



Urbanization and the Aging Population: What's Ahead for Atlantic Canada?

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Executive Summary

Overview

♦ This report analyses trends in urbanization and population in Atlantic Canada over the last two decades. It then looks forward to 2021 to assess what the future might hold for the region. The policy issues arising from continued urbanization and an aging population are highlighted.

Urbanization and An Aging Population

- ♦ The Atlantic provinces are becoming more urban with the region's largest cities increasing their share of population.
- ♦ Urban areas are also becoming more important to the provincial economy. The region's cities generally capture a larger share of GDP than their population warrants.
- ♦ Employment in urban areas reflects the growth of the knowledge economy with rapid gains in professional and scientific services and management and administrative services (including call centres).
- ♦ Young people are attracted to employment and lifestyle opportunities in urban areas.
- ♦ Urban areas are not only growing but are changing as well. Young families often congregate in the suburbs rather than the higher priced urban core. Companies are also clustering in suburban areas to avoid higher leasing costs in the urban core. As a result, the urban fringe is growing more rapidly in many urban areas.
- ♦ The Atlantic provinces still have a higher proportion of rural dwellers than the rest of the nation.
- ♦ There was a considerable exodus from rural areas during the last five years.
- ♦ Declining fertility, along with fewer females of child-bearing age, have contributed to a drop in birth rates, which have fallen almost 30% in Atlantic Canada in the 1990s.
- ♦ The average life expectancy in Atlantic Canada increased from about 75 years in 1980 to almost 79 years in 1999. In 1986 there were about 250,000 Atlantic Canadians aged 65 and older; by 2001 that had risen to 311,000.
- ♦ The combined effect of smaller cities with a smaller share of provincial population and a rapid decline in some rural areas has meant that the region's share of the Canadian population is on a steady decline.

Urban-Rural Differences

- ♦ Primary industries, which include agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining and oil and gas extraction are predominantly rural in nature. About 81% of employment in these industries is in rural areas, compared with only 54% for all industries.
- ♦ Manufacturing also tends to be predominantly rural in nature, with 68% of employment in rural areas. However, the manufacturing sector has been growing faster in urban areas over the last decade.
- ♦ Service-sector industries, particularly professional and scientific industries, management and administrative services (including call centres), and financial, insurance and real estate (FIRE) are predominantly urban in location.
- ♦ Educational attainment is higher in urban areas. Even in schools, reading performance, for example, is higher in urban areas.
- ♦ The unemployment rate is consistently higher in rural areas of Atlantic Canada with particularly high rates evident in more remote areas.
- ♦ There is much greater use of employment insurance (EI) in rural regions. In 2001, 8.2% of the rural population were EI beneficiaries, compared with 3.3% in urban areas.
- ♦ The seasonality of employment and EI claims is higher in rural areas, reflecting the concentration of industries such as agriculture, forestry, fishery and mining, as well as manufacturing and construction, in rural areas.
- ♦ Personal disposable income is higher in urban areas of Atlantic Canada. Although rural regions tend to benefit from lower housing costs, some services are not be readily available in rural areas.
- ♦ A very small proportion (less than 1.5%) of immigrants to Canada come to the Atlantic provinces and most of these settle in the region's biggest cities.
- ♦ There is a substantial urban-rural digital divide in terms of Internet access and usage.
- ♦ Growth in housing starts has been stronger in urban areas but rural residents are more likely to own their homes, benefiting from lower housing costs in rural areas.

Executive Summary

Looking Forward to 2021

- ♦ The population of Atlantic Canada is expected to grow after 2005. By 2021, it is projected to reach 2.36 million, an increase of about 28,400 from 2001.
- ♦ This modest increase in population does not prevent the region's share of the national population from continuing to decline, from 7.5% in 2001 to about 6.1% by 2021.
- ♦ The natural increase in the Atlantic population (births minus deaths) is projected to turn negative in 2003 as the rising number of deaths exceeds the declining number of births.
- ♦ The net outflow of people from the Atlantic region observed in the 1990s is expected to turn around by about 2005. Net in-migration is forecast to meet the labour force needs of the region, especially as older workers move into retirement.
- ♦ Population growth is expected to remain stronger in urban areas.
- ♦ A low birth rate and rising life expectancy contribute to a steadily aging population. In addition, the large cohort of baby boomers (those aged 36-56 in 2003) will contribute to an increase in the number of over 65's by 2012.
- ♦ The number of Atlantic Canadians aged 65 or older is projected to increase by about 50% between 2001 and 2021, to almost 20% of the population.
- ♦ By contrast, the number of Atlantic Canadians aged 15 or younger will shrink by nearly 20% over the next two decades.
- ♦ Housing demand is projected to be quite strong during 2001-2011 as the number of households grows much faster than the population. This reflects a gradual decline in household size as the population ages.
- ♦ The share of older workers in the labour force increases rapidly between 2001 and 2011.
- ♦ Sectors such as public administration, health and education, which have a large share of their labour force in the 45 and older age bracket, will experience increased pressure as a large share of their workforce moves rapidly towards retirement. Hiring replacement workers, however, will not be easy with proportionately fewer young people entering the labour market.

Policy Issues

- ♦ The two trends highlighted in this report – urbanization and demographic change – have important implications for the Atlantic region.
- ♦ The federal government's urban agenda must take account of the diverse requirements of urban areas across the country. Atlantic Canada's cities are smaller than those elsewhere in the country and on average have grown at a slower rate compared to Canada's largest CMA's.
- ♦ Ensuring an appropriate balance between municipal spending responsibilities and revenues is a critical issue.
- ♦ Road congestion is a problem in many cities, adding to commuting times, raising business transportation costs and contributing to environmental pollution.
- ♦ In Atlantic Canada, as elsewhere, cities account for a disproportionate number of poor people. Various organizations have identified a need for greater social (low-rent) housing to meet the needs of low income households and the homeless.
- ♦ Vibrant urban areas, with economic opportunities and services comparable to other Canadian cities, are essential to encourage young people to stay in the region.
- ♦ Economic development policies must recognize the urban nature of much of the growth in economic activity.
- ♦ As the workforce ages, and growth in the labour force slows, there will be increasing opportunities for older Canadians to continue to work rather than take early retirement. This may place a premium on compensation levels while also requiring greater work flexibility and a modification of tax and pension policies to allow a more gradual transition into retirement.
- ♦ Companies will need to plan carefully for their future labour force needs, manage succession plans and develop new ways to attract and retain talented employees.
- ♦ An aging population will increase the pressures on health budgets, with rising health care expenditures expected to increase by more than the age-related decline in spending on education.
- ♦ Maintaining services in rural areas in the face of a declining population will remain a critical issue.

Chapter 1: Urbanization and Population Change in Atlantic Canada

Atlantic Canada's Urban Areas Are Increasing Their Share Of The Population

- ♦ Five of the seven largest cities in the region experienced double-digit increases in population between 1981 and 2001.
- ♦ Sydney was the only large Atlantic urban centre not to see an increase in its share of the provincial population over this same period.
- ♦ Economic opportunities resulting from energy developments have strengthened Halifax and St. John's, while call centres and IT have boosted Moncton with business services helping Fredericton.
- ♦ In Saint John and Sydney the industrial base has been hurt by the decline in the shipyard and coal/steel industries respectively. Workers in these industries find it more difficult to adapt to the requirements of new economy jobs.

Urban Employment Patterns Reflect The Growth Of The Knowledge Economy

- ♦ The business services and the information and communications sectors grew rapidly in the 1990's as the new knowledge-based economy took hold.
- ♦ The professional, scientific and technical industry grew by 51% in Atlantic Canada between 1991 and 2001, while the management and administrative services industry (which includes call centres) increased by almost 140%.
- ♦ While it was once assumed that communications technology would diminish the economic impact of distance, thus benefiting rural areas, the gains have been moderate due to the critical need for human capital (i.e., skilled labour) in these sectors. These industries are therefore more heavily concentrated in urban areas, especially in the larger cities.
- ♦ Industries in the goods sector, which are predominantly rural, actually declined in employment over the last decade.

Urban Jobs Increasingly Require Skilled Workers

- ♦ Although the skill requirements in the knowledge economy are increasing, there is a distinct gap between the level of education and skills in urban and rural areas. This gap was quite evident at the time of the 1996 census and has likely grown since then.
- ♦ Recent data on reading skills showed that students in urban schools outperformed those in rural schools in the region, reflecting the educational attainment and nature of jobs in rural communities. Rural areas will fall further behind if this issue is not addressed.

Fig. 1.1 - Share of the Provincial Population (2001 actual)

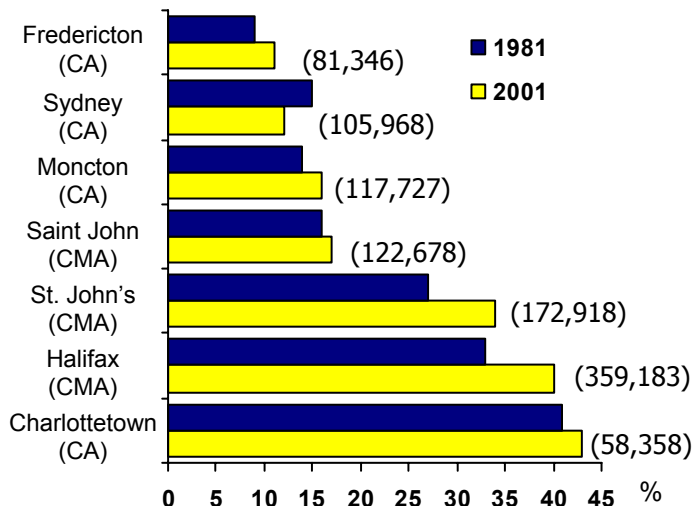


Fig. 1.2 - Share of Total Urban Employment, Atlantic Canada

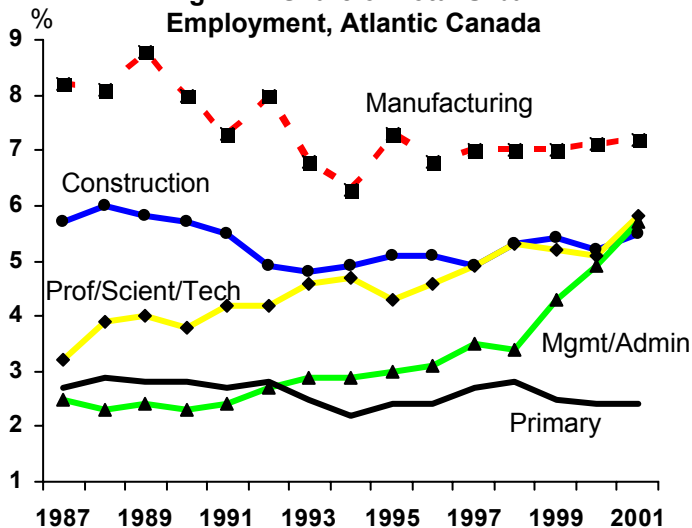
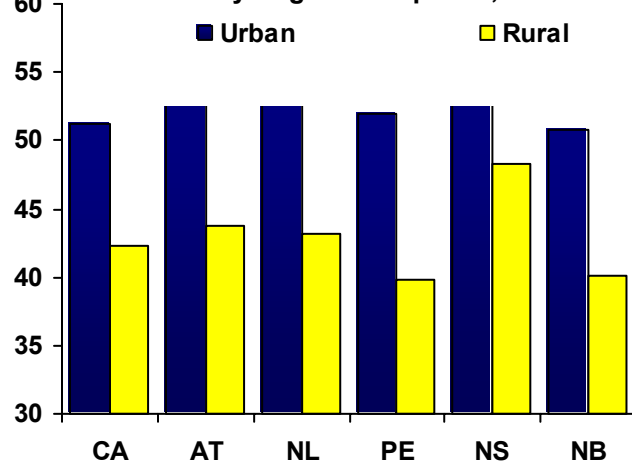


Fig. 1.3 - Share of Labour Force with Post-Secondary Degree or Diploma, 1996



Urbanization and Population Change in Atlantic Canada

Urban Areas Are A Draw For Young People

- The knowledge economy creates jobs which attract highly skilled, flexible young workers. Higher incomes and alternatives for skills development and lifestyle are also cited as main reasons that young workers prefer the urban environment. Many young people get to experience urban life when they attend the region's universities, most of which are located in the larger cities.
- In Atlantic Canada, the share of the labour force in urban areas is higher for younger workers with the gap most evident in Nova Scotia. This concentration of young people is expected to grow as young, highly skilled people move to urban areas.

