under 65 | $\$ 5,611$ | $\$ 11,851$ | $47 \%$ |
| Childless Couples under 65 | $\$ 9,345$ | $\$ 19,782$ | $47 \%$ |
| Couples under 65 <br> with Children under 18 | $\$ 10,727$ | $\$ 11,735$ | $91 \%$ |
| Unattached Women 65 and Older | $\$ 10,833$ | $\$ 15,010$ | $72 \%$ |
| Single-Parent Mothers under 65 <br> with Children under 18 | $\$ 11,180$ | $\$ 11,921$ | $94 \%$ |
| Unattached Men 65 and Older | $\$ 14,553$ | $\$ 16,816$ | $87 \%$ |
| Couples 65 and Older |  |  |  |

We now turn to specific sources of income for poor people, beginning with poor seniors. One reason that poverty rates for seniors have plummeted over the years has been the variety of government programs for seniors. The old age security pension and guaranteed income supplement are paid by the federal government from general revenues. Benefits under the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans are paid by the plans from the money built up from contributions by workers and employers.

Table 13 on the next page provides a closer look at these and other common sources of income for poor senior couples and poor unattached men and women 65 and older. For each family type, there are two columns. The first column indicates the percentage of poor families or unattached individuals with income from a particular source. The second column gives the
average amount received by recipients only. Poor people who did not receive a particular type of income were not included in calculating the average amount of that type of payment.

| TABLE 13 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR SENIORS, 1993 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Almost all poor seniors got a sizable portion of their total incomes from the federal government's old age security pension and guaranteed income supplement. The reason the percentages are less than 100 percent is probably because some were recent immigrants to Canada who did not meet the residence requirements of the programs. The maximum amount of the old age security pension and guaranteed income supplement for senior couples in 1993 was $\$ 16,272$, and the maximum amount for an unattached senior was $\$ 10,036$.

The second most important source of income, claimed by 67 percent of poor senior couples, 75 percent of poor unattached senior men and 59 percent of poor unattached senior women was benefits from the Canada Pension Plan or Quebec Pension Plan. The maximum retirement benefit under the two plans was $\$ 8,008$ in 1993, and the maximum survivor pension for a person 65 and older was $\$ 4,805$. The maximums relate to career earnings above the average wage. People who had lower earnings during their careers get lower benefits.

Some poor seniors had income from investments, but the average amounts received were modest.

The category provincial supplements refers to those provinces which have income supplements for low-income seniors in addition to the federal guaranteed income suppplement. The amounts provided by these programs vary greatly from province to province, and the amounts received were modest on average.

Finally, a fairly small proportion of poor seniors had income from occupational pension plans. Poor coverage has been a long-term problem of occupational pension plans, and Table 13 shows how little retirement income the plans provided to people who retired at the low end of the income scale.

A different picture emerges when we look at sources of income for poor people under 65. Earned income is often the major source of income, although welfare and unemployment insurance benefits are also important. Details are provided in Table 14 on the next page.

Earnings were the single most important source of income in 1993 for four of the five family types listed in Table 14, and they were the second most important source of income for poor single-parent families led by women. Earnings were reported by 55 percent of poor unattached men under 65; 58 per cent of poor unattached women under $65 ; 59$ percent of poor childless couples under 65 ; 77 percent of poor couples under 65 with children under 18 ; and 48 percent of poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The average amounts received in earnings were noteworthy in all cases. The average of $\$ 6,949$ earned by poor singleparent mothers, for example, was roughly equivalent to 35 weeks of work for 40 hours a week at a rate of $\$ 5$ an hour or roughly 17 weeks of full-time work at $\$ 10$ an hour.

