



Rural and Small Town Canada ANALYSIS BULLETIN



Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin
Vol. 5, No. 7 (December 2004)

Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE

The rural-urban income gap within provinces: An update to 2000

Vik Singh, Statistics Canada

Highlights

- ◆ The share of the rural population with low incomes has declined, relative to the share of the urban population with low incomes (due largely to an increase in the incidence of low incomes in urban regions).
- ◆ Within each province, incomes in rural regions are lower than those in urban regions.
- ◆ The rural-urban income gap has declined in six provinces. The gap increased in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Saskatchewan.
- ◆ The rural-urban income gap is largest within Nova Scotia and Manitoba and smallest within New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador.
- ◆ Provinces with above average urban incomes (e.g. Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia) also have above average incomes in their rural regions.

Introduction

One objective of public policy is to reduce income disparity in Canada. An earlier bulletin (Singh, 2002) provided an analysis of the rural-urban income gap over the 1980 to 1995 period. The objective of this bulletin is to update those findings with data from 2000. As with the previous bulletin, we will address two questions:

- Do the rural regions in each province always have lower average incomes?
- Do all the rural regions in Canada show a similar incidence of low incomes or are there any differences across provinces?



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**Rural and Small Town Canada
Analysis Bulletin**

ISSN 1481-0964

ISBN 0-662-38876-3

Editor: Ray D. Bollman

Associate Editor: Neil Rothwell

Published in collaboration with The Rural Secretariat, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. The *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin* is an occasional publication of the Agriculture Division of Statistics Canada. It is available without charge at <http://www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/downpub/freepub.cgi>.

Contact the Agriculture Division at:

Agriculture Division, Statistics Canada
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0T6

Toll free telephone number: 1 800 465-1991

Internet: agriculture@statcan.ca

Fax: (613) 951-3868

Editorial Committee: Denis Chartrand, Ross Vani, Norah Hillary, Heather Clemenson, Aurelie Morgan, Richard Levesque, Deborah Harper, Gaye Ward and Tom Vradenburg.

Special thanks to: Josée Bourdeau

Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada.

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Background

As with the previous study, we consider “income disparity” in terms of the absolute income gap between the rural and urban regions within and between each of the Canadian provinces. All income figures are measured in constant dollars (i.e. after adjusting for inflation¹). The income gap is further investigated by looking at the incidence and the change in the incidence of low incomes among individuals living in the rural regions across provinces. The low income cut-off (LICO) measure is used to measure the relative income gap or incidence of low income in rural regions across Canadian provinces². It should be mentioned that LICOs are not suitable to measure poverty (i.e. they are not intended to identify who are poor³). On the other hand, they reflect a consistent and well-defined methodology used to identify those who are substantially worse off than the average. LICOs have been widely used by analysts to study the characteristics of relatively worse off individuals and families in Canada. In this paper, we use LICOs to highlight the incidence of low income across Canadian provinces by calculating and analyzing the percent of individuals living below the low income cut-off.

1. Throughout this paper, we shall use 2000 as the base year for conversion to constant dollars as the 2001 Census of Population enumerated income data for the 2000 calendar year.

2. We should note that LICO differs by urbanisation class, largely due to the lower cost (especially lower housing cost) in rural areas. The LICO therefore accounts for these variations. See Cotton (2001) for a detailed explanation of how LICO is calculated for each urbanisation class. Note that the LICO level for a given urbanisation class, e.g. “rural” is used across Canada and thus there is no adjustment for differences in living costs within rural Canada.

3. For further discussion, see Fellegi (1997).

Box 1: Definitions

Census Consolidated Subdivisions (CCS): is a grouping of census subdivisions. Generally, smaller more urban census subdivisions (towns, villages, etc.) are combined with surrounding, larger, more rural subdivisions to create a geographical level between the census subdivision and the census division.

Rural: The term “rural” in this paper refers to “predominantly rural regions” across Canada. The OECD defines a region as “predominantly rural (PR)” if more than 50 percent of the population lives in rural communities. A “community” is defined as rural if the population density is less than 150 individuals per square kilometre. We apply this definition of rural using the census consolidated subdivision (CCS) as the community and census divisions as the region. For further details, see du Plessis *et al.* (2001).

Urban: The term “urban” in this paper refers to “predominantly urban and intermediate regions” across Canada. Regions are classified as “predominantly urban” if less than 15 percent of the individuals live in rural communities and are classified as “intermediate” if 15 to 50 percent of the individuals live in rural communities. Thus, regions are classified as “predominantly urban and intermediate” if less than 50 percent of the population lives in rural communities. For further details, see du Plessis *et al.* (2001).

Incidence of low income: is the proportion or percent of members of economic families or unattached individuals who are living below the Statistics Canada measure of low income (i.e. below the low income cut-off or LICO).

Economic family: refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

Low income cut-off (LICO): is an income threshold below which a family is likely to devote a larger share of its income to the necessities of food, shelter and clothing than an average family would. Specifically, the threshold is defined as the income below which a family is likely to spend 20 percentage points more of its income on food, shelter and clothing than an average family. When the cut-off was first established on the basis of the 1959 Family Expenditures Survey, an average family spent 50 percent of its pre-tax income on these necessities. Twenty points were added to this percentage on the assumption that a family spending 70 percent of its income on these items would be in “straitened circumstances”. The income level associated with this 70 percent threshold was then converted into a set of LICOs for each urbanisation class. LICOs are established using data from Statistics Canada’s Family Expenditure Survey, now known as the Survey of Household Spending.

Data

We look at the data from the Census of Population for 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001 and use the OECD classification of “predominantly rural” and “predominantly urban and intermediate” to identify rural and urban regions respectively (see Box 1). The building block for this definition of rural and urban regions is the census division and each census division may have individuals living in a number of urbanisation classes. Our analysis of the incidence of low income is derived from the tabulation of the individual data, where each household is coded as “above” or “below” LICO according to household income. The LICOs are in turn determined by the urbanisation class in which the household is located within the census division.

