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Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada

1995

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Statistics Canada
Demography Division

Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada

1995

Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger
with the collaboration of Gordon Smith

Jean Dumas
Editor-in-Chief

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Symbols

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... figures not appropriate or not applicable.
- nil or zero.
- - amount too small to be expressed.

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Preface

Once again, Statistics Canada presents its annual stock-taking of what has contributed to the changing picture of the nation's population. This report provides an account of emerging trends and analyzes the behaviour explaining the growth of the population and the changes in its structure and distribution. It also compares the Canadian demographic situation with that of other major western countries.

On previous occasions, analysts have presented a comparison with the population of a country whose demographic evolution was of concern to Canada: the United States in 1990 and Mexico in 1993. This year, they have applied themselves to an examination of the similarities and differences between the populations of the two most populous provinces of this country, attempting to show how each has evolved to its current situation.

Ivan P. FELLEGI

Chief Statistician of Canada

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Highlights

PART I

- The population of Canada on January 1, 1995, was estimated at 29,413,100, for an increase during 1994 of only 304,800 people. The resulting growth rate of 1.04% is the lowest since 1985, when international immigration was particularly low.

- The rate of natural increase in 1994 was less than 6.0 per 1,000 for the first time since 1945. Continuing decline can be expected, as the aging of the population pushes the death rate ever higher and the arrival of the small baby-bust cohorts at the ages of highest fertility results in a decrease in the birth rate, unless there is a unlikely increase at the moment in fertility.

- In 1994, mainly as the result of internal migration, the population of British Colombia increased by 2.5%, a rate twice as high as that of the country as a whole. Newfoundland, on the other hand, lost 4,200 residents and thus had a negative growth rate of 0.7%. At the same time, in terms of numbers, Ontario is still in first place with 131,300.

xxx

- In 1993, there were only 159,316 marriages. The decrease of 16% since 1989 is the end result of four consecutive years of decline that affected both first marriages and remarriages.

- Not only does the smaller number of marriages tend to take place later, they are also increasingly less likely to last. Although the total divorce rate has been stable at 3,800 per 10,000 marriages since 1990, the tendency of divorces to be concentrated at short marriage durations continues: 31% of those divorced in 1993 had been married for no more than 5 years, while this proportion stood at 29% in 1990 and 24% in 1980.

xxx

- In 1993, 10,248 fewer births than the previous year brought the number of births down to 388,394. This is a decline of 2.6%, the greatest since 1972. This decrease reduced the 1993 crude birth rate to 13.2 per 1,000, the lowest ever recorded in Canada.

- The decrease in number of births is greatest in Quebec (3,755, or 3.9%), but the reduction in proportion is greater in Newfoundland (-7.2%), Prince Edward Island (-5.2%), Saskatchewan (-4.9%) and Alberta (-4.2%).

- The decline in the birth rate is not due simply to an unfavourable age structure, since it is accompanied by a decrease in total fertility rates. The rate for Canada as a whole fell from 1.69 to 1.66 children per woman, a reduction of 1.8%. It is down in all provinces except Manitoba, where a marginal increase was observed. The Newfoundland rate, at 1.31 children per woman, is the lowest ever recorded in a Canadian province; however much lower levels have been recorded in Spain (1.22), Italy (1.19) and East Germany (0.77).
- Age at maternity is increasing. In 1971, only one first birth out of 15 was to a mother aged 30 or over; today the proportion is over a quarter. The increase in average age of mothers at child-birth is particularly significant for the first two children, rising from 23.9 to 26.2 for the first child and 26.5 to 28.7 for the second. On average, women today give birth to their first child at the age when their mothers were having their second.

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- In 1993, the number of deaths in Canada was 204,912, an increase of 8,377 deaths over the previous year, or 4.3%. Although this extraordinary increase is the greatest since the Second World War, it appears to be a one-time phenomenon, and thus does not permit the conclusion that mortality trends are changing. This unexpected increase brought only a temporary slowdown in the fight against death as expressed by gains in life expectancy at birth. This index continues to increase and, in 1993, stood at 75 years for men and 81 for women.
- The number of deaths attributable to HIV was 1,564 in 1993, up 15% from the previous year. Despite its proximity to the United States, where the incidence and prevalence of this disease are the highest of all western countries, Canada is much less affected and its level of mortality from this cause is lower than that of a good many European countries.

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- Canada welcomed 217,147 immigrants in 1994, a decrease of about 38,600 (close to 15%) from the previous year. Not all countries of origin are affected by the changes in Canada's immigration levels. The numbers and proportions of immigrants from the four principal source countries increased: Hong Kong (33,107), China (22,852), the Philippines (18,636) and India (17,928). These immigrants represented 43% of the total in 1994, while in 1993 they accounted for 35%.
- Ontario remains the preferred destination for immigrants. Over half of those who arrived in 1994 (114,100 or 52%) intended to settle there, but British Columbia also proves to be attractive, since out of the smaller number of immigrants, the number and proportion of those choosing that province increased (47,800 or 22% in 1994). The most noteworthy item is the drop in immigration to Quebec. From 44,900 in 1993, the number of new immigrants to Quebec stood at only 27,400 in 1994, a drop of 39% in a single year.

- The proportion of independent immigrants has increased considerably and in 1994 amounted to nearly half of the total (49%). Fewer immigrants claim refugee status than in the past, as the proportion dropped to 8.5%, thus falling below the 10% level for the first time since these statistics became available in 1981.

- A breakdown of immigrants by country of birth shows that those born in China are relatively older, while those born in Hong Kong are much younger (32% were under 20 and only 2% were over 65). Many of those born in China settled in Hong Kong and are now leaving that refuge for Canada before expiry of the lease with Great Britain. A large proportion of Indian-born immigrants are between 20 and 24, while immigration from the Philippines is made up mainly of young women aged 25-39.

xxx

- At 9.6 per 1,000, the internal migration rate hit a low point in 1993. The weak mobility observed in 1993 fits in with the long-term trend, but is also an indication of the extent of problems affecting the country's economy in the early 1990s.

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- Over the past two decades, the fraction of the population under 70 who are long-term residents in health-care facilities has declined, but the portion above that age has increased. Among those over 90, the proportion rose from 31% in 1971 to 46% in 1991.

PART II

- In the past 100 years, the population share of Quebec and Ontario combined has remained more or less unchanged and the two provinces still account for about two-thirds of Canada's population. The demographic weight of the eastern and western parts of the country, however, has reversed.

- An important change in the demographic evolution of the two provinces is evident in the 1971 census. For the first time, the population of Quebec at all ages was smaller than in Ontario, and the Quebec age pyramid could be entirely traced within that of Ontario.

- Prior to 1951, the Quebec population grew more rapidly than that of Ontario, due to its high birth rate. Since then, with the help of international immigration, population growth has been stronger in Ontario.

- The baby-boom phenomenon was felt more strongly in Ontario than in Quebec, since the fertility of the Ontario cohorts involved increased while it continued to decline in the Quebec cohorts.

- At the turn of the century, Quebec had 30.7% of the country's population, while in 1994, it accounted for only 24.9%. Neither the trend in immigration nor that in fertility gives any indication that Quebec can maintain its demographic weight in Confederation.

xxx

- In the past, more women in Quebec than in Ontario remained childless, but those who did not had much larger families. Today the two-child family has become the norm in both Ontario and Quebec.

- Quebec, concerned by low population growth and the aging of its population, is the only province to adopt any semblance of a population policy.

- The difference in life expectancy between Ontario and Quebec has narrowed considerably since 1926, but although the value is now the same for women in both provinces, it is still about a year higher for Ontario men.

xxx

- Notwithstanding constant and substantial migration, the composition of Quebec's population by place of birth has changed relatively little during this century. It has always been more uniform than that of Ontario and remains so. In 1901, 93% of the Quebec population was born in the province; nearly a century later, this has only decreased to 87%. During the same period, the population of Ontario has changed more significantly, as the proportion of those born in the province has dropped from 81% to 63%.

- In 1991, nearly one Ontario resident out of four was not born in Canada, while only one Quebec resident out of twelve was not born in the country.

- Since the turn of the century, people born outside Canada have never formed more than 10% of the population of Quebec, while this fraction has almost always been greater than 15% in Ontario, and in 1991 it even reached 24%.

- From 1960 to 1993, Quebec received only 850,000 international immigrants, while Ontario received 2.5 million.

- Forty years of population exchanges between Quebec and Ontario have resulted in a net loss of some 470,000 residents for Quebec.

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- Living along is more common and is growing more rapidly in Quebec. More and more never-married, widowed and divorced persons head households without a spouse, relative or child. Among those over 25, close to one person out of ten in Quebec lives alone, compared to one out of twelve in Ontario.

- Attitudes toward marriage have traditionally been different in Quebec and remain so. People have always married less and later than in Ontario, and this phenomenon has become more accentuated in recent years. Between 1976 and 1991, the crude marriage rate decreased in Ontario, from 8.4 per 1,000 to 7.4 per 1,000, but during the same period Quebec's rate fell from 8.1 to 4.2 per 1,000, a reduction of 12% in the former case and 48% in the latter. On the other hand, according to the 1990 General Social Survey, about 30% of Quebec men and women over 15 had already experienced life in a common-law union at that time, compared to only 18% of Ontario men and women.

xxx

- Between 1951 and 1991, the number of Francophones in Quebec has increased by 67%, that of Anglophones by 12% and that of people of another mother tongue by 300%. The Francophone share of the population has remained stable at 82%. Since their numbers have grown more slowly than the others, Anglophones have seen their share of the province's population decrease from 14% to 9%, while that of persons speaking another mother tongue has increased from 4% to 9%.

- The number of Francophones in Ontario has increased more than the number of Anglophones in Quebec; however, their share of the total population of that province has fallen from 7% to 5%.

- Between 1951 and 1991, people whose mother tongue is neither of Canada's two official languages have increased fourfold in both Quebec and Ontario.

- In 1991, 43% of Ontarians whose mother tongue was neither French nor English spoke one of Canada's official languages at home. In Quebec, people in this category have a greater tendency to keep their mother tongue as the language of home communication since only 32% spoke English or French at home.

xxx

- Because there are major similarities between the Quebec and Ontario economies, it is not surprising to see a resemblance between the labour forces in the two provinces. Over the long term, however, slightly higher unemployment is evident in Quebec than in Ontario for both sexes, as well as a lower female participation rate in Quebec.


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Part I


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DEMOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

On January 1, 1995, the population of Canada was estimated at 29,413,100.[1] The total increase during 1994 was 304,800, for a growth rate of 10.4 per 1,000 (Tables 1A and 1B). ***This is the lowest rate on record since 1985, and results from the combination of a significant decrease in immigration*** (217,300 immigrants in 1994 compared to 255,700 in 1993) ***and the decline in natural increase that began in 1990***. Despite the slowing down of arrivals, net international immigration (172,000) contributed scarcely less to population growth than did natural increase (174,800).

The brief upswing in natural increase around 1990 now appears to have been merely a passing fluctuation in the persistent downward trend in this rate (Figure 1). In future, population aging will continue to push the crude death rate up. At the same time, the arrival of smaller cohorts at childbearing ages will cause a slump in the birth rate, unless there is a substantial increase in fertility, which is quite unlikely. Hence, ***the rate of natural increase, which dropped below 6.0 per 1,000 in 1994 for the first time since 1945, can be expected to continue to fall***. As for the number of immigrants, it essentially depends on government decisions which are impossible to predict in the long term. Current plans would see immigration in the next few years remain below the levels of the first years of the decade; the plan announced by the government for 1996 foresees between 195,000 and 220,000 entrants, i.e., 171,000 to 187,700 immigrants and 24,000 to 32,300 refugees.[2]

Population growth was down in all provinces except Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Table A1, Appendix). Three provinces, Prince Edward Island, Ontario and British Columbia, had higher growth rates than the Canadian average. ***For the second time, in 1994, the population of British Columbia increased at a rate more than twice as high as the national average (25.2 per 1,000)***. At that rate, the population of this province would double every 28 years, which seems possible assuming that the average annual growth rate of the past decade, 22.5 per 1,000, continues. ***In actual figures, Ontario is nevertheless in front with an increase of 131,300, well ahead of British Columbia with 92,700***. Internal migration was a major factor in population increase in the latter, while Ontario owes its strong growth to its traditional attraction for international immigrants (see Part 2 of this report). The interprovincial migration balance was 38,300 for British Columbia and almost nil for

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the figures used in the 1995 accounts are those that were available on September 18, 1995.

[2] Very frequently in the past it has proved impossible, for various reasons, to attain the objectives.