| TABLE 14SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, 1993 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Unat M | ched | Unat W |  | without | hildren | $\mathrm{Cou}$ with | ples | Single Mo | Parent ers |
| Source of Income | Percent Receiving | Average <br> Amount to <br> Recipient | Percent Receiving | Average <br> Amount to <br> Recipient | Percent Receiving | Average <br> Amount to Recipient | Percent <br> Receiving | Average <br> Amount to <br> Recipient | Percent Receiving | Average Amount to Recipient |
| Earnings | 55\% | \$6,111 | 58\% | \$6,449 | 59\% | \$8,416 | 77\% | \$12,695 | 48\% | \$6,949 |
| Welfare | 47\% | \$5,826 | 36\% | \$5,707 | 36\% | \$7,544 | 36\% | \$9,910 | 71\% | \$10,163 |
| Unemployment Insurance | 13\% | \$4,663 | 11\% | \$3,721 | 17\% | \$4,845 | 33\% | \$6,495 | 14\% | \$4,857 |
| Investment Income | 8\% | \$1,585 | 15\% | \$1,678 | 26\% | \$1,791 | 15\% | \$2,108 | 5\% | \$1,309 |
| Child Tax Benefit | -- | -- | -- | -- | - | - | 100\% | \$2,517 | 99\% | \$2,208 |
| Canada and Quebec Pension Plans | 7\% | \$5,552 | 14\% | \$4,551 | 20\% | \$5,920 | 4\% | \$6,425 | 4\% | \$4,868 |
| Child and/or Spousal Support | -- | -- | 2\% | \$5,427 | - | - | 2\% | \$1,405 | 16\% | \$3,604 |
| Occupational Pension Plans | 1\% | \$6,388 | 3\% | \$4,910 | 7\% | \$6,162 | 2\% | \$8,748 | - | -- |
| Income from All Sources | 100\% | \$8,071 | 100\% | \$8,198 | 100\% | \$11,851 | 100\% | \$19,782 | 100\% | \$15,010 |

A sizable portion of each of the five family types received welfare during 1993. Welfare payments were reported by 47 percent of the poor unattached men under $65 ; 36$ percent of the poor unattached women under 65; 36 percent of the poor childless couples under 65; 36 percent of the poor couples under 65 with children under 18 ; and 71 percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 . Judging by the average amounts received, many of the poor unattached men and women and the poor single-parent families were on welfare much of the year. Poor couples, with or without children, seem to have spent less time on welfare on average. As the National Council of Welfare reported in Welfare Incomes 1993, unattached people could have received provincial welfare and related benefits ranging between $\$ 3,060$ and $\$ 8,306$ a year, single parents with one child between $\$ 8,480$ and $\$ 15,061$, and couples with two children $\$ 9,512$ to $\$ 19,765$. $^{3}$

Unemployment insurance benefits were reported by 13 percent of the poor unattached men under 65; 11 percent of the poor unattached women under $65 ; 17$ percent of the poor childless couples under $65 ; 33$ percent of the poor couples under 65 with children under 18 ; and 14 percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. As in the case of earnings, the average amounts received suggest that poor families or unattached people were on UI for fairly long periods of time. The federal government changed benefit levels for unemployment insurance as of April 4, 1993. Prior to April 4, the plan paid recipients 60 percent of their normal wages to a maximum benefit of $\$ 447$ a week. After April 4 , the rate was 57 percent to a maximum of $\$ 425$ a week.

A relatively small percentage of poor families and unattached individuals under 65 had income from investments.

The federal child tax benefit was introduced in 1993 to replace family allowances, the refundable child tax credit and the non-refundable credit for families with children under 18 who pay federal income tax. The maximum child tax benefit in most parts of Canada in 1993 was $\$ 1,233$ for each child under age seven and $\$ 1,020$ for each child seven through 17. The rates are somewhat different in Quebec and Alberta at the request of the two provincial governments. ${ }^{4}$

Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits were claimed by 14 percent of poor unattached women under 65,20 percent of poor couples under 65 without children, and much smaller percentages of the three other family types. The Survey of Consumer Finances does not specify
the type of benefit, but they could be people between 60 and 65 who took early retirement, widows or widowers who received survivor pensions from the plans, or people who got disability pensions.

Similarly, people who got money from occupational pension plans could have received retirement, survivor or disability pensions.

Statistics Canada added a question about child and spousal support to its survey forms in its survey of incomes for 1993. Table 14 shows that 16 percent of poor single-parent mothers under 65 received support payments in 1993, and the average amount received was \$3,604. Two percent of poor unattached women under 65 and two percent of couples with children under 18 received support payments from previous marriages.

Supplemental data provided by the bureau at the request of the National Council of Welfare showed that the poverty rate for families led by single-parent mothers with children under 18 who received spousal or child support was 47.1 percent, while the rate for families led by single-parent mothers with no support payments was 62.8 percent.

