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# SOCIAL TRENDS

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HOMICIDE IN CANADA ☐ ANNUAL INDEX ☐ 1986 CENSUS HIGHLIGHTS

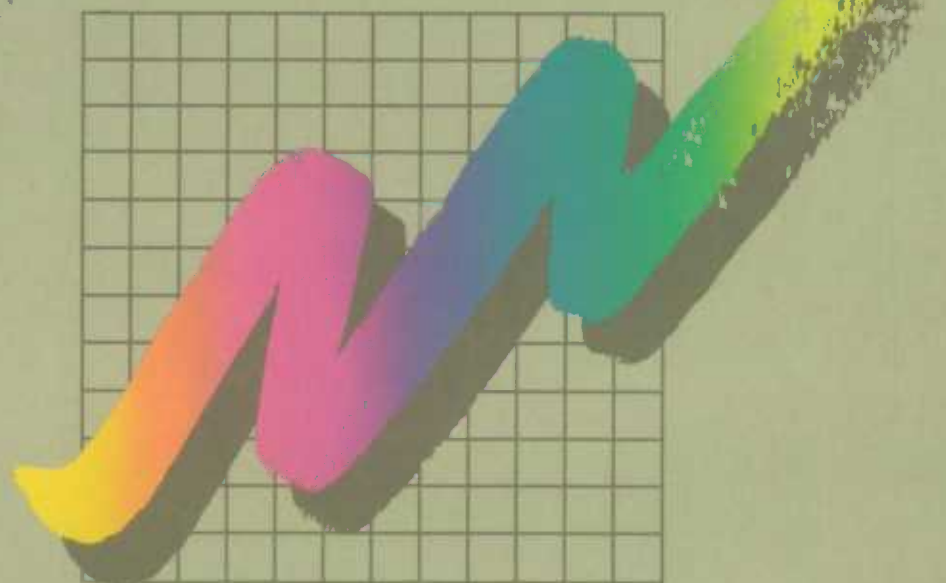


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**Return from Church** was painted by Lawren Harris in 1919 (oil on canvas 101.6 x 121.9 cm), and was presented as a gift to the National Gallery of Canada in 1960.

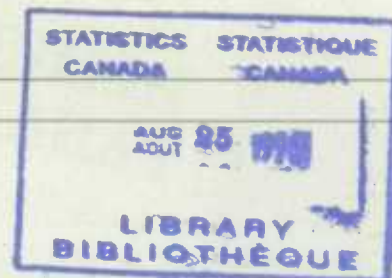
About the artist:

**Lawren S. Harris** (1885-1970) was an original member of the Group of Seven artists whose work is world renowned. Born in Brantford, Ontario, he received his formal education at St. Andrew's College and the University of Toronto. Subsequent to spending four consecutive winters in Europe studying art, he returned to Canada embarking on a successful career as an artist. Lawren Harris travelled extensively throughout Canada, and many of his impressionistic sketches and drawings depict the locations he visited.

# CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

## CONTENTS

<b>Homicide in Canada</b> <i>by Holly Johnson</i>	2
<b>Women in Male-Dominated Professions</b> <i>by Katherine Marshall</i>	7
<b>Urban Canada</b> <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	12
<b>Calgary: A Statistical Profile</b> <i>by Nat Stone</i>	19
<b>Forty Years of Social Housing in Toronto</b> <i>by Susan McMillan</i>	24
<b>Women Parenting Alone</b> <i>by Maureen Moore</i>	31
<b>1986 Census Highlights: Aging of the Canadian Population</b> <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	37
<b>Social Indicators</b>	39



## 1987 Index of Articles

## Outside Back Cover

## CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

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**Cover: Return from Church**  
by Lawren S. Harris National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

ISSN 0831-5698

# HOMICIDE IN CANADA

by Holly Johnson

The homicide rate in Canada has gone through several distinct phases in the past twenty-five years. Between 1962 and 1977, the number of homicides per 100,000 population increased steadily from 1.4 to 3.1. In the period 1978-1985, however, the homicide rate was relatively stable, fluctuating between 2.5 and 2.8. Then, in 1986, the rate dropped sharply to 2.2, the lowest level since 1971.

The actual number of homicides followed a similar pattern. Between 1962 and 1977, the number of homicides almost tripled, increasing from 265 to 711. Then, in the period 1978-1984, the number of homicides stabilized, ranging from a high of 682 in 1983 to a low of 593 in 1980. In 1985, there were 704 homicides in Canada, but the number fell sharply to just 561 in 1986.

Although homicides attract a great deal of publicity, they make up only a small proportion of all reported violent crimes. Between 1962 and 1985, homicides ranged between 0.4% and 0.6% of all reported violent crimes. In 1986, this figure dropped even lower to 0.3%.

The incidence of homicide is also relatively low compared with other forms of non-natural death. In 1985, there were 2.8 homicides per 100,000 population; the same year, there were 16.2 deaths per 100,000 population as a result of traffic accidents, 14.9 as a result of other accidents, and 12.9 suicides.

## **Homicide Rates Increase from East to West**

As with other violent offences, homicide rates in Canada are generally highest in the western provinces and lowest in the Atlantic region. In 1986, Manitoba had the highest provincial homicide rate, with 4.4 homicides for every 100,000 residents. British Columbia (3.1) and Alberta (2.7) were also characterized by relatively high homicide rates. On the other hand, there were no homicides in Prince Edward Island in 1986, and just 0.7 per 100,000 residents in Newfoundland.

The Northwest and Yukon Territories both had homicide rates far in excess of the national rate. In 1986, there were 27.5 homicides per 100,000 residents in the Northwest Territories, while in the Yukon Territory, the rate was 13.1.





## Firearms and Other Methods of Homicide

From 1976 to 1978, about 38% of homicides annually involved firearms. In 1979, the year after gun control legislation came into force, the proportion declined to 33%. Since then, the proportion remained at about that level, except for 1982, when the figure climbed to 37%. In 1986, 31% of homicides were the result of shooting. The proportion of homicides involving handguns, though, remained relatively stable. Throughout the 1976-1985 period, about 10% of homicides involved handguns each year. In 1986, however, the proportion fell to 7%.

Between 1976 and 1986, the percentage of all homicides caused by stabbing increased from 20% to 29%, while the percentage due to beatings remained at 22%.

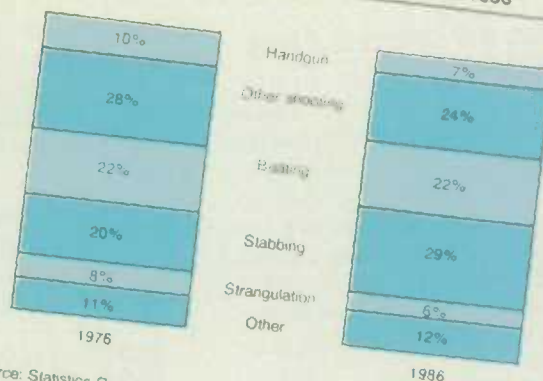
## Homicides Committed during Another Crime

In 1986, 17% of all homicides occurred during the commission of another crime. This figure, however, fluctuated somewhat in the last decade. It rose from 13% in 1976 to about 20% in 1981 and 1982, and then fell back to 14% in 1984.

Robbery, theft, and break and enter were the criminal acts that most often resulted in homicide. Homicides that took place during the commission of one of these offences increased from 8% of all homicides in 1976 to 13% in 1985, but dropped to 11% in 1986. Homicides committed during a sexual assault made up 2% of all homicides in 1976, 6% in 1981, and 4% in 1986.

The types of crimes resulting in homicide differ according to the sex of the victim. The most common type of offence resulting in the death of a woman was sexual assault, while for men the most common were robbery, theft, and break and enter.

Methods Used to Commit Homicide, 1976 and 1986



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 85-209, Homicide in Canada.



was sexual assault, while for men the most common were robbery, theft, and break and enter.

### Homicides and Alcohol and Drug Consumption

In a substantial proportion of homicides, either the suspect or the victim had consumed alcohol or drugs. Between 1976 and 1986, the proportion of homicides involving these substances ranged from one-quarter to one-third. Most involved alcohol. In 1986, for example, 22% of homicides were classified as alcohol-related, while 3% involved drug usage.

### A High Proportion of Homicides Solved

Relative to other crimes, the police solve a high proportion of homicides. In 1986, 76% of homicides resulted in charges

being laid against an accused. In another 9% of cases, a suspect was identified but not charged. In most of these cases the suspect either committed suicide immediately after the incident, confessed and subsequently died, or was committed to a mental hospital. Fifteen percent of homicides committed in 1986 were unsolved.

In comparison, police laid charges in only 40% of other violent crimes in 1986, while another 30% were cleared otherwise. Almost 30% of violent crimes other than homicide were not solved.

### Homicide Suspects

The majority of homicide suspects are young men. In 1986, 57% of all homicide suspects were men aged 29 or under. Overall, men made up 85% of homicide suspects that year. The age and sex profile of homicide suspects remained relatively constant over the last decade.

Between 1976 and 1986, the annual percentage of homicide suspects of native origin fluctuated between 18% and 23%. In 1986, 20% of homicide suspects were native, a proportion considerably higher than the 3% representa-

### Homicide and the Criminal Code

Homicide currently includes three categories: murder, manslaughter and infanticide. According to police records, most homicides, about 91% annually, are murders. Another 8% are classified as manslaughter, while fewer than 1% are infanticides.

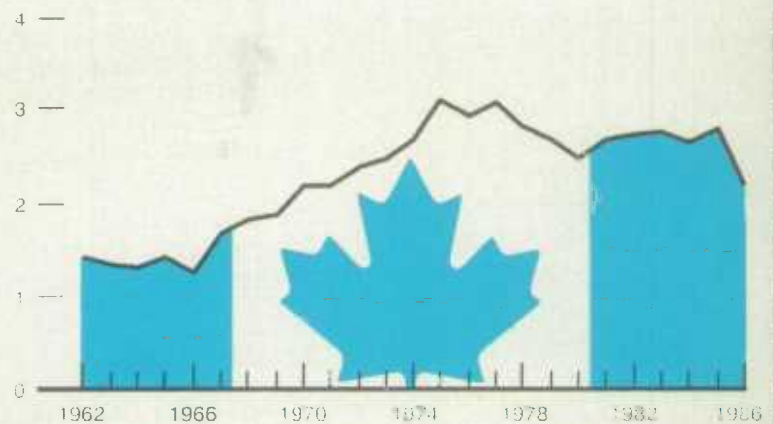
Murder is further broken down into first- and second-degree murder. First-degree murder includes planned and deliberate murder; murder of a police or custodial officer killed in the line of duty; murder committed in the course of certain other criminal acts such as hijacking, kidnapping or sexual offences; and murder committed by someone previously convicted of either first- or second-degree murder. All other murder is considered second degree.

The penalty for both first- and second-degree murder is life imprisonment. Persons convicted of first-degree murder are eligible for parole after 25 years; those convicted of second-degree murder must serve at least 10 years before they are eligible for parole.

Manslaughter generally is the killing of someone without intent. The maximum sentence for manslaughter is life. Infanticide is the killing of a newborn child by its mother; it carries a maximum sentence of five years imprisonment.

### Homicide Rate, 1962-1986

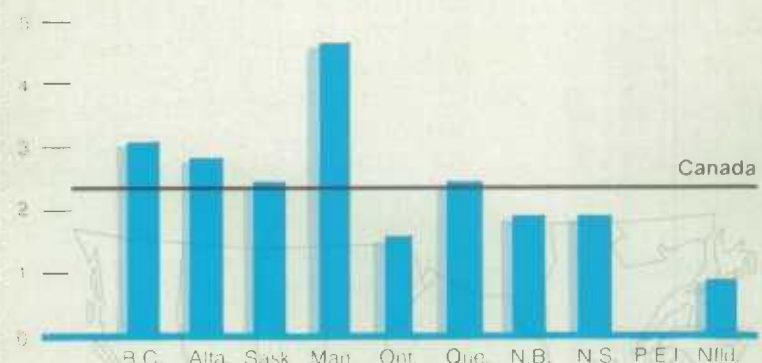
Per 100,000 population



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 85-209, *Homicide in Canada*.

### Homicide Rate, by Province, 1986

Per 100,000 population



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 85-209, *Homicide in Canada*.





## Homicide Rates in Canada and Other Countries

Historically, Canada's homicide rate has been between one-third and one-quarter of that in the United States. In 1986, the homicide rate in

Canada was 2.2 compared with 8.6 in the U.S.

Relative to other countries with comparable measures of

homicide, the 1985 Canadian homicide rate of 2.8 was higher than in Scotland (1.1), England and Wales (1.2), and Sweden (1.5), but lower than in Italy (4.4) and France (4.6).



tion of native people in the general population.

### Homicide Victims

Historically, just over one-third of homicide victims have been women and about two-thirds men. In 1986, 36% were female and 64% male. About half of all victims have been between the ages of 18 and 39.

The percentage of homicide victims who were of native origin fluctuated during the last decade, ranging from a low of 12% to a high of 19%. In 1986, 14% of homicide victims were of native origin.

### Victim-Suspect Relationship and Location of Homicide

A popular image of homicide is that of a stranger-to-stranger attack in a park or dark alley. While such incidents do occur, the majority of homicides involved people who knew each other, and most took place in a home setting.

In 40% of homicides solved in 1986, suspects and victims were domestically related, while another 35% involved social or business acquaintances. In only 25% of cases did the victim and suspect not know each other.

Domestic homicides were predomi-

nantly those in which victims and suspects were immediate marital or common-law family members: 37% involved wives killed by husbands; 29% were children killed by parents; 10% were parents killed by children; 10% were husbands killed by wives; and 4% involved siblings. Other family relationships such as grandparent, uncle, aunt or cousin made up the remaining 9% of domestic homicides.

The largest proportion of homicides occurred in the victim's home. In 1986, 47% of all homicides took place in the home of the victim, which may also have

been the suspect's home. Another 9% occurred in the suspect's residence.

Only 17% of homicides happened in a public place. An additional 10% occurred in a private place, such as another residence, while 2% took place in a correctional institution, and 5% in other locations. The actual location of 9% of homicides was not known.

Homicides in the victim's home are most likely to involve people who share a domestic relationship. Over half (53%) of homicides in the victim's home in 1986 involved relatives, while 17% involved acquaintances. A substantial proportion (12%), however, occurred during the commission of another crime and involved non-relatives. An additional 4% of offenders were unknown to the victims and 14% of cases were unsolved.

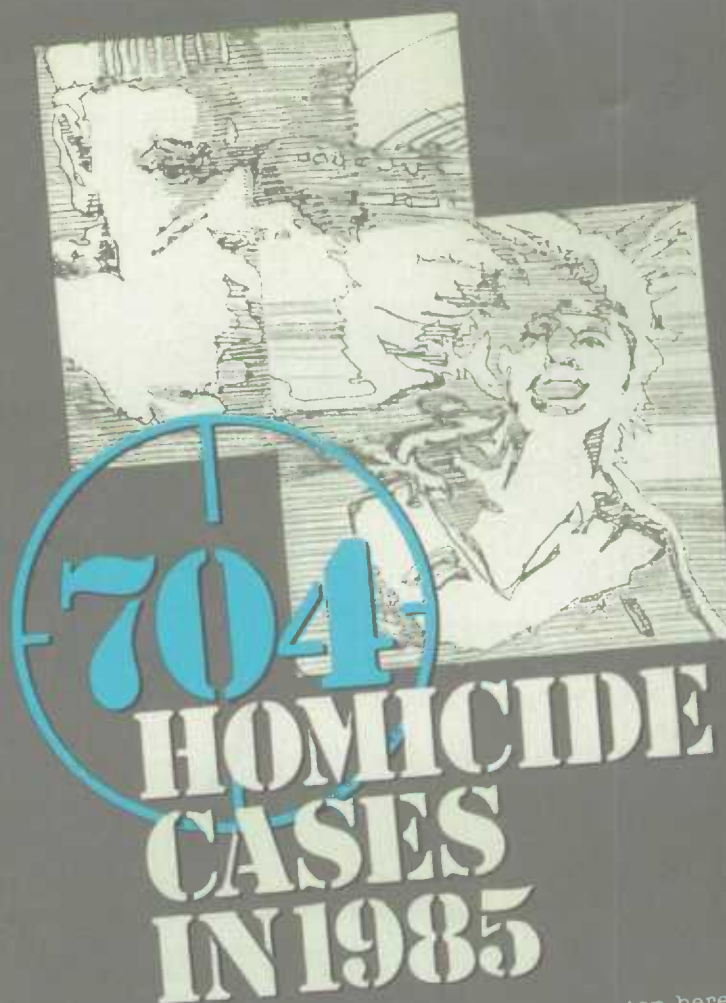
The nature and circumstances of homicides vary depending on the sex of the victims. Women are more likely than men to be killed in their own homes, and at the hands of someone domestically related to them. In 1986, 61% of female homicide victims were killed in their homes compared with 40% of male victims. At the same time, 62% of female homicide victims compared with 27% of male victims were killed by someone related to them through kinship, marriage or common-law union. As well, the overwhelming majority (79%) of victims of spousal homicide were women.