Urban Areas Are Increasingly Important To The Provincial Economy

- The region's urban areas generally capture a larger share of GDP than their population warrants. For example, Halifax accounted for about 40% of Nova Scotia's population in 2001 but an estimated 46% of its GDP. St. John's represents about 34% of Newfoundland & Labrador's population but produced an estimated 42% of its GDP.
- There was strong urban growth over the 1996-2001 period as evidenced by the strength in housing starts, most notably in New Brunswick. This trend continued in 2002 with Atlantic housing starts up 27% in urban areas but only 3% in rural areas.
- Growth in consumer spending has also been higher in urban areas supported by stronger income growth.

The Pattern of Employment Is Changing Within Urban Areas

- Urban areas are not only growing but are changing as well. Young families often congregate in the suburbs rather than the higher priced urban core. Companies are also clustering in suburban areas to avoid higher leasing costs in the urban core. As a result, the urban fringe is growing more rapidly in many urban areas.
- Despite flexibility in the workplace and access to the internet, many knowledge workers still need to travel to work. These trends therefore add to congestion around the periphery of many urban areas. Ensuring an adequate transportation infrastructure is an important issue to be addressed to support the knowledge economy in urban areas.

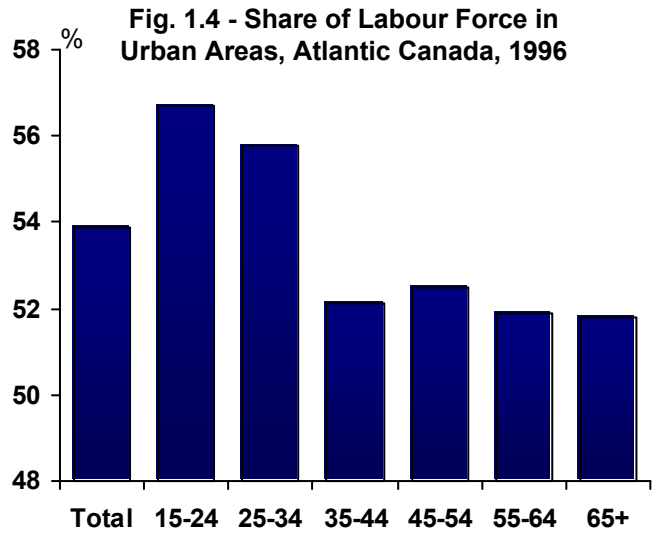


Fig. 1.5a - Growth in Housing Starts, 1996-2001

Fig. 1.5b - Growth in Personal Spending, 1996-2001

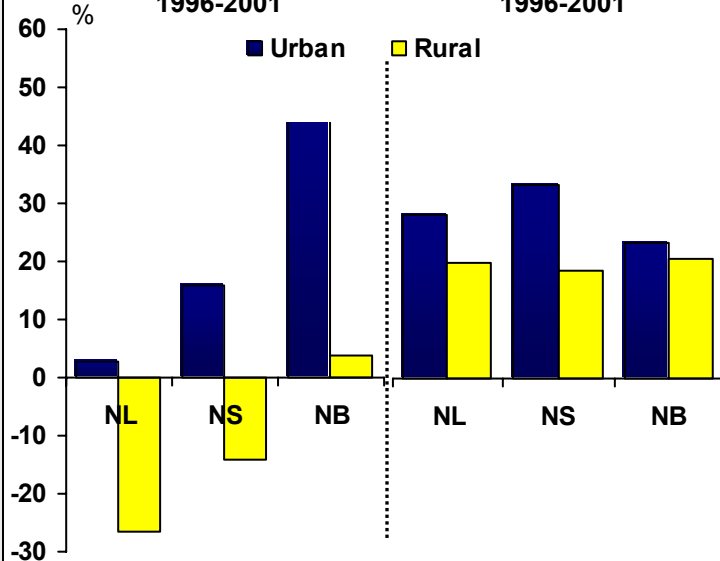
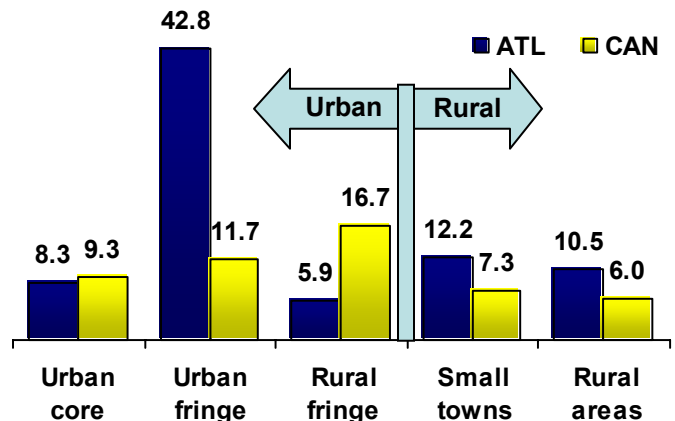


Fig. 1.6 - Change in Employment (%), 1997-2001



Urbanization and Population Change in Atlantic Canada

Although Atlantic Urban Centres Are Growing, They Remain Small by National Standards

- ♦ Atlantic Canada's three CMA's are much smaller than the larger cities in Canada. Halifax is about one-tenth the size of Montreal and St. John's has slightly less than one-tenth of Vancouver's population.
- ♦ The urban strategies and policies that are required to support growth in Canada's largest metropolitan areas may differ from those required for smaller cities in the Atlantic region.

The Changing Economy And Demographic Trends Are Linked

- ♦ Fertility rates dropped considerably in Canada from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, with a more modest decline since then. A number of factors have contributed to the decline in fertility including better access to birth control, individual preferences and better employment opportunities for women. Female participation in the knowledge economy, including the business services sector and call centres, has grown rapidly in the 1990s.
- ♦ Low fertility rates, which are now well below the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman of childbearing age, contribute to the aging population.
- ♦ Declining fertility, along with fewer females of child-bearing age, have contributed to a drop in birth rates, which have fallen almost 30% in Atlantic Canada in the 1990s.
- ♦ The most dramatic change is in Newfoundland and Labrador, which has gone from the province with the highest birth rate in the early 1970's to the lowest in 2001.

Increasing Life Expectancy Contributes To An Aging Population

- ♦ Life expectancy in Canada has risen with substantial improvements in mortality at middle and older ages. The average life expectancy in Atlantic Canada increased from about 75 years in 1980 to almost 79 years in 1999.
- ♦ In 1986 there were about 250,000 Atlantic Canadians aged 65 and older (about 10.8% of the population). By 2001 that had risen to 311,000 (or 13.3% of the population).
- ♦ The older age groups are increasing most rapidly. In the last decade, the number of Atlantic Canadians aged 80 or more jumped 36%.

Fig. 1.7 - Population of Selected Canadian CMAs, 2001

	CMA Rank	Population
Toronto	1	4,682,897
Montréal	2	3,426,350
Vancouver	3	1,986,965
Halifax	13	359,183
St. John's	19	172,918
Saint John	26	122,678

Fig 1.8 - Number of Births per Thousand Women

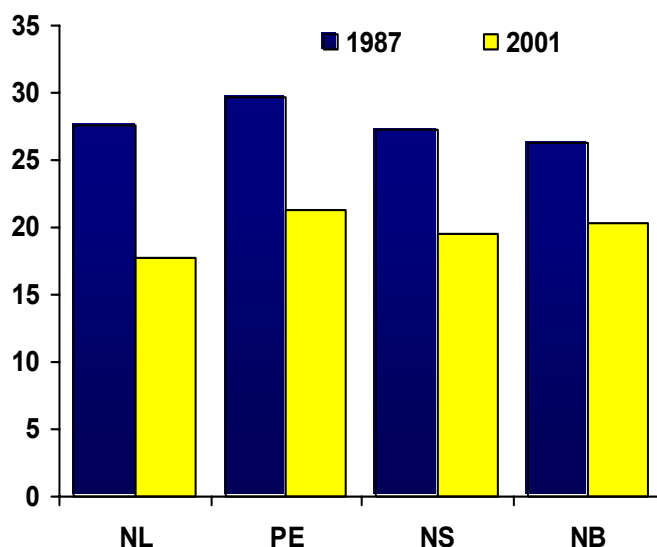
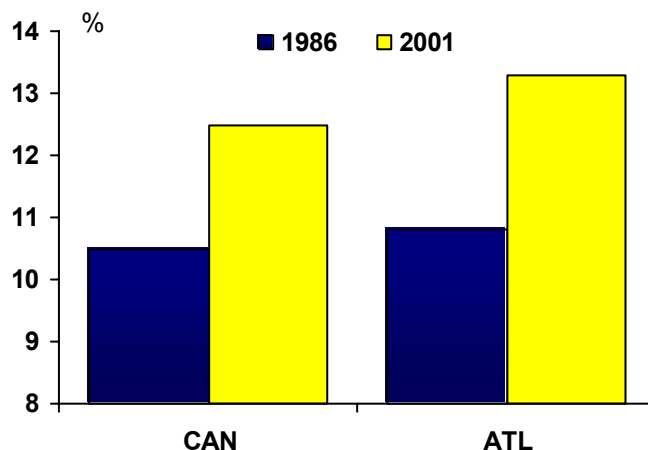


Fig. 1.9 - Share of the Population 65 and Older



Urbanization and Population Change in Atlantic Canada

The Atlantic Provinces Still Have A Higher Proportion of Rural Dwellers

- ◆ In the four Atlantic provinces the share of the population living in rural areas ranges from 42% in Newfoundland and Labrador to 55% in Prince Edward Island. Nationally only 20% of the population resides in rural areas.
- ◆ The rural nature of the region intensifies the challenges of providing adequate service delivery in areas such as health and education.

There Was A Considerable Exodus From Rural Areas During The Last Five Years

- ◆ The region's population growth during the last five years was concentrated around urban areas and border communities but only Halifax County had growth of more than 4%.
- ◆ Areas with population growth were Halifax and surrounding counties, Antigonish County, Moncton and surrounding area, Fredericton, the southern border areas of New Brunswick, and Queens County in Prince Edward Island (which includes Charlottetown).
- ◆ There were noticeable declines in population in many rural parts of Newfoundland (where many areas experienced drops of 10% or more), southern Nova Scotia and north-eastern New Brunswick. Many of these areas are resource-based communities.

