

CANADA

TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

CENSUS

Who we are, where we live,
and what we're doing



CANADA STATUS QUO

Countries change, and since the 1970s Canada has changed profoundly.

Change in a country is always traumatic — some parts prosper and others do not. Power and population shift and one ethnic or language group grows while others retreat.

Patterns change, often in ways not quite anticipated.

An analysis of the 1981 census depicts a Canada that is becoming more bilingual and less religious. Incomes grew through the seventies and early eighties and families shrank. Many women advanced in the work place but many more did not, and the overwhelming majority remained in low-paying, traditionally feminine jobs.

In this issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI we look at the past, measure the present and try to identify the harbingers of the future.

Market Value

Canada takes a full census every ten years and a lesser one every five.

The last big one took place in June 1981 when census takers gathered half a billion facts about 24,343,181 people. The next mini one will be in 1986.

The information gathered in 1981 is now being published by Statistics Canada in three main series, under twenty separate titles.

It is designed to be used by a wide variety of clients.

Toy manufacturers were told a hard fact they already suspected — in 1981 there were 415,000 fewer children under fifteen in Canada than there had been five years before.

Makers of arch supports and hearing aids had more palatable news — the number of persons over sixty-five had grown by 395,000 in the same period — and food packaging firms learned that the number of people in the average household had dropped from 3.1 to 2.9, and one-person households had become common.

A 1984 Qualification

The census statistics were gathered in June 1981, analysed in 1982 and 1983 and this is the spring of 1984.

There have been some changes in the last three-and-one-half years. Most notably, a recession — often described as the deepest in fifty years — modified some of the more positive figures.

Front Cover: Vancouver is Canada's third largest city, after Toronto and Montreal. Together, the three cities have almost a third of the population.

On census day 65 per cent of Canadians had paying jobs, but by January 1983 this had been trimmed to 62.3. This year employment is up, inflation is down, the recession is over and the U.S.-based Conference Board said that Canada's recovery will be faster than in most of the industrialized world. It forecast a 7 per cent annual growth rate, up from 5 per cent last fall, but still behind the U.S. rate of 11 per cent.

The recovery has been somewhat spotty, strongest in the most industrialized provinces, Ontario and Quebec.

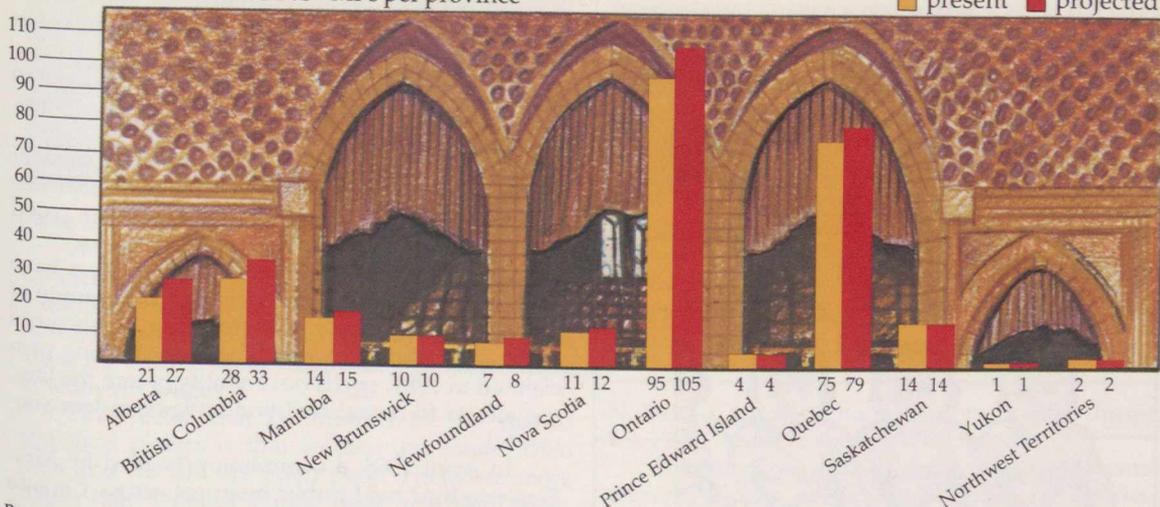
Alberta was leading the country in 1981, but its boom is past. Unemployment climbed in the autumn to an unprecedented 12 per cent, and the number of job-hungry workers moving into Alberta from central and eastern Canada dropped some 29 per cent. Last summer, *The Calgary Herald* sounded a poignant question: "Has Alberta's Sun Set? It was a province of high-rolling entrepreneurs, posh restaurants and executive jets. Workers lured by high-paying jobs and the prospect of speedy promotions descended in droves from all points of the country, often arriving in cars packed to the brim with family and belongings. . . . Has the whirl-wind transformation been temporarily subdued or has it vanished forever, leaving behind half-finished office buildings in the

FLOW AND EBB

During the 1970s a lot of Canadians moved to Alberta, but as the recent recession took hold the migration diminished.