### Police and Correctional Officers Murdered

The number of police officers reported murdered while on duty in Canada each year has not changed substantially over the past twenty-five years. Between 1962 and 1986, a total of 92 police officers, or about 4 per year, were murdered. The annual number ranged from a low of 1 to a high of 11. Four officers were murdered in 1986.

Between 1962 and 1986, 16 staff members of correctional institutions were killed in the line of duty. The highest annual number of such homicides in a year was 3 in 1975, 1978, and 1982. In 1986, no correctional staff members were murdered.

**Holly Johnson** is an analyst with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.



For most people homicide statistics stop here. But others need to know more and that's what **Homicide in Canada: 1976-1985** provides. More data! More detail on suspects, victims, their age and sex, their relationships with each other, the circumstances of the crime, and even the methods used.

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# WOMEN IN MALE-DOMINATED PROFESSIONS

by Katherine Marshall



One of the most significant social trends in Canada over the past several decades has been the dramatic increase in the labour force participation of women. Concerns have been raised, however, that while the number of working women has increased, most are still employed in so-called women's occupations which are often characterized by poor pay and low status.

There is evidence, however, that in the period 1971-1981, women made substantial in-roads into what have traditionally been male-dominated professional occupations. These professions are of particular interest because they are generally among the best paid occupations in Canada, and most carry high levels of social status.

For the purposes of this report, professional occupations were those in

which 45% or more of those employed in that occupation in 1981 had at least a bachelor's degree. For comparability, the same occupations were considered professional in 1971. A profession was classified as male-dominated if 65% or more of the people employed in it in 1971 were men. Overall, 46 occupational groups met the criterion for being professional; 34 of these were classified as male-dominated.

While women did make substantial gains in male-dominated professions in the 1970s, they were still significantly under-represented in these professions in

1981. As well, because these occupations often involve considerable commitment to the workforce and a demanding workload (elements not generally compatible with a woman's conventional family role), many women entering these fields had to adopt new patterns of behaviour. Women in male-dominated professions, for example, were more likely than women in other occupations to have never married, or if married, to have had fewer children or to be childless.

The total number of women employed in male-dominated professions in Canada rose from 30,410 in 1971 to 83,340 in 1981; this increase accounted for 29% of the overall growth in these occupations during this period. As a result, in 1981, women made up 19% of all those employed in male-

## Women in Non-Male-Dominated Professions, 1971 and 1981

	Total number of women		Percentage increase 1971-1981	Woman as a % of total growth in profession 1971-1981	Women as a % of total employment in profession	
	1971	1981			1971	1981
Psychologists	2,035	4,600	126.0	56.1	48.7	52.6
Social workers	7,230	21,020	190.7	68.8	55.4	63.5
Supervisors in library, museum and archival sciences	600	1,440	140.0	79.2	47.4	62.1
Librarians and archivists	6,120	13,575	121.8	84.2	77.2	80.9
Educational and vocational counsellors	1,690	3,050	80.5	92.5	35.8	49.3
Elementary and kindergarten teachers	140,500	152,335	8.4	60.6	83.9	81.5
Secondary school teachers	56,615	63,320	11.8	27.3	47.2	43.8
Postsecondary school teachers	5,730	4,445	-22.4	27.6	49.4	63.9
Teachers of exceptional students	4,420	15,315	246.5	71.0	75.0	72.1
Physiotherapists, occupational and other therapists	5,895	12,525	112.5	86.9	82.9	85.0
Dieticians and nutritionists	2,010	3,280	63.2	91.7	95.9	94.3
Translators and interpreters	1,395	4,340	211.1	64.4	57.1	61.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>234,240</b>	<b>299,250</b>	<b>27.8</b>	<b>62.3</b>	<b>67.4</b>	<b>66.2</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

## Women in Non-Male-Dominated Professions

By far, the vast majority of professional women work in the 12 occupational groups that were not male-dominated. In 1981, 78% of professional women, compared with just 30% of male professionals, were employed in one of these occupations. In fact, in 1981, 62% of all professional women were in teaching-related positions; however, this proportion was

down from 79% in 1971. The female component of non-male-dominated professions ranged from 94% of dieticians and nutritionists, to 44% of secondary school teachers.

Between 1971 and 1981, the representation of women increased in 8 of the 12 non-male-dominated professions and declined in the others. Overall,

while female representation dropped in only 5 of the 46 professions, because declines occurred in the two largest female-dominated occupations, elementary and kindergarten, and secondary school teachers, the percentage of women in all professional occupations actually fell slightly from 43.1% in 1971 to 42.5% in 1981.

dominated professions, up from 11% in 1971.

During the 1971-1981 period, the proportional representation of women increased in all but 1 of the 34 professions identified as male-dominated. In addition, women accounted for the major share of the overall growth in employment in several of these occupations. In fact, women accounted for more than half of the total increase in employment in 6 of the 34 male-dominated professions. The largest increase occurred among pharmacists; women accounted for 78% of total employment growth in this profession over the 1971-1981 period.

The other professions in which women made up more than half of total employment growth were university teaching and related occupations<sup>1</sup> (55%), mathematicians, statisticians and actuaries (55%), management occupations in the social sciences and related fields (54%), optometrists (52%), and chemists (51%).

Women also accounted for more than 40% of the total increase in employment among community college and vocational school teachers (45%), university teachers<sup>1</sup> (44%), sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists (43%), and administrators in teaching and related fields (41%).

As a result of this growth, the proportional representation of women in many of these professions also increased dramatically. The percentage of all pharmacists who were women, for example, rose from 25% in 1971 to 42% in 1981. In the same period, women as a proportion of all those employed in university teaching and related occupations increased from 30% to 46%, while for management positions in the social sciences and related fields, the increase was from 34% to 48%.

<sup>1</sup> University teachers include tenured professors. University teaching and related occupations include non-tenured professors and lecturers, teaching and laboratory assistants, and other instructors.



## Women in Male-Dominated Professions, 1971 and 1981

	Total number of women		Percentage increase 1971-1981	Woman as a % of total growth in profession 1971-1981	Women as a % of total employment in profession	
	1971	1981			1971	1981
Management occupations, natural sciences and engineering	70	800	1,042.9	7.6	2.7	6.6
Management occupations, social sciences and related fields	760	3,805	400.7	54.2	33.8	48.2
Administrators in teaching and related fields	6,445	9,120	41.5	41.2	21.5	25.0
Chemists	895	1,975	120.7	50.8	11.8	20.4
Geologists	145	795	448.3	23.2	2.9	10.3
Physicists	45	65	44.4	4.0	5.6	5.0
Meteorologists	40	90	125.0	27.0	4.9	9.0
Agriculturists and related scientists	330	1,220	269.7	31.8	5.1	13.2
Biologists and related scientists	830	2,330	180.7	36.4	26.1	31.9
Architects	125	560	348.0	14.0	3.0	7.7
Chemical engineers	65	340	423.1	12.9	1.8	5.9
Civil engineers	235	980	317.0	6.9	1.1	3.0
Electrical engineers	205	1,000	387.8	6.7	1.3	3.7
Mechanical engineers	100	380	280.0	4.5	0.8	1.9
Metallurgical engineers	15	50	233.3	3.8	1.7	2.8
Mining engineers	20	105	425.0	5.9	0.9	2.9
Petroleum engineers	15	225	1,400.0	6.7	1.1	4.9
Nuclear engineers	—	40	—	6.9	—	4.8
Other architects and engineers	140	1,640	1,071.4	15.0	4.0	12.2
Mathematicians, statisticians and actuaries	1,010	2,070	105.0	55.9	25.0	34.7
Economists	640	2,570	301.6	28.8	11.0	20.5
Sociologists, anthropologists and related social scientists	170	540	217.6	42.5	33.0	39.0
Judges and magistrates	75	220	193.3	18.6	5.7	10.5
Lawyers and notaries	860	5,390	526.7	24.9	5.2	15.5
Ministers of religion	900	1,785	98.3	26.9	4.5	7.6
University teachers	5,190	9,785	88.5	43.7	19.7	26.5
Other university teaching and related occupations	1,525	6,170	304.6	55.0	30.3	45.8
Community college and vocational school teachers	3,280	13,770	319.8	45.3	33.0	41.6
Physicians and surgeons	3,150	7,255	130.3	33.4	10.7	17.4
Dentists	330	860	160.6	13.6	4.9	8.1
Veterinarians	75	605	706.7	30.2	4.3	17.2
Osteopaths and chiropractors	80	340	325.0	22.0	7.3	14.9
Pharmacists	2,540	6,090	139.8	78.3	25.3	41.8
Optometrists	105	365	247.6	52.0	6.7	17.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>30,410</b>	<b>83,340</b>	<b>174.1</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>18.6</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

The proportional representation of women among optometrists, veterinarians, and lawyers and notaries also rose by 10 percentage points or more. However, even with these increases, women still made up fewer than one in five people employed in these professions in 1981.

Women also accounted for one-third of the total growth in the number of physicians and surgeons, the single,

largest male-dominated professional group. As a result, the percentage of doctors who were women increased from 11% in 1971 to 17% in 1981.

On the other hand, women accounted for less than 10% of total employment growth in 9 of the 34 male-dominated professions during the 1971-1981 period. Women made up only 4% of the increase in the number of physicists, and just 8% of the increase in

management occupations in engineering and the natural sciences. As well, about 8% of all employment growth in the various engineering professions in the 1971-1981 period was due to the increasing number of female engineers.

Because of these relatively slow growth rates, increases in the proportional representation of women in these professions were relatively small. In fact, the percentage of all physicists who were

women actually fell slightly, from 6% in 1971 to 5% in 1981. This, however, was the only male-dominated profession in which the proportional representation of women declined.

The proportion of engineers who were women did increase; however, in 1981, only 4% of engineers, compared with 1% in 1971, were women. At the same time, the proportion of female managers in engineering and the natural sciences increased from 3% in 1971 to 7% in 1981.

Younger women were responsible for much of the increase in female participation in male-dominated professions. For example, women aged 25-34 accounted for almost half of the overall increase in female employment in these professions during the 1971-1981 period. In this period, the number of women aged 25-34 in male-dominated professions increased 274%. This compared with increases of 128% for women in all other ages groups and 57% for men aged 25-34.

The relative growth in employment of younger women in male-dominated professions was particularly strong in the prestigious categories of doctors, judges and lawyers, and university professors. Over the 1971-1981 period, the increase in the number of 25- to 34-year-old women in these professions was actually slightly greater than that for men in the same age group. Yet, despite this growth, women still made up just 20% of all doctors, judges, lawyers, and university teachers in 1981, and only 27% of those aged 25-34.



## Socio-Economic Characteristics of Women in Male-Dominated Professions

Many of the social and economic characteristics of women employed in male-dominated professions differ from those of both men working in these professions and women employed in other occupations.

Compared with women in other occupations, those in male-dominated

professions had the most education, the highest employment rate, and the greatest income. For example, women aged 25 and over employed full-time in male-dominated professions earned an average of \$24,100 in 1980, compared with \$21,100 for other professional women and \$13,400 for women in non-professional occupations.

The average employment income of women in male-dominated professions, however, was considerably below that of

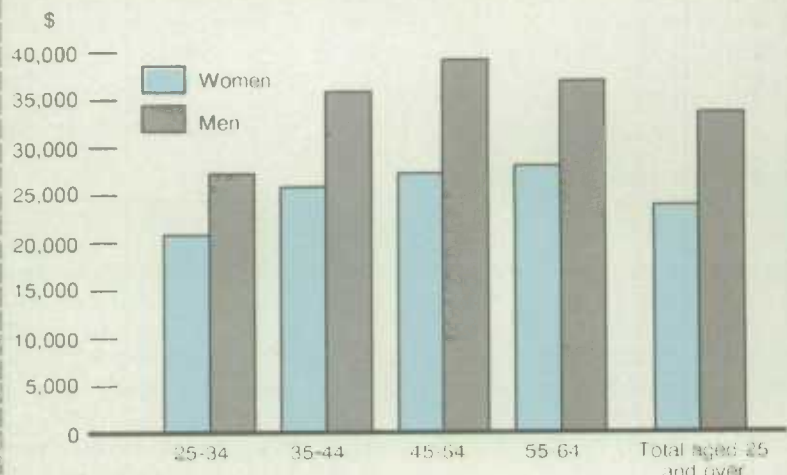
### Selected Family Indicators, 1981

	Male-dominated professions	Women Other professions	Non-professionals	Men in male-dominated professions
% never married				
- 25-44 years	24.8	19.6	13.1	—
- 45 years and over	22.0	15.4	7.4	—
% who were spouses in husband-wife families	61.9	69.1	71.4	80.0
% of spouses in husband-wife families with children at home	59.8	67.9	69.0	69.9
% employed full-time				
- spouses in husband-wife families with children under 19 at home	50.8	46.2	47.8	93.2
- spouses in husband-wife families without children	73.6	70.3	62.6	82.0

— not available

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada.

### Average 1980 Employment Income of Men and Women in Male-Dominated Professions, by Age



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada.



men in these occupations. The average earnings of women working full-time in male-dominated occupations were just 71% of those of comparable men in 1980. Part of this difference is explained by the relatively high proportion of women in these professions who were in the younger age groups; these women tend to have less seniority and lower average employment income than the older age groups. Also, women aged 25-34 in these professions had average employment incomes that were only 77% those of comparable men.

The family characteristics of women in male-dominated professions also differ from those of other groups. Women in these professions were the least likely of any occupational category, either male or female, to be in a husband-wife family. They were also more likely than other women to have never married. Among employed women aged 45 and over, for example, 22% of those in male-dominated professions had never married, compared with 15% of those in other professions and just 7% of non-professionals. As well, women in male-dominated professions had fewer children at home than other women and were more likely than other women not to have had children at all.

The differences in family characteristics also extend to a comparison of women and men in male-dominated professions. Women in these occupations were much less likely than men to be a spouse in a husband-wife family. In 1981, 62% of women in these occupations were married, compared with 80% of men. As well, those women in male-dominated professions who were in husband-wife families were less likely than comparable men to have children: 60% of married women, compared with 70% of married men, had children at home. In addition, only 51% of professional women in husband-wife families with children had full-time jobs, compared with 93% of similar men.

These figures indicate that it is still far easier for men to maintain both a professional career and a family. For many women, unlike men, the decision to pursue such a career may mean limiting marital or parental options.

**Katherine Marshall** is an analyst with the General Social Survey, Statistics Canada.



- More detail on this topic is available in the report by the same author, *Who Are the Professional Women?*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-951.

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# URBAN CANADA

by Mary Anne Burke



**T**ransformation of Canada from a predominantly rural society to an urban one has occurred in a little over one hundred years. The pace of urbanization has varied by province, as have the factors at work behind the process. While the growth rate of the Canadian population is slowing, concentration in a few urban areas continues to increase.

Urban life is now reality for the majority of Canadians. In 1986, three-quarters of the population lived in urban areas, primarily in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. Increasingly, this means living in large metropolitan areas. In 1986, 60% of Canadians lived in one of 25 census metropolitan areas (CMAs), up from 54% five years earlier. In fact,

Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver together accounted for 31% of the Canadian population in 1986, up from 29% in 1981.

## Urban Growth

The rate of urban growth varied by census period, province, and by city size. With the exception of 1981, the percentage of the Canadian population classified as urban has increased with every census since 1871, when 18.3% of the population was considered urban. By 1931, 50% of the Canadian population was urban, and by 1976 the figure had climbed to 76.1%. By 1981, however, the urban population had dropped half a percentage point to 75.6%. By 1986, the urban component again increased to 76.3%.

## Definitions

**Urban Area:** An area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and a population density of 400 or more per square kilometre.

**Census Metropolitan Area (CMA):** The main labour market of an urban area (the core) with a population of at least 100,000 based on the previous census.

**Urban Province:** A province with at least 50% of its population living in centres of at least 10,000 people.

**Rural Area:** All territory lying outside urban areas.

**Rural Non-farm Population:** All people living in rural areas who are not members of the households of farm operators living on their farms for any length of time during the 12-month period prior to the Census.