Per capita income across provinces

Provincial rural regions

The per capita income in the rural regions of Canada’s three highest income provinces, British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, consistently exceeded the rural per capita income in each of the other provinces over the period 1980–2000 (Figure 1 and Appendix Table 1). There is a wide range in per capita income in predominantly rural regions across the provinces – from \$19,216 in predominantly rural regions of British Columbia to \$13,103 in predominantly rural regions of Newfoundland and Labrador (average for 1980–2000 in constant \$2000).

Rural income increased in each province between 1980 and 2000. New Brunswick had the strongest rural income growth (8.7 percent per year) and rural regions in Saskatchewan experienced the weakest rural income growth (2.3 percent per year) from 1980 to 2000.

In the first intercensal period, 1980 to 1985, overall Canadian rural per capita incomes

increased only marginally (0.4 percent), which was mainly due to the recession of the early 1980s. At the provincial level, this period produced mixed results. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba experienced growth in their rural incomes while the remaining provinces experienced declines.

In the second intercensal period, 1985 to 1990, overall Canadian rural per capita income showed a healthy growth rate of 14.2 percent. All provinces experienced rural income growth due to the end of the recession in the Canadian economy.

In the third intercensal period, 1990 to 1995, rural income declined by 1.2 percent at the Canada level with most of the provinces experiencing stagnant or declining incomes.

In the fourth intercensal period, 1995 to 2000, rural income increased by 11 percent at the Canada level with most of the provinces experiencing double-digit increase in their rural incomes.

New Brunswick was the only province where rural per capita income grew at a higher rate than the average Canadian rural per capita income during each of the four intercensal periods.

The Atlantic Provinces ranked at the top for rural income growth for the 1980–2000 period, led by New Brunswick. Since most of the Atlantic Provinces had lower per capita income in 1980, this meant that they experienced a larger ‘catch-up effect’ leading to higher rural per capita income growth than the other provinces. Ontario which had high rural per capita income, also showed strong growth over the 1980 to 2000 period and was ranked fifth. On the other hand, provinces such as British Columbia and Alberta with higher per capita rural incomes showed only marginal growth rates and were ranked at the bottom. It is interesting to note that Saskatchewan, which had low per capita rural

income over the last 5 census years, experienced only marginal growth over the 1980 to 2000 period and thus showed a relative decline in the economic prosperity in its rural regions, compared to the average Canadian rural region. This may be attributed, in part, to the decline in agricultural prices, which constrained income growth in its rural regions.

Provincial urban regions

Ontario and British Columbia were the only provinces with urban per capita income above the Canadian urban per capita income in each of the last 5 census years (Figure 2 and Appendix Table 1). On the other hand, urban regions of Quebec, New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador were at the bottom of the list reporting lower urban per capita income than the other provinces over most of the last 5 census years.

We find a similar ranking of provinces in terms of their urban per capita income as we found regarding their rural per capita income – Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario rank at the top and New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador rank at the bottom in terms of both urban and rural per capita incomes.

Looking at each intercensal period, Canadian urban per capita income grew around 2 percent and 10 percent over 1980–1985 and 1985–1990 respectively, it declined by 5 percent over 1990–1995 and grew by 14 percent over 1995–2000. During the 1980–1985 period, all the provinces except Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, experienced a positive growth in their urban per capita income. The period 1985–1990 produced a double-digit increase in the urban per capita incomes of Newfoundland and Labrador, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. The remaining provinces experienced lower but still positive growth rates. During 1990–1995, all the provinces experienced a decline in their urban per capita incomes, whereas

all provinces experienced an increase in urban incomes over 1995–2000.

Comparing the growth in per capita income in urban and rural regions, we find that the rankings are similar. The Atlantic Provinces rank at the top while Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan rank at the bottom in terms of urban and rural income growth.

Rural-urban gap in per capita income within provinces

During the overall 1980 to 2000 period, the rural-urban gap at the Canada level has ranged from a high of \$4,821 (in 1985) to a low of \$3,725 (in 1995) in favour of urban regions (Figure 3 and Appendix Table 1). There is a wide range in the size of the rural-urban per capita income gap across the provinces, ranging from \$2,586 in New Brunswick to \$5,242 in Nova Scotia in favour of urban regions (average for 1980–2000 in constant \$2000). Nova Scotia and Manitoba had the largest rural-urban gap in per capita incomes.

The rural-urban per capita income gap within most of the provinces was consistently smaller than the overall Canadian rural-urban per capita income gap over the last 5 census years. The exceptions were Alberta in 1980 and 2000, Manitoba in 1980, 1985, 1995 and 2000 and Nova Scotia in all periods. (All of Prince Edward Island is classified as a predominantly rural region and thus a rural-urban income gap was not calculated for Prince Edward Island.)

During the 1980 to 1985 period, the rural-urban per capita income gap increased for most of the provinces since the urban incomes increased at a faster rate than the rural incomes. This gap then narrowed marginally during the 1985–1990 period for most of the provinces. The rural per capita incomes grew at a faster rate than the urban per capita incomes. The gap closed within each province in the 1990 to 1995 period. This was mainly because the urban per capita incomes fell

faster than the rural per capita incomes, i.e. the impact of recession was more severe in urban regions than the rural regions. This trend was reversed during the 1995-2000 period, when the gap increased for all the provinces. This was mainly because the urban per capita incomes rose faster than the rural per capita incomes. Overall the income gap between rural and urban regions increased seven percent from 1980 to 2000. Similar results were observed at the census division level in a study by Alasia and Rothwell (2003).

Looking at a longer time frame from 1980 to 2000, we find that whereas Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta experienced an increase in the rural-urban per capita income gap, the rest of the provinces experienced a decline. New Brunswick had the largest decline whereas Newfoundland and Labrador experienced the largest increase in the rural-urban per capita income gap.

It is interesting to note that the smallest and largest rural-urban income gap was found in the Atlantic provinces – the smallest was within New Brunswick and the largest was within Nova Scotia (on average over 1980–2000).

The incidence of low income among individuals⁴

Provincial rural regions

Over the last five census years, the incidence of low incomes in rural regions was consistently higher in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Saskatchewan, compared to the other provinces (Figure 4 and Appendix Table 2). On the other hand, Ontario, which had relatively high rural and

urban per capita income, reported a consistently lower incidence of low income in their rural regions.

