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POPULATION STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN PREDOMINANTLY RURAL REGIONS

Roland Beshiri and Ray D. Bollman, Statistics Canada

HIGHLIGHTS

- ♦ In 1996, 31.4 percent of Canada's population lived in predominantly rural regions.
- **♦** Each Atlantic Province, Saskatchewan and the Yukon and Northwest Territories have more than 50 percent of their population living in predominantly rural regions.
- ♦ Rural metro-adjacent regions are the fastest growing rural regions. These regions represent one-half of the population in predominantly rural regions.
- ♦ Predominantly rural regions in Newfoundland and Saskatchewan show continuous population decline.
- ♦ Net migration is strongest toward rural metro-adjacent regions.

Definition of "Predominantly Rural Regions"

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 1994) has defined a "predominantly rural region" as having more than 50 percent of the population living in rural communities where a "rural community" has a population density less than 150 persons per square kilometre. In Canada, the census division has been used to represent "regions" and census consolidated sub-divisions have been used to represent "communities".

"Intermediate regions" have 15 to 49 percent of their population living in a "rural community". "Predominantly urban regions" have less than 15 percent of their population living in a "rural community".

"Predominantly rural regions" are classified as metro-adjacent, non-metro-adjacent and the north, following Ehrensaft and Beeman (1992).





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Note of appreciation

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Population structure

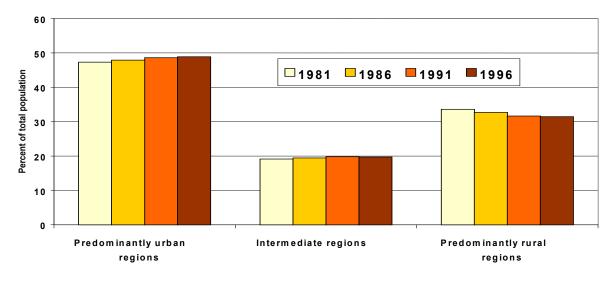
In 1996, 9 million Canadians lived in predominantly rural regions. This represented 31.4 percent of the population (Figure 1). Note the slow shift in population structure toward predominantly urban regions and away from predominantly rural regions. In 1981, 33.6 percent of Canadians lived in predominantly rural regions.

Over the period 1981 to 1996, predominantly urban and intermediate regions increased their population share by 2 and 1 percentage points respectively, while the population share in predominantly rural areas decreased by 2 percentage points.

In the Yukon and Northwest Territories¹, in each Atlantic Province and in Saskatchewan, the predominantly rural population constitutes a majority (Figure 2). In Ontario and Québec, less than one-quarter of the population lives in predominantly rural regions.

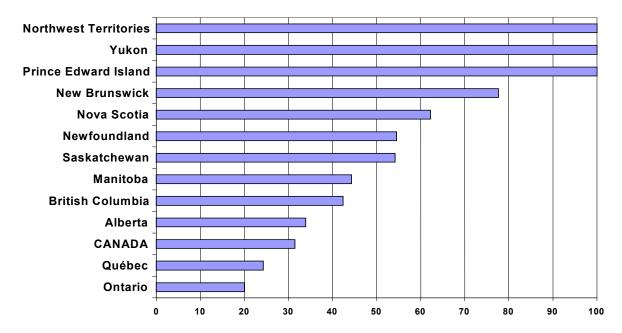
In 1999, the Northwest Territories were reorganised into two new areas: Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. In this document, all references to the Northwest Territories include Nunavut.

Figure 1
In 1996, 31.4 percent of Canada's population lived in predominantly rural regions



Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 1996. A predominantly rural region has over 50 percent of its population living in rural communities. An intermediate region has 15 to 49 percent living in rural communities and a predominantly urban region has less than 15 percent of its population living in rural communities.

Figure 2
Share of population in each province that lives in predominantly rural regions, 1996



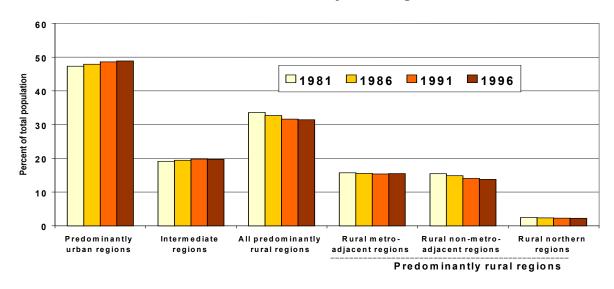
Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1996. A predominantly rural region has 50 percent or more of its population living in rural communities.