Overall, Population Growth Has Been Much Slower In Atlantic Canada

- ◆ The combined effect of smaller cities with a smaller share of provincial population and a rapid decline in some rural areas has meant that the region's share of the Canadian population is on a steady decline.
- ◆ In the period from 1972 to the mid-1980's the region's population growth more closely tracked that of the rest of the country as economic growth in Atlantic Canada was more robust.
- ◆ In the aftermath of the cod crisis and the recession of the early 1990's, economic growth in the region remained weak for many years. Opportunities for employment were lacking and many of the region's young and best-educated people migrated to other parts of the country. As the job market improved in the late 1990s the net outflow of people from the region began to slow.
- ◆ The future population prospects for the region are discussed in Chapter 3.

Fig. 1.10 - Share of Population in Rural Areas, 2001

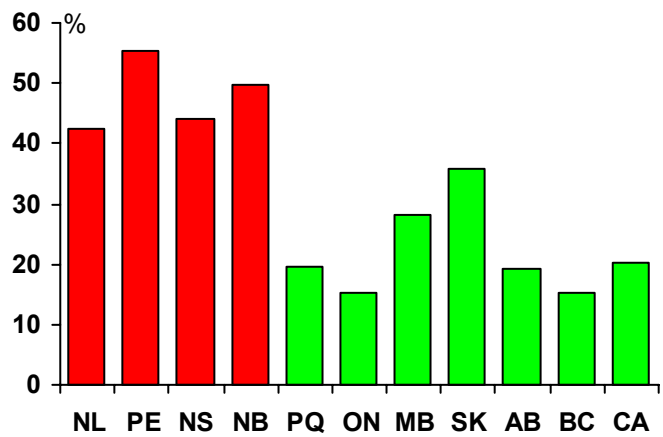


Fig. 1.11 - Population Change in Atlantic Canada, 1996-2001

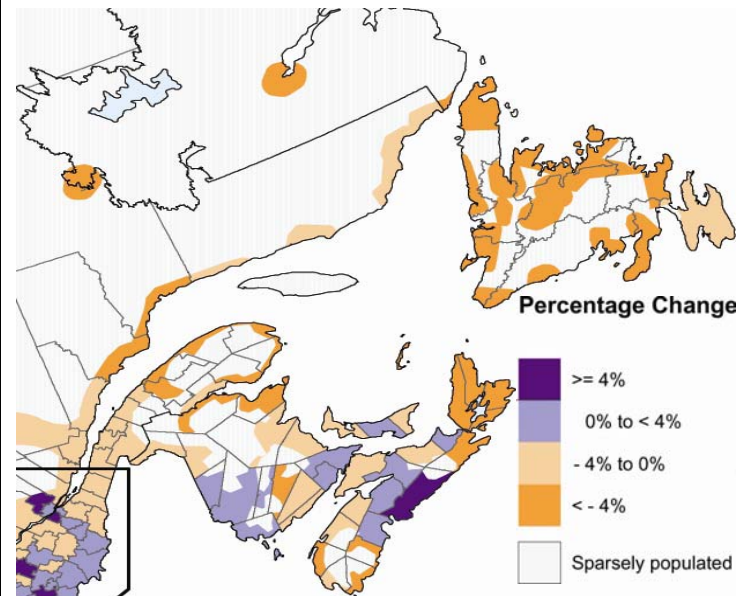
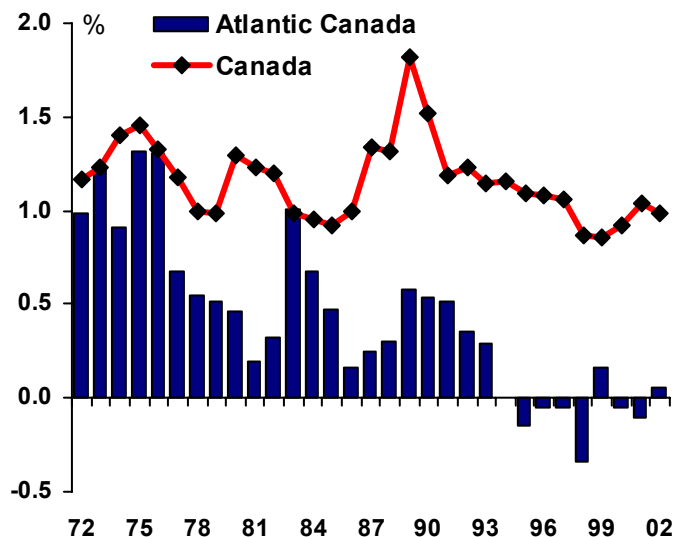


Fig. 1.12 - Annual Population Growth, 1972-2002



Chapter 2: A Profile of Atlantic Canada's Urban and Rural Regions

The Distribution of Industry Varies Substantially Between Urban and Rural Areas

- ♦ Primary industries, which include agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining and oil and gas extraction are predominantly rural in nature. About 81% of employment in these industries is in rural areas, compared with only 54% for all industries.
- ♦ Manufacturing also tends to be predominantly rural in nature, with 68% of employment in rural areas. However, the manufacturing sector has been growing faster in urban areas over the last decade. The construction industry is more evenly distributed with strong urban housing markets boosting the urban sector in recent years.
- ♦ Service-sector industries, particularly professional and scientific industries, management and administrative services (including call centres), and financial, insurance and real estate (FIRE) are predominantly urban in location.
- ♦ Changes in industry fortunes, such as the cod moratorium and the growth of the knowledge economy, have substantial differential impacts on the region's urban and rural regions.

Employment Growth in High Skilled Areas is Stronger in Urban Areas

- ♦ The influx of new call centres in Atlantic Canada over the last decade is a major reason for the growth in the management and administrative services sector. This growth has disproportionately benefited urban centres.
- ♦ The high skill professional, scientific and technical services sector grew strongly over the last 10 years. The offshore industry has boosted growth in engineering and related services, with many of these firms based in Halifax or St. John's.
- ♦ Strong growth in tourism in Atlantic Canada over the last decade has boosted both accommodation and food services and the information, cultural and recreation industries. Although employment in these two sectors is evenly split between urban and rural regions, employment growth has been strong in the rural areas.
- ♦ Overall, most industries in Atlantic Canada have seen improvements in employment over the last ten years. The main exceptions are declines in primary industries in rural areas (mostly fisheries related) and in public administration, particularly in urban centres.

Fig. 2.1 - Employment Distribution, Atlantic Canada, 2001

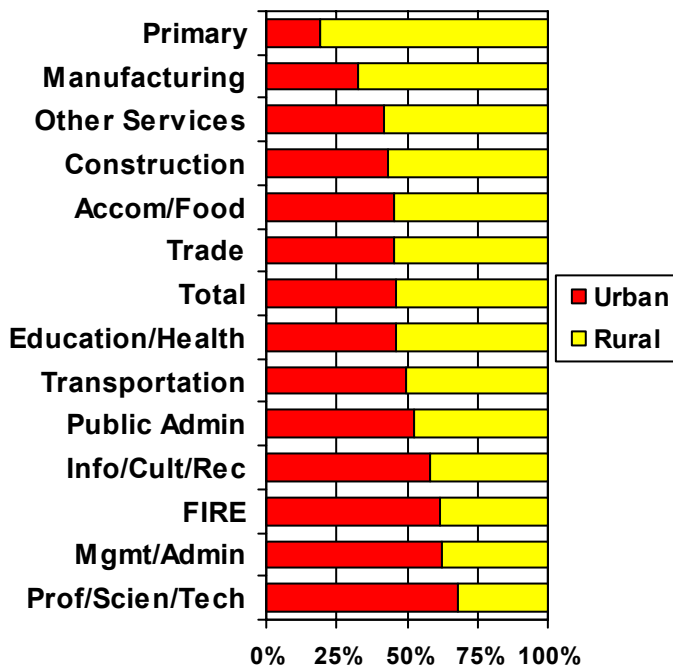
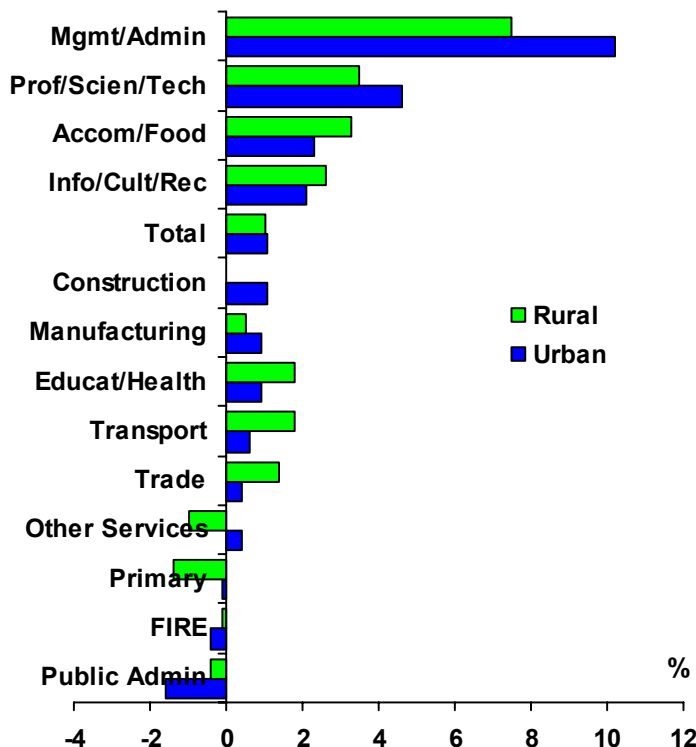


Fig. 2.2 - Average Growth in Employment, Atlantic Canada, 1991-2001



A Profile of Atlantic Canada's Urban and Rural Regions

The Unemployment Rate Is Much Lower in Urban Regions

- ♦ Halifax and the three urban areas of New Brunswick all have unemployment rates of under 10%. The Annapolis Valley is the one rural area where unemployment is relatively low. Part of this region is within easy commuting distance to Halifax.
- ♦ Although unemployment in the Avalon Peninsula seems relatively high, unemployment in St. John's was 8.9% in 2002, down from 14% in 1996, partly due to the impact of the offshore industry.
- ♦ Cape Breton's economy has struggled with high unemployment for many years, but its unemployment rate of 15% in 2002 was the lowest in more than 15 years, down from 25% in 1993.
- ♦ The highest unemployment is in rural Newfoundland and Labrador where unemployment rates are three times higher than in Halifax.

Employment Insurance Uptake Is Markedly Stronger in Rural Atlantic Canada

- ♦ Partly reflecting this unemployment pattern, along with greater seasonal employment in rural areas, there is much greater use of employment insurance (EI) in rural regions. In 2001, 8.2% of the rural population were EI beneficiaries, compared with 3.3% in urban areas.
- ♦ Urban take-up of EI is remarkably similar across the four Atlantic provinces. The gap between urban and rural use of EI is most pronounced in Newfoundland and Labrador with Prince Edward Island also having high rural take-up of EI.