Table 1A. Statement of Population Change, Canada, 1973-1995

Year	Population as of January 1	Total Growth (1)	Births (2)	Deaths (3)	Natural Growth (4) = (2) - (3)	Inter-national Immigrants[1] (5)	Returning Canadians (6)	Inter-national Emigrants[2] (7)	Net			Residual[4]
									Statistical International Migration[3] (8) = (5) - (7)	Non-permanent Residents (9)	Growth by Flow (10) = (6) + (9) + (8)	
	(in thousands)											
1973	22,414.5	303.7	343.4	164.0	179.3	184.2	37.8	78.5	105.7	7.9	151.4	-27.1
1974	22,718.2	326.3	345.6	166.8	178.9	218.5	36.0	78.0	140.4	-2.0	174.5	-27.1
1975	23,044.4	326.6	359.3	167.2	192.1	187.9	36.4	70.7	117.2	7.9	161.5	-27.1
1976	23,371.0	289.7	360.0	167.0	193.0	149.4	36.1	64.4	85.1	-3.0	118.2	-21.5
1977	23,660.7	261.0	362.2	167.5	194.7	114.9	32.3	61.4	53.5	-2.0	83.8	-17.5
1978	23,921.7	224.4	358.4	168.2	190.2	86.3	31.8	63.5	22.8	-3.0	51.7	-17.5
1979	24,146.1	275.9	366.1	168.2	197.9	112.1	30.3	54.7	57.3	7.9	95.5	-17.5
1980	24,422.1	322.1	370.7	171.5	199.2	143.1	27.6	45.2	97.9	14.9	140.4	-17.5
1981	24,744.2	317.7	371.3	171.0	200.3	128.6	25.4	50.1	78.6	30.3	134.3	-16.9
1982	25,061.8	268.5	373.1	174.4	198.7	121.1	28.3	59.4	61.7	-3.7	86.4	-16.6
1983	25,330.3	244.4	373.7	174.5	199.2	89.2	26.8	58.6	30.6	4.4	61.7	-16.6
1984	25,574.7	243.6	377.0	175.7	201.3	88.2	26.2	55.2	33.0	-0.3	58.8	-16.6
1985	25,818.3	246.3	375.7	181.3	194.4	84.3	27.3	54.2	30.1	11.0	68.4	-16.6
1986	26,064.5	297.1	372.9	184.2	188.7	99.2	25.4	49.1	50.1	46.5	122.1	-13.6
1987	26,361.7	346.1	369.7	185.0	184.8	152.1	24.2	44.3	107.8	40.9	172.9	-11.5
1988	26,707.8	428.9	376.8	190.0	186.8	161.9	21.5	38.7	123.2	108.9	253.6	-11.5
1989	27,136.7	429.9	392.7	191.0	201.7	192.0	21.1	40.7	151.3	67.4	239.7	-11.5
1990	27,566.6	385.1	405.5	192.0	213.5	214.2	19.4	39.6	174.6	-11.0	183.1	-11.5
1991	27,951.6	366.0	402.5	195.6	207.0	230.8	22.7	48.0	182.8	-41.6	163.9	-4.8
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	423.0	398.6	196.5	202.1	252.8	22.9	44.6	208.3	-10.2	220.9	...
1993 (PD)	28,740.7	367.6	388.4	204.9	183.5	255.7	22.3	44.5	211.3	-49.9	183.8	...
1994 (PR)	29,108.3	**304.8**	386.4	211.5	**174.8**	**217.3**	22.6	45.4	172.0	-64.6	130.0	...
1995 (PR)	29,413.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

See notes at the end of Table 1B.

Table 1B. Main Rates of the Demographic Accounts, Canada, 1973-1995

Year	Population as of January 1 (in thousands)	Total Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rate of Natural Increase	Net Rate of International Migration[1, 2]	Rate of Growth by Flow[5]
		(per 1,000)					
1973	22,414.5	13.46	15.22	7.27	7.95	4.68	5.51
1974	22,718.2	14.26	15.11	7.29	7.82	6.14	6.44
1975	23,044.4	14.07	15.48	7.20	8.28	5.05	5.79
1976	23,371.0	12.32	15.31	7.10	8.21	3.62	4.11
1977	23,660.7	10.97	15.22	7.04	8.18	2.25	2.79
1978	23,921.7	9.34	14.91	7.00	7.92	0.95	1.42
1979	24,146.1	11.36	15.07	6.93	8.15	2.36	3.21
1980	24,422.1	13.10	15.08	6.98	8.10	3.98	5.00
1981	24,744.2	12.76	14.91	6.87	8.04	3.15	4.71
1982	25,061.8	10.66	14.81	6.92	7.88	2.45	2.77
1983	25,330.3	9.60	14.68	6.86	7.83	1.20	1.77
1984	25,574.7	9.48	14.67	6.84	7.83	1.28	1.65
1985	25,818.3	9.49	14.48	6.99	7.49	1.16	2.00
1986	26,064.5	11.34	14.23	7.03	7.20	1.91	4.14
1987	26,361.7	13.05	13.93	6.97	6.96	4.06	6.08
1988	26,707.8	15.93	14.00	7.06	6.94	4.58	8.99
1989	27,136.7	15.72	14.36	6.98	7.37	5.53	8.34
1990	27,566.6	13.87	14.61	6.92	7.69	6.29	6.18
1991	27,951.6	13.01	14.31	6.95	7.36	6.50	5.65
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	14.83	13.97	6.89	7.08	7.30	7.74
1993 (PD)	28,740.7	12.71	13.43	7.08	6.34	7.30	6.37
1994 (PR)	29,108.3	10.42	13.20	7.23	**5.97**	5.88	4.44
1995 (PR)	29,413.1	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] Based on Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

[2] Estimated using Family Allowance and Income Tax files.

[3] Emigrants subtracted from immigrants. It is statistical because landed immigrants in one year could have been in the country a year earlier or more, when they were counted in the non-permanent residents category.

[4] The residual consists of the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period, which is equal to the difference between the census count predicted by the components method and the actual count corrected for net undercoverage. This "error" combines errors on the components, on the net undercoverage of the censuses and differences between concepts used by the Census and administrative files.

[5] Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

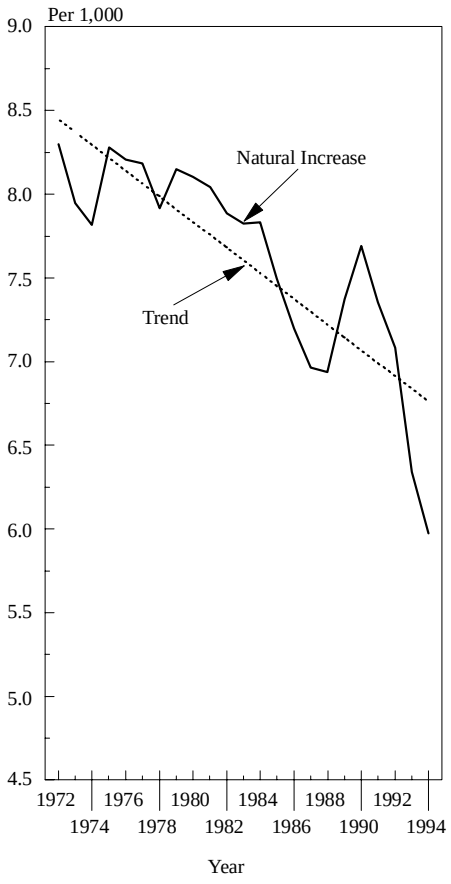
(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

Note: All other data are from final intercensal estimates. Calculations were carried out on unrounded numbers.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Figure 1. Evolution of the Rate of Natural Increase and Recent Trend, Canada, 1972-1994



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Ontario but, although the positive balance of 41,300 international immigrants was the highest ever recorded in British Columbia, it represents only 44% of that of Ontario (93,900). It should be noted that, ***despite the significant decrease in immigration levels in 1994, British Columbia's balance continued to increase while that of Ontario was down 18% and that of Quebec 45%***.

At the other end of the country, ***Newfoundland's population declined for the second year in a row***. The loss of 4,200 people led to a negative growth rate of -7.2 per 1,000. ***The low fertility rate of this province's women (1.31 children per woman), the lowest ever recorded in a Canadian province***, was partly responsible for this loss, but the leading factor was the interprovincial emigration rate (27.4 per 1,000). There is no indication that there will be a marked reversal of this trend in the foreseeable future. This province's economy has been severely affected by problems in the Atlantic fishery, resulting in high levels of unemployment (20.4% in 1994, or almost double the Canadian average of 10.4%).

Limitations of Demographic Accounts

No country can boast that it is able to record all demographic events experienced by its population, but Canada is certainly one of the most vigilant. Two phenomena are well known and closely monitored: late reporting for various reasons, suggesting that some events, probably very few, are never recorded, and double counting. It is up to provincial vital statistics authorities

Table 2. Total Late-Reported Births and Deaths, Provinces and Territories, Canada, 1981-1991

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yuk.	N.W.T.	Canada
	Births												
1981	665	-	464	1	..	344	77	353	17	340	1	6	2,268
1982	578	-	395	34	167	478	17	323	60	304	1	27	2,384
1983	738	-	443	1	37	395	18	332	9	249	-	21	2,243
1984	603	-	442	13	76	382	30	272	4	69	1	25	1,917
1985	1,193	-	386	23	-	611	25	299	5	46	2	17	2,607
1986	694	-	400	19	32	372	23	251	21	34	-	13	1,859
1987	476	-	315	49	136	608	30	259	3	94	-	14	1,984
1988	1,028	-	271	29	61	1,581	29	224	-	166	1	28	3,418
1989	436	-	191	18	72	1,023	28	219	11	113	-	33	2,144
1990	131	-	135	19	-	1,629	29	184	1	39	-	81	2,248
1991	-	-	126	12	-	1,021	24	156	6	32	2	26	1,405
	Deaths												
1981	56	-	16	20	294	40	9	14	4	50	2	6	511
1982	43	-	18	28	276	54	7	32	8	47	1	2	516
1983	20	1	8	54	311	26	4	28	-	37	-	5	494
1984	85	-	21	75	289	17	6	11	-	5	-	6	515
1985	348	-	4	109	-	37	1	34	2	24	-	16	575
1986	69	-	10	109	312	36	5	19	6	11	-	3	580
1987	7	-	7	109	250	80	2	39	1	14	-	6	515
1988	90	-	17	127	403	267	3	32	3	9	1	16	968
1989	19	-	2	77	63	228	1	37	3	13	1	3	447
1990	14	-	1	101	-	454	4	42	-	5	1	9	631
1991	6	-	4	133	-	136	2	43	-	3	-	17	344

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data.

to monitor and correct their records, but this is not an easy task. Table 2 shows by province the births and deaths which, as of January 1, 1995, were known to have occurred in past years but to be reported to the registrar only after the books had been closed for the year in which they took place.

For the time being at least, it does not seem necessary to adjust the demographic accounts for Canada and the provinces for past years since the numbers involved are relatively small (for births, they generally represented 0.6% of the year's total when the books were closed, or on rare occasions as much as 0.9%). These late registrations have no impact on the demographic indices already calculated. Moreover, if the principle of revision were adopted, this would mean that past years would have to be adjusted every year, since each year would reveal more previous events that had not yet been counted.

Preliminary Estimates of Population Change

There is always a considerable delay between the closing of vital statistics registries in the various provinces and the publication of statistics considered final by Statistics Canada. This in fact is true of all countries in the world, where the units responsible are known by a variety of names (department, district, etc.). However, the administrative, political and social life of a country

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994

	Year	New-foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	13.5	15.1	13.5	13.1	12.3	13.9
	1988	13.0	15.2	13.5	13.1	12.6	13.9
	1989	13.4	14.8	13.8	13.1	13.3	14.4
	1990	13.2	15.4	14.1	13.2	14.0	14.6
	1991	12.4	14.4	13.1	12.7	13.7	14.5
	1992	11.9	14.0	12.8	12.5	13.4	14.2
	1993	11.0	13.2	12.4	12.0	12.8	13.7
	1994 (P)	10.9	12.5	12.2	11.8	12.5	13.4
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987	6.3	8.6	7.9	7.4	7.0	7.0
	1988	6.2	8.6	8.2	7.4	7.0	7.1
	1989	6.4	8.3	8.3	7.5	7.0	7.0
	1990	6.7	8.7	8.1	7.3	6.9	6.9
	1991	6.5	9.1	7.9	7.3	6.9	7.0
	1992	6.5	8.5	8.2	7.5	6.8	6.9
	1993	6.7	8.6	8.1	7.7	7.2	7.0
	1994 (P)	6.9	8.9	8.2	7.8	7.4	7.1
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58
	1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59
	1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63
	1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67
	1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66
	1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67
	1993	**1.31**	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1987 M	592	668	614	589	413	619
	F	576	686	653	617	436	669
	1988 M	626	728	637	644	425	635
	F	628	739	680	675	453	690
	1989 M	664	798	640	639	424	647
	F	669	807	685	680	455	697
	1990 M	644	768	610	624	408	653
	F	658	766	649	659	459	698
	1991 M	597	717	568	574	377	606
	F	611	724	600	599	425	646
	1992 M	547	675	544	544	333	579
	F	571	688	579	573	376	623
	1993 M	531	703	532	525	**324**	553
	F	553	714	565	553	**365**	595
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1987	7.2	6.5	5.6	5.7	5.3	6.9
	1988	6.8	6.7	5.3	5.7	5.7	6.8
	1989	7.0	6.5	5.5	5.7	6.3	7.3
	1990	6.4	6.7	6.0	5.9	7.1	7.8
	1991 (PD)	5.8	5.3	5.2	5.4	6.8	7.5
	1992 (PD)	5.4	5.6	4.7	5.0	6.6	7.3
	1993 (PR)	4.3	4.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	6.7
	1994 (PR)	4.0	3.6	4.0	3.9	5.2	6.3
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	-2.1	5.8	3.5	4.2	8.7	21.3
	1988	1.5	5.8	6.4	5.5	11.2	23.8
	1989	1.2	5.8	7.2	6.6	10.5	21.6
	1990	2.6	5.8	5.9	8.0	9.9	16.0
	1991 (PD)	4.5	5.8	7.0	6.1	9.6	14.0
	1992 (PD)	4.4	5.8	7.8	4.8	10.1	16.8
	1993 (PR)	-1.8	5.8	4.7	3.6	10.2	13.9
	1994 (PR)	**-7.2**	5.8	3.9	3.6	5.6	12.0