An important context of rurality is the distance to a major city. We have defined three types of predominantly rural regions:

- Rural metro-adjacent regions;
- Rural non-metro-adjacent regions; and
- Rural northern regions.

At the Canada level, 15 percent of the total population lives in rural metro-adjacent regions (Figure 3). This represents one-half of all predominantly rural residents. Rural non-metro-adjacent regions accounted for another 14 percent and rural northern regions accounted for 2 percent. Note the declining share of population in rural non-metro-adjacent regions.

Figure 3
In 1996, 15 percent of Canada's population lived in rural metro-adjacent regions



Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 1996. A predominantly rural region has over 50 percent of its population living in rural communities.

An intermediate region has 15 to 49 percent living in rural communities and a predominantly urban region has less than 15 percent of its population living in rural communities.

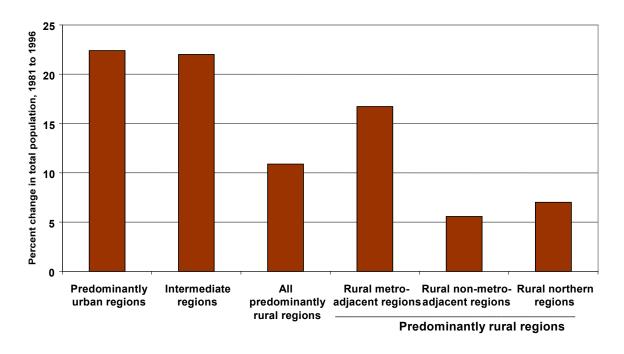
Population change

The rural population continues to concentrate in regions near cities. Between 1981 and 1996 the predominantly rural population increased by almost 11 percent (Figure 4). Most of this increase occurred in rural metro-adjacent regions, which increased by almost 17 percent over this 15-year period. The next largest rural population increase was in the rural northern

regions with a 7 percent increase. Rural non-metro-adjacent regions had the smallest gains in population. The predominantly urban and intermediate regions had the highest growth rates of 22 percent.

When we consider each five-year intercensal period, we see that the population in each type of regions has been growing since 1986 (Figure 5). A decline was reported, at the Canada level, only in the 1981 to 1986 period for rural non-metro-adjacent regions and rural northern regions. In the most recent period (1991 to 1996), all rural regions reported growth. Similar to previous periods, the type of rural region with the strongest population growth was the rural metro-adjacent region. In fact, in the 1991 to 1996, rural metro-adjacent regions grew faster than any other type of region (see Map: Population Change from 1991 to 1996).

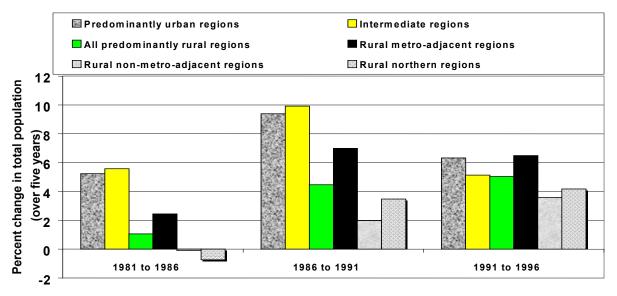
Figure 4
Rural metro-adjacent areas
grew 17 percent from 1981 to 1996



Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 1996. A predominantly rural region has over 50 percent of its population living in rural communities.

An intermediate region has 15 to 49 percent living in rural communities and a predominantly urban region has less than 15 percent of its population living in rural communities.

Figure 5
Population growth from 1991 to 1996
was strongest in rural metro-adjacent regions



Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 1996. A predominantly rural region has over 50 percent of its population living in rural communities.

An intermediate region has 15 to 49 percent living in rural communities and a predominantly urban region has less than 15 percent of its population living in rural communities.