Seasonality of Employment (and EI Claims) Is Greater in Rural Areas

- ♦ The number of people using the EI program in the peak period (typically January-March) compared to the lowest months (August-October) is higher in rural parts of Atlantic Canada.
- ♦ This seasonal pattern of EI claims reflects the concentration of industries such as agriculture, forestry, fishery and mining, as well as manufacturing and construction, in rural areas.
- ♦ The seasonality of EI beneficiaries is highest in Prince Edward Island, reflecting its reliance on industries such as tourism and agriculture. Overall, seasonality of employment and EI use is greater in Atlantic Canada than the rest of the nation.

Fig. 2.3 - Unemployment Rate by Economic Region (%), 2002

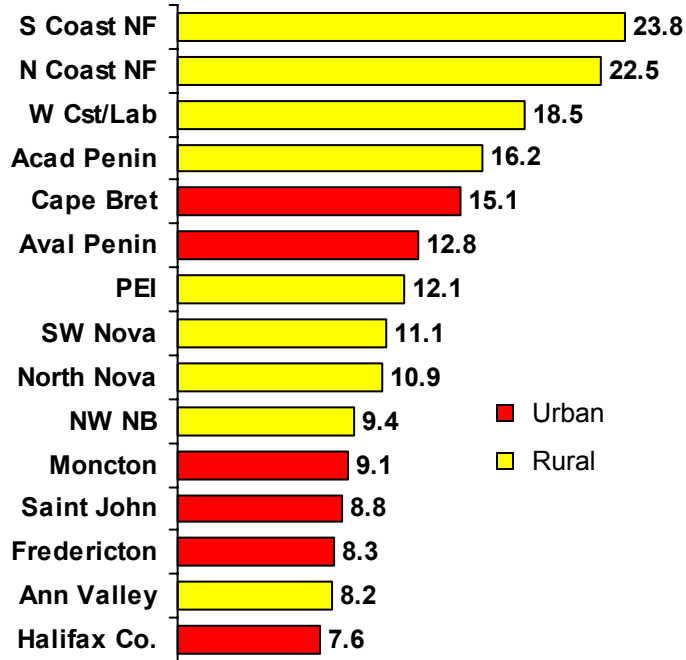


Fig. 2.4 - EI Beneficiaries as a Percent of the Population, Atlantic Canada, 2001

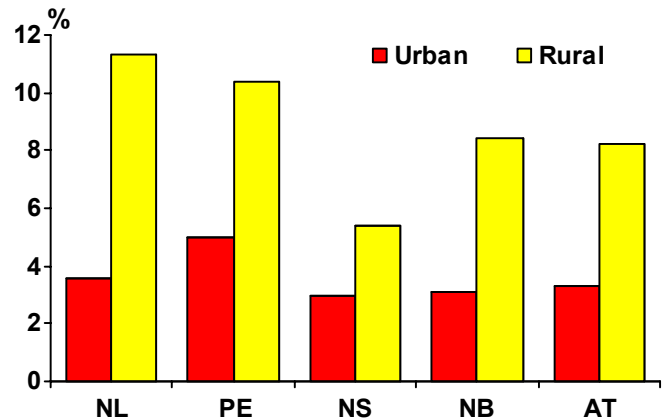
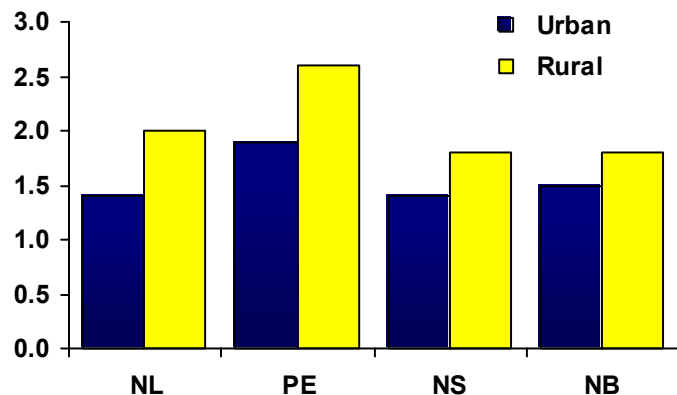


Fig. 2.5 - Seasonality of EI Beneficiaries Peak Months (Jan-Mar) to Trough Months (Aug-Oct)



A Profile of Atlantic Canada's Urban and Rural Regions

Urban Dwellers Have Higher Income Levels

- ◆ Personal disposable income is higher in urban areas of Atlantic Canada. The difference ranges from 20% in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to 30% in Newfoundland and Labrador.
- ◆ This differential partly reflects the different industry composition of urban and rural areas along with variations in educational attainment. Many high paid, high skill jobs are in urban areas.
- ◆ Although rural regions tend to benefit from lower housing costs, some services may not be readily available in rural areas.

New Immigrants Head For Urban Areas

- ◆ Over 76% of immigrants to Canada in 2001 went to the three biggest cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. These large metropolitan centres have large well-established immigrant communities.
- ◆ Only 1.2% of immigrants to Canada were destined for Atlantic Canada in 2001, down from over 3% in the early 1970s, with more than half of these heading for Nova Scotia.
- ◆ Even in this region, immigrants choose to settle in the region's cities. Halifax accounted for 81% of the immigrants to Nova Scotia in 2001 and St. John's accounted for 72% of the immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador.

Internet Usage Rates Are Higher In Urban Regions of Atlantic Canada

- ◆ Internet use has grown rapidly throughout Canada in the last five years. Atlantic Canada's urban areas have a similar rate of internet usage as the rest of the country with Nova Scotia ahead of the national average.
- ◆ Although household Internet use depends upon income, age, education and other family characteristics, there is also a substantial urban-rural digital divide, particularly in Newfoundland and Labrador.
- ◆ Access to broadband is increasingly important to take full advantage of the Internet for personal and commercial purposes, but again rural regions are at a considerable disadvantage.

Fig. 2.6 - Personal Disposable Income per Person, 2001

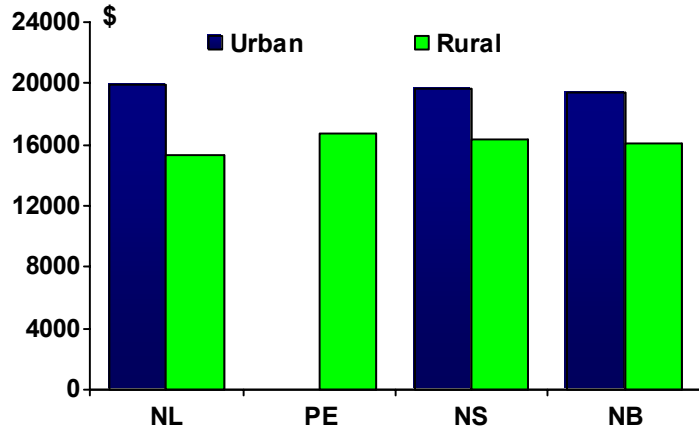


Fig. 2.7 - Distribution of Immigrants by Area of Intended Destination, 1996

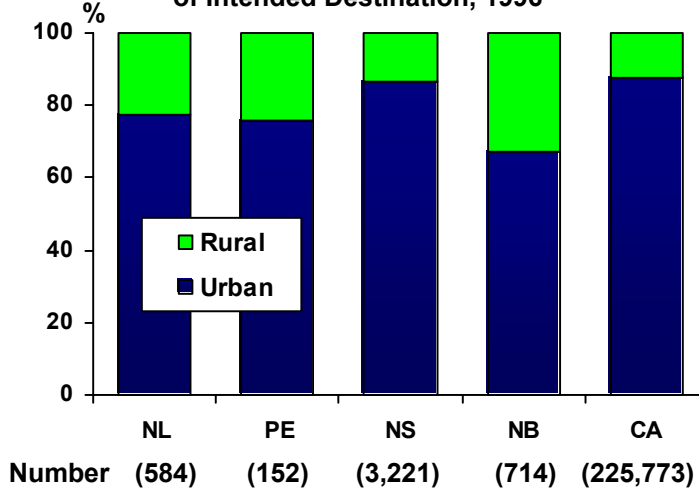
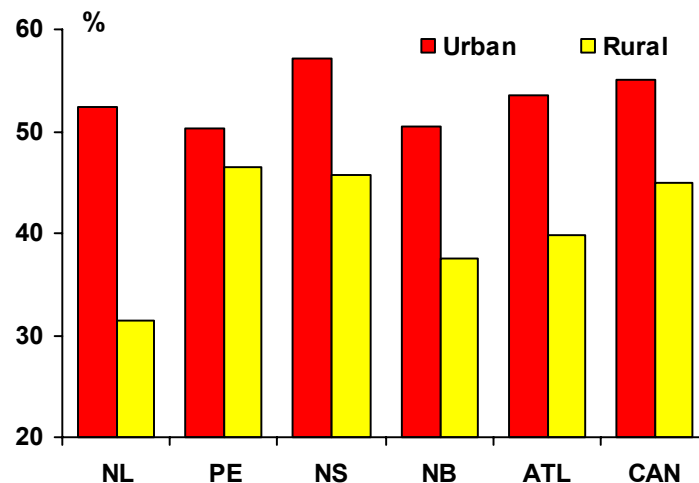


Fig. 2.8 - Internet Usage, 2000 (population 15 and over)



A Profile of Atlantic Canada's Urban and Rural Regions

Growth In Housing Starts Have Been Focused In Urban Areas

- Housing starts fell during the early 1990's in Atlantic Canada as the economy struggled to rebound from the recession. Starts recovered towards the end of the decade, rising 60% between 1998 and 2002 to the highest level in ten years.
- While housing starts partly reflect relative growth in the number of households, starts actually exceeded the number of new households by about 13% in the Maritime provinces between 1996 and 2001.
- The share of starts in major urban areas grew in all four provinces between 1995 and 2002. More than 55% of provincial housing starts were in the major urban centres in 2002.
- The biggest change has been in Newfoundland and Labrador, where the share of starts in major urban areas increased from 39% in 1991 to nearly 56% in 2002.

Home Ownership Is Higher in Rural Areas

- Home ownership rates are somewhat higher in Atlantic Canada than in the nation as a whole.
- Rural residents are more likely to own their homes, benefiting from lower housing costs in rural areas. For example, at the time of the 1996 census, the average value of a dwelling was \$89,250 in the Avalon Peninsula, but only \$47,000 in the Norte Dame Bay Region of Newfoundland. Average monthly housing costs were \$746 in Halifax but only \$382 in Digby County, Nova Scotia.
- Higher home ownership rates and low housing values may deter out-migration from high unemployment rural areas to the region's cities, where house prices and rents are higher.

The Housing Stock Is Newer In Urban Centres

- The stock of housing in Atlantic Canada is somewhat younger in urban areas, with the exception of New Brunswick.
- The recent rapid growth in urban housing starts will reinforce this difference. The need to replace or renovate older homes adds to housing starts and renovation expenditures in rural areas.