See notes at the end of this table

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994 - Continued

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch-ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	15.4	16.5	17.2	13.6	18.5	27.4	13.9
	1988	15.4	16.3	17.1	13.7	19.6	27.6	14.0
	1989	15.7	16.3	17.3	13.6	17.5	25.7	14.4
	1990	15.7	15.9	16.8	13.8	19.8	26.8	14.6
	1991	15.5	15.2	16.4	13.5	19.6	26.8	14.3
	1992	14.8	14.9	15.9	13.3	17.8	24.9	14.0
	1993	14.9	14.1	15.0	12.9	17.0	24.5	13.4
	1994 (P)	14.7	13.8	14.7	12.8	16.4	24.2	13.2
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987	7.9	7.6	5.5	7.1	4.2	3.6	7.0
	1988	8.2	7.9	5.6	7.2	5.1	3.9	7.1
	1989	8.0	7.8	5.5	7.2	3.5	4.3	7.0
	1990	8.0	8.0	5.5	7.1	4.1	3.8	6.9
	1991	8.0	8.1	5.6	7.1	3.9	3.9	7.0
	1992	8.0	7.7	5.5	7.1	3.9	4.1	6.9
	1993	8.3	8.1	5.7	7.2	4.1	4.1	7.1
	1994 (P)	8.3	8.2	5.9	7.4	4.0	3.5	7.2
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1987	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
	1988	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
	1989	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
	1990	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
	1991	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
	1992	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.68	1.69
	1993	1.94	1.95	1.79	1.61	1.89	2.67	1.66
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1987 M	614	589	558	597	445	299	554
	F	662	632	610	638	476	345	594
	1988 M	617	600	590	633	525	302	574
	F	669	647	642	684	623	314	620
	1989 M	624	625	621	641	497	301	585
	F	679	677	665	693	558	326	630
	1990 M	637	613	625	638	518	313	582
	F	690	665	673	694	591	327	631
	1991 M	592	613	590	599	465	285	543
	F	647	651	635	651	514	308	588
	1992 M	594	601	580	592	538	270	518
	F	642	633	622	631	565	291	561
	1993 M	579	609	582	576	403	280	504
	F	625	639	620	612	465	309	544
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1987	7.5	8.9	11.8	6.5	14.3	23.9	7.0
	1988	7.2	8.4	11.4	6.5	14.5	23.7	6.9
	1989	7.7	8.6	11.8	6.5	14.0	21.4	7.4
	1990	7.7	8.0	11.3	6.7	15.7	22.9	7.7
	1991 (PD)	7.5	7.2	10.9	6.4	15.7	22.9	7.4
	1992 (PD)	6.8	7.2	10.3	6.2	13.8	20.8	7.1
	1993 (PR)	6.6	6.0	9.3	5.7	12.9	20.4	6.3
	1994 (PR)	6.3	5.6	8.8	5.4	12.3	20.7	6.0
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	4.8	-0.4	4.6	18.8	28.1	11.5	13.0
	1988	1.7	-7.9	14.3	23.6	36.0	19.6	15.9
	1989	1.3	-10.4	17.9	27.4	23.6	23.4	15.7
	1990	3.2	-8.3	20.3	26.6	22.9	31.8	13.9
	1991 (PD)	4.8	-0.8	17.3	25.1	38.8	29.4	13.0
	1992 (PD)	5.7	3.4	16.9	29.0	18.3	17.8	14.8
	1993 (PR)	5.3	2.8	12.3	26.2	-14.6	19.8	12.7
	1994 (PR)	5.4	3.0	9.6	**25.2**	2.1	16.6	10.4

See notes at the end of this table

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994 - Continued

	Year		New-foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1987		9.0	12.7	12.0	11.2	10.0	10.9
	1988		9.1	12.8	12.1	11.5	10.3	11.0
	1989		9.3	12.9	12.2	11.6	10.5	11.1
	1990		9.4	13.0	12.3	11.8	10.8	11.3
	1991 (PD)		9.6	13.1	12.4	11.9	11.0	11.5
	1992 (PD)		9.7	13.1	12.5	12.0	11.2	11.6
	1993 (PR)		9.9	13.1	12.6	12.2	11.5	11.8
	1994 (PP)		10.0	13.0	12.7	12.3	11.7	12.0
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %)[1]	1987		66.3	68.0	60.7	62.0	52.0	54.9
	1988		64.7	67.6	60.3	61.4	52.1	54.9
	1989		62.9	67.4	59.6	60.7	52.2	54.6
	1990		61.2	67.3	59.2	60.1	52.7	54.9
	1991 (PD)		59.6	67.1	58.9	59.6	53.4	55.5
	1992 (PD)		57.9	66.4	58.5	58.8	53.8	55.7
	1993 (PR)		56.3	65.4	58.0	58.0	54.0	55.9
	1994 (PP)		54.9	64.6	57.5	57.1	54.2	56.3
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986	M	72.9	72.8	72.5	72.7	72.2	73.8
		F	79.2	...[2]	79.5	80.1	79.7	80.0
	1991	M	73.7	73.2	73.7	74.3	73.8	75.0
		F	79.6	...[2]	80.3	80.9	80.9	80.9
	1992	M	74.0	73.6	74.0	74.4	74.0	75.1
		F	79.3	...[2]	80.6	80.9	81.0	81.0
	1993	M (P)	74.1	74.2	74.2	74.4	74.2	75.3
		F (P)	80.1	...[2]	80.6	80.9	81.1	81.2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987		7.6	6.6	7.4	7.0	7.1	6.6
	1988		9.3	7.1	6.5	7.2	6.5	6.6
	1989		8.2	6.2	5.8	7.1	6.8	6.8
	1990		9.2	6.0	6.3	7.2	6.2	6.3
	1991		7.8	6.9	5.7	6.1	5.9	6.3
	1992		7.1	1.6	6.0	6.3	5.4	5.9
	1993		7.8	9.1	7.1	7.2	5.7	6.2
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44)[3]	1987		3.0	-	8.1	2.0	7.1	11.9
	1988		3.0	-	8.3	2.5	7.6	12.0
	1989		3.0	-	9.3	2.8	8.2	12.8
	1990		2.9	-	8.9	2.9	8.5	12.4
	1991		2.9	-	8.2	3.2	8.7	12.4
	1992		3.0	-	8.6	3.5	9.4	11.9
	1993		3.2	-	8.9	3.5	10.0	11.9

See notes at the end of this table

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994 - Concluded

	Year		Manitoba	Saskatch-ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1987		12.6	12.8	8.3	12.2	3.8	2.9	10.7
	1988		12.8	13.0	8.5	12.4	3.7	3.0	10.9
	1989		13.0	13.4	8.6	12.5	3.8	2.8	11.0
	1990		13.1	13.7	8.8	12.6	3.8	2.7	11.2
	1991 (PD)		13.3	14.0	8.9	12.6	3.9	2.7	11.4
	1992 (PD)		13.4	14.2	9.1	12.7	3.9	2.7	11.6
	1993 (PR)		13.4	14.3	9.3	12.7	4.1	2.7	11.7
	1994 (PP)		13.5	14.4	9.5	12.6	4.4	2.7	11.9
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %)[1]	1987		64.1	70.8	56.6	57.5	49.5	67.7	56.2
	1988		64.3	71.1	56.8	57.4	48.1	67.1	56.2
	1989		64.6	71.8	56.9	57.4	47.9	66.4	56.0
	1990		65.0	72.9	57.3	57.5	47.9	65.9	56.3
	1991 (PD)		65.3	73.5	57.7	57.6	47.6	66.7	56.7
	1992 (PD)		65.2	73.4	57.9	57.3	48.3	67.3	56.8
	1993 (PR)		65.0	73.3	57.9	57.0	47.6	67.3	56.8
	1994 (PP)		64.8	73.0	57.9	56.7	47.4	67.1	56.9
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986	M	73.3	73.8	73.7	74.4	...	...	73.3
		F	80.0	80.5	80.3	80.8	...	...	80.0
	1991	M	74.6	75.3	75.1	75.2	...	...	74.6
		F	80.8	81.5	81.2	81.4	...	...	81.0
	1992	M	74.7	75.4	75.3	75.3	...	...	74.8
		F	80.8	81.7	81.1	81.5	...	...	81.0
	1993	M (P)	74.7	75.6	75.6	75.5	...	...	75.0
		F (P)	80.9	82.0	81.2	81.6	...	...	81.2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987		8.4	9.1	7.5	8.6	10.5	12.5	7.3
	1988		7.8	8.4	8.3	8.4	5.8	10.3	7.2
	1989		6.6	8.0	7.5	8.2	4.2	16.2	7.1
	1990		8.0	7.6	8.0	7.5	7.2	12.0	6.8
	1991		6.4	8.2	6.7	6.5	10.6	12.2	6.4
	1992		6.8	7.3	7.2	6.2	3.8	16.7	6.1
	1993		7.1	8.0	6.7	5.7	7.9	9.6	6.3
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44)[3]	1987		11.3	4.5	8.9	15.7	18.4	12.6	9.8
	1988		12.0	4.7	10.1	14.9	15.9	15.8	10.1
	1989		11.6	5.1	10.5	14.7	17.5	13.6	10.7
	1990		10.5	5.7	10.4	14.9	19.5	16.8	10.6
	1991		10.3	5.6	9.9	13.6	19.8	18.6	10.4
	1992		10.4	6.4	9.5	13.0	20.5	16.8	10.4
	1993		10.7	7.3	9.8	13.0	21.0	15.2	10.6

[1] Ratio between population aged 0-17, 65+ and 18-64.

[2] Because of an absence of deaths in certain age groups, the mortality table could not be calculated.

[3] Practiced in hospitals in Canada.

(P) Preliminary.

(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PP) Preliminary postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211, ***Marriages***, Catalogue No. 84-212, ***Therapeutic Abortions***, Catalogue No. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 3. Number of Deaths According to Final Estimates and Preliminary Estimates[1], Canada, 1974-1993

Year	Preliminary	Final	Difference	Difference (in %)
1974	167,408	167,107	301	0.18
1975	171,221	166,988	4,233	2.47
1976	171,385	166,606	4,779	2.79
1977	170,739	167,279	3,460	2.03
1978	171,273	168,052	3,221	1.88
1979	172,488	168,098	4,390	2.54
1980	172,535	171,372	1,163	0.67
1981	175,996	170,980	5,016	2.85
1982	175,595	174,254	1,341	0.76
1983	178,616	174,465	4,151	2.32
1984	179,210	175,682	3,528	1.97
1985	180,491	181,319	-828	-0.46
1986	185,980	184,218	1,762	0.95
1987	189,882	184,913	4,969	2.62
1988	189,822	189,980	-158	-0.08
1989	195,806	190,956	4,850	2.48
1990	196,850	191,956	4,894	2.49
1991	197,825	195,547	2,278	1.15
1992	201,420	196,535	4,885	2.43
1993	202,400	204,912	-2,512	-1.24

[1] Expected deaths method.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

cannot wait this long and the figures that most accurately reflect the current situation must be quickly available.As a result, recourse is had to preliminary estimates. A number of methods for calculating them are in current use, but none is totally satisfactory. Canada has recently opted for very short-term projections, justified on the ground that the phenomena change very slowly. Thus, to estimate the 1994 deaths shown on the second to last line of Table 1A, the death rates by age group, sex and province from 1993 were applied to the population, itself estimated, on July 1, 1994. If, as is generally the case, mortality declines slowly from year to year, the estimates of deaths will prove higher than the figures obtained when a final count is made of all certificates some 20 months later. This is what has happened almost 4 times out of 5 in the recent past, with an overestimate of up to 3% (Table 3). However, there may be problems if the death rate in a given year is exceptionally high for some reason (such as an epidemic or a particularly hard winter). Since the rates used to estimate the number of deaths in the following year have been exaggerated by the anomaly, the preliminary figures will be higher than those obtained by the actual accounting. If the 1993 death rate was exceptionally high, which is possible (see the Mortality section of this report), the 1994 estimate of deaths will also be high. The preliminary figure of 211,000 should thus be taken with even more caution than usual. At the same

time, the United States, which, like Canada, experienced an unexpected increase in mortality in 1993, shows a very slight decrease in its preliminary data for 1994.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION IN THE NEW EC

The entry of Austria, Sweden and Finland into the European Community brings the number of member states to 15. To have an idea of the overall growth of this population block, figures for all 15 countries have been combined to obtain data for previous years. Regrettably, the United Kingdom has not yet produced up-to-date statistics for 1994, which has made estimations necessary.