Among the provinces and territories, between 1981 and 1996, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories had the highest growth of predominantly rural population, 41 percent and 33 percent respectively (Table 1). This was due, in part, to a high birth rate in the Aboriginal population. Among the provinces with a majority predominantly rural population, both Newfoundland and Saskatchewan lost populations in their predominantly rural regions during the 15 year period (-9 percent and -7 percent, respectively). These provinces have natural resource dependent economies that have been shedding labour. As a result, there has been a movement of people to urban centres or out of the province entirely. For the other three Atlantic Provinces – Prince Edward Island increased its predominantly rural population by 10 percent, New Brunswick by 7 percent and Nova Scotia by 1 percent.

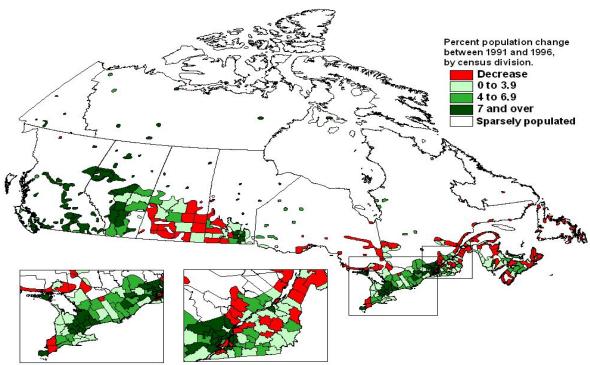
The other provinces, where predominantly urban populations are a majority, all reported population gains in their predominantly rural regions. British Columbia had the greatest increase in predominantly rural regions (28 percent) followed by Ontario (18 percent) and Alberta (14 percent). Most of the gains were made in metro-adjacent regions as people moved to smaller communities within extended commuting distances of larger urban areas. And in the case of Alberta, people moved to resource rich rural areas.

Table 1. Percent change in population in all predominantly rural regions

	1981	1986	1991	1981
	to	to	to	to
	1986	1991	1996	1996
Northwest Territories	14.2	10.4	11.6	40.8
Yukon	1.3	18.4	10.8	32.9
British Columbia	0.8	11.5	14.2	28.3
Ontario	1.6	10.3	5.6	18.3
Alberta	4.4	2.6	6.1	13.6
CANADA	1.1	4.5	5.0	10.9
Prince Edward Island	3.2	2.4	3.7	9.6
Manitoba	1.5	1.6	3.8	7.0
New Brunswick	2.4	1.9	2.1	6.6
Québec	-1.3	1.4	3.2	3.3
Nova Scotia	1.3	0.4	-0.6	1.1
Saskatchewan	0.6	-5.8	-1.5	-6.7
Newfoundland	-2.0	-2.2	-4.9	-8.8

Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 1996.

Population Change from 1991 to 1996, Canada



Source: Statistics Canada. Demography Division. CANSIM II (Table 051-0015)
Map produced by the Spatial Analysis and Geomatics Applications section (SAGA), Agriculture Division, Statistics Canada, 2000

Components of population change

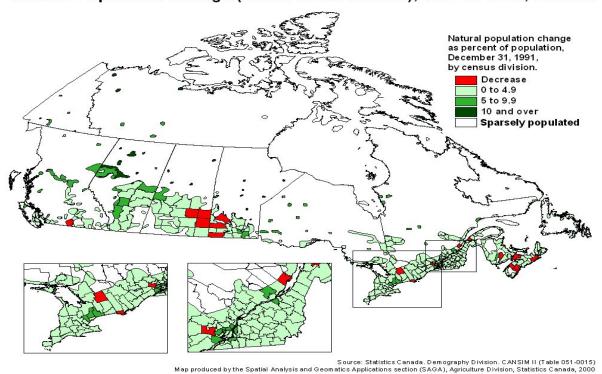
While population change describes the overall increase or decrease of populations, it does not describe the two determinants of population change. Populations change as a result of a combination of the natural balance (birth minus deaths) and net migration (movement into an area minus movement out of an area). A positive or negative natural balance may be a result of the population structure (e.g. an ageing population) or health status. The movement of people may suggest how real or perceived economic opportunities are or how important amenities are in an area.

1. Natural balance

Canada's population increased by 1.6 million between 1991 and 1996². About 70 percent of the increase was attributed to natural increase, the remainder to in-migration (see Appendix).