Fig. 2.9 - Share of Housing Starts in Major Urban Areas

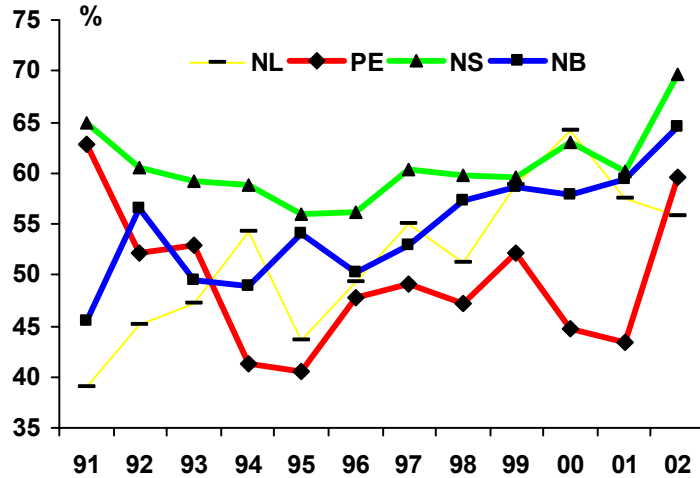


Fig. 2.10 - Share of Households That Own Their Own Home, 1996

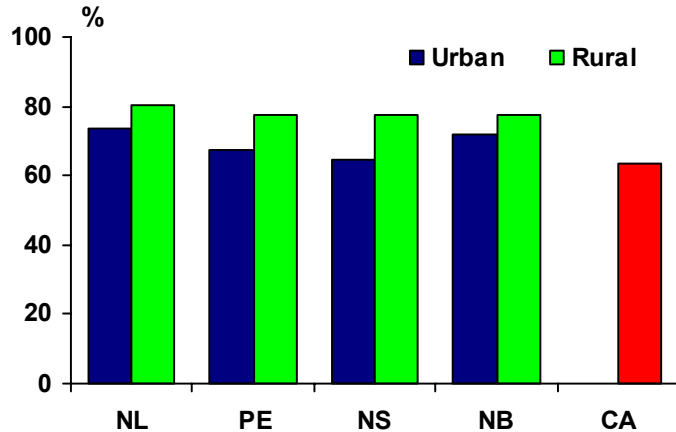
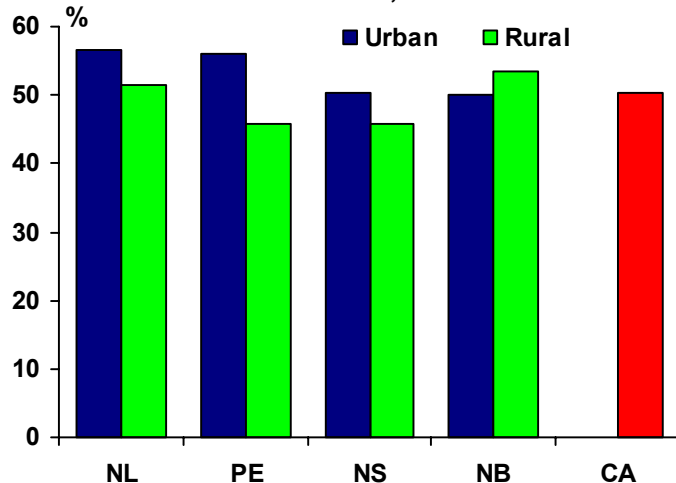


Fig. 2.11 - Share of Dwellings Less Than 25 Years Old, 1996



Chapter 3: Looking Forward 2001-2021

Population Projections 2001-2021

♦ The analysis in this chapter is based upon projections of population and selected economic variables for the period 2001-2021 produced by APEC in conjunction with the Centre for Spatial Economics (CSE).

♦ These projections differ from many population projection models in that net migration depends upon the labour force requirements of each region, rather than on historical patterns.

♦ A description of the model and the main assumptions is provided in Appendix A.

Atlantic Canada's Population Grows But At A Slower Rate Than For Canada

♦ The population of Atlantic Canada is expected to grow after 2005. By 2021, it is projected to reach 2.36 million, an increase of about 28,400 from 2001.

♦ This modest increase in population does not prevent the region's share of the national population from continuing to decline, from 7.5% in 2001 to about 6.1% by 2021.

An Increase In Net In-Migration Offsets The Decline In Natural Population Growth

♦ The natural increase in the Atlantic population (births minus deaths) is projected to turn negative in 2003 as the rising number of deaths exceeds the declining number of births.

♦ The net outflow of people from the Atlantic region observed in the 1990s is expected to turn around by about 2005. Net in-migration is forecast to meet the labour force needs of the region, especially as older workers move into retirement.

Urban Areas Continue To Expand

♦ Population growth is expected to remain stronger in urban areas. The urban areas (as defined in Appendix A), increase their share of the region's population to 50% by 2021.

♦ The shift towards urban growth is constrained by the assumptions about resource-based activity which pushes up total employment in rural areas throughout most of the projection period.

♦ The rural regions are expected to see positive population growth by about 2007 as their migration patterns turn positive.

Fig. 3.1 - Change in Population, Atlantic Canada and Canada

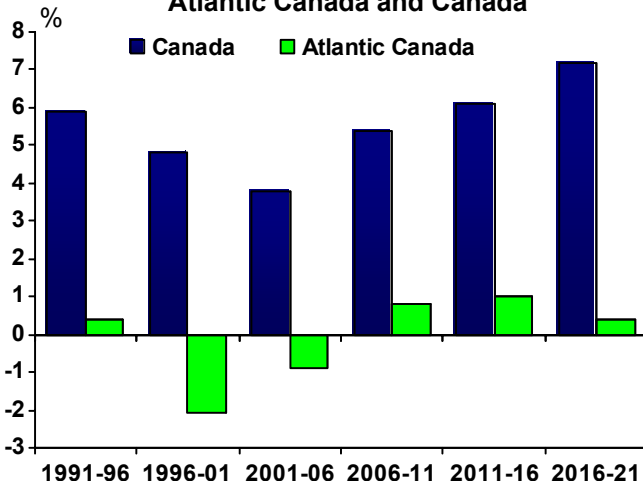


Fig. 3.2 - Contributors to Population change, Atlantic Canada (Percent of Total Population)

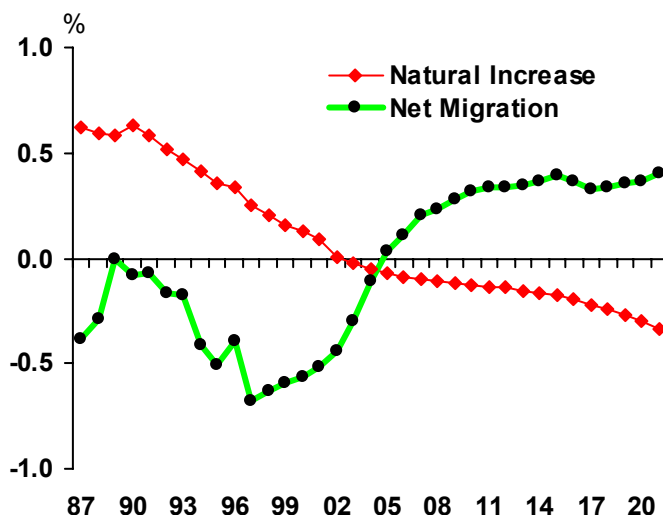
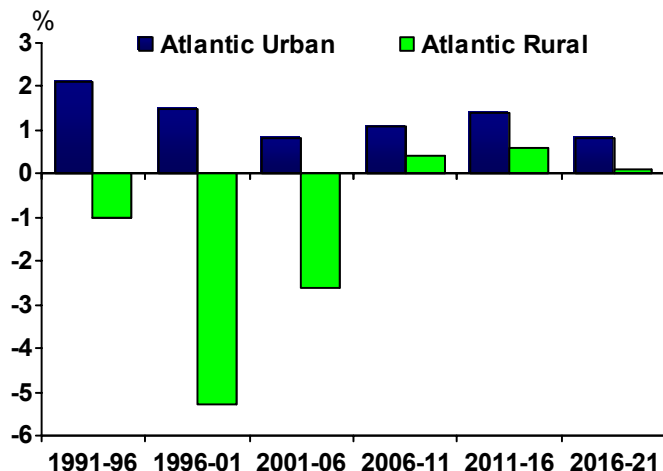


Fig. 3.3 - Change in Population, Urban and Rural



Looking Forward 2001-2021

Newfoundland and Labrador Population Projection

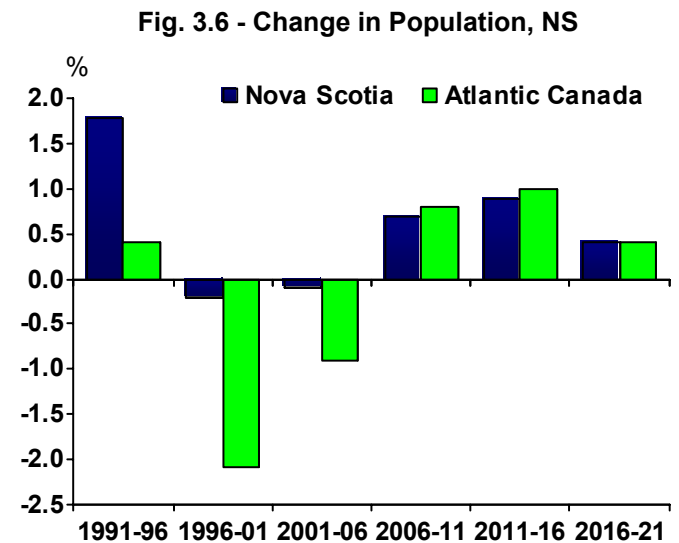
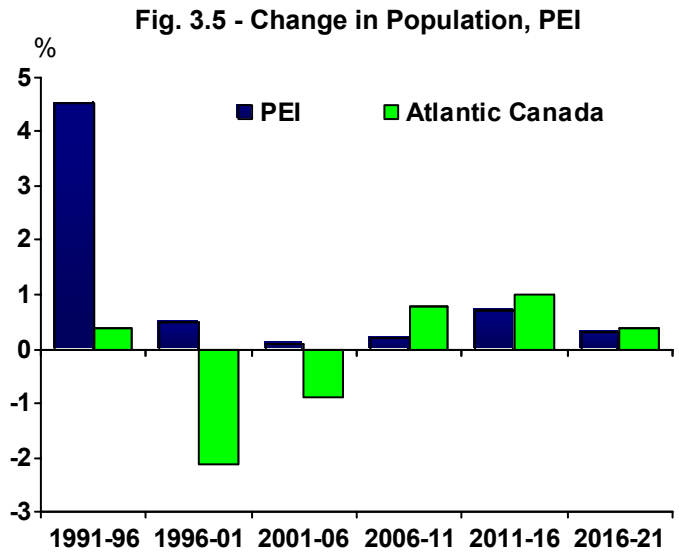
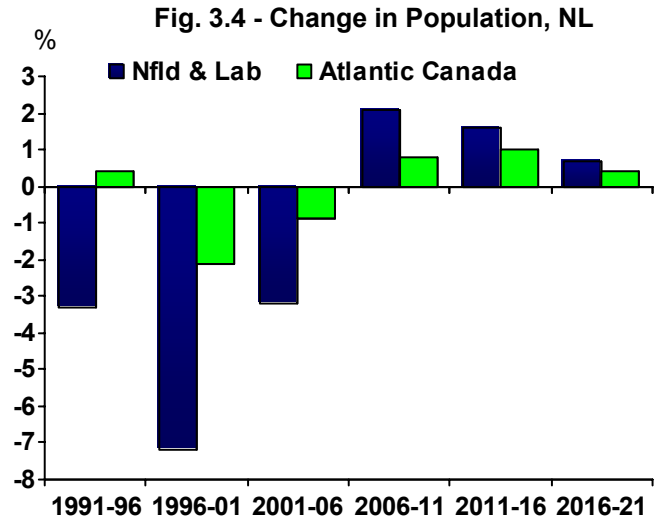
- ◆ Newfoundland and Labrador is projected to experience a significant reversal in its net migration pattern with net in-migration contributing to overall population growth by 2006.
- ◆ Strong GDP growth keeps the population growth rate above the Atlantic average after 2006.
- ◆ The population of Newfoundland and Labrador is expected to grow from about 520,000 in 2001 to about 526,000 by 2021.
- ◆ The population of St. John's CMA is projected to increase from 176,000 in 2001 to 188,000 by 2021.