HOUSE OF COMMONS MPs per province



Based on the 1981 census, there will be a total of 310 ridings in the next election, up from the current 282. (The redistribution has not yet been confirmed by the House of Commons and is unofficial.)

downtown core and thousands of empty apartment units?"

Still, the picture is not totally dark — Petro Canada is considering construction of a new tar sands plant near Fort McMurray and that would give a significant boost to the economy.

Hans Maciej, technical director of the Canadian Petroleum Association, says the oil industry "is a lot leaner and smarter now," and John Zaozirny, the province's minister of energy and natural resources, is cautiously optimistic: "We've begun to reverse the downward movement in terms of both industry activity and, just as important, in attitude. A gradual upward trend has definitely started."

The Big Picture

Between 1971 and 1981 Canada's population grew by 2,774,870. When the census takers came around on a June day in 1981, there were 24,343,181 Canadians from sea to shining sea. (By June 1983 there were 24,889,800.)

This was not quite as many as expected. The percentage of growth, 12.9, was the second lowest in this century. The slowest rate, 10.9, came during the decade of the Great Depression when immigration was low and young people couldn't afford to start families. The highest, 30.2, was in the decade after World War II, 1951-1961, when immigrants poured in and couples could and did have kids.

Canada is still a large place with relatively few people, and its growth is still substantially higher than most of the crowded western world's. It grew only slightly faster than the United States, where the rate was 11.4 per cent, but considerably faster than France, 5.3 per cent, and Great Britain, 0.3. On the other hand, it was far behind Australia, another spacious country, where the rate was 16.5.

The growth pattern changed from province to

province. All the provinces and the two territories gained people through natural increases and immigration but only a few by attracting Canadians from other places. Alberta's population grew by 37.5 per cent, 197,650 men, women and children; and British Columbia's by 25.6, adding 110,935, reflecting the fact that native-born Canadians as well as immigrants seemed to be going to the far West. Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the most eastern of the Prairie Provinces, grew only 3.8 and 4.5 per cent.

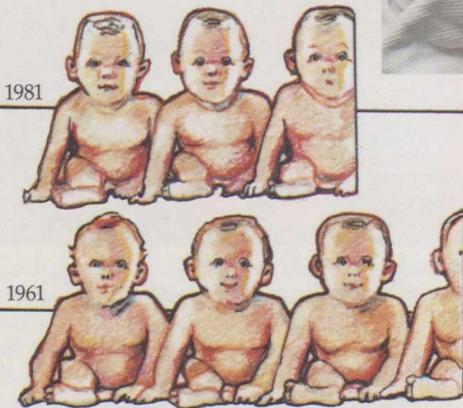
Ontario, which grew 12 per cent, was close to the national average, but it lost 126,760 people to Alberta. Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick grew by 9.7 per cent; Newfoundland, 8.7; Nova Scotia, 7.4; and Quebec, which lost 12 per cent of its Anglophones, 106,310 people, in five years, grew 6.8 per cent.

The Yukon and the Northwest Territories began the decade with a small base, and though they registered spectacular gains in percentages, 29.9 and 31.4, their populations remained relatively tiny.

When the population shifts, power shifts too. The provinces' representation in the House of Commons reflects their share of the total population. The Atlantic Provinces slipped significantly in their relative standings. Ontario — the dominant province since Confederation — peaked in 1971, then dropped slightly in 1981.

The big gains were, of course, in Alberta and in British Columbia. This means that when the House is reconstituted Alberta and B.C. will gain more members than the Atlantic Provinces will.

The shifts, though significant, do not suggest that the centre of influence will move to Vancouver or Edmonton soon. Central Canada — Ontario and Quebec — have substantially more than half of the country's people, 61.8 per cent, and if the pattern of the past decade continues they will still have a majority in the year 2000. Nevertheless, the political winds from the West are rising.

FEWER BABIES

The Canadian fertility rate was booming in 1961 when the average number of births for women past the childbearing years was 3.2. By 1981 it was down to 2.8. The most dramatic drop was in Quebec, from 3.9 to 2.7.

Baby Boom Echoes

About 400,000 children were born in Canada every year between 1952 and 1965, a total of 6,715,000.