At the sub-provincial level, almost 6 percent of Canada's census divisions had a negative natural balance in the 1991 to 1996 period – that is, there were more deaths than births in these census division (Map: Natural Population Change). These were all predominantly rural

Natural Population Change (Births minus Deaths), 1991 to 1996, Canada



² The natural balance was calculated for regions only for the 1991 to 1996 period as data on births and deaths for the constant 1996 census division boundaries were not readily available for earlier years.

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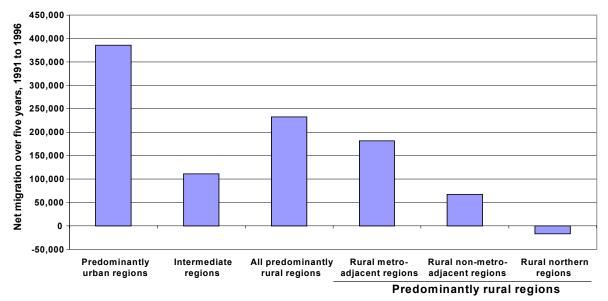
regions. About half of these census divisions (e.g., the Okanagan region in British Columbia and the Haliburton region and Prince Edward County in Ontario) have a disproportionately high elderly population and a low population of young people. These areas are retirement destinations and population decline was avoided because in-migration was large enough to counter the negative natural balance. However, the rest of these census divisions (largely in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia) also suffered net population out-migration (discussed below) – thus their population decline was due to both a negative natural balance and out-migration.

2. Net migration

Net migration (the difference between the rate of in-migration and the rate of out-migration) is the second component of population change.

In the 1991 to 1996 period, rural northern regions lost 16 thousand people due to net migration – that is, 16 thousand more people left the north than moved to the north (Figure 6). Above, we noted that the natural balance in the north was high due to high Aboriginal birth rates -- this was the reason for their population growth during the 1991 to 1996 period. Rural metro-adjacent regions attracted 182 thousand people on a net basis. Rural non-metro-adjacent regions attracted less than half this amount (67 thousand) on a net basis.

Figure 6
Rural metro-adjacent regions gained 182,000 people and northern regions lost 16,000 people due to net migration

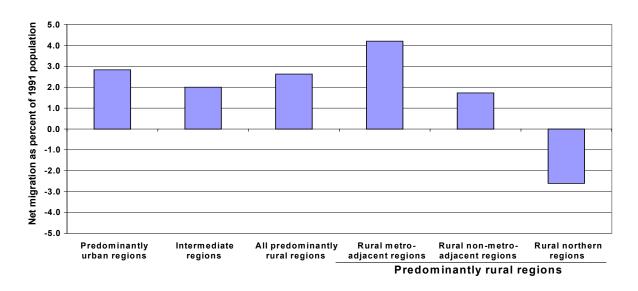


[&]quot;Net migration" is calculated as population change (1996 population minus 1991 population) minus natural balance (births minus deaths) using data from Statistics Canada, Annual Demographic Statistics, Cat. No. 91-213 and CANSIM II, Table 051-0015. Net migration includes international migration and inter-regional migration within Canada.

When net migration is considered in terms of the rate of migration (i.e., net migration as a percent of the 1991 population), then we see that rural metro-adjacent regions had the highest rate of net in-migration (4.2 percent) and only rural northern regions had net out-migration (-2.6 percent) (Figure 7).

Figure 7

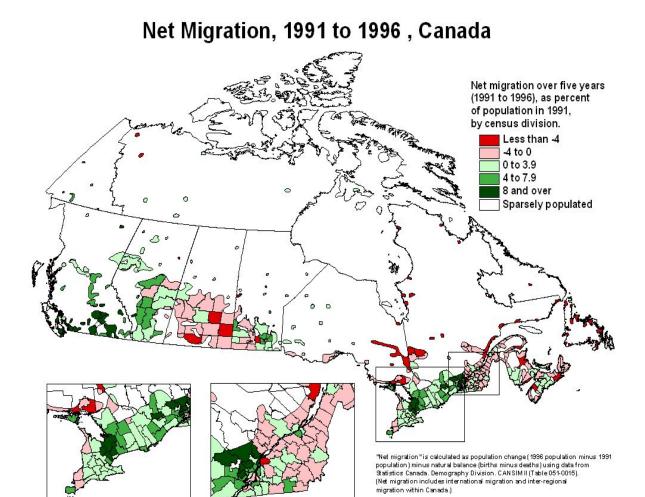
Northern regions lost 2.6 percent of their population due to net migration between 1991 and 1996



"Net migration" is calculated as population change (1996 population minus 1991 population) minus natural balance (births minus deaths) using data from Statistics Canada Annual Demographic Statistics, Cat. No. 91-213 and CANSIM II, Table 051-0015. Net migration includes international migration and inter-regional migration within Canada.