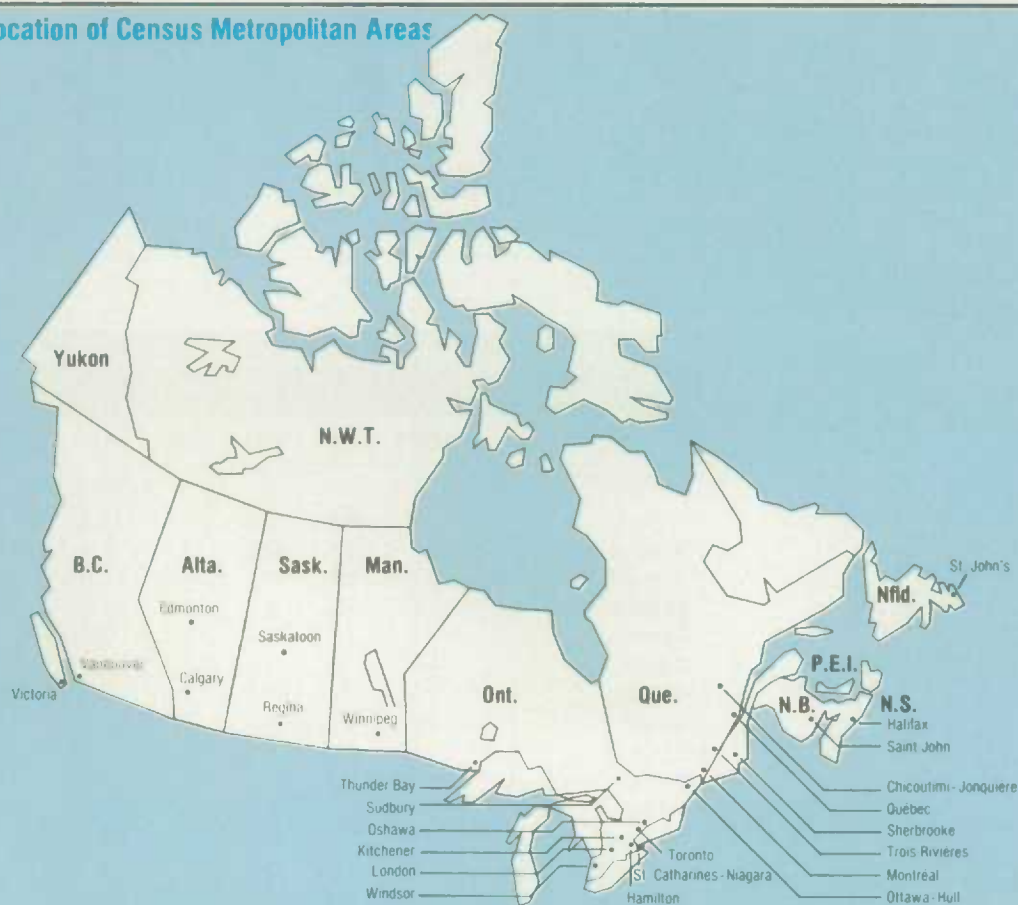
The decline of the urban population recorded in the 1981 Census reflected a short-term increase in the proportion of the population residing in rural non-farm areas and commuting to large urban areas to work, as well as a blurring of urban/suburban/rural borders around metropolitan areas such as Toronto. The recent resurgence of urban growth may signal a movement back to urban core areas. Preliminary 1986 Census data indicate, for example, that since the previous census, population had increased in the urban cores of the CMAs, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

## By Province

Except for Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, each province was



### Geographical Location of Census Metropolitan Areas



predominantly urban in 1986. That year, the urban proportion of the population stood at 82% in Ontario; 79% in British Columbia and Alberta; 78% in Quebec; 62% in Manitoba; 61% in Saskatchewan; 59% in Newfoundland; and 54% in Nova Scotia.

Prince Edward Island remained predominantly rural with only 38% of its population in urban areas. New Brunswick was the only other province in which a majority of the population did

not live in urban areas. In 1986, only 49% of the population of New Brunswick was urban; this was down from 57% in 1971.

Urbanization was most rapid in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and Alberta. Ontario and British Columbia met the urban criteria in 1911, Quebec in 1921, and Alberta 1956. By 1971, all the provinces except Prince Edward Island were more than 50% urban, with Ontario and Quebec as high as 80%, and British Columbia, 75%.

### By City Size

The average growth rate for all urban areas has slowed considerably since 1971. In part, this reflects the overall decline in Canada's population growth. For the 1981-1986 period, the national growth rate was 4.2%, the lowest five-year growth rate in the last 25 years. As well, the urban population is now so large that even substantial absolute numbers of migrants seem small in comparison with the population already

in urban areas. From 1981 to 1986, urban areas 10,000 and over had an average growth rate of 6.0% compared with 12.2% during the 1966-1971 period. The average growth of CMAs was 5.9% for the 1981-1986 period, far below the 27.6% increase from 1966 to 1971. The comparable figures for CMAs of 500,000 population and over were 6.2% for the period 1981-1986 and 19.2% for the earlier period.

Since CMAs were first defined, their number has increased from 15 in 1951 to 25 in 1986. CMAs have grown in size at a faster rate than urban areas under 100,000 population. In fact, since 1951, CMAs have accounted for 77% of Canada's total population growth.

During the 1981-1986 period, the three fastest growing CMAs were Saskatoon (which increased by 14.6% or 46,455 people), Ottawa-Hull (10.1% or 101,385), and Toronto (9.5% or 428,221). Calgary and Edmonton, the fastest growing CMAs during the previous five years, had much lower percentage increases during the 1981-1986 period, reflecting a downturn in local economic conditions (see accompanying article on Calgary). Calgary's population increased 7.2% (78,583) over the period 1981-1986 compared with 25.7% for 1976-1981. Over the same period, Edmonton's population growth rate fell to 6.0% (128,408) from 18.1%. During the 1981-1986 period, Montreal's population grew 2.1% (269,880), up from 0.9%, and Vancouver's by 8.9% (112,546), up from 8.7%. Sudbury was the only CMA to lose population, declining by 4.6% (1,046) between 1981 and 1986. Movement out of Sudbury had started during the 1971-1976 period, when the population fell 0.4%.

During the years 1981 to 1986, the CMAs Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver accounted for 69% of urban growth in Canada, up from 60% during the period 1966-1971. Calgary and Edmonton accounted for 22.5% of urban growth from 1981-1986.

### Population Movement Key to Urban Growth

Urban growth in Canada has resulted from a combination of natural increase, internal migration, and immigration from outside the country. With the decline of fertility rates, internal migration and immigration have become increasingly more important factors in urban growth.

In general, in the earlier decades of this century, the main flow of internal migration was from rural to urban areas.

However, as the size of the rural farm population decreased to current levels, urban-bound migrants tended to be rural non-farm residents, or people moving from one urban area to a larger one.

Since the 1950s, the flow tended to be from smaller urban areas to large metropolitan areas. During the period 1956-1961, 75% of all urban migrants moved to another urban area, less than

20% moved to a rural non-farm area, and only 4% moved to a rural area. This pattern remained basically the same for the period 1976-1981.

During the period 1956-1961, 55% of rural migrants moved to urban areas, increasing to 70% for the period 1976-1981.

For the 1976-1981 period, CMAs were points of origin or destination for

### Percentage of Urban Population, by Province, 1851-1986

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
	%														
Nfld.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	51	57	59	59
P.E.I.	-	9	9	11	13	15	16	19	20	22	25	32	38	37	38
N.S.	8	8	8	15	19	28	37	45	47	52	55	54	57	55	54
N.B.	14	13	18	18	20	23	27	35	35	39	43	47	57	51	50
Que.	15	17	20	24	29	36	45	52	59	61	67	74	81	78	78
Ont.	14	19	21	27	35	40	50	59	63	68	73	77	82	82	82
Man.	-	-	-	15	24	25	39	42	45	46	56	64	70	71	62
Sask.	-	-	-	-	-	6	16	17	20	21	30	43	53	58	61
Alta.	-	-	-	-	-	16	29	31	32	32	48	63	74	77	79
B.C.	-	-	9	18	43	46	51	51	62	64	69	73	76	78	79
Canada	13	14	18	23	30	35	42	47	53	56	62	70	76	76	76

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

### Percentage of Canadian Population in Census Metropolitan Areas, 1951-1986

	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
	%							
Toronto	9.0	9.8	10.5	11.4	12.3	12.2	12.4	13.5
Montreal	11.0	11.4	12.2	12.9	12.7	12.2	11.6	11.5
Vancouver	4.2	4.3	4.5	4.7	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.5
Ottawa-Hull	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.8	3.2
Edmonton	1.4	1.7	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.7	3.1
Calgary	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.7
Winnipeg	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.5
Quebec	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.4
Hamilton	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2
St. Catharines-Niagara	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.4
London	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	0.1	1.2	1.4
Kitchener	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
Halifax	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2
Victoria	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0
Windsor	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.0
Oshawa	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8
Saskatoon	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.8
Regina	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
St. John's	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Chicoutimi-Jonquiere	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6
Sudbury	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6
Sherbrooke	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.5
Trois-Rivieres	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.5
Thunder Bay	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.5
Saint John	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
<b>Total - CMAs</b>	<b>45.7</b>	<b>48.2</b>	<b>50.9</b>	<b>53.4</b>	<b>55.1</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>54.4</b>	<b>59.8</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.



more than 2.5 million migrants, according to a recent study<sup>1</sup>. This movement of people profoundly affects the nature of Canadian metropolitan areas. Migra-

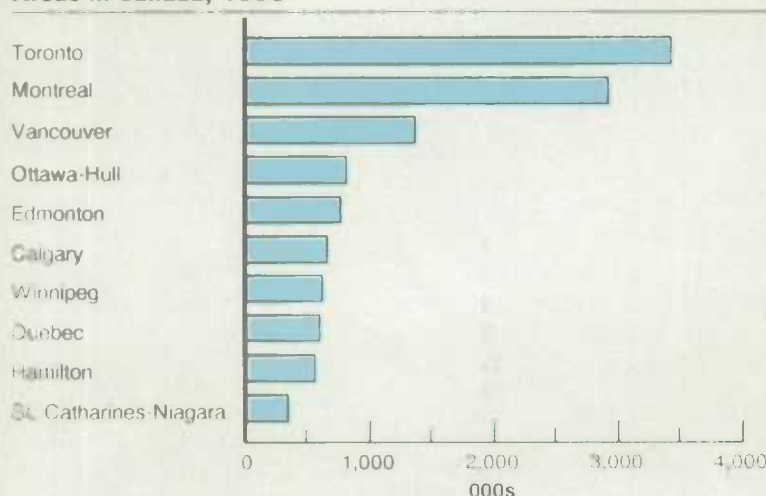
tion was clearly the major contributor to the growth of Calgary and Edmonton. Over the past thirty years, these two CMAs had annual growth rates of 4% to

5%, despite rates of natural increase of no more than 2% per year.

Other fast-growing CMAs like Saskatoon, Kitchener, Toronto, Regina, Ottawa-Hull, Vancouver, and Victoria also had positive net migration. In CMAs with below-average or negative growth rates during the 1976-1981 period — Chicoutimi-Jonquière, St. Catharines-Niagara, Saint John, Thunder Bay, Windsor, Winnipeg, and Montreal — net migration was negligible or negative.

Immigration can moderate the effects of internal migration. For example, without the addition of 64,000 immigrants between 1976 and 1981, Montreal's net out-migration would have been 105,000 instead of 41,000. In Toronto, the arrival of 153,000 immigrants during this period more than offset the loss of 9,000 residents to other parts of Canada and contributed to the overall growth of the CMA.

### Population of the 10 Largest Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada, 1986



Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada.

### Percentage Population Change of Census Metropolitan Areas, 1951-1986

	1951-1956	1956-1961	1961-1966	1966-1971	1971-1976	1976-1981	1981-1986
Toronto	21.1	21.4	18.3	14.8	7.7	7.0	9.5
Montreal	18.6	20.8	15.4	6.7	2.7	0.9	2.1
Vancouver	18.3	18.8	12.9	16.0	7.8	8.7	8.9
Ottawa-Hull	18.1	24.3	15.0	13.9	11.8	3.6	10.1
Edmonton	44.1	32.5	18.8	16.5	11.7	18.1	6.0
Calgary	41.2	38.8	18.4	22.0	16.5	25.7	7.2
Winnipeg	15.5	15.4	6.7	6.2	5.2	1.1	5.6
Quebec	12.8	14.7	15.6	10.0	8.1	6.3	3.3
Hamilton	20.6	16.8	13.6	9.0	5.2	2.4	2.8
St. Catharines-Niagara	26.3	12.4	14.9	6.3	5.6	0.8	0.2
London	19.7	17.3	14.4	12.7	6.9	4.9	4.7
Kitchener	19.7	20.3	24.1	18.0	14.1	5.7	8.1
Halifax	22.6	12.0	7.7	6.1	7.0	3.6	6.6
Victoria	18.2	15.1	12.5	11.7	11.0	7.0	5.8
Windsor	13.5	4.0	9.4	8.5	-0.5	-0.6	1.2
Oshawa	25.1	28.8	23.8	13.0	12.4	14.1	9.2
Saskatoon	36.7	31.1	23.7	9.1	5.8	15.3	14.6
Regina	25.8	24.9	16.8	6.3	7.4	8.7	7.7
St. John's	15.3	14.7	10.3	12.1	8.8	6.5	4.6
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	19.6	15.4	3.5	0.6	1.8	5.1	0.2
Sudbury	32.6	13.0	5.6	13.7	-0.4	-4.5	-4.6
Sherbrooke	13.4	13.6	13.4	6.1	7.1	6.1	3.8
Trois-Rivières	14.4	10.8	6.9	2.5	0.6	5.1	2.8
Thunder Bay	17.3	16.6	6.6	3.8	4.0	1.8	0.2
Saint John	9.8	11.1	5.8	2.4	5.8	0.9	0.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

### Heartland/Hinterland

Migration and immigration trends have reinforced and helped shape the disparate distribution of population in Canada. A Canadian heartland and hinterland have developed, reflecting the very uneven distribution of urban areas. Ontario, Quebec and the far western provinces dominate the other regions of Canada by sheer volume of population, number of CMAs, CMAs over 500,000, and in turn, economically.

In 1986, almost 70% of Canada's 165 urban areas with more than 10,000 residents were in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia. Ontario accounted for 30% of the total, Quebec for 22%, and British Columbia for 17%. The next largest concentrations of urban areas with at least 10,000 population were in Alberta (8%) and Saskatchewan (6%). The remainder were distributed relatively evenly among the other provinces.

The population is further concentrated in several large CMAs. Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver accounted for 31% of the Canadian population in 1986. In fact, most of the population is located in a corridor from Windsor to Quebec City. This area represents 5% of Canada's land surface and, in 1986, accounted for two-thirds of the Canadian population. The situation is similar in British Columbia, where most of the population is concentrated in and around Vancouver in the Fraser River Valley.

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, R. Paul, *Intermetropolitan Migration in Canada: Changing Determinants Over Three Decades*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-504.

Immigration has reinforced the existing distribution of the urban population. Immigrants tend to go to Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta. In 1986, half of all immigrants to Canada went to Ontario; 19% to Quebec; 13% to British Columbia; 10% to Alberta; 4% to Manitoba; 2% to Saskatchewan; and 2% to the Atlantic region. Most immigrants settle in large metropolitan areas. In 1986, Toronto received 30% (29,000) of the total; Montreal, 17% (17,000); Vancouver, 9% (8,700); Calgary, 4% (4,000); Edmonton, 4% (3,800); Winnipeg, 3% (3,300); and Ottawa-Hull, 3% (3,400).

#### Growth Rate by Size of Urban Area, 1951-1986

	Urban area 10,000+ and over	CMAs 100,000+ and over	CMAs 500,000+ and over
1951-1956	12.6	21.6	18.5
1956-1961	12.9	19.4	9.2
1961-1966	13.6	14.0	16.1
1966-1971	12.2	27.6	19.2
1971-1976	0.9	8.5	6.1
1976-1981	2.8	7.7	5.0
1981-1986	6.0	5.9	6.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

#### Urban Issues

Present-day urban society in Canada is a reflection of past and present individual choices and policy decisions concerning the economy, technology, the environment, and population. For example, early decisions concerning investments in the exploitation of Canada's natural resources — fur, lumber, wheat, and minerals — influenced population growth, movement and distribution. Likewise, decisions concerning the development of technology (for example, the decisions made by entrepreneurs to invest in the development of the railways, and along specific routes) also contributed to current urban patterns. Decisions to develop and use the Great Lake Waterway System as a major transportation route have also had an impact on the configuration of present-day urban Canada. More recently, the point system, adopted to select immigrants to Canada, favours applicants with skills suited to a high-tech, urban environment, rather than those with skills geared to a rural environment.

Differences in the timing and nature of economic developments and policies



#### Distribution of Urban Areas by Province, 1986

	Number of urban areas		% distribution of urban areas of 10,000 or more population
	1,000 or more population	10,000 or more population	
Newfoundland	57	7	4.2
Prince Edward Island	7	2	1.2
Nova Scotia	39	7	4.2
New Brunswick	39	6	3.6
Quebec	241	36	21.8
Ontario	250	49	29.7
Manitoba	41	5	3.0
Saskatchewan	68	10	6.1
Alberta	99	13	7.9
British Columbia	92	28	16.9
Northwest Territories	1	1	0.6
Yukon	6	1	0.6
Total	940	165	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada.