The national demographic indices presented here should be interpreted with caution, because they tend to obscure the often considerable diversity of the population in a great many countries. The indices are used to compare populations of very different sizes, and the larger the country, the greater the chances that the population will vary and with it its demographic behaviour. It is clear that there is no true comparison possible between countries such as Norway and the United States. In the former country, the life expectancy is that of a population very uniform in terms of ethnic origin, culture and health status, and where social organization is uniform throughout the country, while in the latter, all 50 states have different jurisdictions, differing social programs and, above all, populations with highly varied ethnic origins, customs and culture, to the point where population statistics are available by state and by racial origin. The same is true of Canada and its different provinces, Germany and its länder, Mexico and its states, etc. The advantage of national indices, however, is that they summarize a country's situation in such a way as to permit large-scale comparisons and especially comparisons over time, which is preferable to long lists of regional indices where it is difficult to determine how much detail is needed or where to stop.

Throughout the European Economic Area, the most noteworthy item for 1994 is the significant and generalized decline in international immigration (Table 4). With the exception of Sweden, Portugal and Spain, all member countries recorded much lower migratory balances than in 1993. Even in Germany, which for many years had alone accounted for half of the migratory balance of the European Community as a whole, the decrease was 28%. Italy, which in 1993 had an unexpected and substantial balance of 194,000, showed a 39% decrease, while the Netherlands, although with smaller numbers, had a 68% decline. These decreases have no source other than the clear desire of most governments to restrict immigration.

As a result, the total rate of increase, which in Europe more than in Canada depends on immigration, was down significantly except in Denmark, Portugal

Table 4. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1993 and 1994

Country	Population as of January 1			Births		Deaths		Natural Increase		Net Migration	
	1993	1994	1995	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994
	In thousands										
Belgium	10,068.3	10,101.0	10,180.0	120.0	116.4	107.0	104.9	13.0	11.5	19.0	18.4
Denmark	5,180.6	5,196.6	5,215.7	67.4	69.7	62.9	61.2	4.5	8.5	11.1	10.6
Germany	80,614.1	81,352.6	81,552.5	795.0	767.0	890.9	892.6	-95.9	-125.6	473.9	340.0
Greece	10,320.0	10,390.0	10,442.4	102.0	102.5	97.0	97.5	5.0	5.0	39.0	27.8
Spain	39,114.2	39,168.2	39,169.6	388.7	361.3	339.2	336.9	49.5	24.4	4.5 [2]	28.2
France	57,526.6 [2]	57,800.1	58,027.8	710.3	709.5	530.1	520.0	180.2	189.5	90.0	58.5
Ireland	3,556.5 [2]	3,571.0	3,576.6	48.9	48.0	31.0	30.8	17.9	17.2	-6.0	-9.6
Italy [3]	56,932.7	57,153.7	57,247.5	537.5	544.5	541.2	553.5	-3.7	-9.0	194.0	118.0
Luxemburg	395.2	400.9	406.6	5.4	5.5	3.9	3.8	1.5	1.7	4.2	4.0
Netherlands [4]	15,238.9	15,341.3	15,422.8	195.7	195.6	137.8	133.3	57.9	62.3	59.7	19.0
Austria	7,909.6	8,005.9	8,039.9	95.3	92.4	82.5	80.7	12.8	11.7	32.0 [2]	13.1
Portugal	9,850.3	9,868.0	9,912.1	114.0	109.2	106.4	99.2	7.6	10.0	0.8 [2]	14.6
Finland	5,055.0	5,077.9	5,098.8	65.0	65.2	51.0	48.0	14.0	17.2	9.1	3.6
Sweden	8,692.0	8,745.1	8,816.4	117.8	112.2	97.0	91.8	20.8	20.4	31.9	50.9
United Kingdom	57,959.0	58,276.0	..	761.7	..	657.9	..	103.8	..	73.2	..
EC members	**368,413.0**	**370,448.3**	**372,108.0** [9]	**4,124.7**	**..**	**3,735.8**	**..**	**388.9**	**..**	**1,036.4**	**..**
Iceland	262.4	..	266.9	4.6 [10]	4.4	1.7 [10]	1.8	..	2.6	-0.3 [10]	-0.8
Norway	4,299.2	4,324.8	4,384.4	59.7	60.1	46.1	44.1	13.6	16.0	12.5	7.6
Switzerland [1]	6,908.0	6,968.6	7,021.2	83.7	83.0	62.4	61.9	21.3	21.1	37.6	31.6
Leichtenstein	29.9	30.5	30.6	0.4 [10]	0.4	0.2 [10]	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2
EFTA [1]	**11,499.5**	**..**	**11,703.1**	**148.4**	**147.9**	**110.4**	**108.0**	**..**	**39.9**	**..**	**38.6**
EEA [1]	**379,912.5**	**..**	**383,811.1** [9]	**4,273.1**	**..**	**3,846.2**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**
Canada	28,740.7	29,108.3	29,413.1	388.4	386.4	204.9	211.5	183.5	174.9	211.2	171.9
United States	256,899.0	259,681.0	261,638.0	4,039.0	3,949.0	2,268.0	2,294.0	1,771.0	1,655.0	894.0	736.0
Mexico	..	89,209.8	90,812.7 [6]	2,360.8	2,306.1	453.9	417.9	1,906.9	1,888.2	-318.2	-285.3
North America	**..**	**377,999.1**	**381,863.8**	**6,788.2**	**6,641.5**	**2,926.8**	**2,923.4**	**3,861.4**	**3,718.1**	**...**	**...**
Australia	17,568.7	17,746.6	17,938.5	260.2	258.2	121.6	126.7	138.6	131.5	33.9	61.9
New Zealand	3,485.4	3,524.8	3,577.2	58.9	57.4	27.2	27.1	31.7	30.3	8.7	22.0
Japan	124,400.0	124,683.6	125,000.0	1,188.3	1,238.3	878.0	875.9	310.3	362.4	26.5 [7]	11.6 [7]

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 4. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1993 and 1994 - Continued

Country	Total Growth Rate [8] (per 1,000)		Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)		Life Expectancy [5]		Total Fertility Rate	
					Males	Females		
	1993	1994	1993	1994	1994		1993	1994
Belgium	3.2	3.0	8.0	7.6	73.0 [10]	79.8 [10]	1.61 [2]	1.55 [2]
Denmark	3.1	3.7	6.6 [10]	5.5	72.5 [10]	77.8 [10]	1.75 [2]	1.81
Germany	4.7	2.6	5.8	5.6	73.3	79.6	1.30	1.26
Greece	4.2	3.1	8.3	8.3	74.9	79.9	1.38	1.38
Spain	1.4	1.3	7.6	7.2	73.3 [10]	80.9 [10]	1.24	1.22
France	4.7	4.3	6.4	..	73.6	81.8	1.65	1.66
Ireland	3.1	2.1	6.7 [10]	5.9	72.3 [10]	77.9 [10]	2.03 [10]	1.86
Italy [3]	3.4	1.9	7.4	6.5	74.7	81.2	1.21	**1.19**
Luxemburg	14.3	14.1	8.5 [10]	5.3	72.6	79.1	1.70 [2]	1.72 [2]
Netherlands [4]	6.7	5.3	6.2	5.6	74.0 [10]	80.0 [10]	1.57	1.56
Austria	5.6	3.1	6.5	6.3	73.3	79.7	1.51	1.45
Portugal	0.9	2.5	8.7	..	71.2	78.2	1.53 [2]	1.44
Finland	4.5	4.1	4.4	4.7	72.1	79.5 [10]	1.82	1.85
Sweden	6.1	8.1	5.5	4.9	76.1	81.3	2.00	1.89
United Kingdom	3.2	..	6.6 [10]	6.2	73.6 [10]	78.9 [10]	1.82 [2]	1.74
EC members	**3.7**	**4.5**	**6.7** [2]	**6.2** [2]	..	..	**1.44** [2]	**1.45** [2]
Iceland	10.2	6.9	4.8	..	76.9	80.7	2.21 [10]	2.11
Norway	5.9	5.4	5.8 [10]	5.2	74.9	80.6	1.82 [2]	1.87
Switzerland [1]	8.7	7.5	5.6	5.1	75.1	81.6	1.48 [2]	1.49
Leichtenstein	19.8	10.5	10.7 [10]	2.4	..	..	..	..
EFTA [1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EEA [1]	**3.9**	**3.0**	**6.6** [2]	**6.2** [2]	..	..	**1.50** [2]	**1.46** [2]
Canada	12.7	10.4	6.3	..	75.0 [10]	81.2 [10]	1.66	..
United States	10.8 [6]	7.5 [6]	8.3	7.9	72.1 [10]	78.9 [10] [11]	2.07	2.04
Mexico	18.0	18.0 [6]	33.7	30.3	69.4 [11]	75.8 [11]	3.08	2.90
North America	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Australia	10.1 [6]	10.8 [6]	6.1	5.8	75.0 [10]	80.9 [10]	1.87	..
New Zealand	11.3 [6]	14.9 [6]	7.2	7.1	73.1	78.9	2.10 [10]	2.04
Japan	2.3 [6]	2.5 [6]	4.3	4.2	76.6	83.0	1.50 [10]	1.50

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 4. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1993 and 1994 - End

Country	Marriages (in thousands)		Rate (per 1,000)		Divorces (in thousands)		Rate (per 1,000)		Births Out of Wedlock (per 100 births)
	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993
Belgium	54.2	52.0	5.4	5.1	21.6	22.0	2.1	2.2	..
Denmark	30.5	35.4	5.9	6.8	12.6	13.7	2.4	2.6	46.8
Germany	441.3	439.6	5.4	5.4	156.7	..	1.9	..	14.8
Greece	61.0	59.0	5.9	6.7	7.2	7.0	0.7	0.7	2.8
Spain	201.7	196.4	5.2	5.0	28.9	..	0.7	..	..
France	253.3	253.5	4.4	4.4	111.0	..	1.9	..	34.9
Ireland	16.1 [10]	16.3	4.5 [10]	4.6	..	..	..	..	19.5
Italy [3]	292.2	287.3	5.1	5.0	23.9	..	0.4	..	7.2
Luxemburg	2.4	2.4	6.0	5.8	0.7 [10]	0.7	1.8 [10]	1.7	12.9
Netherlands [4]	88.3	82.9	5.8	5.4	30.6	36.7	2.0	2.4	13.1
Austria	45.0	43.3	5.6	5.4	16.4	17.6	2.1	2.2	26.3
Portugal	68.2	60.0	6.9	6.7	12.1	..	1.2	..	16.9
Finland	23.7	24.9	4.7	4.9	12.3	13.8	2.4	2.7	30.3
Sweden	33.9	33.9	3.9	3.9	21.7	22.1	2.5	2.5	50.4
United Kingdom	..	..	..	..	180.0	..	3.1	..	31.7
EC members	..	..	**5.3** [2]	**5.2** [2]	..	..	**1.7**	..	..
Iceland	1.2 [10]	1.3	4.7 [10]	4.9	0.5 [10]	0.5	2.0 [10]	1.8	58.3
Norway	19.3 [10]	20.6	4.5 [10]	4.8	10.2 [10]	10.9	2.4 [10]	2.5	44.4
Switzerland [1]	42.9	42.4	6.2 [6]	6.1	15.1	15.6	2.2 [6]	2.2	6.3
Leichtenstein	0.2 [10]	0.2	6.3 [10]	6.9	..	-	..	1.3	..
EFTA [1]	**234.4**	**226.6**	..	..	**268.3**	**80.5**	..	..	..
EEA [1]	..	..	**5.2** [2]	**5.2** [2]	..	..	**1.7** [2]	..	..
Canada	159.3	..	5.5	..	78.2	..	2.7	..	35.3
United States	2,334.0	2,362.0	9.0	9.1	1,187.0	1,191.0	4.6	4.6	..
Mexico	679.9	..	7.7	..	38.4	..	0.4	..	..
North America	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
Australia	113.3	111.2	6.4	5.8	48.3	48.3	2.7	2.7	..
New Zealand	22.0	21.9	6.3	6.2	9.1	9.2	2.6	2.6	..
Japan	792.6	782.7	6.4	6.3	179.2	195.1	1.4	1.6	..

[1] Switzerland ceased to be a member of EFTA and the EEA in 1992. It is included here to permit comparisons with previous data for major groups. [2] Eurostat estimates. [3] Resident population. [4] Includes administrative corrections. [5] In years and tenths of a year. [6] Calculations by author. [7] Legal entries minus legal exits. [8] Growth rates are furnished by the countries. If they are not consistent with the populations as of January 1 in the two successive years, it is presumably because the population estimates for the preceding year were corrected after the information was furnished. [9] The maximum situation, attributing a population of 59 million to the United Kingdom. [10] 1992. [11] 1993.