The effects have changed society.

As John Kettle put it in his recently published study, *The Big Generation*, "Something extraordinary happened in Canada between 1951 and 1966. It has already wreaked havoc in our lives and will go on echoing down the years into the middle of the next century, disrupting and reshaping and rebuilding most of our society and economy in the process."

In 1981 the children of the boom were between sixteen and twenty-eight years old, leaving childhood and primary and secondary education behind and crowding the job market and institutions of higher learning.

Now there are fewer students and more workers. By the year 2000 the biggest block of Canadians will be income-earning, tax-paying citizens in their thirties and forties and by 2016 they will be retired. (Unless, of course, there is another baby boom.)

Women's Place

The stationary female and the wide-ranging male is the world's accepted arrangement, but the belief that a woman must cherish no hope or ambition of her own is both cruel and unjust. Nellie McClung, an active and effective feminist in Manitoba in the first years of the century.

Men continually study women, and know nothing about them. Women never study men, and know all about them. Bob Edwards, publisher of the *Calgary Eye Opener* from 1902 to 1922.

For most of its life, Canada has been dominated by men. Women were a minority, limited in their behaviour by law and tradition.

They stopped being a minority in 1971 when 1,000 females were counted for every 992 males. By 1981 there were 1,000 for every 983.

Once the law treated them as male possessions, though often beloved. In most provinces they could not own property, though they could in Quebec if they were widows or spinsters.

The most blatantly discriminatory laws have been off the books for years (though the women of Quebec did not have full franchise rights until 1940), and though Canada's Constitution, proclaimed in 1981, spells out equality before the law, the efforts to repeal tradition have been less successful.

In April 1968, a commission headed by Mrs. Florence Bird held public hearings across Canada and discovered that only 5 per cent of law school graduates were women, that women often earned less than equal pay for equal work and that a disproportionate number of women were poor.

Mrs. Bird summed up by saying: "In order to understand the problems of women we have to understand the problems of poverty. . . . Women get paid less, they are relegated to low-level jobs, the burden of child care falls on them and they can least afford to bear it."

Since then things have improved, though not sensationally. Canada now has a Minister of State for the Status of Women and she is a woman, Judy Erola (who is also Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs). The 1981 census shows that there are five times as many women engineers as there were in 1971 and six times as many lawyers; three times as many accountants and four times as many bus drivers.

The number of women working has increased by 62 per cent since 1969, and it is estimated that two-thirds of all women over twenty will have jobs by the year 2000.

Other findings are much less positive.

Female income as a percentage of male income has climbed only slightly in ten years, from 44.1 per cent to 49.7 per cent — a strong indication that most women who will be working sixteen years from now will still be relatively poorly paid.

The discrimination is not as universal as these figures suggest — a woman in a law firm is very likely to be on a financial par with her male peers — but most working women are clustered in low-paying office and service jobs and many, such as bank tellers, are being replaced rapidly by electronic devices. Women in industry are most likely to be where pay is traditionally low: they are a majority in the clothing industry — where the average weekly wage is below \$200 — and a small minority in pulp and paper manufacturing — where the weekly wage is around \$400.

The number of women in traditional, low-paying fields — clerical, sales, teaching and nursing — seems to be expanding. As the number of jobs in light industry has diminished, women

Point of Comparison

In the U.S. women also now outnumber men, 119 million to 113 million.

Of the 32,000 U.S. residents who are over 100, 24,000 are women.

have been the first to lose their places.

A recent study by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women only slightly modified Mrs. Bird's overview of 1969: "There are now some women in almost all paid jobs, but most are at the bottom of the heap doing women's work at women's wages."

One factor that contributes to the dismal statistical picture is that women live longer than men and the old are often poor. There are more males than females among those less than nineteen years old but more women than men among those over fifty. There are five widows for every widower. Past the age of eighty, women outnumber men two to one.

The number of women with income of their own has increased — from six out of ten in 1971 to eight out of ten in 1981 — but this silver lining has a cloud. The increase reflects to a great degree the fact that there are more women over sixty-five who are getting old-age pensions.

The most significant and the most positive change affecting women may well be one that has no explicit connection with jobs or income. Their fertility — the number of children they have during their childbearing years — is down. In 1971 the average woman who was past childbearing had given birth to a statistical 3.2 children. In 1981 her counterpart had had 2.8. Women are having their first child at an older age — the number who are married while in their teens or twenties has declined. Young women who do not have babies

have a better chance to get a solid start in the work place.

The fertility rate has, however, remained relatively high in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, where it ranged from 3.2 children per woman to 4.0.