# Migration To and From Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), 1966-1971 and 1976-1981

		Other CMAs			Non-metropolitan areas			Immigration	Total net internal migration plus immigration
		In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net		
Calgary	1966-71	36,110	26,026	10,085	42,300	26,620	15,680	24,040	49,805
	1976-81	88,735	33,710	55,025	69,175	58,640	10,535	30,440	96,000
Chicoutimi-Jonquiere	1966-71	3,615	8,505	-4,890	6,920	7,215	-295	1,340	-3,845
	1976-81	3,335	6,430	-3,095	6,245	5,960	285	445	-2,365
Edmonton	1966-71	28,430	31,900	-3,470	52,020	34,165	17,885	21,510	35,895
	1976-81	63,085	35,760	27,325	72,390	65,930	6,460	27,735	61,520
Halifax	1966-71	10,755	15,785	-5,030	21,580	20,530	1,320	6,105	1,205
	1976-81	15,125	19,510	-4,385	24,455	24,720	-265	3,865	-785
Hamilton	1966-71	25,870	21,205	4,665	19,885	18,190	1,695	26,530	32,890
	1976-81	31,975	29,660	2,315	18,370	23,810	-4,810	10,730	8,235
Kitchener-Waterloo	1966-71	15,210	10,880	4,330	17,680	14,390	3,290	15,125	22,745
	1976-81	17,525	18,885	-1,330	18,675	18,730	-55	6,850	5,465
London	1966-71	21,565	17,060	4,505	21,000	18,010	2,990	15,055	22,550
	1976-81	20,340	23,525	-3,185	23,755	22,380	1,375	5,860	4,050
Montreal	1966-71	44,925	78,875	-33,950	115,465	88,780	26,685	115,345	108,080
	1976-81	41,925	120,115	-78,190	97,420	124,830	-27,410	64,495	-41,105
Ottawa-Hull	1966-71	41,480	30,060	11,420	44,080	27,580	16,500	27,605	55,525
	1976-81	58,380	66,530	-8,150	41,030	40,505	525	18,740	11,115
Quebec City	1966-71	15,265	17,145	-1,880	36,885	16,510	20,375	5,930	24,425
	1976-81	15,035	23,095	-8,060	32,430	25,755	6,675	4,425	3,040
Regina	1966-71	7,000	16,005	-9,005	18,465	11,590	6,875	3,080	950
	1976-81	10,630	11,755	-1,125	17,325	14,430	2,895	3,255	5,025
St. Catharines-Niagara	1966-71	12,330	14,700	-2,370	10,915	10,145	770	10,825	9,225
	1976-81	14,520	17,400	-2,880	10,015	12,290	-2,275	4,560	-595
St. John's	1966-71	2,730	6,595	-3,865	11,705	6,390	5,315	1,965	3,415
	1976-81	4,575	7,395	-2,820	9,640	9,820	-180	1,360	-1,640
Saint John	1966-71	3,220	3,775	-555	6,630	6,670	-40	1,400	805
	1976-81	4,405	5,020	-975	7,475	9,180	-1,705	1,095	-1,585
Saskatoon	1966-71	6,650	15,010	-8,360	20,590	13,060	7,530	3,370	2,540
	1976-81	12,110	11,180	930	23,005	16,180	6,825	3,765	11,520
Sudbury	1966-71	7,810	8,755	-965	15,015	10,375	4,640	4,410	8,085
	1976-81	4,070	10,990	-6,926	8,215	13,975	-5,760	850	-11,830
Thunder Bay	1966-71	4,605	5,650	-1,585	6,555	4,815	1,740	2,955	-370
	1976-81	4,685	7,260	-2,565	7,715	6,000	1,715	1,545	695
Toronto	1966-71	95,330	84,770	10,770	90,200	120,885	-30,685	262,280	242,280
	1976-81	127,435	109,095	18,340	96,350	123,660	-27,310	152,890	143,920
Vancouver	1966-71	69,220	28,625	40,595	62,335	56,475	5,860	71,670	118,125
	1976-81	78,575	40,245	38,330	65,320	85,365	-20,045	61,250	79,535
Victoria	1966-71	19,760	11,280	8,480	15,890	11,700	4,190	8,570	21,240
	1976-81	25,080	16,185	8,895	20,115	20,415	-300	6,560	15,155
Windsor	1966-71	9,895	10,390	-495	8,705	9,140	-435	13,250	12,320
	1976-81	7,060	14,250	-7,190	7,565	12,630	-5,065	5,780	-6,475
Winnipeg	1966-71	19,830	28,070	-18,260	38,760	29,380	9,380	23,780	14,920
	1976-81	22,005	42,295	-20,290	35,210	37,500	-2,290	19,135	-3,445

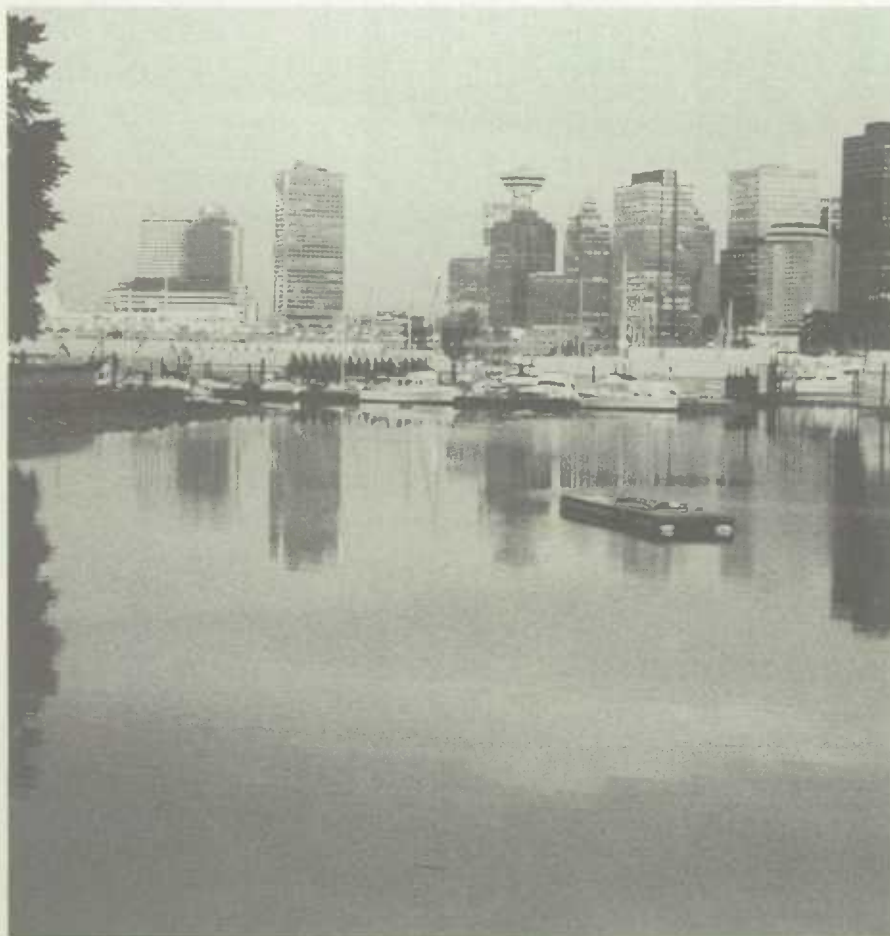
Source: Shaw, R. Paul, *Intermetropolitan Migration in Canada, Changing Determinants over Three Decades*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-504.

## Distribution of Immigrants to Canada, by Province and Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1981-1986

	1981		1982		1983		1984		1985		1986 <sup>1</sup>	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<b>Province</b>												
Newfoundland	480	0.4	406	0.3	275	0.3	299	0.3	325	0.4	266	0.3
Prince Edward Island	126	0.1	165	0.1	105	0.1	109	0.1	113	0.1	164	0.2
Nova Scotia	1,403	1.1	1,254	1.0	833	0.9	1,034	1.2	974	1.2	1,082	1.1
New Brunswick	988	0.8	751	0.6	554	0.6	600	0.7	609	0.7	619	0.6
Quebec	21,118	16.4	21,331	17.6	16,374	18.4	14,641	16.6	14,884	17.7	18,826	19.3
Ontario	54,890	42.7	53,031	43.8	40,036	44.9	41,527	47.1	40,730	48.3	48,340	50.0
Manitoba	5,359	4.2	4,931	4.1	3,978	4.5	3,903	4.4	3,415	4.1	3,685	3.8
Saskatchewan	2,401	1.9	2,125	1.8	1,735	2.0	2,150	2.4	1,905	2.3	1,824	1.9
Alberta	19,294	1.5	17,948	14.8	10,688	12.0	10,670	12.1	9,001	10.7	9,478	9.7
British Columbia	22,007	17.0	18,996	15.7	14,447	16.2	13,190	15.0	12,239	14.5	12,227	12.5
Yukon	119	0.1	69	0.1	73	0.1	41	0.1	36	0.1	44	0.1
Northwest Territories	82	0.1	111	0.1	59	0.1	75	0.1	71	0.1	62	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>128,618</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>121,147</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89,157</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>88,239</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>84,302</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97,474</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Cities</b>												
Toronto	29,338	22.8	28,163	23.3	22,216	24.9	27,197	30.8	23,622	28.0	28,603	29.3
Montreal	16,352	12.7	16,341	13.5	13,052	14.6	11,883	13.5	12,862	15.3	16,647	17.1
Vancouver	14,810	11.5	12,526	10.3	10,015	11.2	9,385	10.6	8,935	10.6	8,701	8.9
Ottawa-Hull	3,208	2.5	3,243	2.7	2,508	2.8	3,126	3.5	3,316	3.9	3,394	3.5
Edmonton	7,308	5.7	7,159	5.9	4,493	5.0	4,276	4.9	3,694	4.4	3,801	3.9
Calgary	8,389	6.5	7,694	6.4	4,360	4.9	4,540	5.2	3,669	4.4	4,071	4.2
Winnipeg	4,104	3.2	3,891	3.2	3,318	3.7	3,210	3.6	2,947	3.5	3,338	3.4

<sup>1</sup> Preliminary data.

Source: Department of Employment and Immigration, *Landed Immigrants: CLPR by Selected Areas of Destination and Province, 1981-1986*



cross the regions of the country have profoundly affected the economic potential of these regions and subsequent policy development. Regional disparities in income and economic opportunities, and the concentration of population in a few metropolitan centres have been some of the outcomes of these differences.

While urbanization has benefitted Canadian society in many ways, both urban growth and the concentration of the population in a handful of large metropolitan areas have not been without social costs. Rural depopulation and breakdown of local communities, escalating land and housing costs, fiscal burdens on regional governments, environmental pollution and decay, and traffic congestion, for example, have all accompanied the development of an urban society.

Awareness of the growth, movement and distribution of today's urban society will aid in the understanding of the role policy decisions play in the shaping of Canadian society.

**Mary Anne Burke** is Associate Editor of *Canadian Social Trends*.





# CALGARY: A STATISTICAL PROFILE

by Nat Stone



**T**he long-term trend in Canada has been toward greater urbanization, but growth rates of different Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) have varied widely since 1971. Some experienced rapid growth; others increased, but at a much slower rate; still others have actually declined. Calgary is an example of a Census Metropolitan Area where growth has been particularly rapid.

Long famous as the home of the Stampede and the headquarters of Canada's oil and natural gas industry, Calgary is about to gain further world attention as the site of the 1988 Winter Olympics.

## A Growing Population

In 1986, Calgary was Canada's sixth largest Census Metropolitan Area; in

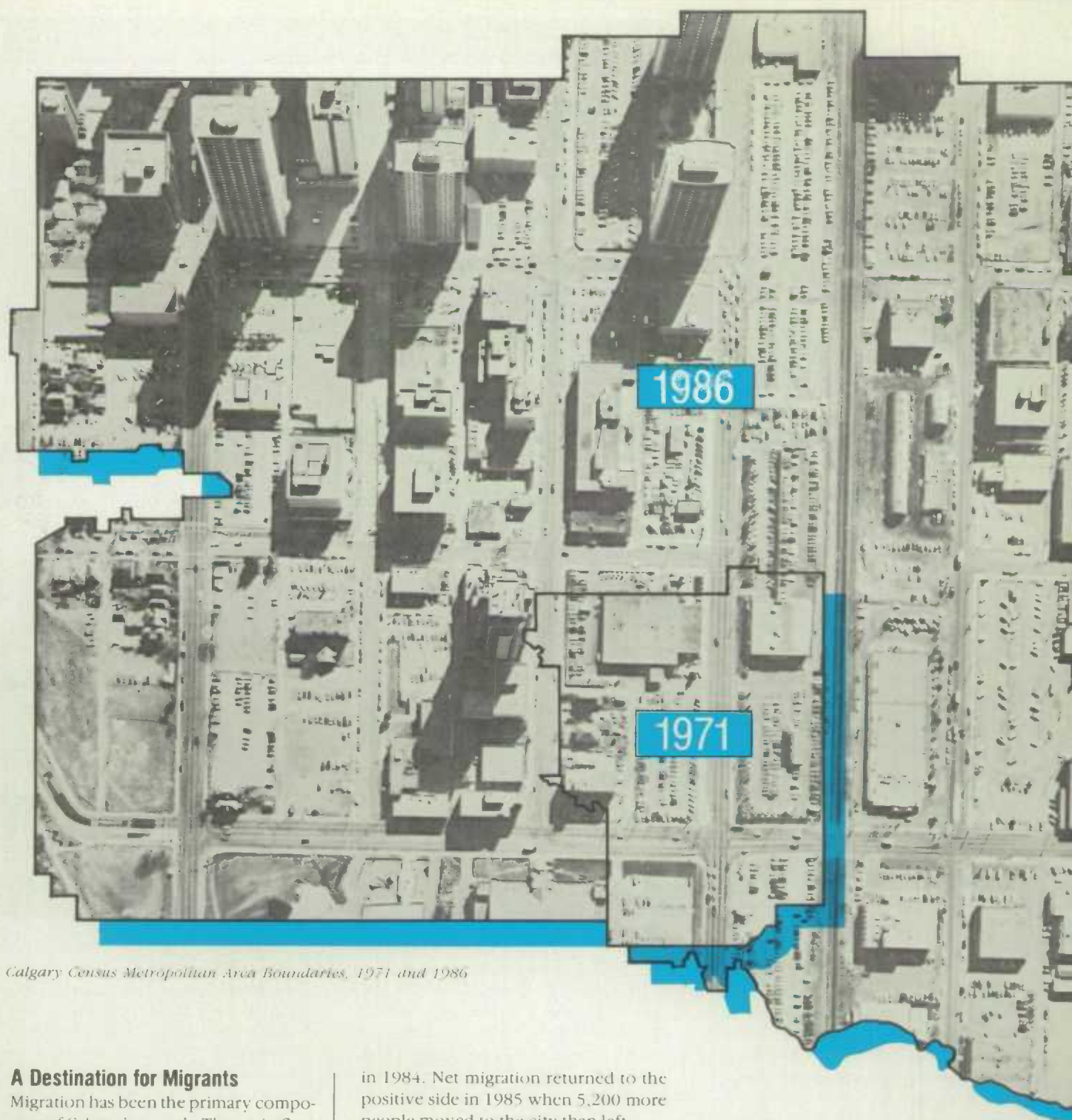
1971, it had ranked ninth. During the 1971-1986 period, the population of Calgary grew from 403,300 to 671,300, a 66% increase<sup>1</sup>. In the same period, Edmonton grew 58%, while the two largest Census Metropolitan Areas, Toronto and Montreal, increased 30% and 6%, respectively. The total population of Canada rose 17% in this period.

The overall increase in Calgary's population since 1971 masks several dramatic fluctuations in the rate of growth during this period; these were associated with the ups and downs of the oil and gas industry. In fact, the price of crude oil has been the most important factor in the city's growth and economic health. When oil prices skyrocketed in the 1970s, for example, so did the growth rate of Calgary's population, but as prices slumped in the 1980s, the rate of increase dropped precipitously.

During the late 1970s, when the oil and gas industry was booming, Calgary grew faster than any other metropolitan area in Canada. Between 1976 and 1981, Calgary's population rose 26%, from 469,900 to 592,700. Edmonton also grew at a substantial rate (18%), but Toronto increased just 7%, and Montreal only 1% in this period. The population of Canada as a whole rose 6%.

Population growth in Calgary slowed in the 1980s after the downturn in the oil and gas industry. Between 1981 and 1986, the population increased, but by just 7%. Although this was still above the national growth rate of 4%, Calgary fell to eighth place among Census Metropolitan Areas in terms of population growth during this period.

<sup>1</sup> Percentage changes are calculated using the boundaries at the end of the period.



*Calgary Census Metropolitan Area Boundaries, 1971 and 1986*

### **A Destination for Migrants**

Migration has been the primary component of Calgary's growth. The net in-flow of migrants was particularly heavy during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Between 1976 and 1981, for example, almost three-quarters of the population increase was attributable to migration. In each of the three years from 1979 to 1981, net migration to Calgary totalled more than 20,000.

This massive influx ended in 1982. After a net gain of almost 24,000 migrants in 1981, Calgary suffered net losses of 6,300 in 1982, 12,300 in 1983, and 4,600

in 1984. Net migration returned to the positive side in 1985 when 5,200 more people moved to the city than left.

### **A Young City**

Calgary has a relatively high concentration of young adults. In 1986, 23% of residents were aged 25-34, compared with 18% for Canada. Conversely, the proportion of elderly people was much lower in Calgary than in Canada as a whole. In 1986, only 7% of the population of Calgary, as opposed to 11% of all Canadians, were aged 65 and over. The percentage of Calgary residents under

age 25 (39%) was slightly above the national figure (38%).