The data also suggest that support payments tend to decrease reliance on welfare. Fiftyeight percent of the poor single-parent mothers who received spousal or child support relied on welfare sometime in 1993 , and the average amount of welfare received was $\$ 8,311$. For the poor single-parent mothers who did not report spousal or child support, the percentage relying on welfare was 74 percent and the average amount of welfare received was $\$ 10,444$.

## A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

## The Low-Wage Poor

The low-wage poor or "working poor" are poor people who are normally in the labour force. Some researchers reserve the term for poor people who have full-time jobs for virtually the entire year. Others include poor people who have strong ties to the labour market regardless of the number of weeks worked or the normal hours of work each week. ${ }^{\text {s }}$

Graph X gives a breakdown of poor family heads and unattached individuals who worked full time or part time or did not work at all for wages during 1993. In these calculations, Statistics Canada excluded family heads and unattached individuals 65 and older, as well as younger people who reported that they were permanently unable to work.

## Work Activity by Family Heads and Unattached People, 1993



Graph X

Full time means the person worked at least 49 weeks during the year and the normal work week was 30 hours or more. Part time means the person worked less than 49 weeks a year or less than 30 hours a week.

Overall, 23 percent of poor family heads under 65 worked full time in 1993, 37 percent worked part time and the remaining 40 percent did not work at all for wages. Among poor unattached individuals under 65, 15 percent worked full time, 48 percent worked part time and the other 37 percent did not work at all for wages.

These figures reflect a deterioration in the employment patterns of poor people, presumably due to the recession and its aftermath. In 1990, 27 percent of poor family heads worked full time, 40 percent worked part time and 33 percent did not work. The comparable 1990 figures for poor unattached individuals were 19 per cent who worked full time, 54 percent who worked part time and 27 per cent who did not work.

Another way to define the low-wage poor is families and unattached individuals living below the poverty line who get at least half of their total income from employment. This definition puts aside the distinction between full-time and part-time work and focuses on poor people who spend a substantial part of the year in paid jobs.

Table 15 on the next page shows the low-wage poor by family type using this second definition. As in Graph X, the table excludes people 65 and older and people permanently unable to work.

Earnings were the most important source of income for a sizable portion of four of the five family types shown. Forty-seven percent of the poor unattached men under 65,50 percent of the poor unattached women, 51 percent of the poor couples without children and 56 percent of the poor couples with children were working poor. The exception to the rule was singleparent mothers. Only 21 percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 got half or more of their total income from earnings.

| TABLE 15 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| POOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65 WITH EARNINGS OF 50 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL INCOME, 1993 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Unattached Men | Unattached Women | Childless Couples | Couples with Children | Single-Parent Mothers |
| Total Number of Poor Families or Unattached People* | 394,000 | 360,000 | 132,000 | 356,000 | 315,000 |
| Number with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income | 185,000 | 179,000 | 67,000 | 199,000 | 66,000 |
| Percentage with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income | 47\% | 50\% | 51\% | 56\% | 21\% |
| Average Annual Earnings | \$7,422 | \$7,593 | \$10,149 | \$16,241 | \$11,857 |
| Average Income from Sources Other than Earnings | \$1,010 | \$919 | \$2,039 | \$5,189 | \$4,226 |
| Average Total Income | \$8,432 | \$8,512 | \$12,188 | \$21,430 | \$16,083 |
| Earnings as a Percentage of Total Income | 88\% | 89\% | 83\% | 76\% | 74\% |

- The table excludes people 65 and older and people permanently unable to work.

The lower part of Table 15 shows the average incomes of the low-wage poor and the importance of their earnings. Average earnings for unattached men and women, for example, were the equivalent of 37 weeks of work at $\$ 5$ an hour for 40 hours a week. Average earnings for families were substantially higher, suggesting that family heads either received higher wage rates or had a second wage-earner in the family.

The table also suggests that few low-wage poor families or unattached people relied very much on welfare or unemployment insurance, since the average amounts of income aside from earnings were small. Probably most of the other income came from programs such as the federal GST credit or federal child tax benefit.

Although the figures were limited to poor people with earnings that amounted to at least half of total income, the last row of the table shows that a much larger portion of total income typically came from earnings. Earnings accounted for between 74 percent and 89 percent on average of total income for the different family types.

## Children

Child poverty rates are a reflection of parental poverty rates and tend to rise or fall as economic conditions deteriorate or improve. The most striking difference year after year is the huge gulf between the poverty rates for children in two-parent families and the rate for children of single-parent mothers. There are also important differences from province to province.