Quebec, which had the highest rate, 3.9, in 1961, had 2.7, among the lowest, in 1981. Ontario's was as low, and British Columbia's was the lowest at 2.6.

Cities

Nothing Canadian changed more rapidly during the 1970s than the shape of its cities.

For the census takers the word itself became obsolete — the new measurements are in Metropolitan Areas and some of these combine cities and even provinces; the Ottawa-Hull Metropolitan Area, for example, leaps across the Ottawa River from Ontario to Quebec.

Once the limits of cities were determined by how long it took a worker to walk to work. The city ended and the country began where a worker could still make it downtown in a reasonable time. Montreal, a compact city on an island, was Canada's greatest metropolis for a long, long time. Toronto was indisputably second and from 1911 until the 1920s Winnipeg was third.

Transportation changed everything. Railways, interprovincial highways and airlines made it easy to move out of the East, and within the cities electric tramways first extended the practical boundaries, and superhighways and two-car families extended them more.

In the past twenty years, the old city, which had been surrounded by fields and small, independent towns and villages, became simply the centre of densely populated areas, the urban planners' core.

The urbanization of Canada, which has been underway since Confederation, has taken new forms since 1971. Big cities grew, most of them mightily. By and large their cores have not suffered the deterioration that has plagued some American cities, perhaps because they were smaller, less densely packed and had modest single-family homes rather than tenements and large apartment complexes.

Montreal, for example, is among the most strikingly and successfully up-to-date. Some twenty years ago it replaced much of its grimy downtown with a dazzlingly sophisticated network of high-rise hotels and offices linked by underground shopping malls, promenades and subway routes. The population of the central city declined by some 8 per cent between 1976 and 1981, but the fringe population grew by 21.4 per cent.

Toronto has had a similar if less dramatic sprucing up, and it has kept its old central residential area intact by laws that discourage high rises.

WOMEN AT WORK



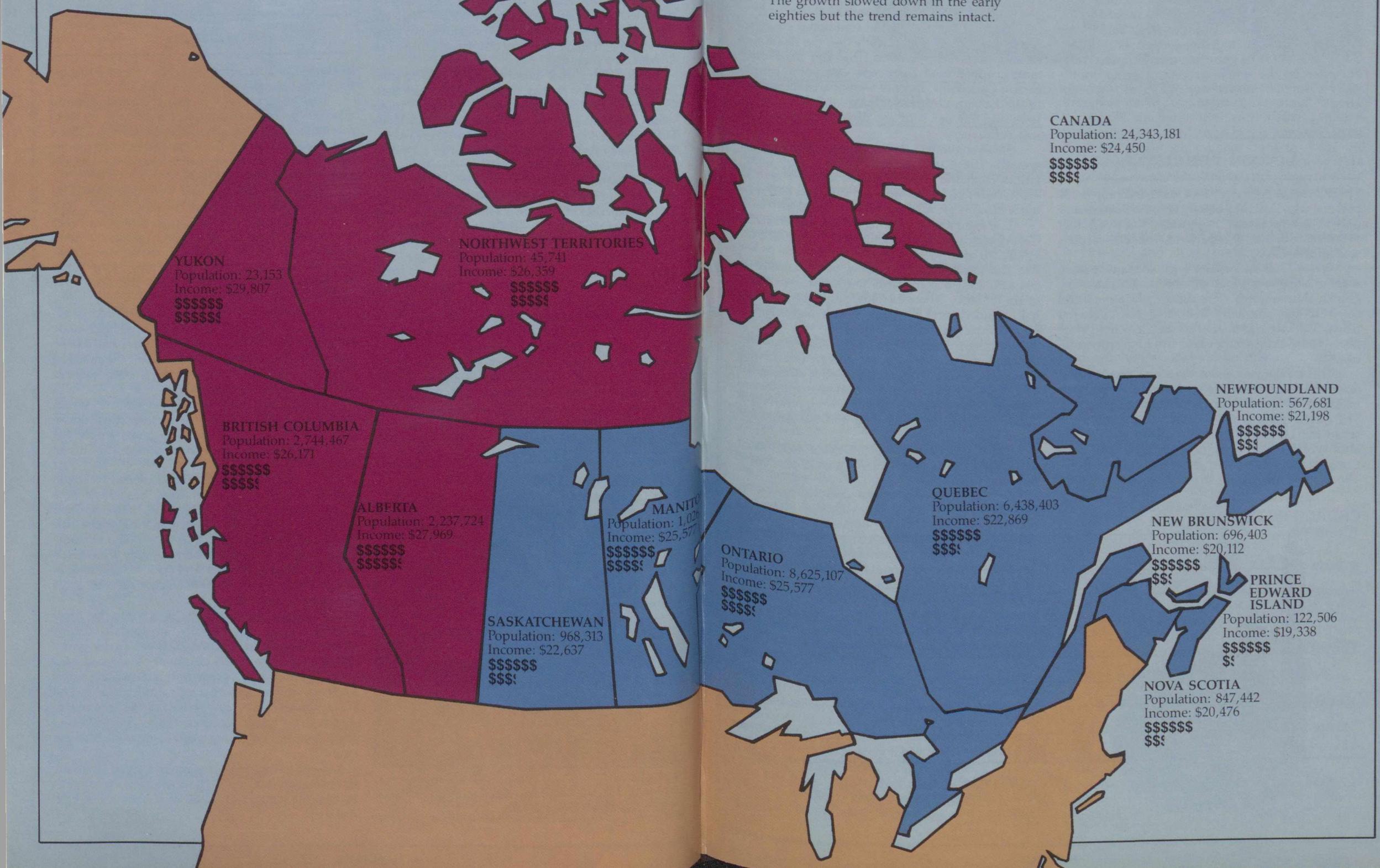
There were more women professionals in 1981 than there were ten years before, but the overwhelming majority of working women remained clustered in low-paying jobs.