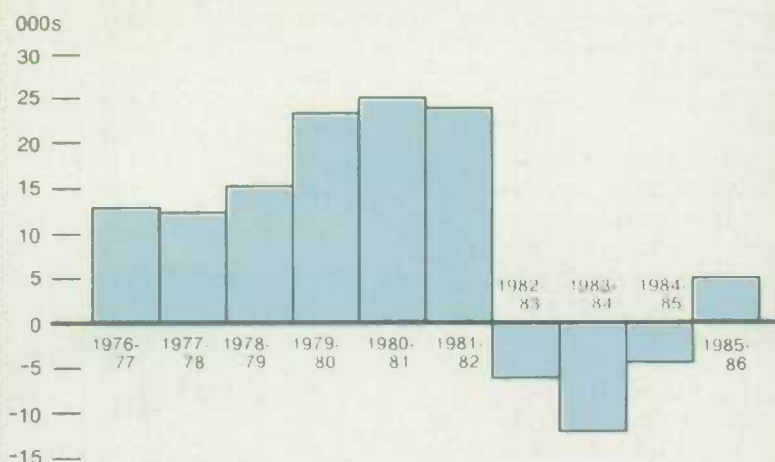
### **Family Patterns**

The high proportion of young adults in Calgary is reflected in the marital status and family characteristics of the city's inhabitants. While the proportions of the population aged 15 and over who were married or single were similar to those for Canada as a whole in 1986, a somewhat



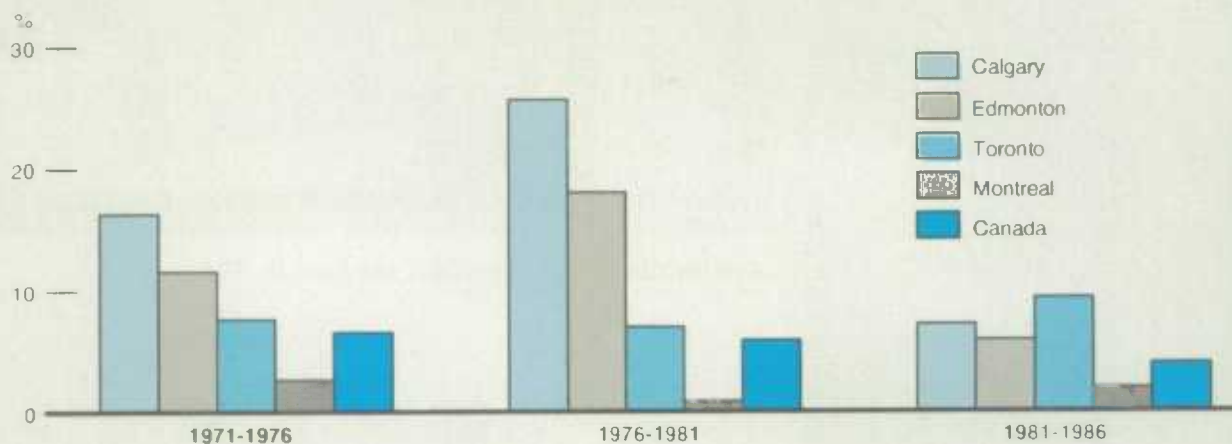


### Net Migration, Calgary CMA, 1976-77 to 1985-86



Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, unpublished data.

### Five-Year<sup>1</sup> Population Growth Rates, Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971-1986



<sup>1</sup> For each period, percentage change is calculated using boundaries at the end of the period.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

higher proportion of the adult population in Calgary was divorced, and a smaller percentage was widowed. The proportion of Calgarians living alone was also slightly above the level for all Canada. As well, families in Calgary tended to have younger children than was the case for Canada overall.

### Language, Ethnicity and Religion<sup>2</sup>

English was the mother tongue of 82% of Calgary's population in 1986; another 3% had learned both English and another language simultaneously. Chinese, German and French were each the mother tongue of about 2% of the population.

As the figures on language suggest, Calgary's ethnic composition was

► Continued page 23

<sup>2</sup> Mother tongue data are from the 1986 Census; ethnicity and religion data are available only from the 1981 Census.

## The Early Development of Calgary

Calgary was originally established as a North-West Mounted Police post in 1875; it was incorporated as a town in 1884, and as a city in 1893. The 1891 Census, the first to include Calgary, counted 4,000 residents.

Calgary's early growth was associated with development of the livestock industry and with the city's position as the chief transportation centre in Alberta. By 1911, the population had grown to 43,700.

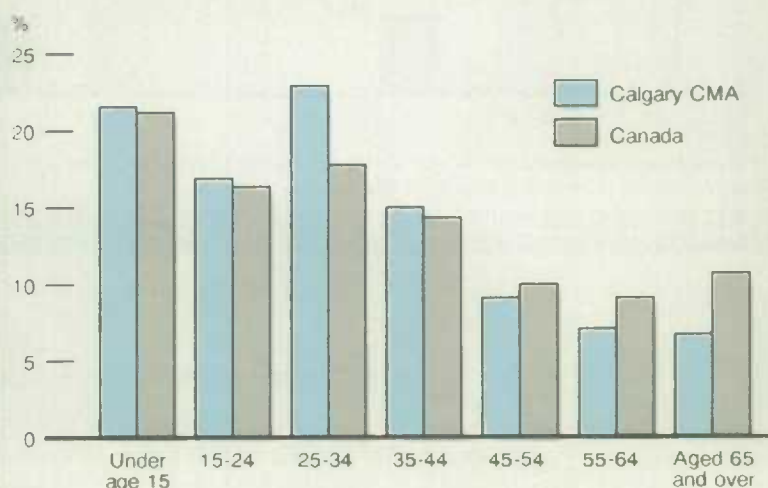
The most crucial element in Calgary's growth has been the oil and natural gas industry. Oil was first discovered at Turner Valley, a few kilometres southwest of the

city, in 1914. Alberta's first oil refinery opened in Calgary in 1923. Subsequent discoveries at Turner Valley in 1924 and 1936, and especially the major find at Leduc in 1947, further established Calgary as the industry's administrative centre in Canada.

Growth in Calgary really took off after the Second World War. The oil industry attracted migrants in record numbers. Moreover, this was the baby-boom era when the annual number of births was climbing, not only in Calgary, but also in Canada generally. In both five-year intercensal periods between 1951 and 1961, Calgary's population grew about 40%; by 1961, the population totalled over a quarter of a million.

Population growth in Calgary slowed to around 20% in both five-year intercensal periods in the 1961-1971 decade. By 1971, the population was just over 400,000.

Age Distribution, Calgary CMA and Canada, 1986



Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada.



predominantly Anglo-Saxon. In 1981, 49% of the population claimed British roots, while 9% reported a combination of British and some other ethnic origin. The next largest ethnic groups were German (8%) and French (4%).

More than half of Calgary's population (55%) indicated religious affiliation with a Protestant denomination in 1981; another quarter were Roman Catholics. The proportion claiming no religious preference was 14%, double the percentage for all Canada.

### Educational Attainment High

The population of Calgary is relatively well-educated. In 1981, 14% of the population aged 15 and over not attending school full-time were university graduates; the corresponding percentage for Canada was 8%. On the other hand, just 9% of adults in Calgary had less than a Grade 9 education, compared with 22% for Canada.

### An Uncertain Labour Market

Labour force participation has grown

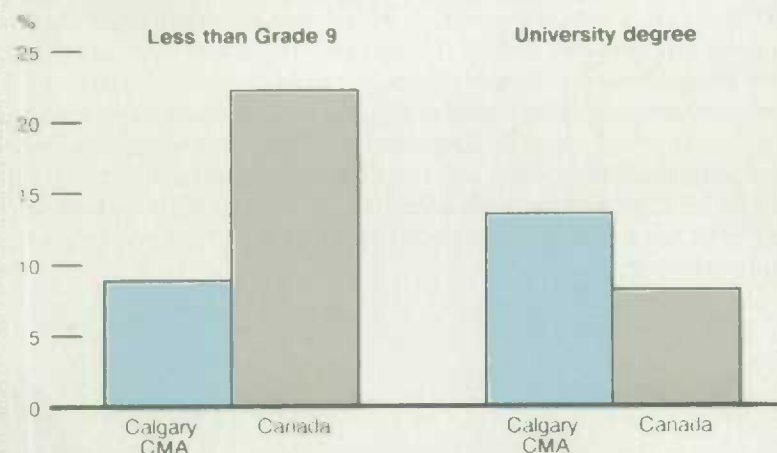
significantly in Calgary since the mid-1970s. In 1986, 76% of the eligible population in Calgary was in the labour force, up from 67% in 1975. By comparison, the labour force participation rate for Canada as a whole rose from 61% to 66% during the same period.

Labour force participation in Calgary has been the highest of any Census Metropolitan Area since the late 1970s. The second highest participation rate in 1986 was 73% in Oshawa.

Unemployment has increased substantially in Calgary since the beginning of the economic recession in the early 1980s. In 1980, Calgary's unemployment rate was 3.6%, less than half the national level of 7.5%. But in both 1983 and 1984, over 12% of the city's labour force was unemployed; this was higher than the national rate. By 1986, Calgary's unemployment rate had fallen to 9.9%, though this was still slightly above the national rate of 9.6%.

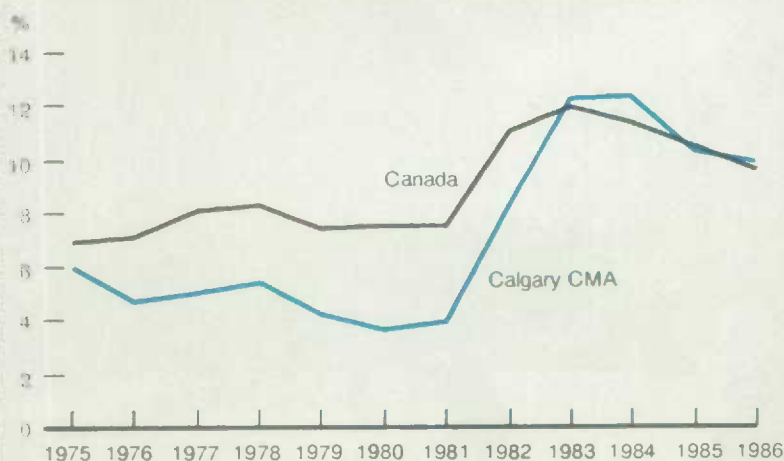
Reflecting its position as the administrative centre of Canada's oil and gas industry, a relatively high proportion of the workforce in Calgary is engaged in managerial and administrative occupations, and in occupations related to the natural sciences, engineering and mathematics. In 1981, those employed in management and administration made up 12% of Calgary's labour force, compared with 9% for Canada. Occupations in scientific fields accounted for 8% of the Calgary workforce, compared with 3% for Canada.

**Educational Attainment of the Out-of-School Population Aged 15 and over, Calgary CMA and Canada, 1981**



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-933, *Population: Language, Ethnic Origin, Religion, Place of Birth, Schooling - Alberta*

**Unemployment Rate, Calgary CMA and Canada, 1975-1986**



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 71-529, *Labour Force, Annual Averages* and 71-001, *The Labour Force*

### Incomes Above the Norm

Over the last decade, incomes in Calgary have been well above those for Canada as a whole. The extent of the difference, however, has varied with fluctuations in the oil industry. The median income<sup>3</sup> of Calgary residents in 1976 was \$9,200, about 10% above the median for all Canada. By 1982, the median income in Calgary had risen to \$17,000, almost 24% above the national figure. The next year, however, the difference began to narrow. In 1985, the median income in Calgary of \$17,900 was still higher than the median for all Canada, but only by 16%.

<sup>3</sup> Income data pertain to those who submitted income tax returns for the years in question. The median is the midway point: half the incomes are above the median, and half are below.

**Nat Stone** is a special contributor to *Canadian Social Trends*.



## FORTY YEARS OF SOCIAL HOUSING IN TORONTO

by Susan McMillan

*In an effort to improve the housing standards of the least well off, governments in Canada have constructed and currently operate housing developments of varying physical types. It has now been almost 40 years since the first of the massive low rental public housing projects was built in Canada. When it was constructed in the late 1940s, the initial development — Regent Park North in Toronto — was considered a progressive venture in social engineering. This and other public housing projects which soon followed held out the promise, not only of an urban renaissance for the decayed cores of Canadian cities, but also of a new and less impoverished life for residents. Although these initial goals have not been fully achieved, the quality of the housing stock has been improved.*

Regent Park South 1954

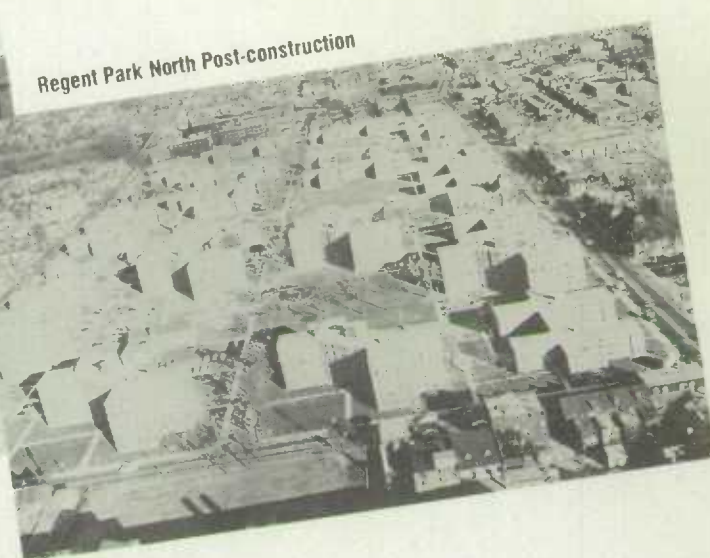
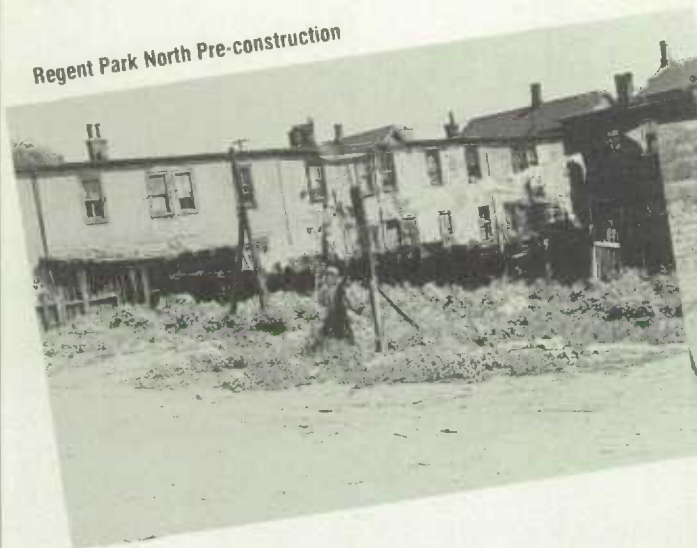






Regent Park North Pre-construction

Regent Park North Post-construction



**T**he characteristics of today's public housing residents in Toronto not only differ from those of the city's residents in general, but they have also changed considerably since the first large-scale projects were built. In many instances, these changes reflect broader shifts occurring in Toronto or in Canadian society as a whole.

One feature that has consistently characterized these projects, and set them apart from the city as a whole since their construction, has been the persistent gap in employment and income levels between the residents of the projects and Toronto residents generally. In order to qualify as a project resident, an applicant must have a sufficiently low income. Projects thus tend to concentrate low-income persons in limited geographical areas. The outcome of such a process is that projects have higher-than-average numbers of female lone parents, dependent children and recent immigrants. They are also characterized by higher unemployment rates and lower-than-average labour force participation rates and incomes.

Nevertheless, the projects differ from each other in their physical characteristics (for example, urban or suburban location, and high-rise versus low-rise construction) and in the social characteristics of current groups of project residents. The four major projects described here were built in different time periods and take different physical shapes in distinctive Toronto locations. Each is unique.

### **Regent Park: The Original Slum Clearance Project, 1948**

Regent Park has changed considerably

since the days when it was first built. Some shifts in ethnic composition, age profile and family structure have followed patterns akin to those in the City of Toronto. However, other patterns, particularly the marked decline in the labour force participation rate for men between 1951 and 1981, are unique to Regent Park. In 1981, the percentage of Regent Park families headed by a lone parent was much higher than in Toronto as a whole. Also, that year, the percentage of Regent Park residents living below Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-Offs was considerably higher than for Toronto.

With few exceptions, the ethnic composition of Regent Park has reflected that of the city. In 1951, just over two-thirds of people in both the city and the project were of British origin. At the same time, a much larger percentage of Regent Park residents claimed French origin than did Toronto residents: 9% compared with 3%.

Thirty years later, the percentage of both Regent Park and Toronto residents claiming British origin had dropped significantly. In 1981, the percentage of those living in Regent Park claiming British origin had dropped to 52%, down from 67% in 1951. But for Toronto as a whole, the 1981 percentage was much lower at 42%, down from 69% in 1951. Visible minorities, on the other hand, had a much stronger presence in the project. In 1981, the percentage of Regent Park residents of the North and South American (including Caribbean) and African (including Black) origin was much higher than for the City of Toronto — 11% compared with 2%. Those of Chinese origin formed a significant

minority in both the project (9%) and in the city as a whole (6%).

Despite the greater multicultural nature of Regent Park in 1981, the proportion of residents born outside Canada was smaller than in the City of Toronto (38% versus 43%), perhaps reflecting a large number of Canadian-born dependent children in the project. However, immigrants living in Regent Park tended to be more recent arrivals than those living in Toronto generally: 13% of Regent Park residents came to Canada between 1979 and 1981, compared with 9% of those in the city.