Prince Edward Island Population Projection

- ◆ Prince Edward Island was the only Atlantic province to have an increase in population between 1996 and 2001 (although the increase was only 0.5%).
- ◆ Although the number of births is expected to exceed the number of deaths until about 2017, population growth will lag the Atlantic rate due to slower GDP growth.
- ◆ The population of Prince Edward Island is forecast to increase from 136,900 in 2001 to about 138,600 by 2021.
- ◆ The population of Charlottetown CA is projected to rise from about 59,000 in 2001 to almost 63,000 by 2021.

Nova Scotia Population Projection

- ◆ The number of deaths in Nova Scotia is expected to exceed the number of births by 2002. However, net in-migration is sufficient to grow the total population by 2006. Thereafter, the population growth closely matches the regional rate of growth.
- ◆ Nova Scotia's population is expected to grow from about 929,000 in 2001 to 947,000 by 2021.
- ◆ The population of Halifax CMA is forecast to increase from 368,000 in 2001 to 398,000 in 2021.



Looking Forward 2001-2021

New Brunswick Population Projection

- ◆ New Brunswick had the second largest decline in population in the nation over the 1996-2001 period.
- ◆ Although population growth will generally lag the Atlantic region, GDP growth and in-migration will see population increases by about 2006.
- ◆ New Brunswick's population is projected to rise from 744,000 in 2001 to 747,000 by 2021.
- ◆ The population of Moncton CA is forecast to rise from 120,000 in 2001 to 132,500 in 2021. Over the same period, the population of Saint John CMA is expected to increase from 125,000 to 126,000 while the population of Fredericton CA will rise from 83,000 to 90,000.

The Population Ages With The Baby Boomers Rapidly Approaching Retirement

- ◆ A low birth rate and rising life expectancy contribute to a steadily aging population. In addition, the large cohort of baby boomers (roughly those aged 34-54 in 2001) will contribute to an increase in the number of over 65's by 2012. Many of these individuals may retire much earlier as about 40% of Canadians who retired in 2000 were under 60.
- ◆ The number of Atlantic Canadians aged 65 or older is projected to increase by about 50% between 2001 and 2021, to almost 20% of the population. Those aged 80 or more will also increase at a much faster rate than the overall population.
- ◆ By contrast, the number of Atlantic Canadians aged 15 or younger will shrink by nearly 20% over the next two decades.

The Dependency Ratio Rises Faster in Atlantic Canada

- ◆ The dependency ratio (the number under 15 or over 65 as a proportion of the working age population) declines for the first few years of the projection period as the number of young people falls more rapidly than the increase in the older population.
- ◆ After about 2010, the dependency ratio rises rapidly as the working age population begins to shrink and the growth in the over 65 population accelerates. The dependency ratio rises faster in Atlantic Canada than in the nation as a whole with the increase most acute in rural areas.

Fig. 3.7 - Change in Population, NB

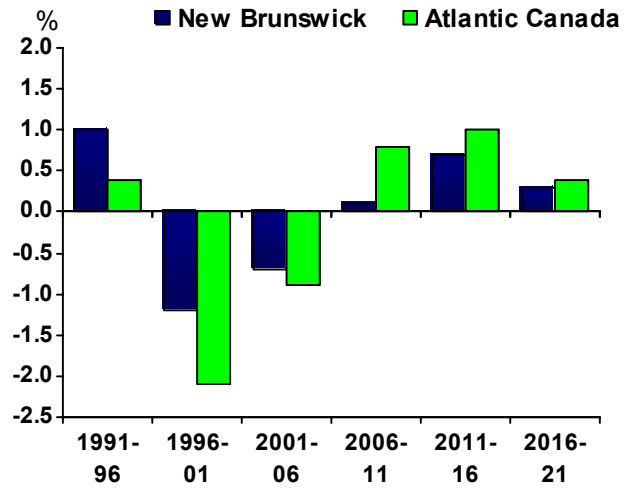


Fig. 3.8 - Population by Age, Atlantic Canada, 2001

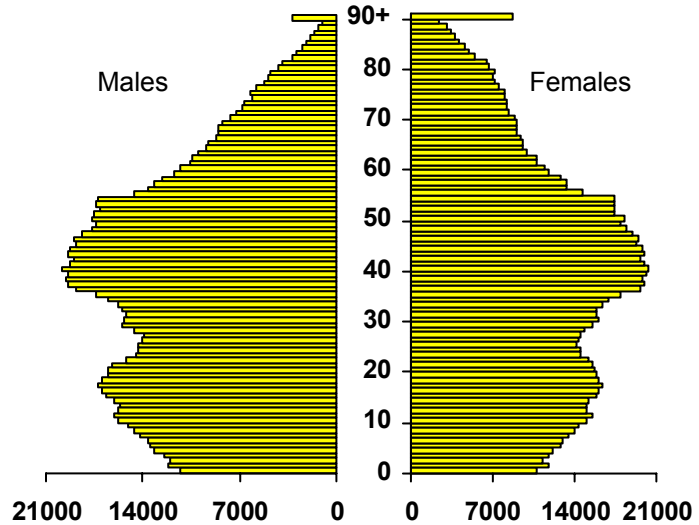
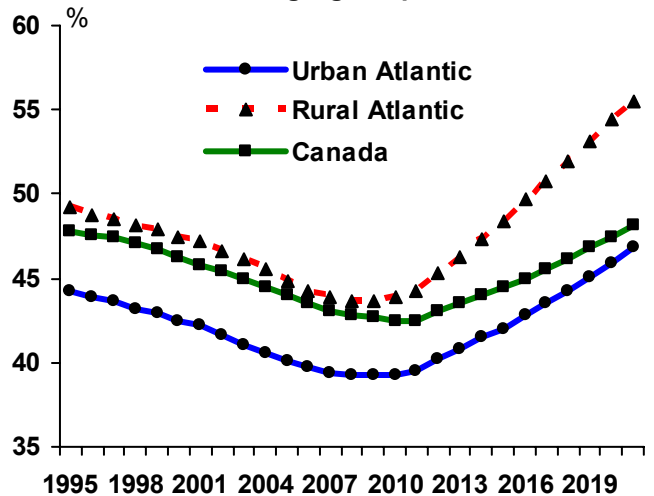


Fig. 3.9 - <15 and 65+ as a Share of the Working Age Population



Looking Forward 2001-2021

Housing Demand Grows Faster Than The Population

- ♦ Housing demand is quite strong during 2001-2011 as the number of households grows much faster than the population, a phenomenon also observed between 1996 and 2001.
- ♦ This reflects a gradual decline in household size as the population ages. In Atlantic Canada in 2000, the average size of households headed by individuals aged 35-44 was about 3.3 persons, compared with 1.8 persons for households with heads 65 years or older. The number of large households has also been falling, with a 20% decline in Atlantic households with five or more persons between 1996 and 2001.
- ♦ Housing demand is forecast to be much stronger in Atlantic Canada's urban centres with an increase of 8.4% between 2001 and 2011, compared with a rise of only 3.4% for rural areas. The demand for housing in St. John's and Halifax is projected to grow at close to the national rate of 14% during this period.
- ♦ Demand is projected to be strongest for single homes with an increase of 10% in Atlantic urban areas between 2001 and 2011, but with with growth of 15% in Halifax and St. Johns. Growth in single-detached homes will add to urban sprawl and the associated transportation issues.
- ♦ Based on current housing propensities, the demand for apartment units may accelerate between 2011 and 2021 as the population ages. For example, in the Atlantic provinces in 2001, households headed by individuals aged 75 accounted for about 10% of all households, but 23% of those living in apartments of five or more storeys.
- ♦ Overall, the demand for owner-occupied housing is forecast to grow faster than the demand for rental accommodation. In urban areas in Atlantic Canada, the number of owner-occupied units is projected to increase by 10.3% between 2001 and 2011, compared with a 4.4% rise for rental units.
- ♦ The growth in owner-occupied housing may be somewhat stronger than these estimates suggest as existing home-owners may continue to choose home ownership as they age and downsize, for example, choosing to buy a condominium rather than rent an apartment.

Fig. 3.10 - Population and Household Growth, 2001-2011

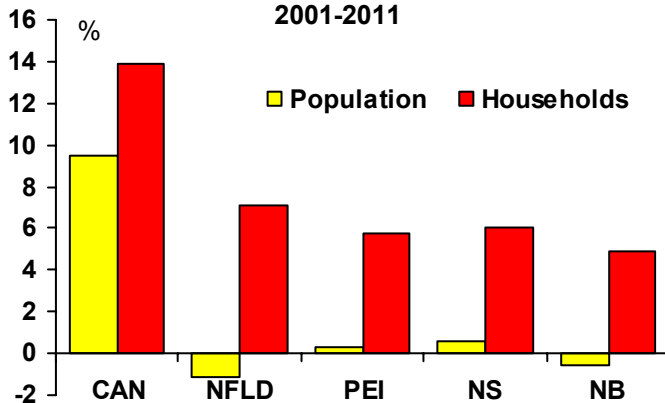


Fig. 3.11 - Average Household Size, Atlantic Canada, 2001-2021

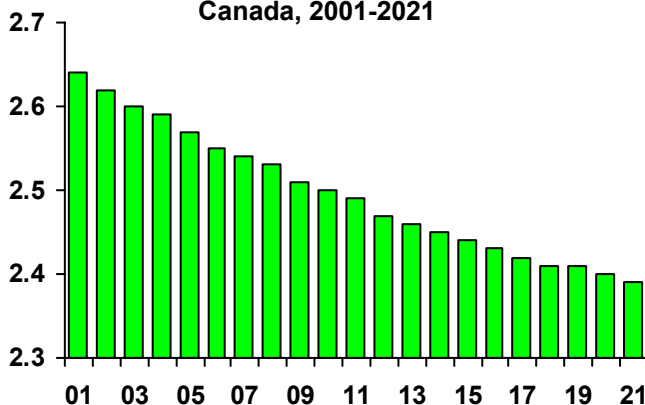


Fig. 3.12 - Projected Growth in Housing Demand, 2001-2011

	Per cent change
Canada	13.9%
St John's	12.7%
Other Nfld. & Labrador	4.1%
Prince Edward Island	4.9%
Halifax	12.1%
Sydney	0.5%
Other Nova Scotia	2.3%
Saint John	3.6%
Moncton	7.7%
Fredericton	6.8%
Other New Brunswick	3.0%

Looking Forward 2001-2021

Labour Force Growth Is Concentrated In Urban Areas

- Labour force growth is forecast to be stronger than population growth throughout most of the projection period, despite gradually declining participation rates after about 2006.
- Labour force growth is stronger in urban areas reflecting stronger GDP and employment growth in the region's cities.
- Over time, immigration becomes an increasingly important source of labour force growth, especially in urban areas.