Forty-seven percent of the census divisions had net out-migration (Map: Net Migration). These census divisions were mainly rural and found in the North; in southern Saskatchewan; southern Manitoba and Winnipeg; southwestern and northern Ontario; Quebec's Eastern Townships, Gaspé and the North Shore areas; and most of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Areas with net in-migration were found around Montreal and southwestern Quebec; eastern and central Ontario; around Winnipeg, in northern Saskatchewan; in most of Alberta; and especially coastal and interior British Columbia.

There were 90 census divisions (31 percent) that experienced the best combination – increasing natural balance and net in–migration. These rural census divisions were located on Vancouver Island and interior British Columbia; northern and central Alberta; northern Saskatchewan; parts of southern Manitoba; along the coast of Lake Erie; north of Toronto and Montreal; Prince Edward Island; north of Halifax in Nova Scotia; and the areas of Moncton and Fredericton in New Brunswick.



Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, CANSIM II (Table 051-0015)
Map produced by the Spatial Analysis and Geomatics Applications section (SAGA), Agriculture Division, Statistics Canada, 2000

Differences among and within provinces

The national overview belies some of the population variability that exists at the provincial level (see Appendix). The Atlantic Region population, as a whole, managed to remain stable during the 1981 to 1996 period. While most of their predominantly rural regions lost people, urban regions – intermediate Nova Scotia and New Brunswick – gained people. Newfoundland was the only province to lose population whereas each of the other Atlantic Provinces had a natural increase that surpassed their out-migration. Prince Edward Island differed by having a net in-migration into its rural regions, which helped to maintain the overall increase in the Atlantic predominantly rural population. New Brunswick's metro-adjacent rural region was the only other rural region to have a positive net migration in Atlantic Canada.

While all of Quebec's regions gained in population, only its metro—adjacent rural regions had (substantial) net in-migration. The other regions had out-migration but grew in population due to natural increase.

In Ontario and Alberta, only the rural northern regions had a net out-migration, while in Saskatchewan it was the opposite – only the remote regions had a net in-migration. In Alberta out-migration accounted for the population loss in its rural northern regions, while Ontario's northern region was maintained by births. Manitoba's northern regions and its predominantly urban region (i.e., Winnipeg) both showed out-migration as well.

Within each province, there is also considerable variability among communities in terms of population gains and losses. Map (Community population losses and gains over three consecutive censuses, 1981 to 1996) shows communities (defined as census consolidated subdivisions) that either gained population over three consecutive censuses or lost population over three consecutive censuses. It shows that rural communities grew over the 15 year period in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, coastal and interior British Columbia, central and northern Alberta, central Manitoba, south-central Ontario, south Quebec, about half of the area of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and a few out-ports in Newfoundland. However, in regions that show continuous population decline (such as the agricultural regions of Saskatchewan), there are some communities that did not decline in each intercensal period – these are the white areas on the map.