An aging trend, apparent in both Regent Park and Toronto between 1951 and 1981, was not as strong in the project as in the city as a whole. Over the three decades, the percentage of people aged 65 and over climbed from 6% to 8% in Regent Park. In Toronto, the percentage rose from 8% to 13%. In 1951, 12% of Regent Park residents were under age 5, compared with 10% of Toronto residents; by 1981, these percentages had dropped to 10% and 5%, respectively. Also in 1981, almost one-third of people living in Regent Park were under age 15, compared with only about one-sixth of Toronto residents.

Lone-parent families made up the majority of Regent Park families in 1981. Fully 53% of families were headed by a lone parent. The figure for Toronto was 15%.

In 1951, 30% of Regent Park households consisted of more than one family. The comparable figure for Toronto as a whole was 21%. But by 1981, multi-family households were a very small minority in both Regent Park and Toronto. Only 1% of Regent Park



households consisted of more than one family, slightly lower than the 2% for Toronto. This decline signals a large reduction in overcrowding over the period in Toronto. By 1981, the average number of persons per room was 0.5 for the city of Toronto as a whole and no more than 0.7 in any of the four developments discussed here.

Male participation in the labour force dropped markedly in Regent Park between 1951 and 1981. By 1981, just over half (54%) of the men in Regent Park compared with 79% of men in Toronto were in the labour force. For both groups, the labour force participation rate had been 85% in 1951.

Over the same period, female labour force participation increased in Regent Park, although not as quickly as in the city as a whole. For female Regent Park residents, the labour force participation rate rose from 28% to 38%, compared with a rise of 23%, from 38% to 61%, for Toronto women.

Unemployment levels remained at least twice as high in Regent Park as in Toronto between 1951 and 1981. In 1981, 12% of the Regent Park labour force was unemployed, compared with 5% in Toronto.

Median household incomes in Regent Park were less than half those in the city of Toronto in 1980. Median household incomes were \$9,400 in Regent Park South and just \$5,900 in Regent Park North. The comparable income figure for Toronto was \$19,900.

As well, in 1980, a much larger proportion of people in Regent Park were living below Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-Offs than was the case in the city as a whole. That year, 79% of unattached individuals in Regent Park were below the Low-Income Cut-Offs, compared with 34% in Toronto. The discrepancy among families was even wider: 69% of families in Regent Park lived below the Low-Income Cut-Offs, compared with 17% of Toronto families.

### Lawrence Heights: Suburban High-Density, 1957

Lawrence Heights, a suburban development built as a compound of low-rise apartment buildings on 96 acres of farmland in North York, presents a slightly different pattern both architecturally and in terms of the characteristics of residents. Especially in terms of birth outside of Canada, Lawrence Heights residents were distinctive. About half the population of Lawrence Heights was born outside Canada, with most of these people immigrating between 1955 and 1977. Just over half of Lawrence Heights residents reported a non-British ethnic origin in 1981. A variety of origins made up this component: North and South American (including Caribbean), African (including Black), Greek, and Italian.

There was a smaller proportion of elderly persons in Lawrence Heights than in the City of Toronto. In 1981, 9% of Lawrence Heights residents were aged 65 and over, compared with 13% in

Toronto. On the other hand, 30% of Lawrence Heights residents were under age 15, compared with 16% for Toronto. Families headed by a lone parent made up the majority of Lawrence Heights families in 1981: 55% compared with 15% for Toronto.

As in the case of Regent Park, labour force participation for both men and women was lower in Lawrence Heights than in Toronto. Fifty-nine percent of Lawrence Heights men were in the labour force in 1981, compared with 79% in Toronto. The percentage for Lawrence Heights women was 48%, compared with 61% for Toronto women. Unemployment rates were also higher in Lawrence Heights than in Toronto. In the public housing project, the unemployment rate was 7% for men and 8% for women. The comparable rate in Toronto for both men and women was 5%.

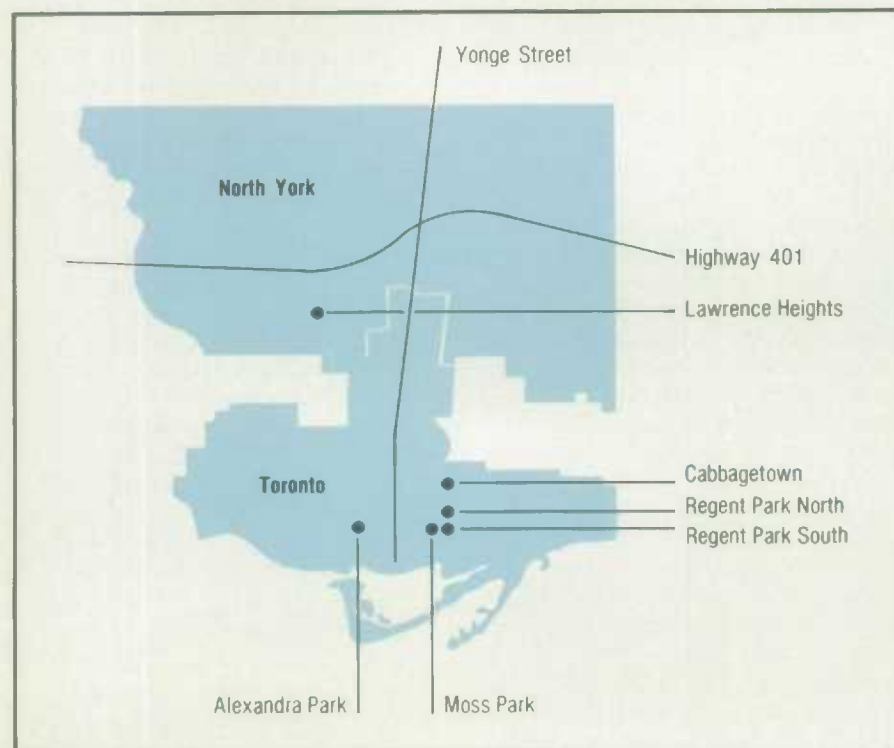
The median income of households in Lawrence Heights in 1980 is not available but in that year the average income was \$12,900. The comparable figure for Toronto was \$25,600. Thus, even when built in a suburban setting, public housing has tended to concentrate lone-parent families and visible minorities, as have the older downtown projects.

### Moss Park: Downtown High Rise, 1960

Moss Park is a high-rise apartment complex. It is thus architecturally less suited to the needs of families with young children. In 1981, Moss Park differed from Toronto as a whole as well as from other public housing projects, both in age and family structure. In Moss Park, there were proportionally fewer young children and many more elderly persons than in the other developments. The proportion of Moss Park's population under age 15 was 9%, less than Toronto with 16% and much less than other developments. The proportion of elderly aged 65 and over was 18% in Moss Park, compared with just 13% for Toronto.

In 1981, Moss Park had 29% of families headed by a lone parent, double the Toronto percentage of lone-parent families, but less than half the Regent Park proportion (69%).

The median household income in Moss Park, at \$8,700, was less than half that for Toronto in 1980. However, Moss Park residents who did work had employment incomes similar to those in Toronto. For men, the Moss Park figure was lower than for Toronto — \$12,000 compared with \$14,500. But for women, employment income was actually higher



in Moss Park (\$10,700) than for female workers in the city as a whole (\$9,800).

The percentages of unattached individuals and families in Moss Park living below the Low-Income Cut-Offs were both considerably higher than those for Toronto as a whole. In 1981, 58% of unattached individuals and 37% of families in Moss Park were below the Low-Income Cut-Offs.

### Alexandra Park: Mixed Renovation and Replacement, 1965

Alexandra Park is a downtown development in which total demolition did not occur. Rather, some old housing was renovated and new dwellings added to it. The 1981 profile of this project differed considerably from Toronto as a whole, as well as from Regent Park. The percentage of Alexandra Park residents claiming British origin was much lower than for Toronto in 1981. That year, only 28% of those living in Alexandra Park were of British origin compared with 20% in 1961. There were also large numbers of people living in Alexandra Park claiming Chinese and Portuguese origin — 23% and 16%, respectively.

As well, in 1981, 59% of Alexandra Park residents had been born outside Canada. Of those living in Alexandra Park who had immigrated to Canada, 12% had done so since 1979.

The project's multicultural nature is also reflected in the relatively high proportion of residents who speak a language other than English or French at home. In 1981, 41% spoke neither English nor French at home; in Toronto, the percentage was 25% and in Regent Park, only 15%.

The age profile of Alexandra Park is quite similar to that of Toronto. For example, in 1981, 14% of Alexandra Park residents were aged 65 and over, compared with 13% of those in Toronto. At the other end of the age range, 6% of the project's residents were under 5 years of age, compared with 5% for the city.

The proportion of lone-parent families in Alexandra Park was double that in Toronto as a whole. In 1981, 29% of families in this public housing project were headed by a lone parent.

The percentage of multi-family households in Alexandra Park dropped sharply between 1961 and 1981, yet remained higher than in Toronto. In 1981, 4% of the project's households contained more than one family, down from 21% in 1961 in the area where the development was subsequently built.

► Continued page 30



Regent Park 1987

### Cabbagetown: Private Renovation Adjacent to Regent Park

Gerrard Street is the northern boundary of Regent Park North. North of that thoroughfare lies Cabbagetown, a stylish neighbourhood of renovated Victorian three-storey detached and semi-detached homes which, although run-down in the 1940s, were not included in the Regent Park demolition area. Although physically adjacent, the social profiles of Regent Park and Cabbagetown are substantially different.

Before the days of Regent Park, the two areas were more or less identical in dwelling conditions and characteristics of residents. But, as has been the case for three decades, the residents of Regent Park are now dissimilar, both economically and socially, from their near neighbours. Thus public housing of the Regent Park type, while offering better quality housing, has not fundamentally altered the social gulf which Gerrard Street has come to physically represent. Residents of the two communities still stand apart.

While Regent Park is a community of lone-parent families and many children, Cabbagetown residents tend to be childless couples. More than half the housing project families were headed by a lone parent in 1981, compared with

only about 18% north of the Gerrard Street boundary. Consistent with its lone-parent profile, Regent Park was characterized by considerably more adult women than men. In Cabbagetown, the opposite was true. In 1981, 30% of Regent Park residents were under the age of 15, while in Cabbagetown the young made up only about 12%. In fact, more than 40% of Cabbagetown families were childless, compared with 12% in Regent Park.

The labour force participation rates of both men and women in Cabbagetown were higher than in Regent Park and unemployment was much lower — less than 5%. Median household incomes in 1980 were at least \$14,000<sup>1</sup> higher than in Regent Park.

In terms of ethnic origin, those of British extraction predominate in both communities. But with the exception of French and Chinese origins, no other ethnic group affiliations were recorded in significant numbers in Cabbagetown in 1981. By contrast, there were large Black and Asian communities in Regent Park at the time of the 1981 Census.

<sup>1</sup> Cabbagetown is divided into two areas: one had a median household income of \$19,700; the other, \$28,100.



## 'Big Project' Public Housing in Toronto

Official recognition of inferior housing conditions in the Municipality of Toronto came in 1934 in an Ontario government report (the 'Bruce Report' — named after the then Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario). However, the Depression and wartime stringencies that followed precluded any immediate remedial action. But rapid urban population growth after World War II which reflected migration to the cities, high levels of immigration, and increased levels of child-bearing once again made the decayed state of the housing stock a public issue. Overcrowding, deterioration of inner-city dwellings, and suburban subdivision development each played a part in fostering demands for slum clearance and for low-cost rental housing.

To begin meeting these needs, the first major development project in Canada, *Regent Park North*, was initiated as a city-financed slum clearance and construction project. Between 1948 and 1957, existing housing was razed, and a complex of low-rise apartment blocks and rowhouses containing over 1,000 units was built.

The project was hailed as a milestone in slum clearance, and in 1958, the Toronto Board of Trade journal concluded optimistically that "experience in *Regent Park North* has now been sufficient to indicate very clearly that a new environment can do much to aid people in developing their individual strengths as well as their family ties".

Later projects were of a considerably higher density than *Regent Park North* in order to reduce costs. *Regent Park South*, for example, built in 1957-58 directly south of the first project, consists of high-rise apartment buildings containing almost 500 units. Another 253 units of row housing constructed nearby were intended primarily for families with young children.

*Lawrence Heights*, developed between 1957 and 1961 and owned by the Ontario Housing Corporation, differed from other public housing projects of the era. It was built in a newly developed suburban area, so no process of slum clearance preceded its construction. This project consists of just over 1,000 units



*Moss Park 1964*

in nineteen 3½-storey walk-ups and 66 blocks of rowhouses, as well as some semi-detached and detached homes. (An additional 127 senior citizen units in the area are owned by Metropolitan Toronto.) By design, *Lawrence Heights* was spatially and socially isolated from the surrounding neighbourhoods, a feature that drew criticism in its early stages.

Between 1960 and 1964, *Moss Park* was built just southwest of *Regent Park*. This high-density public housing project consists of three 15-storey buildings containing about 900 units in total. Before the project was constructed, the area it now occupies was a neighbourhood of private homes, rooming houses, and small industrial buildings. Residences in the area were, in the main, not structurally dilapidated. Nonetheless, clearance was seen as preferable to rehabilitation and maintenance.

Work began on *Alexandra Park* in southwest Toronto in 1965. Instead of removal and replacement of all dwellings, this project entailed both rehabilitation of some houses and complete replacement of others. Full demolition, a feature of early developments, had fallen from favour by 1965.

The original plan for *Alexandra Park* called for clearance of 39 of the total of 72 acres. Four hundred and ten housing units were eventually built in two high-rise buildings and a number of rowhouses. The remaining area was devoted to new and rehabilitated private dwellings, commercial buildings, new non-profit co-operative housing units, and senior citizen units. Other space was devoted to industrial and institutional uses. This mixture has given *Alexandra Park* a very different look from other public housing complexes.

During the 1960s, after several major public housing projects had

been completed, attitudes toward this type of housing began to shift, and criticism of major projects in principle became prevalent. Opponents pointed to the disruption imposed on communities for which clearance was being considered, as well as to the hardship of individual households whose homes were expropriated. This was particularly true for families not relocated in the new project. Some homeowners were unable to purchase a replacement home elsewhere with the proceeds of the expropriation. Other unattached residents and lodgers, not eligible to relocate, had to search for inexpensive accommodation outside the area. Many eligible families never relocated in the projects, but simply left the area, thereby contributing to the dissolution of an established community. The complexes also lacked social support systems such as community centres, daycare facilities, accessible parking, and playgrounds.

In the 1980s, public housing has taken on a new and broader meaning: mammoth public housing developments are no longer built. Such projects were primarily concentrated in Toronto, but public housing on a much smaller scale has been built throughout the country. Over 200,000 units have been built in Canada.

In Metropolitan Toronto today, emphasis is placed on 'assisted housing', particularly through mixed income programmes in which tenants pay rent according to their incomes, but with the majority paying market rents. There are a number of mixed income programmes; units may be leased by housing authorities in privately-owned buildings; non-profit building projects are also operated by some municipalities; and church, service, and other non-profit groups build and operate private non-profit housing. Such co-operative housing allows residents to participate in the management and maintenance of their own facilities, while subsidized housing in mixed buildings permits those with low incomes to blend in and live on an equal footing with unsubsidized tenants, thereby avoiding the stigma often attached to public housing residents.

## Comparison of Selected Public Housing Projects, Cabbagetown and Toronto, 1981

		Developments				Adjacent private renovation	
	City of Toronto	Regent Park (built 1948)	Lawrence Heights (built 1957)	Moss Park (built 1960)	Alexandra Park (built 1965)	Cabbagetown	
<b>Population</b>							
Population	599,220	9,970	3,770	4,600	3,830	4,180	
% under 5 years	5	10	8	4	6	4	
% under 15 years	16	30	30	9	22	12	
% 65 and over	13	8	9	18	14	5	
Population 15 and over - % women	52	57	60	44	52	47	
- % men	48	43	40	56	48	53	
<b>Households and Families</b>							
Average persons per household	2.4	2.9	3.2	1.7	3.0	2.3	
Average persons per room	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.4	
% with more than one family	2.3	1.3	...	...	3.9	...	
% of lone-parent families	15	69	55	29	29	18	
<b>Home Language</b>							
Neither English nor French (%)	25	15	-	-	41	-	
<b>Labour Force</b>							
Participation rate (%) - men	79	54	59	63	63	83	
- women	61	39	48	45	47	66	
Unemployment rate (%) - men	5	13	7	11	6	7	
- women	5	12	8	4	2	2	
<b>Income (1980)</b>							
		North	South				
Median household income	19,900	5,900	9,400	12,800 <sup>1</sup>	8,700	10,400	19,700/28,100 <sup>2</sup>
Median employment income - men	14,500	6,400	7,800	-	12,000	10,200	15,700/17,000
- women	9,800	6,100	7,400	-	10,700	5,600	9,500/ 9,200
<b>% living below the Low-Income</b>							
Cut-Offs - families	17	69	-	37	47	12	
- individuals	34	79	-	58	66	40	

- Not available.

Too small to report.

<sup>1</sup> Average household income.

<sup>2</sup> For median income, Cabbagetown is divided into two areas.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada.

Labour force participation dropped somewhat for men in Alexandra Park between 1961 and 1981, while for women, it remained stable. In 1981, 63% of adult male residents of Alexandra Park were in the labour force, compared with 79% in 1961. Throughout the same period, just under half of adult women living in this project participated in the labour force. At the same time, unemployment rates for both men and women dropped quite sharply.