Note: EFTA: European Free Trade Association. EEA: European Economic Area. EC: European Community.

Sources: Europe: Eurostat. Switzerland: Data obtained directly from Geneva. Canada: Statistics Canada. United States: Census Bureau and NCHS (National Centre for Health Statistics). Mexico: Data obtained from the Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, Geografia e Informatica. Australia: Data furnished by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. New Zealand: Data furnished by the Department of Statistics. Japan: Statistical Standards Department.

and Sweden. This situation was worsened by a rate of natural increase that was also down in almost all European countries. Estimated for the EC at 1.6 per 1,000 in 1992, it was calculated at 0.9 in 1994 by Eurostat[3].

Natural increase is declining because births continue to decline in most countries along with fertility, measured as a period rate. In 1994, the ***total fertility rate was at its lowest in Italy at 1.19 children per woman and little higher in Spain with 1.22***. The highest rate was recorded in Sweden although even there it was noticeably lower at 1.89 after reaching 2.09 in 1992. The rise in this rate from a very low level, which had surprised many observers in the early 1990s, was quite conveniently explained by the approach of a stabilization in the postponement of fertility in cohorts. The downward movement observed at relatively high levels no doubt belongs to the inevitable fluctuations after the transition, aggravated by the difficult economic situation.

Today's low rates in southern Europe doubtless originate in changes in the timing of fertility. This change has occurred about 20 years after that which affected northern Europe. They result from the fact that older adults, after adopting contraception late, are reducing the number of children they would have had while young adults are putting off the formation of a family to a later date. Contrary to what some analysts have written, it is unlikely that this represents a new model of fertility. It seems more likely that what is being observed is one of those classic changes which mislead the observer. All the same, this low level of fertility is causing the number of births to fall and, despite a long life expectancy, the number of deaths stays unchanged. As a result, the natural increase for Italy becomes negative for the second year in a row (1993: -3,700, 1994: -9,000).

The world views reflected by marital behaviour such as the marriage rate, the divorce rate, recourse to the voluntary interruption of pregnancy, and childbearing outside marriage, differ widely from country to country and do not, as one might be tempted to believe, form a uniform pattern. Italy, for example, which has the lowest European fertility rate, has an average marriage rate of 5.0 per 1,000 in 1994 and the lowest divorce rate at 0.4 per 1,000 in 1993. Sweden, on the other hand, with the highest total fertility, has the lowest marriage rate (3.9 per 1,000) and one of the highest divorce rates (2.5 per 1,000).

The widest variations are seen in the proportions of births outside marriage: from nearly 60% in Iceland where the marriage rate at 4.9 per 1,000 is not one of the lowest, to 3% in Greece. Austria, which has a marriage rate which is not especially low (5.4 per 1,000) has 26% of births outside marriage.

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[3]Eurostat (1995). ***The population of the European Community as of January 1, 1995***. Table 1.

Mortality

The number of deaths continues to decline and, estimating the level for countries for which data are not available, a crude death rate of 10 per 1,000 in 1994 can be determined for the European Community, down three tenths of a point from 1993. By showing an increase of deaths, Italy appears to be an exception. Although its life expectancy turns out to be among the highest (Table 4). The decline in infant mortality reported last year as remarkable has continued; from 6.5 per 1,000 in 1994 it now stands at 6.2 per 1,000 for the Community as a whole, a tenth of a point lower than Canada's 1993 rate. But breaking this down by country, Canada ranks after Denmark (5.5), Germany (5.6), Ireland (5.9), Luxembourg (5.3), the Netherlands (5.6), Finland (4.7), Sweden (4.9), the United Kingdom (6.2), Iceland (4.8) and Norway (5.2). It is worth asking how these countries have succeeded in reducing their rates so drastically and quickly. Since these levels are also considerably lower than the rates observed almost worldwide to date, speculation turns to measures allowing infants about to be born every chance of survival.

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The most recent demographic indicators for the former Eastern Europe do not add much information to the comments made in the 1994 report. What does seem clear is that the demographic behaviour of these populations is tending over the years to move closer to the western European and North American models. Most countries have recorded lower marriage rates, higher divorce rates and more births outside marriage, indicating an increase in common-law unions.

Two essential differences should be noted, however: lower life expectancies than in the west and a very high recourse to the voluntary interruption of pregnancy. Where in Canada there were 27 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy for 100 births, the rates range from 45 in the former East Germany to 250 in Romania.

East Germany stands out by virtue of indices that leave one puzzled. ***The fertility rate seems since 1991 to have reached extremely low levels: 0.98 in 1991, 0.83 in 1992 and 0.77 in 1993***. At this rate, two women out of three would not have a daughter to take their place in the next generation. As for nuptiality, it also appears to be slowing down. The total rates for 1992 were 290 for men and women.

WHAT ABOUT MEXICO?

Part II of the 1993 report on the demographic situation gave a description of the Mexican population, based mainly on figures available in the late 1980s.

The challenges facing this population to achieve the objectives set by the government for the year 2000 were noted. The main challenge was and remains to reduce population growth, which hinders economic progress. Since this growth depends entirely on natural increase, the whole problem lies in controlling fertility. In the light of recent developments, it appeared unlikely that Mexico could reduce its birth rate sufficiently in the short time frame set by the government. Recently, however, in July 1995, the federal government published a new national population program for the period 1995-2000[4]. The introduction includes an analysis of recent trends that confirms and updates the analysis in the 1993 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada.

This new and more realistic program no longer speaks of 1% growth by the year 2000, which was the objective set by the 1977 national plan. Population growth, estimated at 1.6% in 1995, might reach the target 1.0% around 2018 and fall to nil beyond the limit of the projection, 2030. By that time the country will have grown well beyond 130 million population, provided sustained efforts are made to reduce fertility further. Between 1960 and 1974 fertility dropped from 7 children per woman to 2.9, but this rate of decrease has not been successfully maintained over the past 10 years. After a spectacular beginning, as was predicted, many obstacles arose to a continued decline, and these were difficult to overcome. Among the points mentioned in the program as being essential to give new momentum to the process are:

- improvement in the level of education, particularly for rural populations, which are declining only slowly despite high emigration since the birth rate remains high;
- the cost of contraception itself for individuals and that of campaigns to promote it for the government;
- raising the age at marriage to decrease the fertile life-span of married women;
- an increase in the participation of women in the labour market.

The program is well structured, very detailed, and takes into account the very large number of aspects of demographic and economic development. The question that remains is whether it can be carried out, because the attendant costs, although unknown, are no doubt very high, and the country is in a difficult economic situation.

THE MARRIAGE RATE

In Canada as in almost all other parts of the western world, marriage as it has been known for centuries, if not for millennia, continues to decline.

[4]Programma Nacional de Poblacion 1995-2000. Poder Ejecutivo Federal.

Table 5. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Canada, 1967-1993

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion of Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	%	Number	%
1967	165,879	151,883	151,488	20,417	12.3	7,970	39.0
1968	171,766	157,309	156,783	21,133	12.3	8,307	39.3
1969	182,183	162,853	162,690	27,494	15.1	11,329	41.2
1970	188,428	167,267	167,421	29,975	15.9	12,193	40.7
1971	191,324	168,944	169,072	31,698	16.6	12,934	40.8
1972	200,470	176,537	177,155	33,582	16.8	13,666	40.7
1973	199,064	173,355	174,135	36,047	18.1	14,591	40.5
1974	198,824	170,678	172,107	39,063	19.6	15,800	40.4
1975	197,585	167,022	168,817	42,300	21.4	17,031	40.3
1976	186,844	155,679	157,412	43,098	23.1	17,499	40.6
1977	187,344	154,906	156,854	44,750	23.9	18,178	40.6
1978	185,523	151,884	154,016	46,254	24.9	18,892	40.8
1979	187,811	152,731	154,982	48,309	25.7	19,600	40.6
1980	191,069	154,138	156,918	50,600	26.5	20,422	40.4
1981	190,082	151,978	154,506	52,340	27.5	21,340	40.8
1982	188,360	149,419	152,825	52,979	28.1	21,438	40.5
1983	184,675	144,960	147,968	53,342	28.9	22,080	41.4
1984	185,597	144,674	147,907	55,436	29.9	23,177	41.8
1985	184,096	144,009	146,718	54,632	29.7	22,833	41.8
1986	175,518	137,665	138,523	52,678	30.0	22,170	42.1
1987	182,151	138,454	139,324	60,106	33.0	26,529	44.1
1988	187,728	142,956	143,943	61,665	32.8	26,892	43.6
1989	190,640	145,733	146,242	62,276	32.7	27,029	43.4
1990	187,737	143,637	145,350	60,393	32.2	26,094	43.2
1991	172,251	131,996	133,576	55,578	32.3	23,644	42.5
1992	164,573	125,505	126,955	53,547	32.5	23,139	43.2
1993	159,316	121,104	122,479	52,405	32.9	22,644	43.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Marriages***, Catalogue No. 84-212 and unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 6. Percentage of Population Married by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1951 and 1991

Age Group	1951		1991	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
15-19	1.0	7.9	0.5	1.4
20-24	25.5	51.2	9.0	20.7
25-29	64.6	78.5	39.3	54.1
30-34	79.9	84.4	61.8	68.8
35-39	84.2	84.8	72.1	74.1
40-44	85.2	83.2	77.5	76.2
45-49	84.6	81.2	80.0	76.6
50-54	83.7	77.6	81.7	76.8
55-59	82.8	72.7	82.5	74.6
60-64	80.1	65.5	82.2	68.9
65 +	65.7	41.6	76.1	42.0
Total	44.3	45.1	45.6	44.5

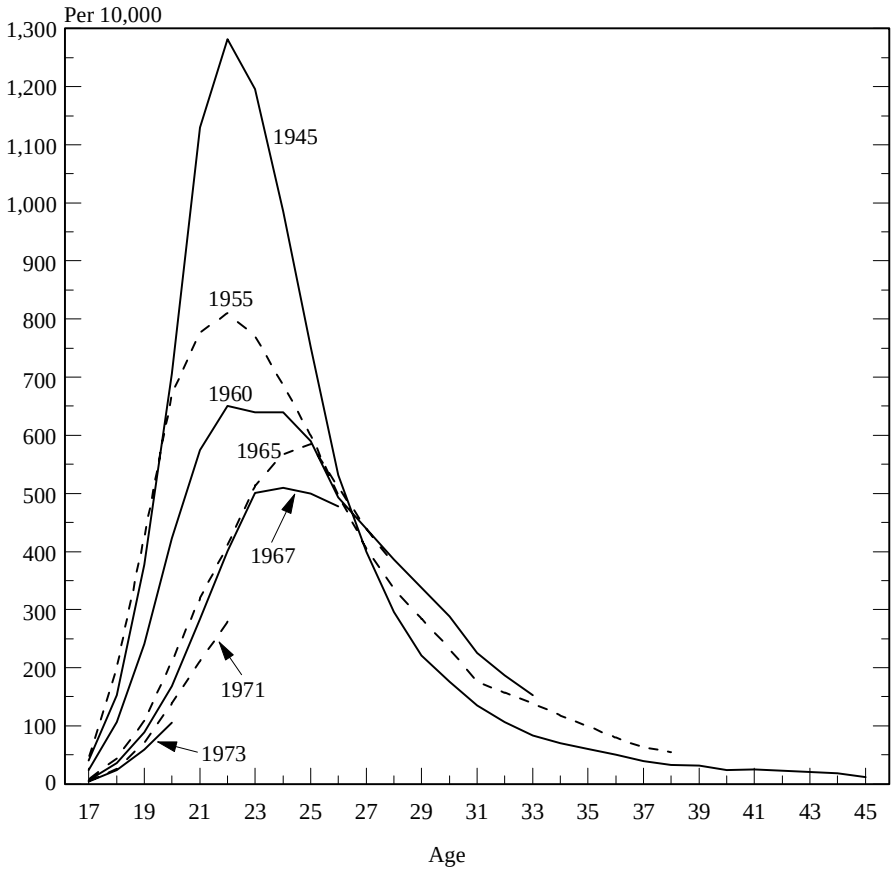
Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1951, ***Population***, Volume II and 1991, ***Age, Sex and Marital Status***, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

This institution, which legitimized the union between a man and a woman by a legal, public act comporting various rules, has up till now been fundamental to western and other civilizations. It seems to have given way, remarkably quickly, to the common-law union, discreet and private, neither the beginning nor end of which is represented by a vital-statistics event that could be included in the demographic accounts.

The number of marriages in Canada peaked in 1972 at around 200,500. After a decline, there had been a strong increase in the late 1960s due to the massive arrival of the first baby-boom cohorts at the normal marrying age. Subsequent brief upturns merely moderated the downward trend, which resulted in fewer marriages being registed in 1993 than 25 years earlier although the population had increased by almost 30% during this time.