The incidence of low income in rural regions followed the cycle of the Canadian economy. It rose for the majority of the provinces during the economic recession of the early 1980s, fell for all the provinces over 1985–1990, rose again for all provinces except Saskatchewan over 1990–1995 and fell over 1995–2000. Overall, over 1980–2000, the incidence of low income in rural regions declined for all provinces, except British Columbia.

Provincial urban regions

Ontario and Nova Scotia had a lower urban incidence of low income in each census year, compared to the Canadian average urban region, whereas Quebec and Manitoba had a higher urban incidence of low income (Figure 5 and Appendix Table 2).

All the provinces, except Newfoundland and Labrador, had an overall increase in the percent of urban individuals below the LICO over the period 1980–2000. This was in sharp contrast to the negative trend noticed for the percent of individuals below the LICO in rural regions. Thus, the incidence of low income showed a decline in rural regions while it rose in the urban regions.

Comparing 1980 to 2000, the largest percentage point increase in the urban incidence of low income occurred in British Columbia.

4. In this paper, the term “individuals” refers to “members of economic families” and “unattached individuals”.

Rural – urban differences in the incidence of low incomes

In most provinces in 1980, the rural incidence of low incomes was larger than the urban incidence of low incomes (Figure 6 and Appendix Table 2). Over time, the incidence of low incomes in rural regions has declined relative to the incidence of low incomes in urban regions. This shift is substantial – note that only two provinces (British Columbia and Quebec) had a smaller incidence of low income in rural regions compared to urban regions in 1980 whereas all provinces except Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador had a smaller incidence of low incomes in rural regions compared to urban regions in 2000. This result is due to an increasing incidence of low incomes in urban areas and not due to a declining incidence of low incomes in rural areas.

The increase in incidence of low income in urban areas can be attributed to many factors. According to Heisz (2000), the increase in low income intensity occurred due to a lack of rise in market income and a decline in transfers received by low-income families, particularly the decline in Employment Insurance benefits.

Conclusions

Within each province, incomes in rural regions are lower than those in urban regions. Provinces with above average urban incomes (e.g. Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia) also have above average incomes in their rural regions.

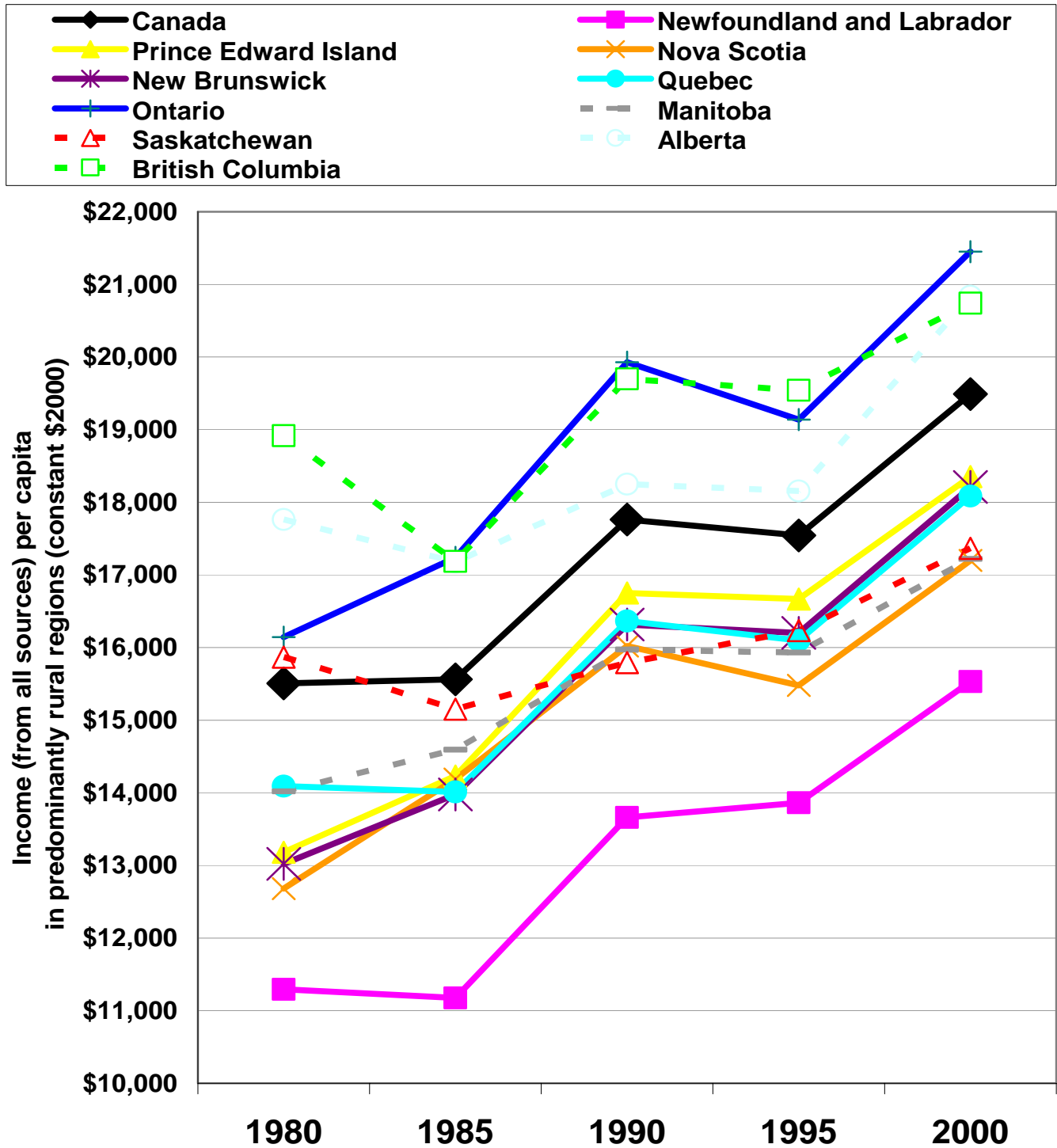
The rural-urban income disparity is largest within Nova Scotia and Manitoba and smallest within New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador.