Income is average annual family income in constant 1980 dollars.
 Each \$ = \$2,500 of average annual income.

- Above average population growth
- Below average population growth

MONEY AND MIGRATION

The 1970s were a golden decade for Alberta, British Columbia, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. As their economies boomed a great many Canadians in other provinces moved west. The growth slowed down in the early eighties but the trend remains intact.



CANADA
 Population: 24,343,181
 Income: \$24,450
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Toronto is now Canada's largest metropolitan area with a 1981 population of 2,998,947. The Montreal metropolitan area is in second place with 2,828,349. Vancouver is third with 1,268,183, Ottawa-Hull fourth with 717,978. Edmonton is now the fifth largest metropolitan area with 657,057 people and Calgary, with 592,743 in 1981, is sixth.

These six gained a total of 570,296 between 1976 and 1981. Middle and small cities did less well. Two, Sudbury and Windsor, actually lost people and the four smallest of the ranked cities, Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Thunder Bay, Saint John and Trois-Rivières, together gained only 5,151. Some smaller towns grew too, many impressively, but often by the simple process of being unofficially absorbed into the expanding metropolitan areas.

Sectual Preference

The Canadian census of 1901 recorded only 4,181 persons who said they belonged to no religion and only 3,613 professed "agnostics," a word that included "atheists, freethinkers, infidels, sceptics and unbelievers."

When Canada began, a great many people went to a relatively small number of churches. The French church-goers were almost all Catholic and so were the southern Irish and the Highland Scots. The lowland Scots and northern Irish were likely to be Presbyterian and the English, Anglican.

These relatively even divisions produced at least an official tolerance — federal governments included high-level members from each group. The simple pattern grew even more pronounced when the United Church of Canada was formed after World War I, combining the Methodists and Congregationalists and most of the Presbyterians. The picture has grown much more diverse since

World War II.

For one thing an increasing number of Canadians no longer go to church at all, or, if they do, they do so casually and infrequently. Seven point four per cent of all Canadians, 1.8 million, told the 1981 census takers they had "no religious preference," a rise of 90 per cent in ten years. In British Columbia 21.5 per cent of the population were churchless, in the Yukon, 19.1 per cent, and in Alberta, 11.5. In Newfoundland the old allegiances remained solid: 99 per cent of the population had a specific church of choice.

The division within the traditional churches has also shifted significantly — the Catholics climbed to 47.3 per cent in 1981, and the Protestants dropped to 41.2 per cent. One point five per cent of Canadians, most of Ukrainian ancestry, go to the Eastern Orthodox church, 1.2 per cent are Jews and 1.3 per cent are divided among other small churches.

Small churches had the greatest relative growth. The Canadian Buddhists, mostly immigrants from the Orient, gained 223 per cent in membership to 51,955 between 1971 and 1981, and the Mormons grew by 36 per cent, to 89,870.