For the fourth consecutive year in 1993, the number of marriages in Canada decreased, to 159,316 (Table A2, Appendix), ***a drop of 16.4% in 4 years, involving both first marriages and remarriages***. The decline in the number of first marriages after 1972 was much more pronounced, earlier and more constant, however, than the drop in the total number of marriages. The reason is obviously that the number of remarriages increased over the period as a result of more liberal divorce laws which increased the number of persons available for remarriage. The number of marriages in which at

Figure 2A. Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Males, Canada

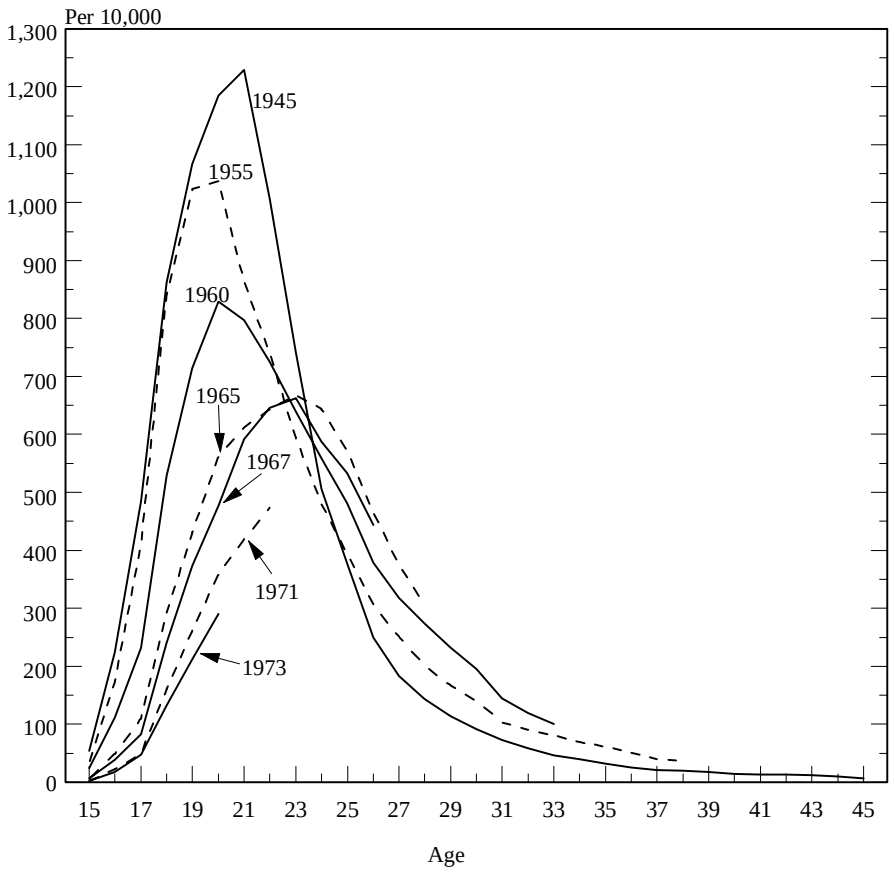


Source: Table A3.1.

least one spouse had already been married stood at 20,400 in 1967, peaked at 62,300 in 1989, and then fell to 52,405 in 1993 (Table 5). In relative terms, these marriages represented an eighth of all marriages in 1967, and approximately a third since 1986.

Since the age structure of the population can affect the number of marriages without having an influence on the marriage rate, examining the age-specific indices gives a better idea of trends, even though, since these are total rates, they reflect the strength of nuptiality in the recent past. Tables

Figure 2B. Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Females, Canada

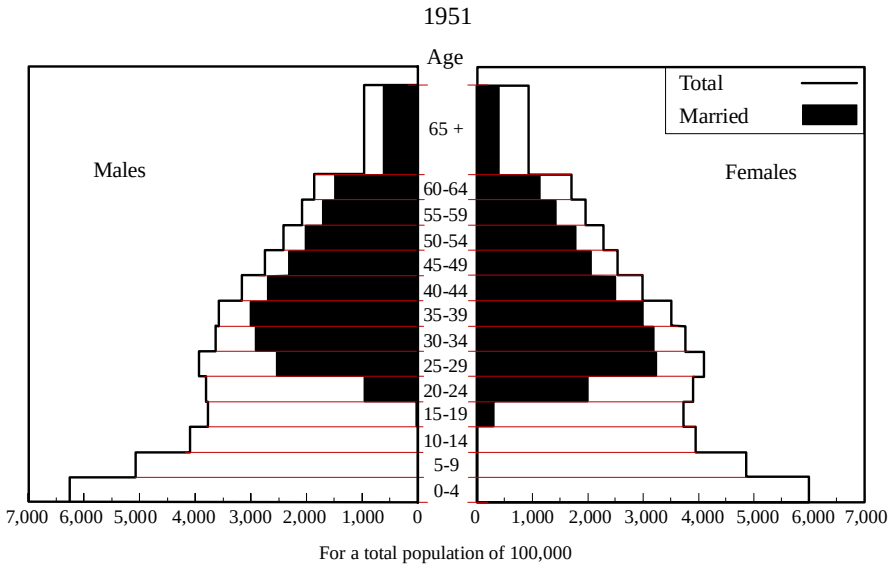


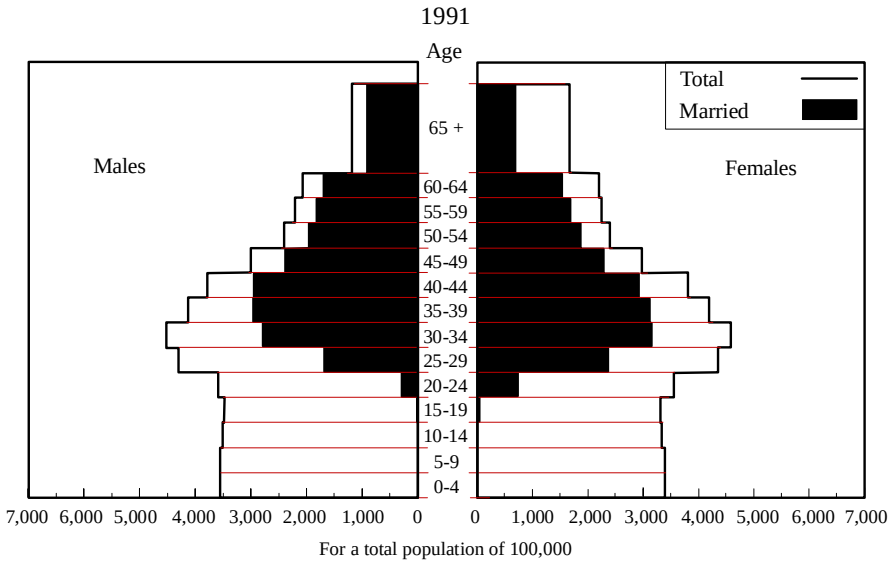
Source: Table A3.2.

A3.1 and A3.2 in the Appendix show a further decline in these rates until around age 28 for women and the 30s for men. This decrease is far from being offset by the slight increase in late marriages. The weakening of interest in this institution is confirmed by cohort behaviour. The surface under the curve in Figures 2A and 2B is decreasing steadily.

This delay in marrying, which for a significant number of individuals becomes a failure to marry at all, has an effect on the picture censuses give of our society. The comparison between the 1951 and 1991 censuses is

Figure 3. Age Pyramids Comparing the Married Population to the Total Population, Canada, 1951 and 1991





Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1951, ***Population***, Volume II and 1991, ***Age, Sex and Marital Status***, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

Table 7. Total First Marriage Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1987-1993 (per 1,000)[1]

	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Newfoundland	592	576	626	628	664	669	644	658	597	611	547	571	531	553
Prince Edward Island	668	686	728	739	798	807	768	766	717	724	675	688	703	714
Nova Scotia	614	653	637	680	640	685	610	649	568	600	544	579	532	565
New Brunswick	589	617	644	675	639	680	624	659	574	599	544	573	525	553
Quebec	413	436	425	453	424	455	408	459	377	425	333	376	324	365
Ontario	619	669	635	690	647	697	653	698	606	646	579	623	553	595
Manitoba	614	662	617	669	624	679	637	690	592	647	594	642	579	625
Saskatchewan	589	632	600	647	625	677	613	665	613	651	601	633	609	639
Alberta	558	610	590	642	621	665	625	673	590	635	580	622	582	620
British Columbia	597	638	633	684	641	693	638	694	599	651	592	631	576	612
Yukon	445	476	525	623	497	558	518	591	465	514	538	565	403	465
Northwest Territories	299	345	302	314	301	326	313	327	285	308	270	291	280	309
CANADA	554	594	574	620	585	630	582	631	543	588	518	561	504	544
CANADA LESS QUEBEC	603	648	626	676	640	688	641	687	599	640	579	620	562	600

[1] Males aged 17 to 49 and females aged 15 to 49.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 8. Duration-Specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts 1943-1944 to 1992-1993

Year	Number of Marriages per Calendar Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration																									Year of Obser-vation	T.D.R [1]
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
1944	104,656	1943-44	109,242																									44	1969	1,367
1945	111,376	1944-45	108,016																								51	50	1970	1,861
1946	137,398	1945-46	124,387																							52	56	48	1971	1,881
1947	130,400	1946-47	133,899																						48	55	49	46	1972	2,004
1948	126,118	1947-48	128,259																					47	56	50	50	54	1973	2,231
1949	124,087	1948-49	125,103																				50	58	56	52	60	58	1974	2,670
1950	125,083	1949-50	124,585																			51	60	55	58	59	68	64	1975	2,932
1951	128,408	1950-51	126,746																		51	64	61	59	60	73	69	71	1976	3,072
1952	128,474	1951-52	128,441																	53	65	63	62	63	74	74	76	69	1977	3,063
1953	131,034	1952-53	129,754																54	69	70	64	67	75	80	76	69	55	1978	3,108
1954	128,629	1953-54	129,832															50	74	64	62	71	86	82	78	75	70	62	1979	3,180
1955	128,029	1954-55	128,329														57	73	65	68	69	85	85	83	75	70	68	65	1980	3,276
1956	132,713	1955-56	130,371													59	83	71	73	77	87	90	90	89	78	74	69	72	1981	3,526
1957	133,186	1956-57	132,950												67	82	76	75	78	92	105	96	87	85	84	75	75	66	1982	3,654
1958	131,525	1957-58	132,356											61	79	81	81	83	91	101	97	92	84	82	78	77	72	63	1983	3,519
1959	132,474	1958-59	132,000										68	91	82	80	86	96	105	103	92	89	80	77	84	77	68	67	1984	3,305
1960	130,338	1959-60	131,406									70	93	95	91	97	111	111	110	100	95	90	84	90	87	76	67	64	1985	3,118
1961	128,475	1960-61	129,407								73	97	95	95	97	119	119	116	108	100	95	95	95	94	81	78	64	80	1986	3,908
1962	129,381	1961-62	128,928							71	105	99	106	103	121	133	123	115	108	97	96	98	106	88	78	71	83	91	1987	4,789
1963	131,111	1962-63	130,246						71	114	113	112	114	131	133	134	124	118	104	99	108	105	91	86	79	88	102	81	1988	4,140
1964	138,135	1963-64	134,623					68	106	109	113	124	142	136	140	128	126	114	110	113	109	100	92	83	101	111	93	76	1989	3,996
1965	145,519	1964-65	141,827				61	98	112	121	134	150	153	153	139	134	124	117	118	115	104	97	92	104	123	92	83	76	1990	3,841
1966	155,596	1965-66	150,558			42	93	112	128	143	156	162	163	148	137	130	123	121	115	113	101	93	108	124	104	91	84	74	1991	3,763
1967	165,879	1966-67	160,738		31	68	102	126	139	166	177	171	155	145	136	131	132	128	118	106	94	112	132	114	97	85	78	71	1992	3,839
1968	171,766	1967-68	168,823	17	49	75	115	142	162	183	173	165	156	151	137	138	137	117	109	97	116	133	112	108	92	83	84	64	1993	3,812

Year	Number of Marriages per Calendar Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration																										Year of Obser-vation	T.D.R [1]
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
1969	182,183	1968-69	176,975	3	22	53	83	122	158	182	184	171	165	160	153	148	146	133	112	103	121	139	118	106	98	90	81	80			
1970	188,428	1969-70	185,306	3	25	55	92	151	177	192	192	176	174	165	163	159	139	127	112	121	147	118	113	100	96	87	77				
1971	191,324	1970-71	189,876	4	28	61	106	161	186	189	191	184	180	173	166	151	132	115	129	151	121	113	101	96	93	86					
1972	200,490	1971-72	195,907	4	33	74	117	174	193	196	197	191	188	186	169	145	126	145	159	131	122	111	100	98	78						
1973	199,064	1972-73	199,777	5	36	83	129	181	203	212	211	206	204	180	155	135	152	175	138	126	111	103	99	101							
1974	198,824	1973-74	198,944	5	44	94	136	184	213	227	229	218	189	168	146	160	184	149	129	111	109	107	98								
1975	197,585	1974-75	198,205	6	52	104	147	199	225	242	234	214	185	163	172	197	150	139	130	111	111	104									
1976	193,343	1975-76	195,464	8	59	111	161	217	251	246	227	194	165	195	207	165	152	131	121	116	105										
1977	187,344	1976-77	190,344	8	63	116	162	227	250	240	208	180	200	225	181	158	143	127	117	123											
1978	185,523	1977-78	186,434	7	65	123	175	235	250	221	200	230	248	196	175	155	137	133	117												
1979	187,811	1978-79	186,667	8	58	132	185	226	226	211	252	274	211	185	164	152	141	129													
1980	191,069	1979-80	189,440	7	65	135	176	206	210	268	297	227	207	184	169	152	132														
1981	190,082	1980-81	190,576	8	71	133	154	190	269	316	250	218	189	181	162	163															
1982	188,360	1981-82	189,221	9	65	118	144	260	326	263	232	216	193	181	165																
1983	184,675	1982-83	186,518	8	64	109	209	322	273	247	219	201	184	173																	
1984	185,597	1983-84	185,136	8	63	150	270	263	253	237	213	208	172																		
1985	184,096	1984-85	184,847	8	72	212	249	260	251	231	221	219																			
1986	175,518	1985-86	179,807	10	103	217	265	263	248	240	224																				
1987	182,151	1986-87	178,835	20	106	216	251	259	253	240																					
1988	187,728	1987-88	184,940	19	106	214	252	261	227																						
1989	190,640	1988-89	189,184	19	109	210	267	291																							
1990	187,738	1989-90	189,189	17	110	233	275																								
1991	172,251	1990-91	179,994	19	118	231																									
1992	164,573	1991-92	168,412	21	114																										
1993	159,316	1992-93	161,945	24																											

[1] Total Divorce Rate.