The rural-urban income gap has declined in six provinces. The gap increased in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Saskatchewan. For Canada as a whole, the rural-urban gap also slightly widened between 1980 and 2000.

The share of the rural population with low incomes has declined, relative to the share of urban population with low incomes (due largely to an increase in the incidence of low incomes in urban regions).

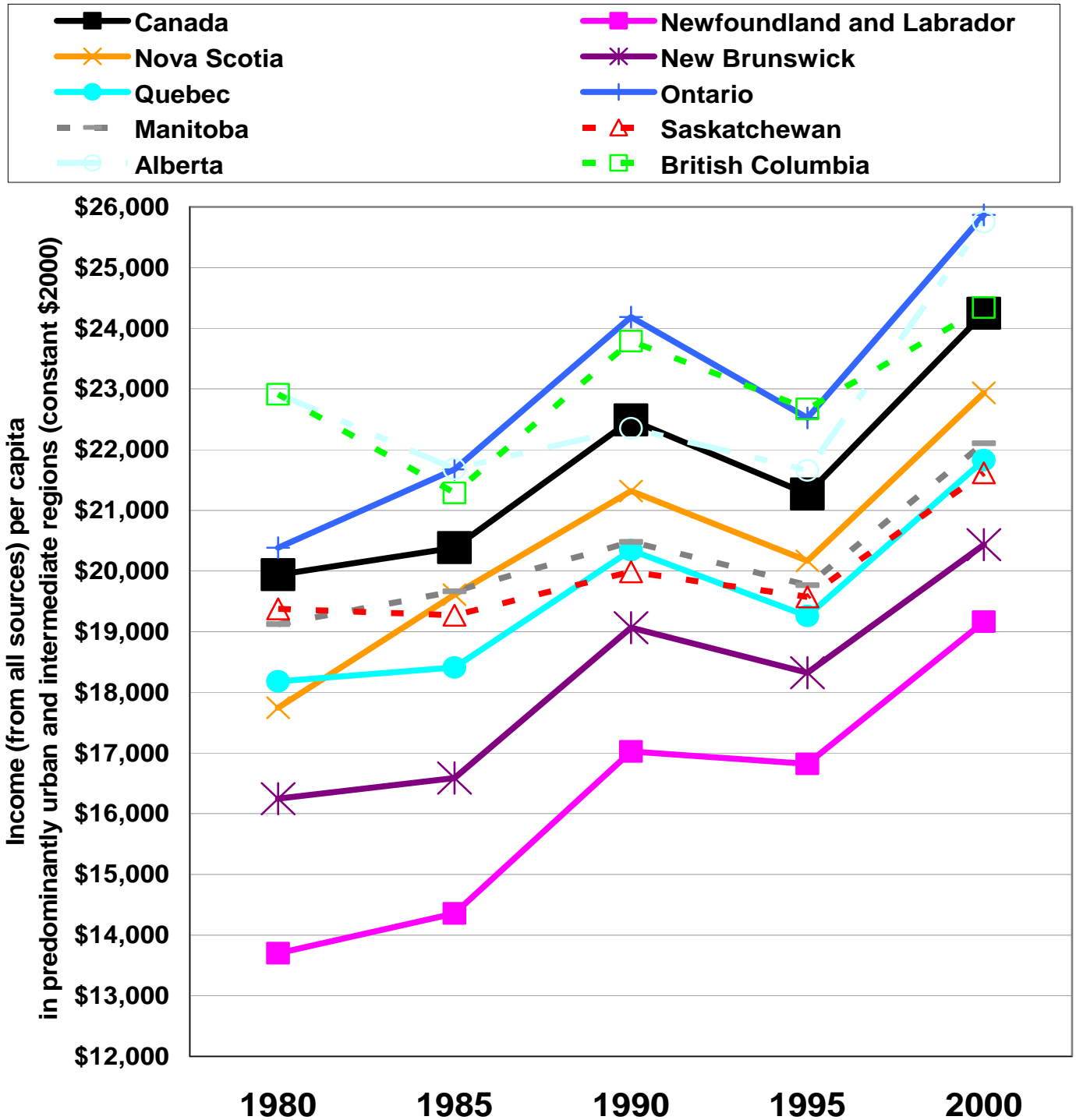
Thus, rural income disparities are decreasing within most provinces because the rural-urban income gap is decreasing and because the incidence of low incomes in rural regions is declining, relatively.

Figure 1 Rural per capita income shows a consistent pattern across the provinces over time



Note: All of Prince Edward Island is designated as a predominantly rural region.
Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 2001.