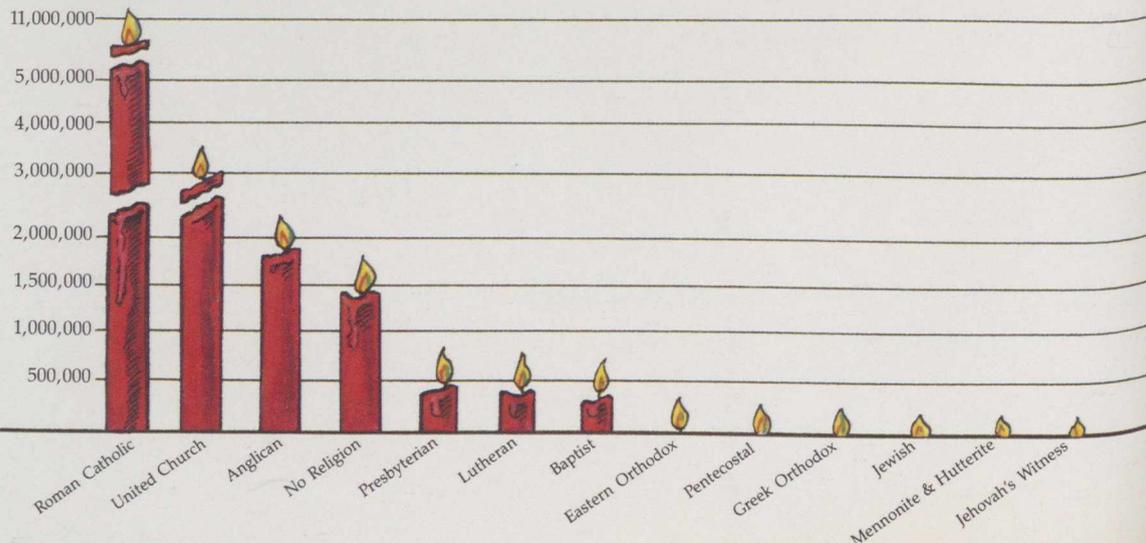
The main gainers among the Protestants were the Pentecostals, who advanced 54 per cent, from 219,300 to 338,790.

The number of Jews grew by 8 per cent to 296,425, with a high concentration in two provinces: Ontario, where 148,255, slightly more than half, resided; and Quebec, which had 102,550, approximately a third.

Among some of the more established groups, the growth was slow or negative. The United Church, Canada's largest Protestant denomination, grew by only one per cent, the number of Unitarians was down 31 per cent, the Presbyterians down by 6 per cent and the Anglicans down by 3.

The Doukhobors, the self-contained farmer descendants of Russian emigrés, lost 27 per cent of their number.

CHURCH BY CHOICE



ANCESTRAL TIES



Ukrainian 2.2%



British 40.2%

Italian 3.1%



German 4.7%

French 26.7%



Ethnicity

Beauty's Changing Face

Yet it is true that this land has . . . cranky losers. Again and again they surface . . . to complain that Canada is not the British America of their grandfathers' time. Yet how could it be so? If only they would look at the country in all its wild grandeur with all its new people and see that such a land must always be changing and becoming something new, and always with a new beauty in its changing face.

Morley Callaghan in *The Toronto Star*, December 1972.

The changing pattern of religious affiliation reflects an even more significant change — Canada, which was for a long time overwhelmingly British and French, is becoming decidedly less so.

Most Canadians still have British or French connections. If one adds those who have "more than one ethnic background," the total is well over 70 per cent.

Still, Canada was never quite as simply and evenly divided as it sometimes seemed to be. It was mainly French and British but the British grouping included, and still includes, heterogeneous parts — Scots are not English, the Protestant Irish from Ulster and the Catholic Irish from the rest of Ireland are not interchangeable, and there were and are a considerable number of Welsh.

Most of the third largest group of Canadians, those of German background, have also been around for generations and are perhaps the most fully assimilated. The fourth group, the Italians, has grown enormously since World War II. The fifth, Ukrainians, has, like the Germans, been around for quite a time.

The older groups are still concentrated to a considerable degree in the East — 92 per cent of the residents of Newfoundland have ancestors who came from the British Isles, while only 38 per cent of the people in Saskatchewan do. Quebec is, of course, mostly French (80 per cent), and in Saskatchewan the French come in fifth.