Table 16 on the next page gives the 1993 poverty rates and number of children living in poverty by family type and province. The category "poor children in all family types" includes a small number of children who do not fall into either of the two main family types listed. The national total of $1,415,000$ poor children, for example, included 69,000 poor children under 18 living in less common family circumstances. Some of them lived with single-parent fathers under 65 , parents who were 65 or older, or relatives other than parents.

In 1993, 20.8 percent of all Canadian children under 18 were poor. The lowest provincial child poverty rate was 9.7 percent in Prince Edward Island, and the highest was 24.1 percent in Manitoba. The national poverty rate for poor children in two-parent families was
13.4 percent, and provincial rates went from a low of 6.1 percent in P.E.I. to a high of 16.3 percent in Newfoundland. The poverty rates for children of single-parent mothers were abysmally high. The national rate was 63.8 percent, and the range was from 35.4 percent in Prince Edward Island to 76.3 percent in Manitoba and 76.6 percent in New Brunswick.

| TABLE 16 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Poor Children in All Family Types |  | Poor Children of Two-Parent Families under 65 |  | Poor Children of Single-Parent Mothers under 65 |  |
|  | Poverty Rate | $\begin{gathered}\text { Number } \\ \text { of } \\ \text { Children }\end{gathered}$ | Poverty Rate | Number of Children | Poverty Rate | Number of Children |
| Newfoundland | 20.7\% | 32,000 | 16.3\% | 22,000 | 67.8\% | 8,000 |
| Prince Edward Island | 9.7\% | 3,000 | 6.1\% | 2,000 | 35.4\% | 1,000 |
| Nova Scotia | 22.1\% | 48,000 | 12.2\% | 22,000 | 73.7\% | 25,000 |
| New Brunswick | 17.5\% | 31,000 | 10.0\% | 15,000 | 76.6\% | 15,000 |
| Quebec | 20.9\% | 348,000 | 14.6\% | 207,000 | 64.0\% | 129,000 |
| Ontario | 20.9\% | 525,000 | 13.1\% | 264,000 | 61.0\% | 238,000 |
| Manitoba | 24.1\% | 64,000 | 15.9\% | 36,000 | 76.3\% | 25,000 |
| Saskatchewan | 22.6\% | 59,000 | 14.7\% | 33,000 | 69.6\% | 23,000 |
| Alberta | 19.8\% | 140,000 | 13.0\% | 77,000 | 61.9\% | 52,000 |
| British Columbia | 20.5\% | 164,000 | 11.4\% | 73,000 | 64.4\% | 78,000 |
| Canada | 20.8\% | 1,415,000 | 13.4\% | 752,000 | 63.8\% | 595,000 |

Between 1992 and 1993, poverty rates for all children rose in seven provinces and together gave Canada its highest rate in 14 years. Provincial poverty rates for all poor children hit 14 -year highs in Nova Scotia, Ontario and British Columbia.

The only decreases between 1992 and 1993 were in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Alberta. The P.E.I. rate of 9.7 percent for all children in 1993 was a 14 -year low.

One of the long-standing myths about child poverty is that most poor children live in single-parent households. Table 16 shows that this is not the case for Canada as a whole. In 1993, 752,000 poor children lived in two-parent families under 65 , while 595,000 poor children lived in single-parent families headed by women under 65. The two provinces that proved to be exceptions to the norm were Nova Scotia and British Columbia. Poor children living with single-parent mothers outnumbered poor children in two-parent families 25,000 to 22,000 in Nova Scotia and 78,000 to 73,000 in B.C.

## Poor Children By Family Type, 1980 and 1993




1980 1993

## Graph Y

Nonetheless, the proportion of poor children living with single-parent mothers has grown substantially in recent years. As Graph Y shows, 33 percent of all poor children in 1980 lived in families headed by single-parent mothers, and most of the rest lived in two-parent families. By 1993, the percentage of poor children with single-parent mothers was up to 42 percent and the percentage living with both parents was down to 53 percent.

Provincial trends in child poverty are shown in the graphs on the following five pages. Each graph gives overall child poverty rates from 1980 through 1993. For purposes of comparison, each graph also contains a line without percentages that traces the national child poverty rate.