Summary

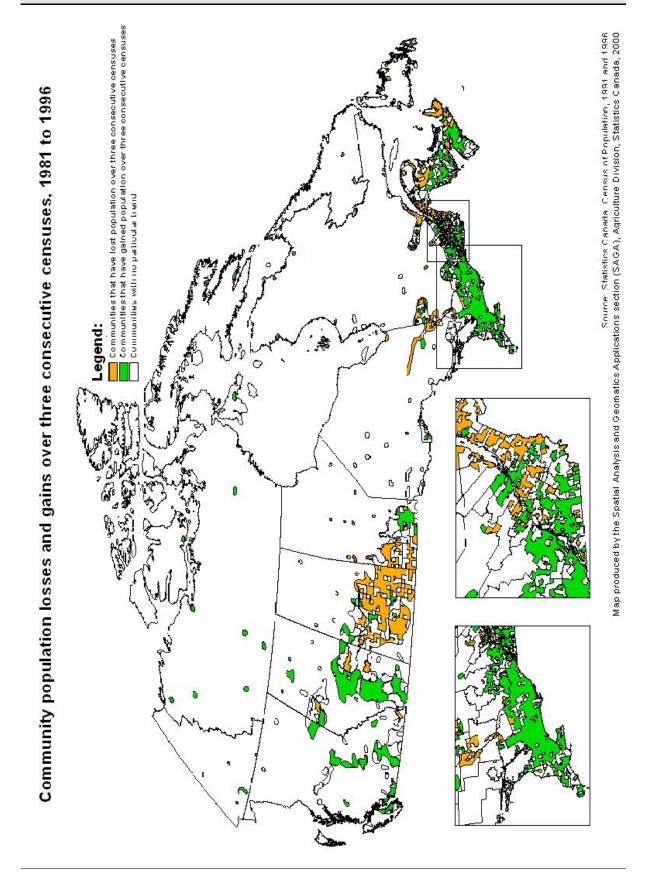
In 1996, 31.4 percent of Canada's population lived in predominantly rural regions. Each Atlantic Province, Saskatchewan and the Yukon and Northwest Territories have more than 50 percent of their population living in predominantly rural regions. Rural metro-adjacent regions are the fastest growing rural regions. These regions represent one-half of the population in predominantly rural regions. Predominantly rural regions in Newfoundland and Saskatchewan show continuous population decline. Net migration is strongest toward rural metro-adjacent regions.

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Appendix Table 1. Population change showing natural balance and net migration, by type of region, Canada and Provinces