The wider ethnic diversity began after World War II, when a great many immigrants from southern Europe came to Canada, and continued

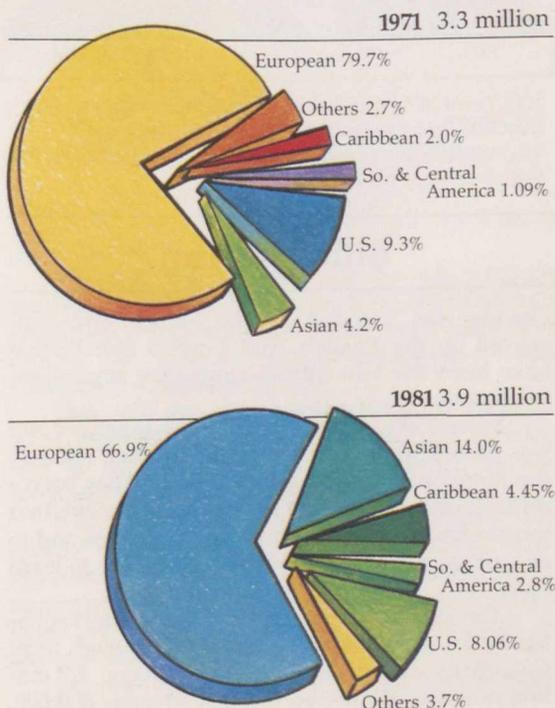
through the 1970s, when the number of non-European immigrants increased enormously.

In the ten years between full-scale censuses the number of Canadian residents born in Europe dropped, while the number born in Asia, the Caribbean Islands and South and Central America increased enormously. These latter groups are still a small part of the whole, but their absolute numbers are no longer negligible.

Among other well defined groups constituting sizable blocks are Canada's oldest residents, the Indians and Inuit, followed by the Dutch, Chinese, Scandinavians, Polish, Portuguese, Greeks, people from the Balkans and Indo-Pakistanis.

The Portuguese and the people from the Balkans are heavily concentrated in Ontario, the Chinese and Indo-Pakistanis in Ontario and British Columbia, and the Italians in Ontario and Quebec.

CANADIANS FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE



Different Mix

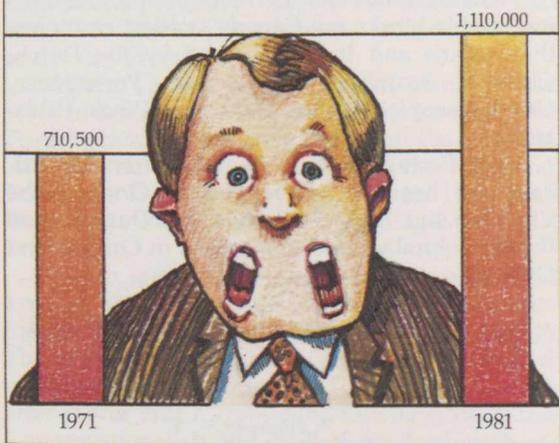
The United States, according to its latest census, has an ethnic makeup that includes the same groups as Canada's, but not in the same proportions.

The Census Bureau lists the descendants of the varied people of the British Isles separately.

About 50 million U.S. residents claim English descent, 49 million German. (The census takers believe it is possible the German group is the larger since some persons remotely German may have listed English because they identify with the language and because their surnames have been anglicized.)

The third group, 40,165,702, is Irish; the fourth, French, 12,892,246; the fifth, Italian, 12,183,692; and the sixth, Scottish, 10,048,816.

FRENCH-SPEAKING ANGLOS



In 1971 only 24.5 per cent of the 2.9 million Canadians who could speak both French and English had English as their mother tongue. In 1981 there were 3.7 million, and 30 per cent were from English-speaking homes.

Bilingualism

Canada was founded by the French and conquered by the English, and English and French have been the two official languages since Confederation.

Since 1969, when the Official Languages Act was passed, there has been a determined effort to put them on a practical parity. The goal has been a difficult one — to assure that all speakers of either tongue have easy access to federal services and to encourage as many Canadians as possible to learn both.

The 1981 census suggests that the effort so far has had a real, if limited, success. Although most Canadians still speak only one language, 3.7 million now speak both, an increase of some 800,000.

The greatest number of bilingual Canadians is still found among those who began with French, but the greatest gain has been among those who formerly spoke only English.

This reflects a continued, focused effort aimed at the young. There are now more than 100,000 English-speaking children involved in French immersion programs.

The most bilingual provinces are, as they have long been, Quebec and New Brunswick, the ones with the greatest proportion of French speakers.

Alberta made the most spectacular bilingual gain, much of it through migration from Quebec.

Other Voices

Bilingual Canadians do not always speak English and French.

A good many have one of those languages plus another.