Unemployment among men in Alexandra Park fell from 16% in 1961 to 6% in 1981. The comparable rate for men in Toronto in 1981 was lower, at 5%. The rate for female Alexandra Park residents also declined over the two decades, from 5% to 2%. In 1981, the unemployment rate of these women was actually lower than for women in Toronto as a whole (5%).

Median household income in Alexandra Park was just over half that in Toronto, at \$10,400 in 1980. That year, two-thirds of unattached individuals and almost half of families lived below the Low-Income Cut-Offs, despite the relatively high levels of employment characteristic of this development.

### Conclusion

While there is considerable variety in the social characteristics of the residents of these four public housing projects, there are underlying uniformities. All of the project residents taken together differ from Torontonians in general.

All four developments have a much higher percentage of both families and unattached individuals living below the Low-Income Cut-Offs; labour force participation for both men and women is

lower than in Toronto as a whole, and in most cases, unemployment is higher; and the percentage of project families headed by a lone parent is at least double that in Toronto. Thus, public housing projects continue to concentrate the less well off in specific geographic areas where significant redevelopment efforts were made in the 1950s and 1960s.

**Susan McMillan** is Acting Assistant Director of Advisory Services in the Toronto Regional Office of Statistics Canada.





# WOMEN PARENTING ALONE

by Maureen Moore

**T**he number of lone-parent families, most of which are headed by women, has increased sharply in Canada in the last several decades. At the same time, the number of children being raised in these families has also risen dramatically. In fact, over one million Canadian children are currently living in families with just one parent.

Growth in the number of lone-parent families is of special concern because these families, particularly those headed by women, face a variety of economic disadvantages. For example, over half of lone-parent families headed by women, have incomes that fall below official Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-Off lines. As well, lone-parent families headed by women generally have less desirable living accommodations and fewer basic household facilities than other families.

## The Growth of Lone-Parent Families

Between 1931 and 1986, the number of lone-parent families in Canada grew from 291,900 to 853,600. The increase, however, has been particularly rapid since the mid-1960s. Over the period 1966-1986, the number of lone-parent families rose 130%, while husband-wife families increased only 42%. As a result, by 1986, families headed by lone parents represented 13% of all families. This was up from 8% in 1966, but was still below the level recorded in 1931 (14%).

The percentage of all children under age 25 living in lone-parent families also increased substantially in the past two decades. In 1986, about 1.2 million children — more than 14% of all children in Canada — lived in lone-parent families.



In comparison, in 1966 fewer than 7% of all Canadian children lived in lone-parent families.

### Lone-Parent Families Headed by Women

Most lone parents are women. In 1986, more than 700,000 lone-parent families, or 82% of the total, were headed by women. Women also constituted the majority of lone parents in every age group. The predominance of women as lone-parent family-heads was particularly great in younger age brackets.

Women made up 94% of all lone parents aged 15-24 in 1986, compared with 85% of those aged 25-44, and 77% of lone parents aged 45 and over.

### Changing Paths to Lone Parenthood

The principal circumstances that result in women becoming lone parents have changed over the last few decades. Specifically, the percentage of female lone parents who are widowed has declined, while the proportions who are divorced or who have never married have increased.

In 1951, about two-thirds of female lone parents were widowed. By 1986, however, over half (57%) of female lone parents were either separated or divorced, while the percentage who were widowed had fallen to 28%.

The increase in the proportion of divorced female lone parents was especially sharp after the Divorce Act was passed in 1968. In fact, divorced mothers made up the largest single component of all lone-parent mothers (30%) in 1986; in comparison, in 1951 just 3% of lone-parent mothers had been divorced. In the same period, the percentage of female lone parents who were separated actually declined slightly, from 29% to 28%.

The proportion of lone-parent mothers who have never married has also increased substantially. Never-married women made up 15% of all female lone parents in 1986, up from just 1% in 1951. The marked growth in the proportion of never-married female lone parents reflects the overall rise in the number of out-of-wedlock births. These births more than quadrupled, from about 14,000 in 1951 to 59,600 in 1985. In this period, out-of-wedlock births as a percentage of total births increased from less than 4% to more than 16%.

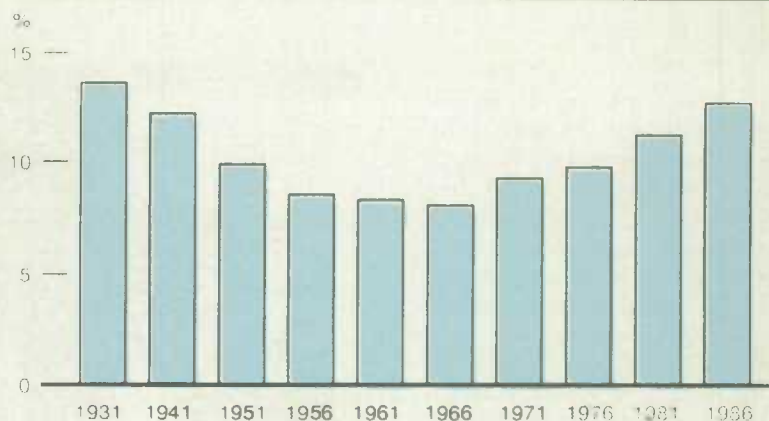
The marital status of female lone parents is associated with their ages. Three-quarters of those who had never married, for example, were younger than age 35, while separated and divorced

### Lone Parents by Age and Sex, 1986

Age Group	Women		Men		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
15-24	49,670	94	3,005	6	52,665	100
25-44	363,950	85	63,050	15	427,005	100
45-64	209,570	76	65,890	24	275,460	100
65 and over	78,715	80	19,800	20	98,510	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>701,900</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>151,745</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>853,645</b>	<b>100</b>

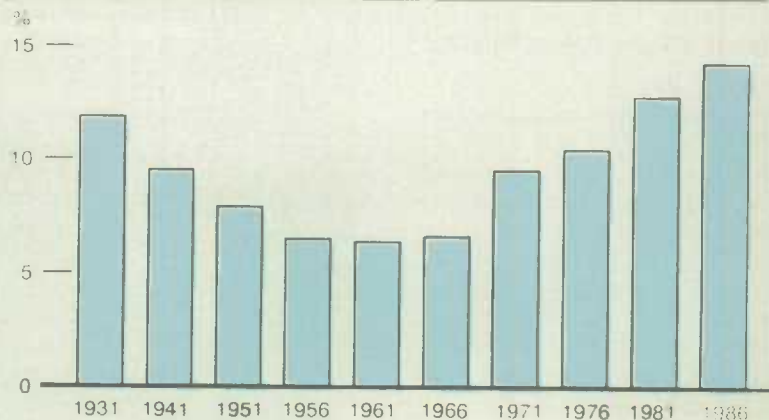
Sources: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada.

### Lone-Parent Families as a Percentage of All Families, 1931-1986



Sources: Wargon, S., *Canada's Lone-Parent Families*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-933, and 1986 Census of Canada.

### Children in Lone-Parent Families as a Percentage of all Children<sup>1</sup>, 1931-1986



<sup>1</sup> Refers to children under 25 living at home.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Wargon, S., *Children in Canadian Families*, Catalogue 98-810 and *Canada's Lone-Parent Families*, Catalogue 99-933, and 1986 Census of Canada.



lone parents were clustered in their thirties and forties. Widows tended to be somewhat older; in 1986, about two-thirds of widowed lone parents were aged 55 or over.

### Family Histories of Female Lone Parents and Wives<sup>1</sup>

The majority of female lone parents at one time were either married or lived in a common-law relationship. However, according to Statistics Canada's 1984 Family History Survey, their marital and childbearing patterns differed somewhat

from those of women who were married or partners in a common-law relationship at the time of the survey.

Female lone parents tended to have entered their first marital or common-law union at a younger age than wives: 28% of lone parents had been in a union before they were 19, compared with 24% of wives. This difference was most noticeable among young women. Of women aged 20-24, 80% of lone parents had been in a union before they were 19, compared with 53% of wives.

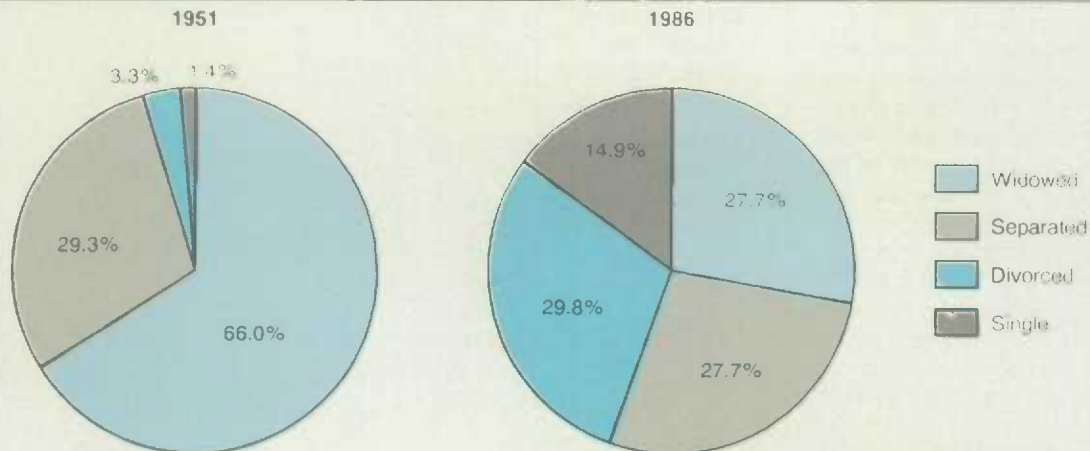
Female lone parents were also more

likely than wives to have lived common-law. Twenty-two percent of female lone parents had been in a common-law partnership, compared with 17% of wives.

As well, a higher percentage of female lone parents than wives entered a marital or common-law union around the time they gave birth. More than a quarter (26%) of female lone parents gave birth before or during the year they entered the union, compared with 16% of wives.

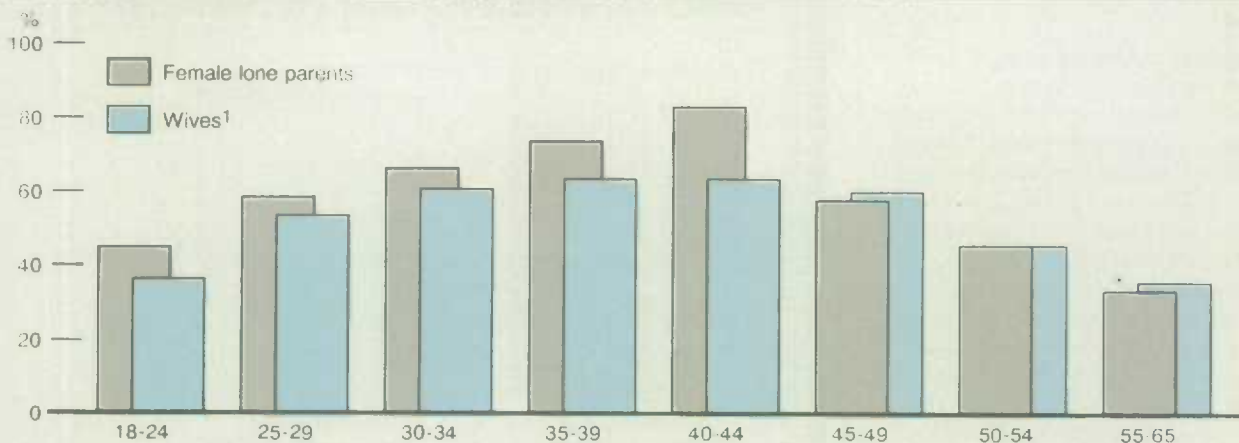
<sup>1</sup> Wives refers to women who are spouses or common-law partners with children.

### Marital Status of Female Lone Parents, 1951 and 1986



Sources: Wargon, S., *Canada's Lone-Parent Families*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-833, and Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-106, *Families*, Part 1.

### Labour Force Participation Rates of Female Lone Parents and Wives, by Age, 1984



<sup>1</sup> Women who were spouses or common-law partners and had children under 25 at home.

\* Data are subject to considerable sampling error and should be used with caution.

Source: Poole, L. and M. Moore, *Lone Parenthood: Characteristics and Determinants, Results from the 1984 Family History Survey*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-361.

Female lone parents also tended to have had a child earlier in life than did wives. Whereas 26% of female lone parents had their first child before they were 20, the comparable proportion for wives was 20%.

### Education and Labour Force Characteristics of Female Lone Parents

Female lone parents generally had less formal education than wives. Just 24% of female lone parents, as opposed to 31% of wives, had at least some postsecondary training. In every age group, the percentage of wives who had attended a postsecondary institution exceeded the corresponding proportion for female lone parents.

On the other hand, a higher proportion of female lone parents than wives were in the labour force. For example, the 1984 labour force participation rate among women aged 18-24, was 45% for lone parents and 37% for wives. Labour force participation peaked for both groups among those aged 40-44, but at 83%, the participation rate for female lone parents was much greater than that for wives (64%). However, for women aged 45-64, the labour force participation rate for wives slightly exceeded that for lone parents.

A higher percentage of female lone parents began working only after the birth of their first child. Of those women who had ever worked, 30% of lone parents, compared with 17% of wives, started working after they first gave birth. As well, once in the labour force, female lone parents were more likely than wives to work continuously.

### Income

The average income of female-headed lone-parent families was less than half that of husband-wife families with children. In 1985, lone-parent families headed by women had an average income of just over \$20,000, compared with almost \$44,000 for husband-wife families with children.

The sources of income of lone-parent families and husband-wife families with children also differ significantly. While earnings were the main source of income for both, female lone-parent families derived only 64% of their total income from earnings, compared with 87% for husband-wife families. On the other hand, government assistance, including family and youth allowances, unemployment insurance, social assistance, and pension benefits, made

### Living Accommodations and Household Facilities of Female Lone-Parent Households and Husband-Wife Households with Children, 1986

	Female lone-parent households	Husband-wife households with children under age 18
	%	
<b>Accommodations</b>		
Renting	72	27
Single-detached dwelling	30	66
Built 1960 or before	40	35
<b>Vehicles</b>		
Automobiles		
—One	49	55
—Two or more	6	31
Vans and trucks	5	29
<b>Comfort and safety</b>		
Air conditioner	11	17
Smoke detector	63	80
Portable fire extinguisher	18	43
<b>Cooking and cleaning</b>		
Microwave oven	22	43
Freezer	40	70
Dishwasher	24	50
Automatic washing machine	64	86
Clothes dryer	60	84
<b>Entertainment</b>		
Record player	71	84
Tape recorder	60	72
Home computer	9	17
Videocassette recorder	22	49
Pay television	9	11
Black and white television only	8	3

Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-218, *Household Facilities by Income and Other Characteristics*, and Household Surveys Division, unpublished data.

### Sources of Income of Female-Headed Lone-Parent Families and Husband-Wife Families with Children, 1985



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Survey of Consumer Finances, unpublished data.



up almost one-quarter of the total income of lone-parent families headed by women. In comparison, government transfers accounted for only 7% of the income of husband-wife families with children.

Lone-parent families headed by women had the highest incidence of low income of all family types. As well, the percentage of these families with low incomes increased in the early 1980s. In 1985, 60% of all lone-parent families headed by women had incomes that fell below Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-Offs. This was up from 53% in 1981. In contrast, just 11% of husband-wife families with children had incomes below the Low-Income Cut-Offs in 1985.

### Family Expenditures

A survey of 17 major Canadian cities showed that in 1984, female-headed lone-parent families spent almost half (48%) of their before-tax income on basic necessities such as food, shelter and household operations. For husband-wife families with children, these expenditures accounted for just over a third (34%) of pre-tax income.

Relative income levels were also reflected in differences between the living accommodations and household facilities of lone-parent and other families. In 1986, just 30% of female-headed lone-parent families were living in single-detached houses; the corresponding figure for other families with

children was 66%. As well, 72% of female-headed lone-parent families were renters, compared with 27% of other families. The dwellings of lone-parent families were also somewhat older than those of other families.

Virtually every household in Canada, whether lone-parent or not, had major household appliances and communications equipment such as refrigerators, telephones, radios and television sets. Lone-parent families headed by women, however, were less likely than other families with children to have appliances such as freezers, dishwashers and clothes dryers. Only 40% of lone-parent households, compared with 70% of other family households, for example, had a freezer. The proportions with a dishwasher were 24% for lone-parent families and 50% for other families.



### Selected Characteristics of Female Lone Parents and Wives, 1984

	Female lone parents	Wives <sup>1</sup>
	%	
Less than age 19 at first union	28	4
Ever in a common-law union	22	17
Less than age 20 at birth of first child	26	20
Union before or in same year as birth of first child	26	16
At least some postsecondary education	24	31
Less than age 20 at labour force entry <sup>2</sup>	57	59
Started working only after birth of first child <sup>2</sup>	30	17
Labour force participation rate	61	57
Work interruptions lasting at least one year <sup>2</sup>	(number)	1.0
	0.8	

<sup>1</sup> Women who were spouses or common-law partners, and had children younger than 25 at home.