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Predominantly urban regions 1,013,500 1,049,120 1,079,390 1,100,290 1,109,594 1,134,346 82,348 46,416 39,932 24,752 11,180 3.2 1.00 2.2															
Predominantly urban regions												_			
All predominantly rural regions													3.1	-2.3	
Rural non-metro-adjacent regions		455,070		469,125	487,085		503,072	37,715		16,775	20,274	3,499	3.5	0.7	
Rural northern regions 60,940 64,375 63,950 68,095 65,227 69,898 8,009 1,831 6,778 4,671 -2,107 10.4 -3.2 7.2	Rural metro-adjacent regions	177,530	186,520	198,020	208,485	204,599	216,034	14,219	7,832	6,387	11,435	5,048	3.1	2.5	5.6
SASKATCHEWÁN 956,660 996,900 976,020 976,625 1,002,668 1,019,459 71,063 41,157 29,906 16,791 -13,115 3.0 -1.3 1.7 Intermediate regions 389,250 426,290 438,630 447,380 450,039 466,495 32,991 15,479 17,512 16,456 -1,056 3.9 -0.2 3.7 All predominantly rural regions 243,715 247,160 235,215 231,595 242,345 242,551 15,888 10,988 4,900 206 -4,694 2.0 -1.9 0.1 Rural metro-adjacent regions 298,260 297,990 275,465 266,565 283,141 278,229 17,537 14,027 3,510 -4,912 -8,422 1.2 -3.0 -1.7 Rural northern regions 25,435 25,460 26,710 31,085 27,143 32,184 4,647 663 3,984 5,041 1,057 14.7 3.9 18.6 ALBERTA 2,213,655 2,340,280 2,519,195 2,669,205 2,592,561 2,780,639 201,337 76,773 124,564 188,088 63,524 4.8 2.5 7.3 All predominantly rural regions 796,075 830,855 862,635 904,390 883,712 949,943 72,388 30,881 41,507 66,231 24,724 4.7 2.8 7.5 Rural northern regions 509,295 527,470 548,010 584,565 568,605 613,979 43,617 21,875 21,742 45,374 23,632 3.8 4.2 8.0 Rural northern regions 33,800 37,550 37,550 37,630 36,465 569,905 2,43,374 24,474						212,972		14,887		3,610	4,168				
Intermediate regions 389,250 426,290 438,630 447,380 450,039 466,495 32,991 15,479 17,512 16,456 -1,056 3.9 -0.2 3.7 All predominantly rural regions 567,410 570,610 537,390 529,245 552,629 552,624 38,072 25,678 12,394 335 -12,069 2.2 -2.2 0.1 Rural metro-adjacent regions 243,715 247,160 235,215 231,595 242,345 242,551 15,888 10,988 4,900 206 -4,694 2.0 -1.9 0.1 Rural non-metro-adjacent regions 25,436 25,460 26,710 31,085 27,143 32,184 4,647 663 3,984 5,041 1,057 14.7 3.9 18.6 ALBERTA 2,213,655 2,340,280 2,519,195 2,669,205 2,592,551 2,780,639 201,337 76,773 124,564 188,088 63,524 4.8 2.5 7.3 Predominantly rural regions 1,417,580 1,509,425 1,666,560 1,764,815 1,708,839 1,830,696 128,949 45,892 83,057 121,857 38,800 4.9 2.3 7.1 All predominantly rural regions 509,295 527,470 548,010 584,565 568,605 568,056 56									_						7.2
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Rural metro-adjacent regions 243,715 247,160 235,215 231,595 242,345 242,551 15,888 10,988 4,900 206 -4,694 2.0 -1.9 0.1 Rural nor-metro-adjacent regions 298,280 297,990 275,486 266,565 283,141 378,229 17,537 14,027 3,510 -4,912 -8,422 1,2 -3.0 -1.7 Rural northerm regions 25,436 25,460 26,710 31,085 27,143 32,184 4,647 663 3,984 5,041 1,057 14.7 3.9 18.6 ALBERTA 2,213,655 2,340,280 2,519,195 2,689,205 2,692,551 2,780,339 201,337 76,773 124,564 188,088 63,524 4.8 2.5 7.3 Predominantly urban regions 1,417,580 1,509,425 1,686,560 1,764,815 1,708,839 1,830,996 128,849 45,892 83,057 121,857 38,800 4.9 2.3 7.1 All predominantly rural regions 796,075 830,855 852,635 904,390 883,712 949,943 72,388 30,881 41,507 66,231 24,724 4.7 2.8 7.5 Rural metro-adjacent regions 509,295 527,470 548,010 584,565 588,605 613,879 43,617 21,875 21,742 45,374 23,632 3.8 4.2 8.0 Rural northerm regions 253,500 26,535 266,995 283,360 276,567 38,740 37,523 3,336 587 2,749 1,217 3,966 7.1 1-0.2 3.1 BRITISH COLUMBIA 2,713,610 2,849,600 3,247,505 3,889,740 37,339 3,882,043 23,289 128,648 103,641 405,003 3.1 12.0 15.1 Predominantly urban regions 1,496,075 1,622,315 1,879,395 2,127,545 1,954,356 2,243,121 132,791 75,671 57,120 288,765 231,645 2.9 11.9 14.8 All predominantly urban regions 403,630 407,330 465,750 543,075 481,979 586,662 32,441 18,317 13,248 86,681 72,759 2.9 11.9 14.8 Rural morther-adjacent regions 403,630 407,330 465,750 543,075 481,979 586,662 32,441 18,317 13,249 86,683 72,759 2.9 11.9 14.8 Rural morther-adjacent regions 403,630 407,330 465,750 543,075 481,979 586,662 32,441 18,317 13,324 86,683 72,759 2.9 11.9 14.8 Rural morther-adjacent regions 702,195 713,000 791,380 902,210 822,713 949,841 122,184 9,912 2,562 7,350 1,853 100,116 3.1 12.2 15.2 Rural morther-adjacent regions 702,195 713,000 791,380 902,210 822,713 949,841 122,184 9,912 2,562 7,350 1,853 100,116 3.1 12.2 15.2 Rural morther-adjacent regions 702,195 713,000 791,380 902,210 822,713 949,841 122,184 9,912 2,562 7,350 1,853 100,116 3.1 12.2 15.2 Rural morther-adjacent															
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Sources: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981-1996 and Statistics Canada. Demography Division (CANSIM II Table 051-0015).

⁽¹⁾ The data from the annual estimates program of the Demography Division, Statistics Canada, includes an estimate of the undercoverage of the Census of Population.

⁽²⁾ Since all of Prince Edward Island is classified as "predominantly rural regions", the total for the province provides the data for "all predominantly rural regions".

⁽³⁾ Since all of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories are classified as "rural northern regions", the total for each territory provides the data for "rural northern regions"