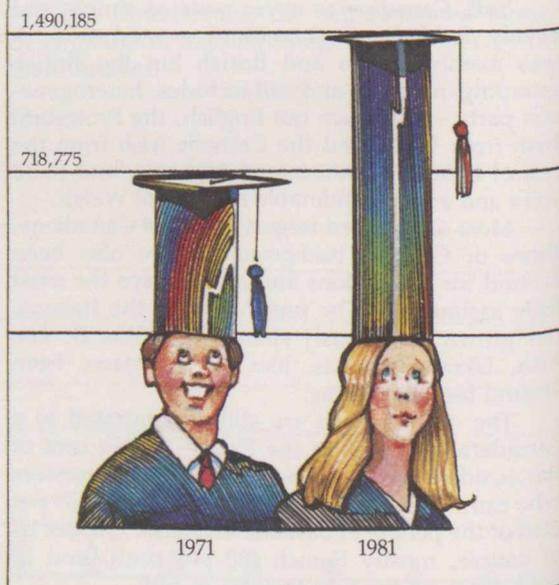
Next to English and French the language most spoken in Canada is Italian, though the number who speak it has declined since 1971. Chinese is fourth, German next and Portuguese is in sixth place. The seventh place category includes those who speak native Indian languages or Inuktitut.

The Nth Degree

We have no desire to create a nation of shopkeepers whose only thoughts run to groceries and to dividends. We want our people to look into the sun and into the depths of the sea. M.M. Coady, *Adult Education in Canada* (1950).

In 1981 Canadians had more formal education

UNIVERSITY GRADS



Between 1971 and 1981 the number of Canadians with university degrees more than doubled, from 4.8 per cent of the population to 8 per cent.

than ever before. In 1971 there were seven persons with less than Grade 9 education for every one with a university degree. In 1976 the ratio was 4.1 to 1. In 1981 it was 2.7 to 1.

The remarkable change reflects two variables — the number of those who left school before Grade 9 fell by almost a million between 1971 and 1981, while the number with degrees more than doubled between 1971 and 1981.

There is still room for improvement — slightly more than one-fifth of all Canadians have less education than what some experts consider necessary to cope in an increasingly complex society.

Some 12 million stopped schooling after secondary school, and another 3.5 million had some post-secondary education in community colleges, technical institutes and trade schools.

Some 1.6 million had gone to university only and another 1.3 million had both university and other post-secondary training.

The Yukon has the highest number of university and university-plus people. The others, in descending order, are British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories, Quebec, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. The provinces which had rapidly growing economies during the 1970s, such as Alberta and the Yukon, and those with major and expanding cities, such as British Columbia and Ontario, attracted persons who had received their higher education somewhere else.

On the Job

Once most Canadians worked on farms.

Now they are increasingly engaged in jobs that are far removed from the basic simplicities.

The labour force grew three times as fast as the population between 1971 and 1981. More than half of the increase was in Ontario and Quebec.

The number of people in managerial or administrative jobs grew by 118 per cent — with much of the gain in finance, sales and advertising. The natural sciences, engineering and mathematics grew by 72 per cent; and the artistic, literary and recreational fields (a somewhat odd grouping), by 105 per cent.

The number of persons in agriculture stopped shrinking for the first time since the 1930s.

The number of people in manufacturing grew by 30 per cent nationally, 106 per cent in Newfoundland and almost 70 per cent in Alberta.

More Breadwinners = More Bread

Between 1970 and 1980 the average Canadian family's real income grew from \$20,820 to \$26,748 in constant (1980) dollars.

The average family was smaller, but the

FARM WORKERS STAND FAST

481,190

481,273



For the first time since the 1930s the number of Canada's farm workers did not shrink. In 1971 there were 481,190 and in 1981, 481,273, substantially the same.

number of wage earners in the family was up.

The highest average income in 1971 had been in Ontario, but in 1981 that province was fourth behind the Yukon, Alberta and British Columbia.

The highest rate of increase was in Saskatchewan and Alberta. There was a marked rise in the Atlantic Provinces — Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia — though the actual dollar levels were still below the national average.

The average income of individual Canadians fifteen and older was \$12,993 in 1980.

The Rest of the Eighties

There will be an abbreviated census in 1986, a full-scale one in 1991.

It seems safe to predict that the major trends apparent in the 1970s — the shifts of population westward, women's gains in the work place, the rise in the general level of education — will continue through the decade.

Still, we are now approaching the halfway mark, and it is already apparent that the eighties will be as different from the seventies as the seventies were from the sixties.

The speed and kind of change ahead will greatly depend on prosperity and decline. The significance of change may not be instantaneously apparent — in 1983, for example, more businesses failed and more were started in Canada than in any previous year.

No one controls the future, but we all help shape it.

CHANGING NEEDS



Nineteen sixty-one's babies are now twenty-three years old. As they and the other products of the baby boom grow older, the country's social and economic needs will continue to change.

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