<sup>2</sup> Includes only those who ever worked.

Source: Poole, I., and Moore, M., *Lone Parenthood: Characteristics and Determinants, Results from the 1984 Family History Survey*. Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-961.

This article combines information from several Statistics Canada sources. Long-term trends in both the number of lone-parent families and the number of children in these families are from the Census. Details on lone parents' marital and childbearing histories, as well as their education and labour force experience, are from the 1984 Family History Survey. Information about spending patterns is derived from the Survey of Family Expenditures. Data on dwelling characteristics and household facilities are from the Survey of Household Facilities and Equipment, and income figures are from the Survey of Consumer Finances.

Because these sources use different methodologies and definitions, the results are not strictly comparable. All sources define lone parents as people who do not live with a spouse or common-law partner, but who have at least one child still at home. However, the 1984 Family History Survey included only lone parents aged 18-65, while the other sources included lone parents of all ages. In the Census, children at home included those of any age (unless otherwise specified) provided they were unmarried. The Family History Survey, however, had an upper age limit of 24 on children at home, while the Survey of Household Facilities and Equipment and the Survey of Consumer Finances included only children under age 18.

Conveniences and entertainment equipment such as microwave ovens, home computers and videocassette recorders, were also found less frequently in the homes of female lone parents than in other family households with children. While just 22% of lone-parent homes were equipped with a microwave oven, the proportion for other homes was 43%. Nine percent of lone-parent households had a home computer, and 22% had a videocassette recorder. The proportions for other family households were 17% and 49%, respectively.

Safety devices were also not as common in lone-parent homes as in households occupied by other families. Smoke detectors were installed in 63% of lone-parent homes, compared with 80% of other homes. The proportions with a fire extinguisher were 18% for lone-parent families and 43% for other households.

Lone-parent families headed by women were also less likely than other families to have an automobile. In 1984, 55% of female-headed lone-parent families had a car; the corresponding figure for other families with children was 86%.

## Conclusion

Women of all ages are lone parents. While the characteristics of these women and the circumstances that produced their situations differ, it is possible to outline a general profile of female lone parents. Typically, the majority are either separated or divorced women who entered unions and started childbearing at relatively young ages. They also tend to have less education, but are more likely to be in the labour force than are wives. Thus, lone-parent mothers must raise children while facing a double disadvantage: they lack support from a spouse, yet have fewer job skills by which to gain an income appropriate to the task.

The income of lone-parent families headed by women is substantially below that of other families. This is reflected in the high percentage of such families with incomes below official Low-Income Cut-Offs and with living accommodations and household resources that are inferior to those of other families.

**Maureen Moore** is an analyst with the Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada.



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# R E P R I N T



## 1986 CENSUS HIGHLIGHTS

# AGING OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION

by Mary Sue Devereaux

1986 Census figures indicate that the rate of population growth in Canada continued to decline in the 1980s. Between 1981 and 1986, the population grew by only 4%, the lowest five-year increase in the last 25 years. Nevertheless, large-scale changes in the age distribution have continued. In particular, there has been considerable growth in the elderly segments of the population and in the proportion of people in their prime working years. On the other hand, the number of young adults has fallen dramatically.

These shifts in the age structure of the population reflect both increases in life expectancy and changing birth rates in the past, particularly the baby-boom of the 1950s and early 1960s and the baby-bust of the late 1960s and 1970s. As people born in those periods move through their life-cycle, they have had, or will have, profound effects on the school system, the labour force, family and housing services, health care institutions, and many other aspects of society.

The aging of the population is reflected in the median age, which in 1986 was the highest ever recorded. That year, the median age of Canadians was 31.6, up from 29.6 in 1981. Barring radical changes in fertility patterns or immigration levels, the median age is expected to continue to rise throughout the rest of the century.

## Elderly Population Increasing

The population aged 65 and over has been the fastest-growing age group in Canada in the 1980s. The number of elderly Canadians rose 14% from 2.4 million in 1981 to 2.7 million in 1986, a rate of growth more than three times that of the population as a whole (4%). As a

consequence of this growth, the proportion of the population aged 65 and over rose from 9.7% in 1981 to 10.7% in 1986.

Growth in the number of Canadians aged 75 and over was particularly rapid. In 1986, more than one million people were at least age 75, an increase of almost 19% since 1981. During this period, the share of the population accounted for by those aged 75 and over rose from 3.6% to 4.1%.

In most age groups under 60, the number of men and women is roughly equal. Women, however, make up the majority of those aged 60 and over. As well, the predominance of women increases at successively older ages. In 1986, there were 138 women for every 100 men aged 65 and over, while among

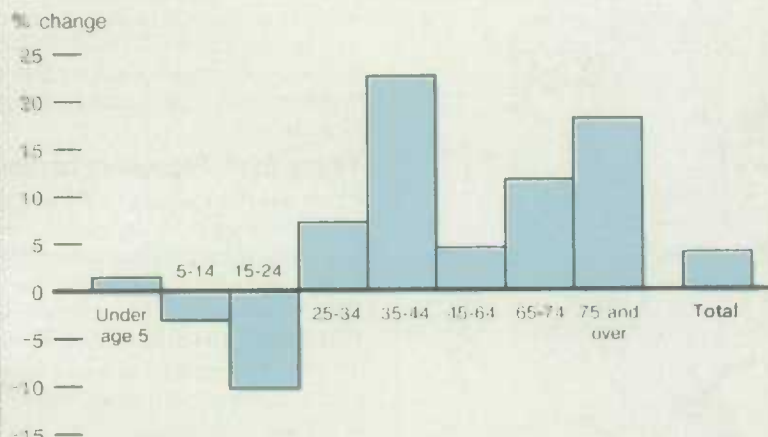
those aged 85 and over, women outnumbered men by more than two to one. This imbalance is largely due to differences in longevity, with women outliving men an average of seven years.

The high growth rate of the population aged 65 and over is expected to continue well into the next century. In all probability, this will increase the demand for health and social services oriented to the elderly.

## Working-Age Population Growing

The number of Canadians aged 25-44 has also increased substantially in the 1980s. Between 1981 and 1986, the population in this age group increased almost 14%. As a result, the proportion of all Cana-

Percentage Change in the Size of Various Age Groups, 1981-1986



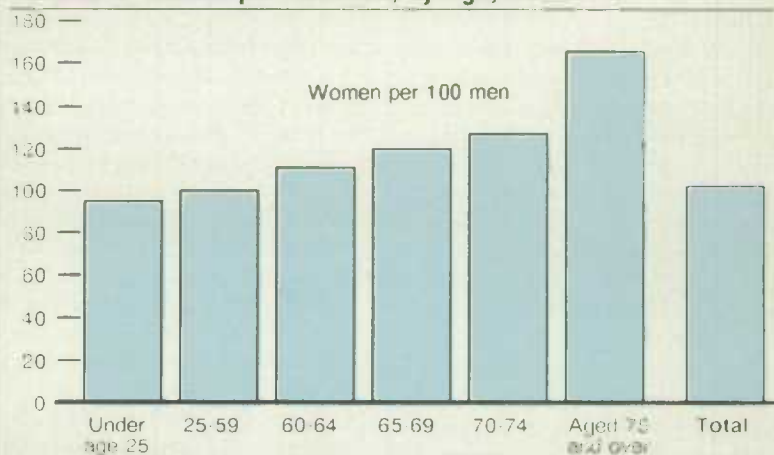
Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 92-901, *Population: Age, Sex and Marital Status, and 1985 Census of Canada*.

## Population Distribution by Age Group, 1981 and 1986

	Age groups								
	Under age 5	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65-74	75 and over	Total
<b>Total population (000s)</b>									
1981	1,783.4	3,697.7	4,658.7	4,216.2	2,968.2	4,658.1	1,477.7	883.2	24,343.2
1986	1,810.2	3,581.8	4,178.2	4,527.2	3,640.9	4,873.5	1,650.1	1,047.5	25,309.3
<b>Percentage of total population</b>									
1981	7.3	15.2	19.1	17.3	12.2	19.1	6.1	3.6	100.0
1986	7.1	14.2	16.5	17.9	14.4	19.3	6.6	4.1	100.0
<b>Percentage change 1981-1986</b>									
	1.5	-3.1	-10.3	7.4	22.7	4.6	11.7	18.6	4.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 92-901, *Population: Age, Sex and Marital Status*, and 1986 Census of Canada.

### Number of Women per 100 Men, by Age, 1986



Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada.

Canadians aged 25-44 rose from 29.5% in 1981 to 32.3% in 1986.

The size of the population aged 45-64 has been relatively stable. The number of Canadians in this age range rose by just under 5% in the 1981-1986 period. Their share of the total population remained almost unchanged at a little over 19%.

### Young Adult Population Declining

There has been a marked decline in the population aged 15-24, most of whom were born during the so-called baby-bust of the late 1960s and 1970s. Between 1981 and 1986, the number of 15-24-year-olds fell 10%. Consequently, the share of the population accounted for by this age group declined from 19.1% to 16.5%.

One effect of the shrinking population aged 15-24 has been that the number of new labour market entrants has fallen dramatically. This contrasts sharply with

the 1970s, when baby-boomers flooded into the labour force in record numbers.

### Child Population Stable

Compared with the rapid growth in the number of children during the baby-boom, and the sharp decline during the subsequent baby-bust, the population aged 14 and under has been relatively stable in the 1980s.

From 1981 to 1986, the number of children under age 5 rose 2%, while the population aged 5-14 fell 3%. As a result, the overall share of the total population accounted for by these age groups dropped from 22.5% to 21.3%. The relative stability of this population suggests that enrolment in elementary and secondary schools should be stable into the early 1990s.

**Mary Sue Devereaux** is Associate Managing Editor of *Canadian Social Trends*.





## SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
<b>POPULATION</b>								
Canada, June 1 (000s)	23,747.3	24,042.5	24,341.7	24,631.3	24,883.6	25,122.8	25,358.2	25,588.3
Annual growth (%)	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9
Immigration	82,939	138,079	129,466	134,920	105,286	87,504	84,062	87,794 <sup>P</sup>
Emigration	63,559	51,060	43,609	45,338	50,249	48,826	46,252	50,358 <sup>P</sup>
<b>FAMILY</b>								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	15.5	15.5	15.3	15.1	15.0	15.0	14.8	14.8 <sup>P</sup>
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	7.9	8.0	7.8	7.6	7.4	7.4	7.3	7.5 <sup>P</sup>
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.4	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	652	671	694	986	1,072	1,037	991	918
<b>LABOUR FORCE</b>								
Total employment (000s)	10,395	10,708	11,006	10,644	10,734	11,000	11,311	11,634
– goods sector (000s)	3,474	3,514	3,581	3,260	3,209	3,309	3,348	3,417
– services sector (000s)	6,921	7,194	7,425	7,384	7,525	7,692	7,963	8,217
Total unemployment (000s)	836	865	898	1,314	1,448	1,399	1,328	1,236
Unemployment rate	7.4	7.5	7.5	11.0	11.9	11.3	10.5	9.6
Part-time employment %	12.5	13.0	13.5	14.4	15.4	15.4	15.5	15.6
Women's participation rate	49.0	50.4	51.7	51.7	52.6	53.5	54.3	55.1
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	30.3	32.2	32.9	33.3	35.7	35.1	*	*
<b>INCOME</b>								
Median family income – 1985 \$	35,158	36,400	35,450	34,026	33,454	33,431	34,076	*
% of families with low income	13.1	12.2	12.0	13.2	14.0	14.5	13.3	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	63.3	–	63.6	64.0	–	65.5	64.9	*
<b>EDUCATION</b>								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	5,184.7	5,106.3	5,024.2	4,994.0	4,974.9	4,946.1	4,927.9	4,941.7 <sup>P</sup>
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	623.5	643.4	675.3	722.0	766.7	782.8	789.8	797.4 <sup>P</sup>
Doctoral degrees awarded	1,803	1,738	1,816	1,713	1,821	1,878	2,000	*
Government expenditure on education (1982 \$000,000)	22,598.2	22,512.7	23,082.3	23,180.8	24,031.6	23,208.1	24,122.6	23,581.2
<b>HEALTH</b>								
Suicide rate (per 100,000)								
– men	21.4	21.2	21.3	22.3	23.4	21.4	20.5	*
– women	7.0	6.8	6.8	6.4	6.9	6.1	5.4	*
% of population 15 + who are regular cigarette smokers – men	38.6	–	36.7	–	34.0	–	33.1	30.8
– women	30.1	–	28.9	–	28.3	–	27.8	25.8
Government expenditure on health (1982 \$000,000)	18,456.1	19,564.9	20,831.2	21,672.2	22,745.3	23,846.0	24,078.1	24,942.0
<b>JUSTICE</b>								
Crime rates (per 100,000)								
– violent	623	648	666	685	692	714	749	801
– property	5,013	5,551	5,873	5,955	5,717	5,607	5,560	5,660
– homicide	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.0
<b>GOVERNMENT</b>								
Expenditures on social programmes <sup>1</sup> (1982 \$000,000)	91,126.7	95,340.7	97,499.7	104,289.8	110,095.4	111,700.9	114,838.2	116,467.9
– as a % of total expenditures	59.3	57.7	57.3	58.1	59.9	58.4	58.4	58.9
– as a % of GDP	24.0	24.7	24.7	27.8	28.7	27.8	27.7	27.5
LII beneficiaries (000s)	2,332.9	2,274.1	2,432.4	3,123.1	3,396.1	3,221.9	3,181.5	3,136.7
OAS/GIS beneficiaries <sup>m</sup> (000s)	2,145.4	2,236.0	2,302.8	2,368.6	2,425.7	2,490.9	2,569.5	2,652.2
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries <sup>m</sup> (000s)	1,547.6	1,334.3	1,418.4	1,502.8	1,832.9	1,894.9	1,923.3	1,892.9
<b>ECONOMIC INDICATORS</b>								
GDP (1981 \$) – annual % change	+ 3.9	+ 1.5	+ 3.7	- 3.3	+ 3.1	+ 5.5	+ 4.0	+ 3.1
Annual inflation rate (%)	9.2	10.2	12.5	10.8	5.8	4.4	4.0	4.1
Urban housing starts	151,717	125,013	142,441	104,792	134,207	110,874	139,408	170,863

– Not available; \* Not yet available; <sup>P</sup> Preliminary estimates; <sup>m</sup> Figures as of March.

<sup>1</sup> Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.



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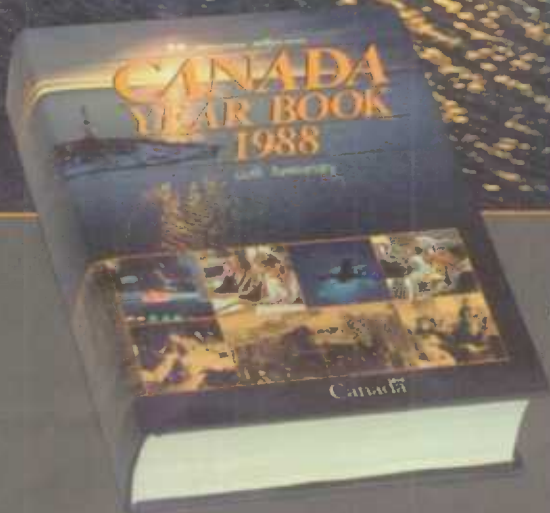
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# CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS 1987 ANNUAL INDEX

SPRING

SUMMER

AUTUMN

WINTER

## POPULATION

Migration Between Atlantic Canada and Ontario, 1951-1985	Spring
A Profile of Employed Migrants between Atlantic Canada and Ontario	Spring
International Migration of the Canadian Population	Autumn
Religious Affiliation in Canada	Autumn
Calgary: A Statistical Profile	Winter
Forty Years of Social Housing in Toronto	Winter
Urban Canada	Winter

## FAMILY

Tying the Knot: An Overview of Marriage Rates in Canada	Autumn
Women Parenting Alone	Winter

## LABOUR FORCE

Increases in Long-Term Unemployment	Spring
The Changing Industrial Mix of Employment, 1951-1985	Spring
The Decline in Employment Among Men Aged 55-64, 1975-1985	Spring
Annual Review of Labour Force Trends	Summer
Work Injuries	Summer
Employment Patterns of Elderly Canadians	Autumn
Involuntary Part-Time Employment in Canada, 1975-1985	Autumn
Unemployment Rates for the Full-Time and Part-Time Labour Forces	Autumn
Women in Male-Dominated Professions	Winter

## INCOME

Low Income in Canada	Spring
Average Expenditure of Urban Canadians	Summer

## EDUCATION

Low Educational Attainment in Canada, 1975-1985	Spring
Part-Time University Enrolment	Summer
1976 and 1982 Postsecondary Graduates: Selected Highlights of their Labour Force Experience	Autumn

## HEALTH

Lifestyle Risks: Smoking and Drinking in Canada	Spring
Increased Life Expectancy, 1921-1981	Summer
The Incidence of Sexually Transmitted Disease in Canada	Summer
The Decline in Stroke Mortality	Autumn

## JUSTICE

Canada's Prison Population	Summer
Legal Aid in Canada	Summer
Homicide in Canada	Winter

## CENSUS

1986 Census Highlights	Summer
1986 Census Highlights: Aging of the Canadian Population	Winter

# TRACKING THE TRENDS