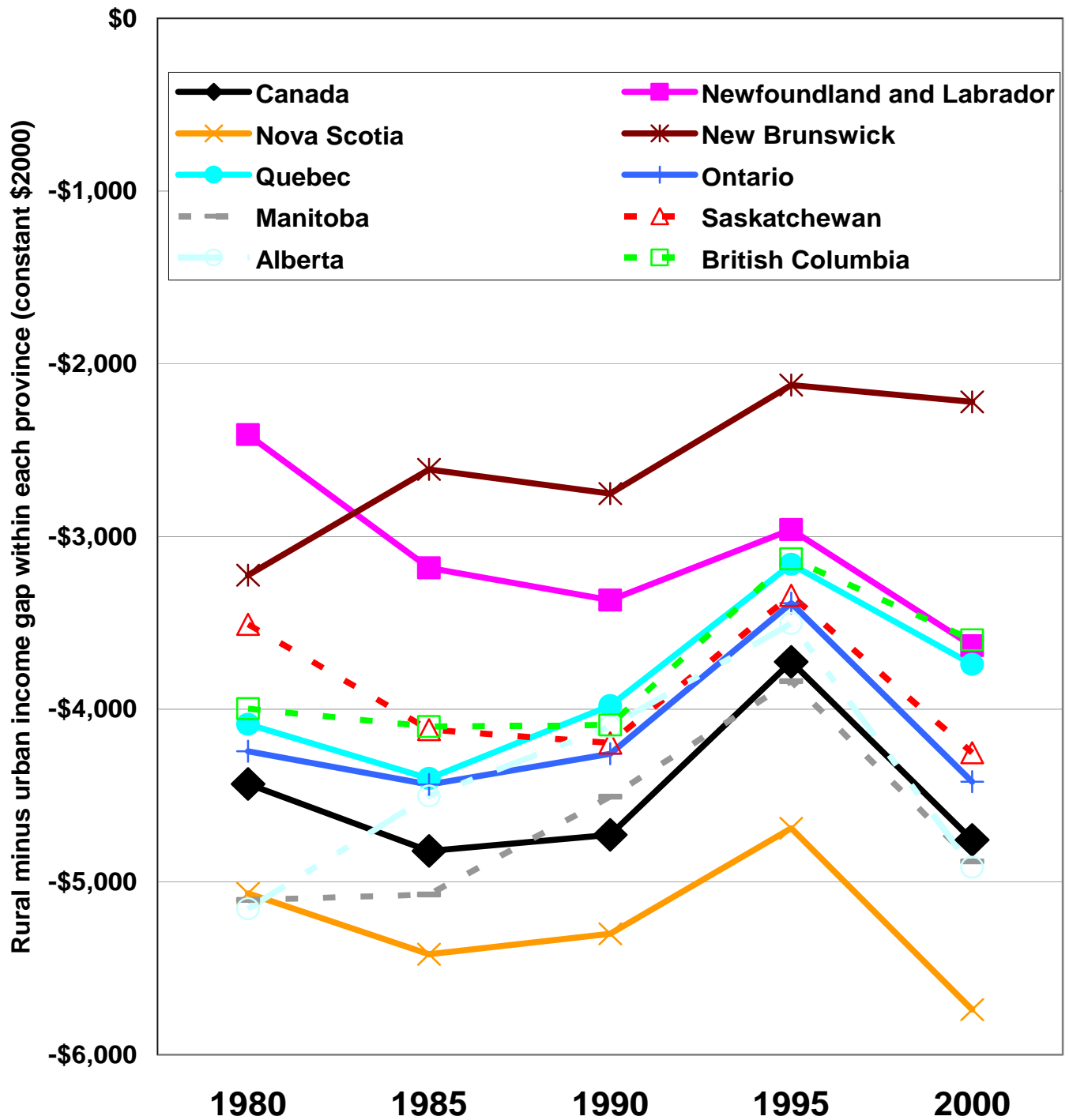
Figure 2 Urban per capita income shows a consistent pattern across the provinces over time



Note: All of Prince Edward Island is designated as a predominantly rural region.
Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 2001.

Figure 3

Consistent pattern (New Brunswick-small, Nova Scotia-large) of rural-urban income gap in per capita income within each province over time

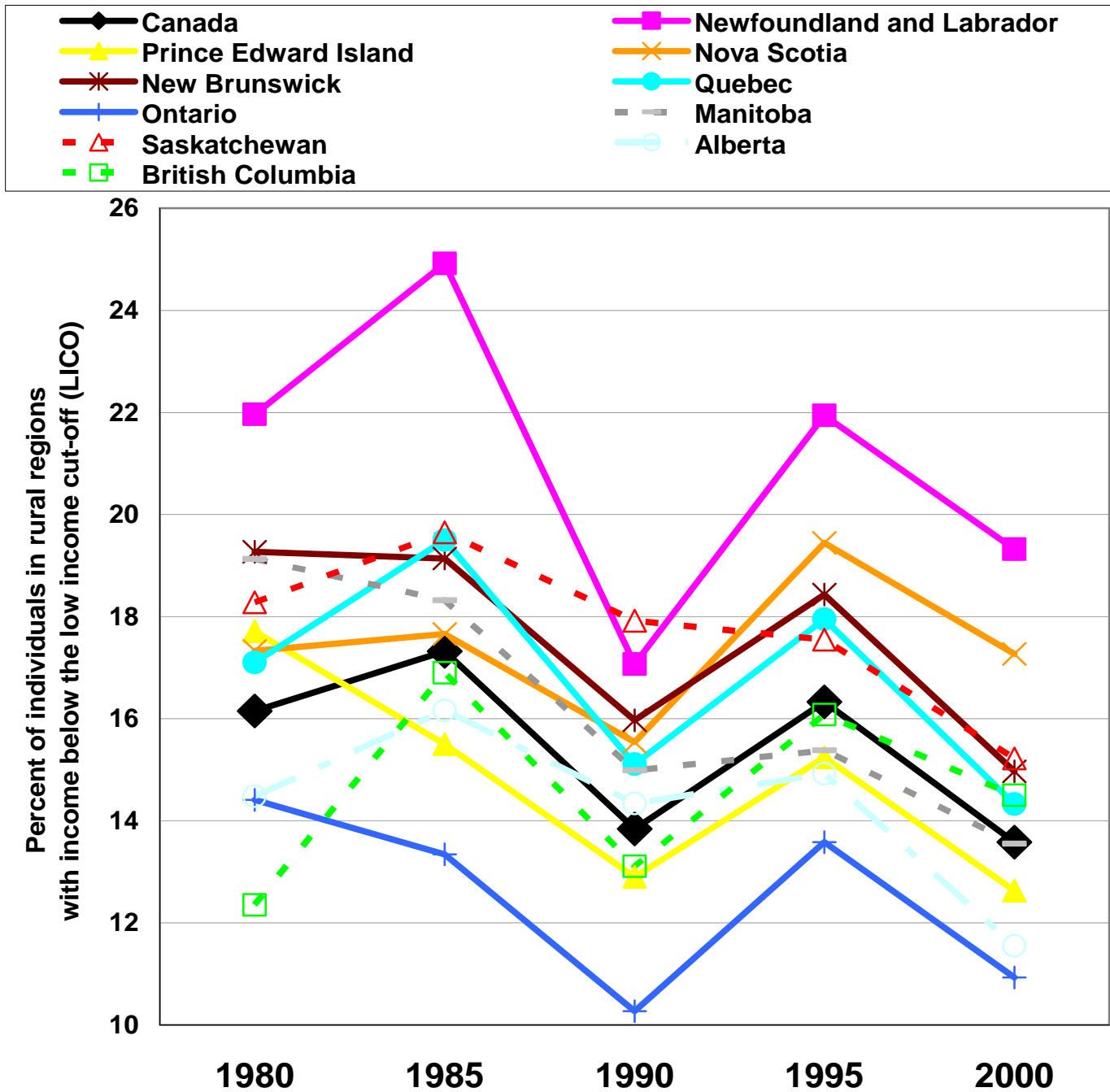


Note: All of Prince Edward Island is designated as a predominantly rural region.

Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 2001.

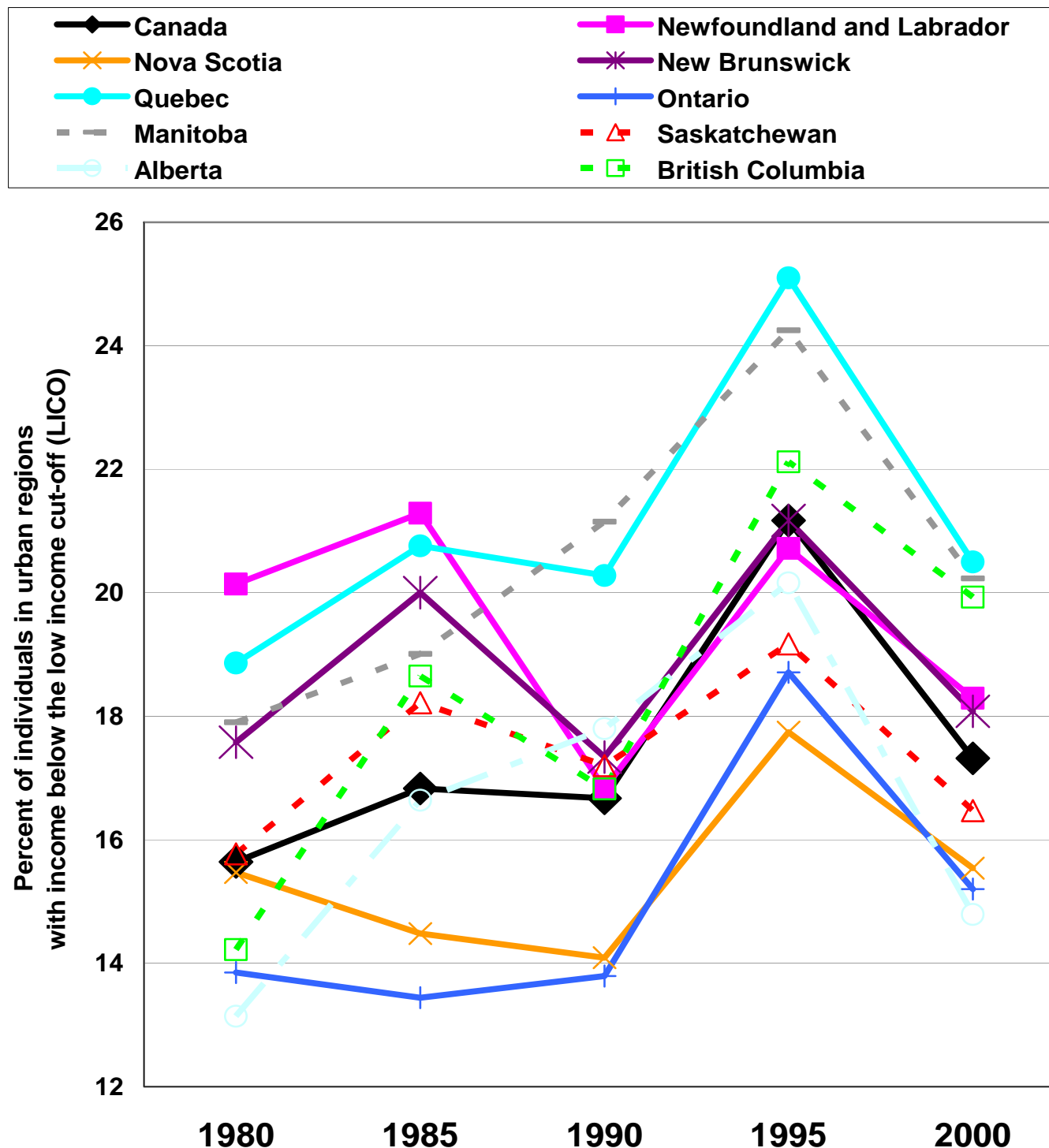
Figure 4

Consistent pattern (Newfoundland and Labrador-high, Ontario-low) of incidence of low income in rural regions within each province over time