Prince Edward Island and Ontario had child poverty rates that were below average for all or most of the period. Newfoundland, Quebec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan were generally higher than average. Rates in Nova Scotia and British Columbia were mixed. Rates in New Brunswick fell to below average in 1992 and 1993, and the 1992 figure of 15.5 percent was a modern-day low. Rates in Alberta rose to higher than average by the late 1980s and hit a modern-day high of 23.3 percent in 1992.

Newfoundland

$\rightarrow$ Newfoundland Canada

## Prince Edward Island



Graph Z

## Nova Scotia


$\rightarrow$ Nova Scotia - Canada

New Brunswick

$\square$

Graph AA

## Quebec



Ontario



Graph AB

## Manitoba



- Manitoba Canada


## Saskatchewan




## Alberta



British Columbia


$$
\begin{gathered}
\sim \text { British Columbla }- \text { Canada } \\
\text { Graph ÀD }
\end{gathered}
$$

## Women

As we showed earlier, women face a significantly higher risk of poverty than men. Table 17 gives the poverty rates for women and men age 18 and older for the years 1980 through 1993, and ratio of female to male rates each year.

## TABLE 17

## TRENDS IN POVERTY AMONG WOMEN AND MEN 18 AND OLDER

|  | Adult Women |  | Adult Men |  | Ratio of Female <br> to Male Poverty <br> Rates |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Poverty <br> Rate | Number of <br> Poor | Poverty <br> Rate | Number of <br> Poor |  |
| 1980 | $18.0 \%$ | $1,565,000$ | $12.7 \%$ | $1,058,000$ | 1.42 |
| 1981 | $17.8 \%$ | $1,567,000$ | $12.6 \%$ | $1,063,000$ | 1.40 |
| 1982 | $18.1 \%$ | $1,624,000$ | $13.6 \%$ | $1,160,000$ | 1.33 |
| 1983 | $20.1 \%$ | $1,836,000$ | $15.4 \%$ | $1,334,000$ | 1.30 |
| 1984 | $19.7 \%$ | $1,817,000$ | $14.9 \%$ | $1,304,000$ | 1.31 |
| 1985 | $18.8 \%$ | $1,754,000$ | $14.0 \%$ | $1,240,000$ | 1.34 |
| 1986 | $17.7 \%$ | $1,677,000$ | $13.4 \%$ | $1,197,000$ | 1.31 |
| 1987 | $17.4 \%$ | $1,673,000$ | $12.9 \%$ | $1,176,000$ | 1.34 |
| 1988 | $17.1 \%$ | $1,664,000$ | $11.7 \%$ | $1,081,000$ | 1.46 |
| 1989 | $15.5 \%$ | $1,534,000$ | $10.7 \%$ | $1,001,000$ | 1.45 |
| 1990 | $16.2 \%$ | $1,622,000$ | $11.3 \%$ | $1,079,000$ | 1.43 |
| 1991 | $17.3 \%$ | $1,767,000$ | $12.7 \%$ | $1,234,000$ | 1.36 |
| 1992 | $17.4 \%$ | $1,804,000$ | $13.1 \%$ | $1,289,000$ | 1.33 |
| 1993 | $18.5 \%$ | $1,949,000$ | $13.9 \%$ | $1,398,000$ | 1.33 |

In 1980, the poverty rate for adult women was 18 percent, the rate for adult men was 12.7 percent, and the rate for women was 1.42 times the rate for men. In 1993, the poverty rate for women was 18.5 percent, the rate for men was 13.9 percent and the ratio between the sexes was 1.33.

The year-to-year poverty rates for women and men tend to follow the ups and downs in the economy. The gap between the sexes appears to narrow slightly in tough economic times, but the changes in the ratio are small.

Most of the differences between the sexes can be explained by the high poverty rates of three family types: unattached women under 65, unattached women 65 and older, and singleparent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The 1993 poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 37.9 percent, compared to 32.3 percent for unattached men under 65 . For unattached seniors, the poverty rates were 47.3 percent for women and 32.1 percent for men. Single-parent families led by women with children under 18 had a poverty rate of 59.8 percent in 1993, a rate many times higher than the rates for married couples.

Aside from these three high-risk groups of women, there were no significant differences in the poverty rates for adult women and men. The vast majority of families are husband-wife families, and the poverty rates for husbands and wives are identical in all these cases.