Note: Rates after 1980 have been revised.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

remarkable (Table 6). In the 20-24 age group, one man out of four was married, while today it is one out of eleven. For women, who marry younger, one out of two were married in 1951, and 40 years later only one out of five. As proof that the delay does often become a failure to marry, older age groups also show very different proportions between these two dates. In the group of men 40-44, the proportion fell from 85.2% in 1951 to 77.5% in 1991, and in the group of women 35-39, from 84.8% to 74.1%. Figure 3 and Table 6 show changes for all age groups. It must also be borne in mind that Canadian statistics aggregate those of 12 quite different provinces or territories. Quebec in particular has certainly seen the most impressive changes, since its total first marriage rate (Table 7) for 1993 was 324 per 1,000 for men and 365 per 1,000 for women, which is considerably lower than the rates for the rest of Canada (562 and 600 per 1,000).

1992 AND 1993 DIVORCES

Detailed divorce statistics for 1992 were not yet available when the 1994 report was prepared. This delay, caused by verification of the figures for recent years, has been remedied, and the 1992 and 1993 figures are now available. Changes to figures published previously were discussed in the 1994 report.

The number of divorces increased by about 2,000 in 1992, the first increase since 1987, to reach 79,000 (Table A4, Appendix). It should be noted that the increase recorded in 1992 is basically the result of an increase of 2,800 divorces in Ontario, 10.0% more than the previous year, which is not out of line with the increase of 2.6% for Canada as a whole. The strong increase observed in Ontario goes against the recent trend, since the number of divorces had decreased proportionally more rapidly since 1990 in that province than in the rest of the country. It probably represents a problem of accounting rather than a change in divorce. Apart from Ontario, Quebec (-579), Alberta (-171) and Manitoba (-133) showed falls of more than 100 in the number of divorces for that year.

In 1993, there were 78,227 divorces, a decrease of 807 from the previous year (-1.0%). Once again, the annual variation was greatest in Ontario with 1,560 fewer divorces (-5.1%). While the number of divorces increased by 458 in British Columbia (4.4%) and 395 in Alberta (4.8%), it remained stable in all other provinces. In short, there appears to have been a ***stabilization in the number of divorces in Canada since 1989***. A variation in one direction observed in one province is offset by a variation in the other direction, either in other provinces the same year or in the same province the following year. These annual positive or negative variations, either at the provincial or national level, do not appear to be due to changes in individual behaviour but rather to result from the operation of the court system. It is necessary to recall that divorce is under federal jurisdiction and the courts function independently.

Table 9. Distribution of Duration-Specific Divorces by Duration of Marriage, Canada, 1980-1993 (in percent)

Year	Duration of Marriage (years)					Average Duration
	0-5	6-9	10-14	15-19	20-25	
1980	24.2	24.7	21.6	15.8	13.7	11.5
1981	24.3	24.5	21.4	15.8	14.0	11.5
1982	24.2	24.7	21.7	15.6	13.8	11.5
1983	24.4	24.7	22.0	15.7	13.3	11.4
1984	23.5	24.4	22.0	15.9	14.2	11.6
1985	23.3	24.2	22.0	16.0	14.5	11.6
1986	24.8	24.3	21.1	15.3	14.5	11.5
1987	26.2	23.7	20.6	15.2	14.3	11.4
1988	27.2	23.0	20.3	15.1	14.4	11.3
1989	28.0	22.6	20.3	15.1	14.0	11.2
1990	28.8	22.4	20.2	14.7	13.9	11.1
1991	29.2	22.3	20.4	14.5	13.7	11.0
1992	30.0	22.2	20.0	14.3	13.4	10.9
1993	30.5	22.4	20.0	14.4	12.7	10.8

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division and calculations by the author.

Intensity and Duration

The small annual variations in the number of divorces are reflected in the stability of the total divorce rate. The gap between the minimum and maximum levels of this rate from 1990 to 1993 was only 78 divorces per 10,000 marriages (Table 8). The recent stability in the intensity of the phenomenon is in contrast to the almost constant increase in the divorce rate since liberalization of divorce in 1969, and particularly with the short-lived upswing due to changes to the law in 1985. The declining number of marriages inevitably results in fewer divorces, especially as these occur relatively soon after marriage.

The trend towards concentration of divorces at short marriage durations continued despite stabilization in the intensity of the phenomenon: 30.5% of those divorced in 1993 had been married for 5 years at most, while the corresponding percentage was 28.8% in 1990 and 24.2% in 1980 (Table 9). ***Not only are marriages fewer and later, but they are less and less lasting***.

Table 10. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada[1], 1982-1993

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate		
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada
1	1982	12.88	24.96	52.32	53.12	49.22	48.00	15.66	18.01	3.52	3.94	0.47	0.52	0.6704	0.7428	0.7231
	1983	12.47	23.31	51.46	51.94	49.77	48.84	16.08	19.40	3.71	4.57	0.46	0.51	0.6697	0.7429	0.7232
	1984	12.39	22.56	48.69	49.46	49.66	49.14	15.96	20.46	3.91	4.74	0.53	0.54	0.6558	0.7345	0.7136
	1985	12.48	21.57	46.94	47.02	49.93	49.11	16.81	20.74	3.95	4.71	0.47	0.56	0.6529	0.7185	0.7014
	1986	12.97	21.08	46.82	45.67	49.60	48.18	17.41	20.48	4.42	5.03	0.49	0.66	0.6586	0.7055	0.6935
	1987	13.43	20.40	45.37	43.84	50.71	47.49	18.44	20.84	4.45	5.40	0.65	0.72	0.6653	0.6934	0.6864
	1988	13.90	20.76	48.22	43.94	53.93	49.52	19.22	22.13	4.71	6.05	0.69	0.77	0.7033	0.7158	0.7129
	1989	14.86	22.16	50.75	45.02	57.70	50.16	21.45	23.51	5.19	6.28	0.64	0.85	0.7529	0.7399	0.7435
	1990	15.66	22.83	53.08	45.04	60.44	52.55	23.54	25.16	5.64	6.88	0.66	0.89	0.7951	0.7667	0.7739
	1991	14.93	23.55	52.24	43.64	61.30	50.77	24.27	24.92	6.22	7.00	0.73	0.90	0.7984	0.7539	0.7647
	1992	15.05	22.74	48.66	41.64	59.87	50.61	24.68	25.82	6.09	7.30	0.78	0.99	0.7756	0.7455	0.7524
	1993	14.61	22.06	47.00	40.66	55.80	49.54	24.46	26.67	6.25	7.67	0.86	1.10	0.7449	0.7386	0.7393
2	1982	1.59	4.49	22.56	30.69	49.00	46.16	25.62	26.27	5.76	6.18	0.60	0.64	0.5257	0.5721	0.5594
	1983	1.54	4.29	21.88	30.07	47.39	46.29	25.03	27.57	5.29	6.66	0.61	0.76	0.5087	0.5782	0.5593
	1984	1.59	4.18	21.58	29.56	48.53	47.31	26.52	28.77	5.69	7.38	0.61	0.71	0.5226	0.5895	0.5716
	1985	1.63	4.08	20.53	28.43	47.13	47.66	26.02	29.77	5.77	7.72	0.58	0.79	0.5083	0.5922	0.5699
	1986	1.65	3.86	18.73	27.07	45.90	47.41	25.03	30.54	5.71	8.16	0.67	0.81	0.4885	0.5893	0.5626
	1987	1.86	4.02	19.12	25.80	43.87	46.43	25.36	31.19	6.05	8.78	0.68	0.95	0.4847	0.5859	0.5592
	1988	1.78	3.75	19.54	25.30	43.98	44.99	27.13	31.40	6.75	9.26	0.83	1.12	0.5000	0.5791	0.5584
	1989	1.93	4.06	20.62	25.01	45.31	44.70	28.65	32.39	7.05	9.63	0.73	1.10	0.5215	0.5845	0.5681
	1990	2.21	4.14	21.79	24.60	48.96	44.41	31.51	33.84	7.98	10.15	0.91	1.20	0.5668	0.5917	0.5853
	1991	2.10	4.30	22.14	24.05	48.38	43.42	32.16	33.20	7.82	10.42	0.85	1.16	0.5673	0.5827	0.5789
	1992	2.36	4.56	21.97	23.83	49.25	43.08	33.20	34.59	8.68	10.74	0.94	1.40	0.5820	0.5911	0.5888
	1993	2.29	4.47	22.09	22.73	47.64	41.38	33.57	33.76	8.72	11.18	1.11	1.42	0.5771	0.5748	0.5751
3	1982	0.11	0.49	4.30	8.33	15.66	19.71	14.63	16.17	4.58	5.27	0.58	0.61	0.1993	0.2529	0.2382
	1983	0.14	0.44	3.87	8.05	14.57	19.49	14.02	16.40	4.07	5.44	0.54	0.60	0.1860	0.2521	0.2341
	1984	0.10	0.44	3.69	7.83	14.06	19.49	13.79	17.25	4.31	5.60	0.57	0.65	0.1826	0.2563	0.2364
	1985	0.15	0.45	3.63	7.73	13.68	19.41	13.17	17.32	4.26	5.84	0.51	0.70	0.1770	0.2572	0.2356
	1986	0.18	0.48	3.36	7.42	13.05	19.19	12.20	17.60	4.30	6.05	0.57	0.74	0.1683	0.2574	0.2336
	1987	0.18	0.42	3.50	7.25	12.17	18.53	11.61	17.58	3.88	6.33	0.57	0.76	0.1595	0.2544	0.2290
	1988	0.18	0.48	3.55	7.16	12.37	18.20	12.18	17.84	4.07	6.73	0.52	0.84	0.1644	0.2563	0.2320
	1989	0.22	0.48	4.28	7.19	13.85	17.69	13.86	18.41	4.61	7.08	0.65	0.96	0.1873	0.2591	0.2403
	1990	0.17	0.50	4.49	7.08	15.03	17.17	15.14	18.33	5.21	7.25	0.58	0.91	0.2032	0.2562	0.2425
	1991	0.19	0.51	4.61	6.98	15.09	16.76	15.74	18.49	5.46	7.20	0.66	0.89	0.2087	0.2542	0.2428
	1992	0.24	0.59	4.95	6.95	15.36	16.21	16.55	17.83	5.63	7.31	0.80	0.93	0.2176	0.2491	0.2413
	1993	0.25	0.56	5.28	6.83	14.77	15.15	15.89	17.45	5.55	7.13	0.73	0.96	0.2123	0.2404	0.2335

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 10. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada[1], 1982-1993 - Concluded