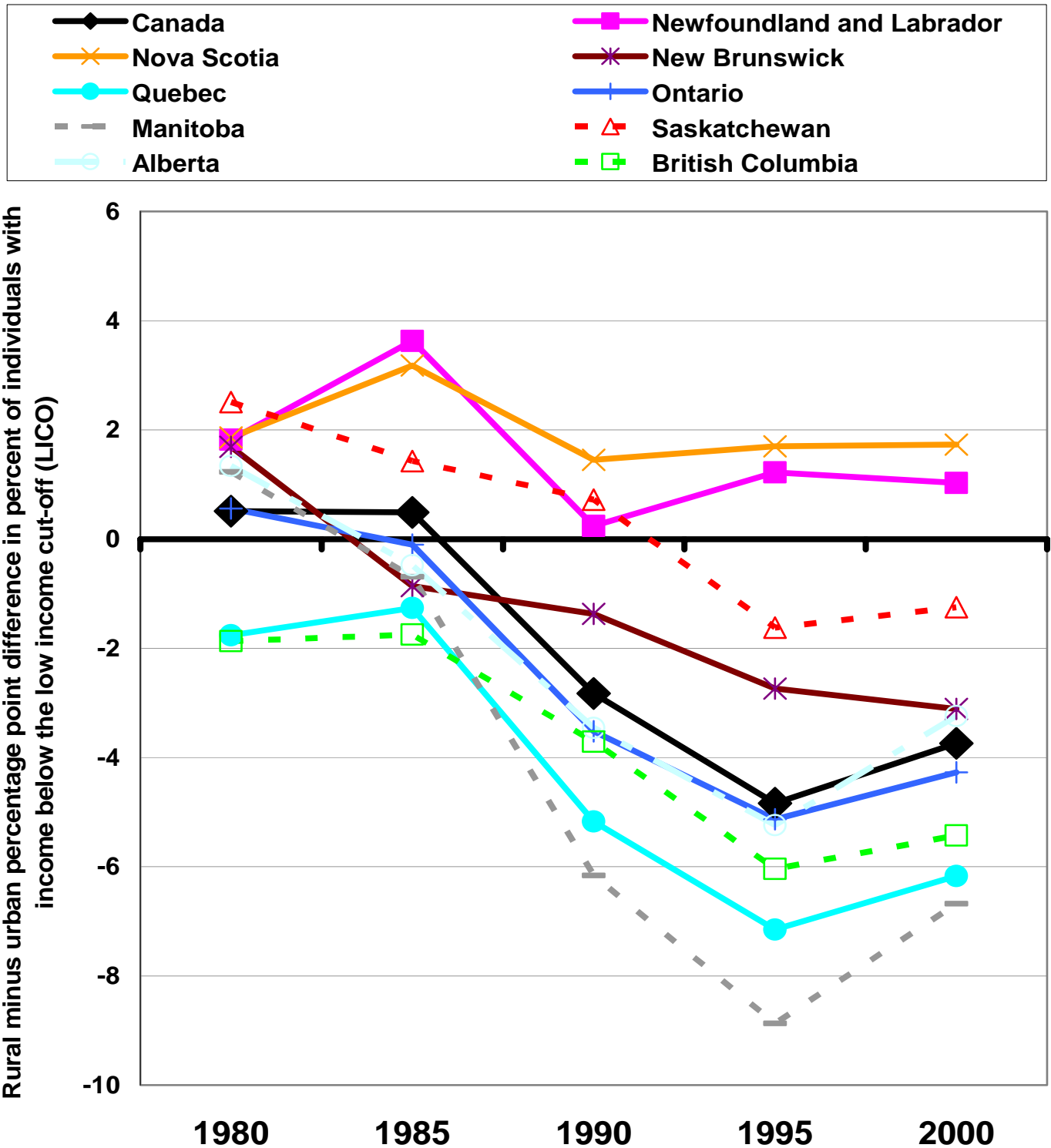
Note: All of Prince Edward Island is designated as a predominantly rural region.
Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 2001.

Figure 5 **Incidence of urban low income**
increased to 1995 and declined to 2000



Note: All of Prince Edward Island is designated as a predominantly rural region.
Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 2001.

Figure 6 Incidence of low income in rural regions, relative to urban regions, decreased in each province



Note: All of Prince Edward Island is designated as a predominantly rural region.
Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981 - 2001.

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Vik Singh is an analyst in the Culture, Tourism and Centre for Education Statistics Division, Statistics Canada. He prepared this bulletin when he worked in the research and rural data section, Agriculture Division, Statistics Canada.

Appendix Table 1: Per capita income in rural and urban regions, Canada and Provinces, 1980 - 2000

Predominantly rural regions in:	Per capita income (constant \$2000)							Income growth / decline over time					
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Average 1980 to 2000	Above the Canadian rural average?	Annualized rate of income growth 1980 to 2000	Percent change over period				
									Over 5 years				Over 20 years
									1980 to 1985	1985 to 1990	1990 to 1995	1995 to 2000	1980 to 2000
Canada	15,507	15,561	17,764	17,543	19,491	17,173		5.9	0.4	14.2	-1.2	11.1	25.7
Newfoundland and Labrador	11,292	11,173	13,659	13,860	15,529	13,103	No	8.3	-1.1	22.2	1.5	12.0	37.5
Prince Edward Island	13,182	14,229	16,752	16,668	18,353	15,837	No	8.6	7.9	17.7	-0.5	10.1	39.2
Nova Scotia	12,681	14,190	16,020	15,479	17,199	15,114	No	7.9	11.9	12.9	-3.4	11.1	35.6
New Brunswick	13,022	13,977	16,316	16,201	18,212	15,546	No	8.7	7.3	16.7	-0.7	12.4	39.8
Quebec	14,091	14,011	16,364	16,098	18,086	15,730	No	6.4	-0.6	16.8	-1.6	12.3	28.3
Ontario	16,143	17,241	19,928	19,138	21,450	18,780	Yes	7.4	6.8	15.6	-4.0	12.1	32.9
Manitoba	14,018	14,592	15,973	15,930	17,222	15,547	No	5.3	4.1	9.5	-0.3	8.1	22.9
Saskatchewan	15,868	15,151	15,792	16,233	17,365	16,082	No	2.3	-4.5	4.2	2.8	7.0	9.4
Alberta	17,763	17,179	18,251	18,154	20,835	18,436	Yes	4.1	-3.3	6.2	-0.5	14.8	17.3
British Columbia	18,917	17,184	19,697	19,542	20,742	19,216	Yes	2.3	-9.2	14.6	-0.8	6.1	9.6

Predominantly urban and intermediate regions in:	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Average 1980-2000	Above the Canadian urban average?	1980 to 2000	1980 to 1985	1985 to 1990	1990 to 1995	1995 to 2000	1980 to 2000
Newfoundland and Labrador	13,702	14,355	17,027	16,821	19,162	16,213	No	8.7	4.8	18.6	-1.2	13.9	39.9
Prince Edward Island	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nova Scotia	17,746	19,609	21,320	20,168	22,938	20,356	No	6.6	10.5	8.7	-5.4	13.7	29.3
New Brunswick	16,246	16,589	19,067	18,325	20,432	18,132	No	5.9	2.1	14.9	-3.9	11.5	25.8
Quebec	18,179	18,412	20,342	19,258	21,827	19,604	No	4.7	1.3	10.5	-5.3	13.3	20.1
Ontario	20,386	21,676	24,185	22,523	25,870	22,928	Yes	6.1	6.3	11.6	-6.9	14.9	26.9
Manitoba	19,122	19,664	20,479	19,768	22,104	20,227	No	3.7	2.8	4.1	-3.5	11.8	15.6
Saskatchewan	19,377	19,269	19,988	19,573	21,616	19,965	No	2.8	-0.6	3.7	-2.1	10.4	11.6
Alberta	22,919	21,681	22,350	21,657	25,750	22,872	Yes	3.0	-5.4	3.1	-3.1	18.9	12.4
British Columbia	22,913	21,285	23,788	22,671	24,341	22,999	Yes	1.5	-7.1	11.8	-4.7	7.4	6.2