In younger husband-wife families, one fact that deserves special mention is the role women play in keeping their families out of poverty through their earnings. Although women earn less on average than men and face a number of barriers to equal participation in the labour force, their contribution is essential in keeping family poverty rates low.

To get a better idea of the importance of the earnings of married women, we asked Statistics Canada to take its 1993 income data on husband-wife families under age 65, subtract the earnings of the wives, and calculate hypothetical poverty rates for families with the wives' earnings removed. The results appear in Table 18.

The actual 1993 poverty rate for all husband-wife families under age 65 was 10.4 percent, and a total of 552,000 families were living in poverty. With the earnings of wives removed and everything else remaining the same, the poverty rate would have jumped to 21.4
percent, and the number of families living in poverty would have more than doubled to $1,136,000$.

The pattern was more or less the same across the country. If wives had stayed out of the paid labour force in 1993 and everything else had stayed the same, poverty rates and the number of poor families would have been much higher in all provinces.

## TABLE 18

## POVERTY RATES FOR FAMILIES WITH TWO SPOUSES UNDER AGE 65, WITH AND WITHOUT THE EARNINGS OF WIVES, 1993

|  | Percentage of Families <br> Who Were Poor <br> in 1993 | Percentage of Families Who <br> Would Have Been Poor <br> Without the <br> Earnings of Wives |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Newfoundland | $13.8 \%$ | $22.9 \%$ |
| Prince Edward Island | $5.5 \%$ | $16.1 \%$ |
| Nova Scotia | $9.3 \%$ | $18.6 \%$ |
| New Brunswick | $8.6 \%$ | $15.9 \%$ |
| Quebec | $12.7 \%$ | $24.2 \%$ |
| Ontario | $9.2 \%$ | $19.6 \%$ |
| Manitoba | $10.5 \%$ | $23.6 \%$ |
| Saskatchewan | $10.3 \%$ | $24.6 \%$ |
| Alberta | $10.3 \%$ | $21.0 \%$ |
| British Columbia | $9.1 \%$ | $21.1 \%$ |
| Canada | $10.4 \%$ | $21.4 \%$ |

## Seniors

Table 19 on the next page gives the poverty rates for senior men and women in each province in 1980, 1992 and 1993, the changes between 1980 and 1993, and the changes between 1992 and 1993.

Over the years, the poverty rates for seniors have fallen dramatically, and many of the figures for 1992 were record lows or near-record lows. Between 1992 and 1993, increases were the order of the day.

For men 65 and older, poverty rates rose between 1992 and 1993 in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan. For women 65 and older, the rates went up in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

The increases in Quebec and Ontario were particularly discouraging. Quebec has long had poverty rates for seniors well above the national average - possibly because it is the only large province without provincial income supplements for older people who are poor. Ontario has traditionally had below-average poverty rates for seniors, but the increases in 1993 were so large that they had a dramatic effect on the national picture. In fact, most of the national increase in poverty among seniors in 1993 was due to the rise in poverty among seniors in Ontario.

On the brighter side, there were a few reductions in poverty among seniors in 1993 that are worth highlighting. Poverty rates for both men and women 65 and older were down in Newfoundland and Alberta. Among senior women, the Newfoundland rate of 17.6 percent and the Alberta rate of 22.6 percent were both record lows. Among senior men, there were record lows of 5.8 percent in Prince Edward Island and 12.7 percent in British Columbia.