The Labour Force Ages Rapidly

- The share of older workers in the labour force increases rapidly between 2001 and 2011. Individuals aged 45-64 made up 37% of the working age population in 2001. By 2011, this share will increase to 44%.
- As a consequence, the potential number of workers retiring (those aged 55-64) increases rapidly throughout most of the projection period, being more than 50% higher in 2021 than in 2001.
- The number of young workers, by contrast, is projected to fall by more than 23% between 2001 and 2021.

The Aging Labour Force Has Significant Implications for Key Atlantic Industries

- Sectors such as public administration, health and education, which have a large share of their labour force in the 45 and older age bracket, will experience increased pressure as a large share of their workforce moves rapidly towards retirement.
- Many construction trades, along with resource-based manufacturing industries, also have a disproportionate number of older workers.
- Hiring replacement workers, however, will not be easy with proportionately fewer young people entering the labour market. This will have knock-on effects in tourism, food services and retail trade, which depend to a greater extent on cheaper, younger workers.

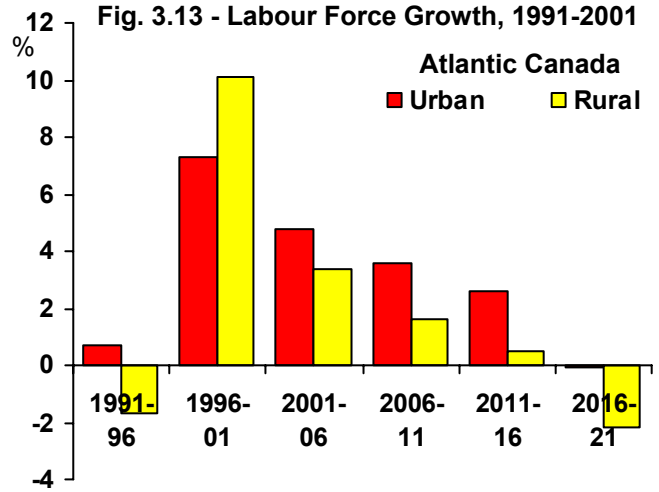


Fig. 3.14 - Change in Working Age Population, Atlantic Canada

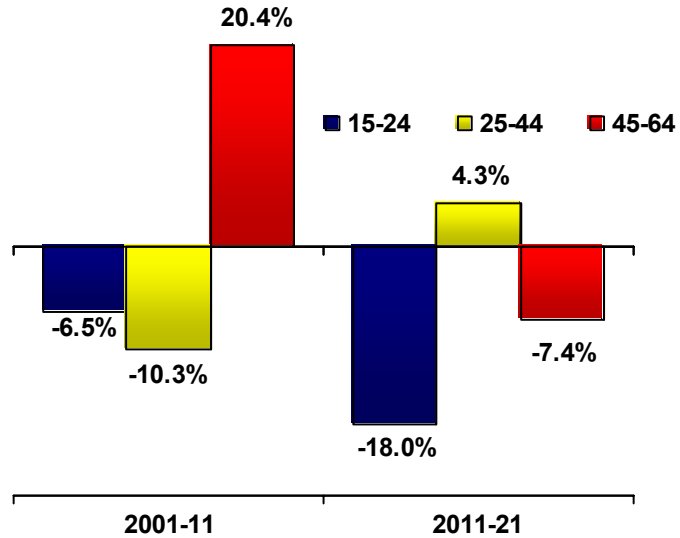
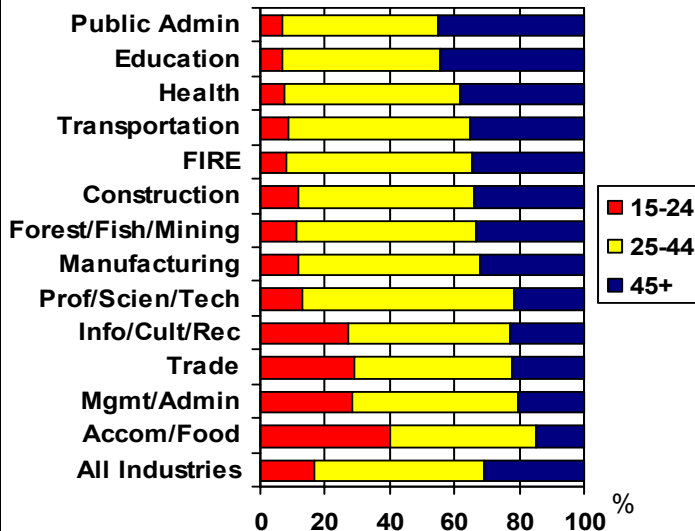


Fig. 3.15 - Age of Employees, Atlantic Canada, 2001



Looking Forward 2001-2021

Rising Incomes Create New Business Opportunities

- ♦ A number of industries will benefit from rising incomes and changing demographics in the region. The pattern of consumer expenditure changes as the population ages. Increased net worth, along with higher incomes, stimulates consumer spending in a different range of products.
- ♦ Some of the clear winners include leisure goods and services such as recreation and sports equipment, communications (such as cable and Internet fees), drugs and pharmaceutical products, household appliances, finance and legal services and motor vehicles. An aging population will boost demand for both private and public health care.
- ♦ Demand will grow less quickly for traditional necessities such as food, clothing, heating and electricity costs, and public transportation.

Alternative Scenarios

- ♦ The projections in this chapter were based on particular assumptions about economic growth (as defined in Appendix A). Alternative growth scenarios could affect the analysis. In particular:
- ♦ A major new offshore oil development in Newfoundland and Labrador would boost GDP growth during the peak years of development and initial production (2008-09). However the impact on population would be quite modest. For example, GDP is projected to be about 5.2% higher once the project is in production, but the population rises by only 1.1%. This partly reflects the capital intensity of such projects, which limits the gain in employment, and the reduction in unemployment which mitigates the need for in-migration. The effects are shared between St. John's, which benefits from gains in engineering and other services while the rest of the province benefits from construction work and production activity.
- ♦ In Nova Scotia, the development of two or three large offshore projects between 2006 and 2015 was assumed to increase GDP by about 3.9%. Total population rises by about 1.5%. The population gain in Halifax is somewhat stronger (about 1.9%) as the resulting growth in labour-intensive service industries generates stronger employment and hence population effects.

Fig. 3.16 - Median Net Worth by Age of Household, Atlantic Canada, 1999

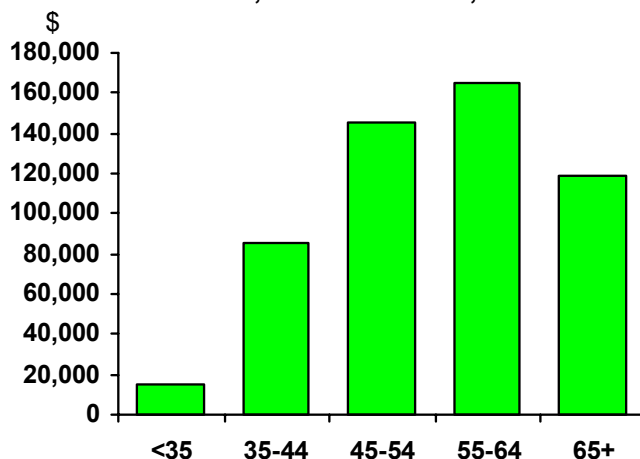


Fig. 3.17 - Projected Spending Patterns, 2001-2021

- | Winners* | Losers* |
|---|-----------------------------|
| • Recreation, sport & camping equipment | • Electricity, home fuel |
| • Recreation services | • Food, beverages & tobacco |
| • Communications | • Clothing & footwear |
| • Drugs & pharmaceutical products | • Motor fuels |
| • Household appliances | • Purchased transportation |
| • Finance and legal services | • Personal care |
| • Motor vehicles | |
| • Education/cultural services | |

*Relative to total projected Atlantic consumer spending growth rate.

Chapter 4: Policy Issues

A Region in Transition

- ♦ Canada is becoming more urban with almost 80% of Canadians living in urban areas of 10,000 people or more in 2001. Although the degree of urbanization is much more limited in the Atlantic region – with its smaller cities and larger rural population – the trend towards increased urbanization is still very apparent. APEC expects this trend to continue over the next twenty years.
- ♦ Two major demographic trends affecting both the Atlantic provinces and many industrialized nations are a slower natural population increase (births minus deaths) and a rapidly aging population. Low fertility and increasing life expectancy contribute to an aging population but also makes immigration an increasingly important source of population growth. Within a decade, the large baby boom generation will begin to add significantly to the population over 65.
- ♦ These two trends – urbanization and demographic change – have important implications for the Atlantic region. This chapter briefly highlights some of the policy issues that need to be addressed to respond to these economic and demographic changes and to ensure that Atlantic Canada is an attractive place to live, work and do business.
- ♦ While much of the focus in this chapter is on strategies for urban areas, these trends also have important implications for rural regions.
- ♦ Some of these trends, such as population aging, seem quite dramatic, but the year to year change, at present, is quite small. This gives businesses and governments time to prepare and adjust. Other challenges facing the region's cities, such as decaying infrastructure, need more immediate attention.

Unique Needs

- ♦ Atlantic Canada's cities are smaller than those elsewhere in the country and on average have grown at a slower rate compared to Canada's largest CMA's.
- ♦ Within Atlantic Canada, each urban centre has different needs and strengths. Although there are common issues, the strategies and solutions required to address these challenges in Halifax for example, will be quite different from those needed in Charlottetown. The federal government's urban agenda must take account of the diverse requirements of urban areas across the country.

Municipal Funding

- ♦ As economic growth consolidates in urban areas, they are accounting for a disproportionate share of economic activity. The future 'competitiveness' of Atlantic Canada depends in part on ensuring that cities are attractive places for people to live and work and for companies to do business.
- ♦ Growing urban populations place a greater demand on municipalities to provide an appropriate level of services. Many urban areas are struggling to keep up with the demands for investment in decaying infrastructure, such as water and sewage systems, as well as public transport and social housing.
- ♦ In recent years, local government revenues have not increased as fast as provincial or federal revenues. At the same time, the top two levels of government have downloaded increasing responsibility for provision of services to municipalities.
- ♦ Ensuring an appropriate balance between municipal spending responsibilities and revenues is a critical issue. Various funding options have been put forward including federal and provincial grants, new municipal tax revenues, greater use of public private partnerships and more effective use of user fees.

Transportation

- ♦ Nearly 74% of Canadian commuters drove to work in 2001 while just over one in ten regularly used public transport. Road congestion is a problem in many cities, adding to commuting times, raising business transportation costs and contributing to environmental pollution.
- ♦ As populations move out to the urban fringe, it is important to ensure that people can move efficiently, with the support of affordable public transport. This can be a challenge for Atlantic Canada's small cities where mass transit options are often uneconomic.

Poverty

- ♦ In Atlantic Canada, as elsewhere, cities account for a disproportionate number of poor people. Inequality increased in many urban centres in the 1990s, with the growth in the population under the poverty line outpacing that of the general population.
- ♦ The access provided in urban areas to education, skills and employment can contribute to reducing poverty. Addressing poverty is important for the health of individuals as well as the health and social cohesion of cities.

Housing

- ♦ The Prime Minister's Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues acknowledges that "the shortage of affordable housing is one of the biggest challenges affecting economic competitiveness and quality of life." Apartment vacancy rates were close to ten-year lows in many urban centres in Atlantic Canada in late 2002, with rates of 2.7% in Halifax, 2.5% in St. John's, 2% in Charlottetown and Moncton and 1% in Fredericton.
- ♦ Various organizations have identified a need for greater social (low-rent) housing to meet the needs of low income households and the homeless.