	Rural-urban income gap (constant \$2000)							Change in rural-urban income gap (constant \$2000)				
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Average 1980-2000	Above the Canadian average?	1980 to 1985	1985 to 1990	1990 to 1995	1995 to 2000	1980 to 2000
Canada	-4,433	-4,821	-4,728	-3,725	-4,757	-4,493		-389	94	1,002	-1,032	-324
Newfoundland and Labrador	-2,409	-3,181	-3,368	-2,960	-3,633	-3,110	No	-772	-187	408	-673	-1,223
Prince Edward Island	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nova Scotia	-5,065	-5,419	-5,300	-4,689	-5,739	-5,242	Yes	-354	119	611	-1,049	-674
New Brunswick	-3,224	-2,612	-2,751	-2,123	-2,220	-2,586	No	612	-139	628	-97	1,003
Quebec	-4,088	-4,401	-3,979	-3,160	-3,741	-3,874	No	-313	422	818	-580	347
Ontario	-4,243	-4,435	-4,257	-3,386	-4,420	-4,148	No	-192	177	872	-1,034	-177
Manitoba	-5,104	-5,073	-4,507	-3,837	-4,882	-4,680	Yes	32	566	669	-1,044	222
Saskatchewan	-3,509	-4,118	-4,195	-3,340	-4,251	-3,883	No	-609	-77	855	-911	-743
Alberta	-5,156	-4,502	-4,100	-3,503	-4,916	-4,435	No	654	403	596	-1,412	241
British Columbia	-3,996	-4,101	-4,091	-3,129	-3,599	-3,783	No	-104	10	962	-470	397

Notes:

1: A negative change in the rural - urban income gap means that the gap increased.

2: Average is (1980 + 1985 + 1990 + 1995 + 2000) / 5.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 to 2001.

Appendix Table 2: Incidence of low income in rural and urban regions, Canada and Provinces, 1980 - 2000

	Percent of individuals living below the low income cut-off						Above the Canadian rural average?	Percentage point change in percent of individuals living below the LICO				
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Average		1980 to 1985	1985 to 1990	1990 to 1995	1995 to 2000	1980 to 2000
Predominantly rural regions in:												
Canada	16.2	17.3	13.8	16.3	13.6	15.4		1	-3	2	-3	-3
Newfoundland and Labrador	22.0	24.9	17.1	21.9	19.3	21.0	Yes	3	-8	5	-3	-3
Prince Edward Island	17.7	15.5	12.9	15.2	12.6	14.8	No	-2	-3	2	-3	-5
Nova Scotia	17.3	17.7	15.5	19.4	17.3	17.4	Yes	0	-2	4	-2	0
New Brunswick	19.3	19.1	16.0	18.4	15.0	17.6	Yes	0	-3	2	-3	-4
Quebec	17.1	19.5	15.1	18.0	14.3	16.8	Yes	2	-4	3	-4	-3
Ontario	14.4	13.3	10.3	13.6	10.9	12.5	No	-1	-3	3	-3	-3
Manitoba	19.1	18.3	15.0	15.4	13.6	16.3	Yes	-1	-3	0	-2	-6
Saskatchewan	18.3	19.7	17.9	17.6	15.2	17.7	Yes	1	-2	0	-2	-3
Alberta	14.5	16.2	14.3	14.9	11.6	14.3	No	2	-2	1	-3	-3
British Columbia	12.4	16.9	13.1	16.1	14.5	14.6	No	5	-4	3	-2	2
Predominantly urban and intermediate regions in:												
Canada	15.6	16.8	16.7	21.2	17.3	17.5		1	0	5	-4	2
Newfoundland and Labrador	20.1	21.3	16.8	20.7	18.3	19.5	Yes	1	-4	4	-2	-2
Prince Edward Island	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nova Scotia	15.5	14.5	14.1	17.7	15.5	15.5	No	-1	0	4	-2	0
New Brunswick	17.6	20.0	17.3	21.2	18.1	18.8	Yes	2	-3	4	-3	1
Quebec	18.9	20.8	20.3	25.1	20.5	21.1	Yes	2	0	5	-5	2
Ontario	13.9	13.4	13.8	18.7	15.2	15.0	No	0	0	5	-4	1
Manitoba	17.9	19.0	21.2	24.3	20.2	20.5	Yes	1	2	3	-4	2
Saskatchewan	15.8	18.2	17.2	19.2	16.5	17.4	--	2	-1	2	-3	1
Alberta	13.1	16.6	17.8	20.2	14.8	16.5	No	4	1	2	-5	2
British Columbia	14.2	18.7	16.8	22.1	19.9	18.3	Yes	4	-2	5	-2	6
	Rural minus urban percentage point difference in incidence of low income											
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Average						
Canada	0.5	0.5	-2.8	-4.8	-3.7	-2.1						
Newfoundland and Labrador	1.8	3.6	0.2	1.2	1.0	1.6						
Prince Edward Island	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nova Scotia	1.9	3.2	1.5	1.7	1.7	2.0						
New Brunswick	1.7	-0.9	-1.4	-2.7	-3.1	-1.3						
Quebec	-1.8	-1.3	-5.2	-7.2	-6.2	-4.3						
Ontario	0.6	-0.1	-3.5	-5.1	-4.3	-2.5						
Manitoba	1.2	-0.7	-6.2	-8.9	-6.7	-4.2						
Saskatchewan	2.5	1.4	0.7	-1.6	-1.3	0.4						
Alberta	1.3	-0.5	-3.5	-5.2	-3.2	-2.2						
British Columbia	-1.9	-1.8	-3.7	-6.0	-5.4	-3.8						

Notes:

1: The incidence of low income is the percent of individuals living below the low income cut-off (LICO).

2: Average is (1980 + 1985 + 1990 + 1995 + 2000) / 5.

3: "... " not applicable (all of Prince Edward Island is designated as "predominantly rural").

Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001.

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