| POVERTY RATES FOR MEN AND WOMEN 65 AND OLDER BY PROVINCE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Men |  |  |  |  | Women |  |  |  |  |
|  | 1980 | 1992 | 1993 | \% Change 1980-1993 | \% Change 1992-1993 | 1980 | 1992 | 1993 | \% Change 1980-1993 | \% Change 1992-1993 |
| Newfoundland | 27.6 | 18.1 | 13.1 | -53\% | -28\% | 36.9 | 23.1 | 17.6 | -52\% | -24\% |
| Prince Edward Island | 33.7 | 6.4 | 5.8 | -83\% | -9\% | 52.7 | 11.9 | 12.6 | -76\% | +6\% |
| Nova Scotia | 22.8 | 7.6 | 8.4 | -63\% | +11\% | 31.5 | 25.1 | 21.1 | -33\% | -16\% |
| New Brunswick | 22.1 | 5.4 | 8.3 | -62\% | +54\% | 34.2 | 16.5 | 22.0 | -36\% | +33\% |
| Quebec | 33.7 | 19.4 | 21.4 | -36\% | +10\% | 46.2 | 32.3 | 34.2 | -26\% | +6\% |
| Ontario | 24.0 | 7.6 | 12.9 | -46\% | +70\% | 34.3 | 18.9 | 22.3 | -35\% | +18\% |
| Manitoba | 23.8 | 16.3 | 12.6 | -47\% | -23\% | 41.2 | 24.4 | 24.9 | -40\% | +2\% |
| Saskatchewan | 28.1 | 5.4 | 8.1 | -71\% | +50\% | 49.0 | 13.4 | 15.7 | -68\% | +17\% |
| Alberta | 25.2 | 15.8 | 13.7 | -46\% | -13\% | 38.8 | 26.0 | 22.6 | -42\% | -13\% |
| British Columbia | 29.6 | 14.8 | 12.7 | -57\% | -14\% | 32.7 | 21.7 | 23.6 | -28\% | +9\% |
| Canada | 27.3 | 12.4 | 14.4 | -47\% | +16\% | 38.4 | 23.3 | 25.1 | -35\% | +8\% |

## FOOTNOTES

1. The methodology used to set the 1992 base low income cut-offs is the same. However, the survey data estimated average expenditures on food, shelter and clothing at 34.7 percent of total income, so it was assumed that low-income people would spend 54.7 percent or more of their incomes on necessities.
2. Detailed depth of poverty statistics using the 1986 base low income cut-offs were published by Statistics Canada in May 1992 in a monograph entitled LICO/LIM Income Deficiency/Surplus Tables 1980-1990.
3. The income ranges were taken from Table 5 of Welfare Incomes 1993. They are made up of provincial welfare and other provincial benefits.
4. Payments in Alberta varied with the age of the child, and payments in Quebec varied with the age of the child and the number of children in a family.
5. For a very strict definition of the term, see Ross, David P., E. Richard Shillington and Clarence Lochhead, The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty - 1994 (Ottawa: The Canadian Council on Social Development, 1994), p. 75. For a very loose definition, see Gunderson, Morley, and Leon Muszynski with Jennifer Keck, Women and Labour Market Poverty (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1990), pp. 57-61.

## APPENDIX

STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS ( 1986 BASE) FOR 1994

| Family <br> Size | Community Size |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cities of <br> $500,000+$ | $100,000-$ <br> 499,999 | $30,000-$ <br> 99,999 | Less than <br> 30,000 | Rural <br> Areas |  |
| 1 | $\$ 15,479$ | $\$ 13,596$ | $\$ 13,282$ | $\$ 12,108$ | $\$ 10,538$ |  |
| 2 | 20,981 | 18,430 | 18,004 | 16,411 | 14,286 |  |
| 3 | 26,670 | 23,426 | 22,884 | 20,860 | 18,157 |  |
| 4 | 30,708 | 26,969 | 26,348 | 24,019 | 20,905 |  |
| 5 | 33,550 | 29,467 | 28,787 | 26,242 | 22,841 |  |
| 6 | 36,419 | 31,983 | 31,246 | 28,483 | 24,792 |  |
| $7+$ | 39,169 | 34,403 | 33,609 | 30,638 | 26,666 |  |

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS ( 1986 BASE) FOR 1995*

| Family <br> Size | Cities of <br> $500,000+$ | $100,000-$ <br> 499,999 | $30,000-$ <br> 99,999 | Less than <br> 30,000 | Rural <br> Areas |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $\$ 15,758$ | $\$ 13,841$ | $\$ 13,521$ | $\$ 12,326$ | $\$ 10,728$ |
| 2 | 21,359 | 18,762 | 18,328 | 16,706 | 14,543 |
| 3 | 27,150 | 23,848 | 23,296 | 21,235 | 18,484 |
| 4 | 31,261 | 27,454 | 26,822 | 24,451 | 21,281 |
| 5 | 34,154 | 29,997 | 29,305 | 26,714 | 23,252 |
| 6 | 37,075 | 32,559 | 31,808 | 28,996 | 25,238 |
| $7+$ | 39,874 | 35,022 | 34,214 | 31,189 | 27,146 |

- based on inflation of 1.8 percent as forecast in the 1995 budget speech


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