Immigration

- ♦ Net migration will play an increasingly important role in population and labour market growth in Canada and the Atlantic region. APEC's projections indicate that national immigration needs will substantially exceed existing annual immigration targets within five years.
- ♦ Recent Census data indicate that immigrants in the 1990s do not do as well in the labour market as earlier generations of immigrants. Measures to help support the integration of immigrants, including the recognition of foreign credentials and experience, are vital if immigrants are to make an effective contribution to the local economy and society.
- ♦ Atlantic Canada continues to struggle to attract even a modest share of immigrants. Although the region accounted for about 7.5% of Canada's population in 2001, the Atlantic provinces received only 1.2% of the immigrants to Canada. Economic immigrants are generally well educated but it may take more than better information to encourage a greater number to settle in the Atlantic provinces. With immigrants' settlement patterns clearly indicating a preference for urban life, attempts to encourage them to settle in rural areas of the region may be counterproductive.
- ♦ With increasing job opportunities likely to open up as the baby boomers retire, policies to ensure that the Atlantic provinces are attractive places to live and work are important. Many Atlantic Canadians who have left the region may want to return home to fill these positions. Attracting Islanders living away was identified as an important part of a population strategy for Prince Edward Island.

Keeping the Young

- ♦ The out-migration of many young and well educated people from the Atlantic provinces erodes the skilled labour force that is an essential foundation for future growth. Vibrant urban areas, with economic opportunities and services comparable to other Canadian cities, are essential to encourage young people to stay in the region.

Economic Development Strategies

- ♦ Atlantic Canada's cities already account for a disproportionate amount of economic activity. With their share expected to continue to increase as the service sector and knowledge economy expands, economic development policies must increasingly recognize the urban nature of much economic activity.
- ♦ Economic development strategies must balance the needs of urban and rural regions of Atlantic Canada. More attention needs to be paid to the productivity gains which could be realized from greater urban growth. In particular, employment in the knowledge-based economy could benefit from increased collaboration between university research teams and businesses.

Education, Skills and Innovation

- ♦ Improving basic literacy and educational attainment and supporting lifelong learning and skill development is essential for Atlantic Canadian businesses to be able to compete in a global economy increasingly dependent upon knowledge and innovation. Lower education and skill levels make this especially important for rural areas if they are no benefit from the knowledge-based economy. Unemployed blue-collar and older workers in traditional industries may need particular help to enable them to find new employment opportunities.
- ♦ The region's universities, most of which are located in urban centres, are an important source of skilled labour and a potentially rich source of research and innovation activity. In the context of slower labour force growth, it is vital that schools, colleges and universities equip individuals with the skills that are needed in the labour market.

Policy Issues

An Older Workforce

- ♦ As the workforce ages, and growth in the labour force slows, there will be increasing opportunities for older Canadians to continue to work rather than take early retirement. This may place a premium on compensation levels while also requiring greater work flexibility and a modification of tax and pension policies to allow a more gradual transition into retirement.
- ♦ Companies will need to plan carefully for their future labour force needs, manage succession plans and develop new ways to attract and retain talented employees. Labour market pressures will intensify competition for young workers entering the labour force and may increase female participation.
- ♦ Almost 40% of Nova Scotians aged 25-44 participated in adult education and training in 1997, but less than one in five in the 55-64 age group. An aging workforce will increase the need to maintain and develop the skills of older workers.
- ♦ Labour market policies must be increasingly flexible to help the long-term unemployed back into the job market and to assist those stuck in a cycle of low-skill, temporary and unstable employment patterns.

Demands Of An Older Population

- ♦ Health care expenditures per capita rise sharply after age 65, with health costs for those 85 and older more than three times the cost for those aged 65-74. An aging population will increase the pressures on health budgets, with rising health care expenditures expected to increase by more than the age-related decline in spending on education.

Economic Adjustment in Rural Areas

- ♦ Rural areas are most dependent upon primary and resource-based industries. Yet these industries are vulnerable to supply shocks, such as the closure of the cod fishery in the 1990s (although the recent boom and bust in the IT industry emphasizes that it is not just rural industries that are vulnerable to ups and downs). Economic development must focus on strengthening diversity and encouraging sectors that are most likely to be sustainable in a rural environment.
- ♦ Older and less educated workers may find it difficult to move or retrain for new jobs. Low housing values in rural areas and higher rents and house prices in urban areas can make moving uneconomic. There is a fine balance between providing income support for these individuals and encouraging economic adjustment.

Maintaining Rural Services

- ♦ APEC's projections suggest further declines in rural populations over the next five years with only a partial recovery after that. This accentuates the challenge to maintain services in rural areas. To what extent are urban populations and governments willing to subsidize the provision of rural services when delivery costs are higher?

Further Research

- ♦ This chapter has highlighted a number of policy issues relating to urbanization and the aging population in Atlantic Canada. While there is a growing literature on urban issues and policies in Canada, very little focuses on urbanization in eastern Canada. Further research is necessary to develop a more detailed assessment of the strengths and needs of Atlantic Canada's major urban centres and to identify the specific strategies and policies that will support continued growth and economic development.

Appendix A: Projection Methodology

APEC Population Model

- ♦ The projections used in this report were developed by APEC in conjunction with the Centre for Spatial Economics (CSE) in Ontario.
- ♦ The demographic projections used in this report incorporate two key features. First, the population projections depend crucially upon the economics of the model, which determine net migration patterns rather than using historical patterns. These projections therefore differ substantially from those produced by Statistics Canada and other groups. Second, population and related variables are projected for both urban and non-urban areas.
- ♦ The base year population estimates for 2001 are adjusted to take account of the 2001 Census results.
- ♦ This Appendix provides a brief overview of the model and the assumptions used.

Geographic Regions

- ♦ Halifax, St. John's and Saint John are defined as the Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs).
- ♦ Sydney is defined as the labour force survey (LFS) economic region of Cape Breton, which includes the Census Divisions of Inverness, Richmond, Cape Breton and Victoria.
- ♦ Moncton is defined as the LFS economic region of Moncton-Richibucto, which includes the Census Divisions of Albert, Westmoreland and Kent.
- ♦ Fredericton is defined as the LFS economic region of Fredericton-Oromocto, which includes the Census Divisions of Sunbury, Queens and York.
- ♦ The non-urban areas of Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are defined as the remaining geographic regions of each province.
- ♦ Due to a lack of labour force data at the sub-provincial level, Prince Edward Island is defined as one region, and is classified as a non-urban area in aggregate analyses of urban and non-urban areas.

GDP and Productivity

- ♦ Overall GDP growth for each geographic region is based upon APEC assumptions.
- ♦ For the period 2001-2011, the following annual growth rates are assumed for real GDP: Canada (3.0%), Atlantic Canada (2.2%), St. John's (3.5%), other Newfoundland and Labrador (3.3%), Prince Edward Island (1.7%), Halifax (2.2%), Sydney (1.8%), other Nova Scotia (1.9%), Moncton (2.1%), Fredericton (1.7%), Saint John (1.9%) and other New Brunswick (1.5%).
- ♦ Labour productivity in each industry is assumed to be the same for all geographic regions within a province. Productivity growth varies by industry but is assumed to be constant across time and across regions.

Model Structure

- ♦ Agriculture, forestry/fishing, mining/oil & gas extraction and manufacturing are treated as 'economic base' industries with real GDP growth set exogenously, consistent with the overall GDP growth rates assumed above. Employment in these industries is then determined given the labour productivity assumptions.
- ♦ In the remaining 'community-based' industries, employment growth is related to total employment growth in the four economic base industries. GDP for these industries is calculated using the labour productivity estimates.
- ♦ Unemployment rates in each region are set exogenously and gradually decline over time. The labour supply for each region is determined using projected participation rates for the working age population. The total population required to support the total number of jobs is then calculated, using the labour market participation and unemployment rates.
- ♦ The total population required in each region then drives the demographic model which determines how many migrants will be required on a net basis to achieve this level, given assumptions about fertility and mortality. Fertility and mortality rates are assumed to be constant across time.
- ♦ The number of households is calculated using headship rates by age for each region.

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- Fig. 1.2 - Share of Total Urban Employment, Atlantic Canada (APEC/CSE) *
- Fig. 1.3 - Share of Labour Force with Post-Secondary Degree or Diploma, 1996 (APEC/Statistics Canada) **
- Fig. 1.4 - Share of Labour Force in Urban Areas, Atlantic Canada, 1996 (APEC/Statistics Canada) **
- Fig. 1.5a - Growth in Housing Starts, 1996-2001 (APEC/Statistics Canada)***
- Fig. 1.5b - Growth in Personal Spending, 1996-2001 (APEC/CSE/Statistics Canada)*
- Fig. 1.6 - Change in Employment, 1997-2001 (APEC/Statistics Canada)**
- Fig. 1.7 - Population of Selected Canadian CMAs, 2001 (Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 1.8 - Number of Births per Thousand Women (APEC/Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 1.9 - Share of the Population 65 and Older (APEC/Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 1.10 - Share of Population in Rural Areas, 2001 (APEC/Statistics Canada)**
- Fig. 1.11 - Population Change in Atlantic Canada, 1996-2001 (Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 1.12 - Annual Population Growth, 1972-2002 (APEC/Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 2.1 - Employment Distribution, Atlantic Canada, 2001 (APEC/CSE/Statistics Canada)*
- Fig. 2.2 - Average Growth in Employment, Atlantic Canada, 1991-2001 (APEC/CSE/Statistics Canada)*
- Fig. 2.3 - Unemployment Rate by Economic Region, 2002 (APEC/Statistics Canada)*
- Fig. 2.4 - EI Beneficiaries as a Percent of the Population, Atlantic Canada, 2001 (APEC/Statistics Canada)***
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- Fig. 3.4 - Change in Population, NL (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.5 - Change in Population, PEI (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.6 - Change in Population, NS (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.7 - Change in Population, NB (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.8 - Population by Age, Atlantic Canada, 2001 (APEC/CSE/Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 3.9 - <15 and 65+ as a Share of the Working Age Population (APEC/CSE)*
- Fig. 3.10 - Population and Household Growth, 2001-2011 (APEC/CSE)*
- Fig. 3.11 - Average Household Size, Atlantic Canada, 2001-2021 (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.12 - Projected Growth in Housing Demand, 2001-2011 (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.13 - Labour Force Growth, 1991-2021 (APEC/CSE/Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 3.14 - Change in Working Age Population, Atlantic Canada (APEC/CSE)
- Fig. 3.15 - Age of Employees, Atlantic Canada, 2001 (APEC/Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 3.16 - Median Net Worth by Age of Household, Atlantic Canada, 1999 (Statistics Canada)
- Fig. 3.17 - Projected Spending Patterns, 2001-2021 (APEC/CSE)

Urban/Rural Definitions

* = the six urban centres in Atlantic Canada as defined in Appendix A.

** = Statistics Canada's definition of an urban area - population of at least 1,000 and no fewer than 400 persons per square kilometre.

*** = any centre over 50,000 population, which includes the three regional Census Metropolitan Areas or CMAs (Halifax, St. John's, and Saint John) and the four Census Agglomerations (CAs) over 50,000 (Moncton, Fredericton, Sydney and Charlottetown).

The rural areas are defined as the remaining regions of each province.

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