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate		
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada
4	1982	0.01	0.03	0.55	1.58	2.85	5.28	4.19	5.87	2.20	2.76	0.42	0.47	0.0512	0.0800	0.0720
	1983	0.01	0.03	0.58	1.48	2.77	5.17	3.89	5.83	1.93	2.77	0.34	0.47	0.0476	0.0788	0.0703
	1984	0.02	0.04	0.51	1.47	2.61	5.34	3.64	5.82	1.74	2.73	0.33	0.43	0.0443	0.0792	0.0697
	1985	0.02	0.04	0.47	1.44	2.44	5.22	3.48	5.96	1.83	2.84	0.28	0.54	0.0426	0.0802	0.0700
	1986	0.02	0.03	0.48	1.48	2.39	5.16	3.31	5.95	1.70	2.83	0.37	0.49	0.0413	0.0797	0.0694
	1987	0.02	0.04	0.50	1.50	2.21	5.02	3.19	5.71	1.67	2.86	0.35	0.46	0.0397	0.0780	0.0677
	1988	0.02	0.05	0.54	1.48	2.40	4.94	3.07	5.78	1.69	2.91	0.43	0.49	0.0407	0.0783	0.0683
	1989	0.01	0.05	0.58	1.57	2.59	4.87	3.65	6.13	1.67	3.07	0.35	0.56	0.0442	0.0813	0.0716
	1990	0.00	0.04	0.75	1.65	2.79	4.73	3.95	6.02	2.24	3.11	0.35	0.54	0.0504	0.0805	0.0727
	1991	0.01	0.05	0.81	1.65	3.22	4.69	4.18	6.03	2.11	3.22	0.35	0.47	0.0535	0.0805	0.0737
	1992	0.03	0.06	0.91	1.68	3.13	4.53	4.35	5.84	2.20	3.02	0.42	0.53	0.0552	0.0783	0.0726
	1993	0.02	0.05	0.82	1.57	3.05	4.31	4.49	5.67	2.23	3.16	0.45	0.56	0.0553	0.0766	0.0713
5+	1982	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.37	0.79	1.89	1.34	3.04	1.36	2.53	0.51	0.91	0.0206	0.0437	0.0373
	1983	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.33	0.69	1.86	1.39	3.05	1.22	2.23	0.49	0.75	0.0195	0.0411	0.0352
	1984	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.33	0.65	1.85	1.33	2.96	1.22	2.33	0.39	0.73	0.0183	0.0410	0.0348
	1985	0.00	0.01	0.08	0.37	0.66	1.85	1.13	2.91	1.03	2.12	0.33	0.67	0.0162	0.0396	0.0332
	1986	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.36	0.67	1.81	1.28	2.83	1.07	2.07	0.36	0.65	0.0174	0.0387	0.0329
	1987	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.34	0.64	1.85	1.17	2.87	0.94	2.19	0.34	0.71	0.0160	0.0398	0.0334
	1988	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.38	0.62	1.71	1.31	2.97	1.18	2.11	0.40	0.68	0.0180	0.0393	0.0336
	1989	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.41	0.77	1.76	1.60	2.87	1.30	2.15	0.35	0.63	0.0207	0.0391	0.0342
	1990	0.01	0.01	0.14	0.44	0.76	1.91	1.51	2.92	1.30	2.27	0.39	0.67	0.0206	0.0411	0.0357
	1991	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.43	0.80	1.94	1.62	2.99	1.39	2.27	0.34	0.59	0.0214	0.0412	0.0362
	1992	0.00	0.01	0.20	0.41	0.96	1.96	1.68	2.95	1.33	2.28	0.37	0.68	0.0227	0.0414	0.0367
	1993	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.35	0.65	1.24	1.12	1.70	0.78	1.09	0.18	0.28	0.0144	0.0234	0.0211
All Orders	1982	14.60	29.97	79.86	94.09	117.52	121.05	61.44	69.35	17.42	20.69	2.58	3.15	1.4671	1.6915	1.6301
	1983	14.16	28.07	77.89	91.88	115.18	121.65	60.40	72.26	16.23	21.66	2.43	3.09	1.4315	1.6931	1.6221
	1984	14.10	27.23	74.54	88.65	115.53	123.13	61.23	75.26	16.86	22.78	2.43	3.06	1.4235	1.7006	1.6261
	1985	14.28	26.15	71.65	85.00	113.84	123.25	60.62	76.70	16.84	23.22	2.16	3.26	1.3970	1.6878	1.6101
	1986	14.82	25.46	69.49	82.01	111.60	121.75	59.24	77.40	17.19	24.14	2.47	3.35	1.3740	1.6705	1.5920
	1987	15.49	24.89	68.60	78.74	109.60	119.32	59.75	78.19	16.99	25.56	2.59	3.60	1.3651	1.6515	1.5758
	1988	15.87	25.04	71.95	78.26	113.30	119.37	62.90	80.13	18.39	27.05	2.87	3.90	1.4265	1.6687	1.6051
	1989	17.02	26.76	76.34	79.19	120.21	119.17	69.20	83.33	19.82	28.21	2.72	4.11	1.5266	1.7039	1.6577
	1990	18.06	27.53	80.26	78.80	127.98	120.77	75.66	86.27	22.38	29.66	2.89	4.21	1.6361	1.7362	1.7101
	1991	17.23	28.41	79.95	76.76	128.79	117.58	77.96	85.63	23.00	30.11	2.93	4.01	1.6493	1.7125	1.6963
	1992	17.70	27.95	76.69	74.51	128.56	116.39	80.46	87.03	23.92	30.65	3.31	4.54	1.6532	1.7054	1.6917
	1993	17.17	27.15	75.32	72.13	121.92	111.62	79.53	85.26	23.51	30.23	3.32	4.33	1.6039	1.6536	1.6403

[1] 1982 to 1990 excluding Newfoundland.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

BIRTH RATE AND FERTILITY

The number of births was down by just over 10,000 in 1993 at 388,394 (Table A5, Appendix). ***This is a decrease of 2.6% from the previous year, the largest decrease in both numbers and percentage since 1972***, and a decline for the third consecutive year. ***The crude birth rate of 13.2 per 1,000 is the lowest ever recorded in Canada*** (Table 1B). The arrival of smaller cohorts at ages where fertility is normally at its height holds out little hope for a change in the trend observed since 1990, and it is anticipated that the number of births and the crude birth rate will continue to decrease in the coming years.

Only Manitoba showed a slight increase of 120 births in 1993, 0.7% more than in 1992, while Ontario (-1.8%) and British Columbia (-0.3%) had relative decreases lower than that of Canada as a whole. In numbers, the decrease was greatest in Quebec (3,755 fewer births), but in relative terms, the greatest decreases were in Newfoundland (-7.2%), Prince Edward Island (-5.2%), Saskatchewan (-4.9%) and Alberta (-4.2%) compared to Quebec with -3.9%.

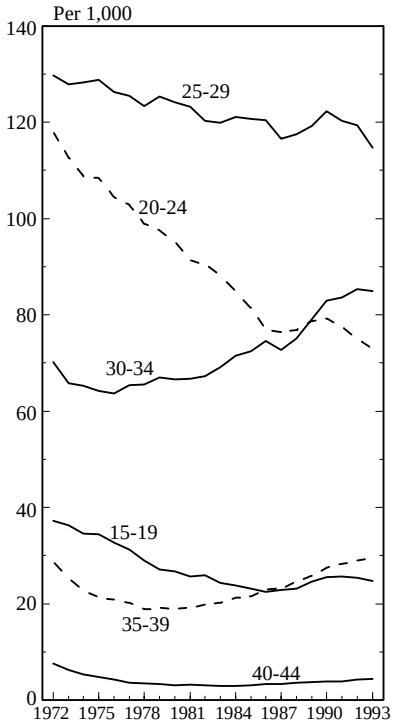
This drop in the number of births in Canada is not simply an effect of the age structure, since there was a parallel decrease in total fertility rates. The Canadian rate fell from 1.69 to 1.66 children per woman, a decrease of 1.8%. It decreased in all provinces, except in Manitoba where it rose from 1.91 to 1.94 children per woman. Leaving aside this province, the 1993 decline was not only general throughout the country, but affected almost all age groups under 35 in all provinces and also all birth orders. The year 1993 thus appears to have been a low year. It is probable that the recession in the early part of the decade is responsible for at least part of this state of affairs.

The encouraging effects[5] of the Quebec program of financial assistance to parents appear to be weakening, at least judging from the number of first-order births. These incentives failed to offset the negative effects of the recession on fertility, since the 1993 total fertility rate for all birth orders decreased in the same proportion in Quebec as in the rest of Canada (-3%). This financial assistance increases with the number of children and becomes substantially greater for third-order and higher births. A more thorough examination indicates that, after all, the program is not entirely without effect. If, for the second year in a row, the first-order birth rate decreased more rapidly in Quebec (-4%) than in the rest of Canada (-1%), it remained slightly higher than in the other provinces, whereas before the introduction of the program the Quebec rate was 10% lower (Table 10). The second-order rate, on the other hand, decreased only slightly in Quebec, while it decreased more strongly in the rest of the country. In 1986, this rate was 17% lower in Quebec,

[5] In the sense of the desired increase in period fertility.

but in 1993, for the first time, it was slightly ahead of the rest of Canada. Third-order and higher rates were low everywhere, but decreased less rapidly in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. It may thus be concluded that the financial assistance program, as it exists, does not appear to have now a significant effect on the decision to have a first child, but continues to encourage some Quebec women to have the second or third child they might not have had without it.

Figure 4. Fertility Rate by Age Group, Canada, 1972-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Deferred First Births

The increase in fertility at higher ages first observed in the mid-1970s has continued, while fertility has declined among younger people (Figure 4). The result has been significant changes in the distribution of births by order and age. Not too long ago, births to women 30 and older were mainly high-order births. In 1971, for example, two-thirds (66%) of the children to which these women gave birth were third-order or higher, while in 1993 this proportion was less than a third (31%). Today, women are often giving birth to their first (30%) or second (39%) child

Table 11. Births to Women Aged 30 and Over by Birth Order, Canada, 1971-1993

Birth Order	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1992	1993
	Number						
Rank 1	9,446	12,586	20,193	27,447	40,703	42,753	44,707
Rank 2	15,698	21,761	31,355	40,788	54,916	58,381	59,097
Rank 3 +	49,732	31,228	33,331	38,059	49,049	49,707	46,777
Total	74,876	65,575	84,879	106,294	144,668	150,841	150,581
	Percentage						
Rank 1	12.6	19.2	23.8	25.8	28.1	28.3	**29.7**
Rank 2	21.0	33.2	36.9	38.4	38.0	38.7	**39.2**
Rank 3 +	**66.4**	47.6	39.3	35.8	33.9	33.0	**31.1**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

Table 12. Percentage of Births to Women Aged 30 and Over, by Birth Order, Canada, 1971-1993

Birth Order	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1992	1993
1	**6.7**	8.7	12.3	17.3	23.3	24.9	**26.7**
2	15.4	18.8	25.2	31.4	39.6	41.5	43.2
3	32.0	34.4	40.5	45.6	53.5	54.6	56.1
4	49.0	51.0	53.6	56.4	61.4	62.2	64.6
5 +	74.6	72.9	71.6	69.7	72.2	72.6	69.0
Total	21.5	19.6	23.6	29.2	36.2	37.9	39.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

towards the end of their fertile life (Table 11). This phenomenon is shown even more clearly in Table 12, which gives for each birth order the percentage in which the mother was 30 or over. ***In 1971, only a fifteenth of first births were to mothers 30 or older; today, it is over a quarter. The decline in fertility is thus concomitant with a significant change in its tempo***.

Obviously, logic requires that it is not all births that are deferred but mainly the first two. The average age increased by 2.3 years for first births and 2.2 years for second births between 1971 and 1993, rising from 23.9 to 26.2 for first births and 26.5 to 28.7 for second (Table 13). On average, women today thus have their first child at the age when their mothers had their second. For obvious reasons, the average age of mothers at the birth of higher-order children increased less during the same period. Average age at third-order births increased by only about a year and at fourth-order births by half a year, while fifth-order births and over decreased[6] by 2 years.

There are many reasons for delaying the birth of a first child, and these have already been discussed at length by researchers in the social sciences. In terms of the basic trend, this is due to the increase in education and training of all types as well as increased labour-force participation. For the recent period, that is, since the early 1980s, it is generally agreed that the reason is the insecurity of employment when it is not a matter of the difficulty of entering the labour market. In all surveys, young people express the desire to have a family. For the moment, then, there is no far-reaching change in the way people see life; however, the facts are there, and delaying first births means that, not only are the chances of having the desired number of children lessened, but there are also implications for the kind of relations that parents and children have with each other through the life cycle.

[6] The composition of this open-ended group changed during the period, leading to a smaller proportion of very high-order births.

Table 13. Average Age of Women at Childbirth, by Birth Order of the Child, Canada, 1971-1993

Birth Order	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1992	1993
1	**23.9**	24.4	25.1	25.6	25.9	26.1	**26.2**
2	**26.5**	27.0	27.6	28.2	28.6	28.6	**28.7**
3	29.0	29.2	29.5	29.9	30.2	30.2	30.3
4	31.0	31.2	31.2	31.2	31.3	31.3	31.5
5 +	34.2	34.3	33.7	33.1	33.0	33.0	32.2
Total	27.1	26.8	27.1	27.5	27.8	27.9	28.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

VOLUNTARY INTERRUPTIONS OF PREGNANCY

Quality of Data

Although their practice was liberalized by changes to the Criminal Code in August 1969, because they have remained controversial, voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in Canada are still difficult to account for from the point of view of statistics, and measurements of the phenomenon are not completely reliable. Since the Supreme Court of Canada declared the legislation unconstitutional in 1988, abortion has not been illegal in Canada, but it is still a subject that divides public opinion and makes it difficult to obtain the accurate measurement of the phenomenon which would allow a proper appreciation of its extent.

The total number of known voluntary interruptions of pregnancy practiced on Canadian women includes those carried out in hospitals (formerly designated therapeutic abortions), and those performed in clinics in Canada or elsewhere, particularly in the United States. Published figures are not complete for any of these categories. Since the Supreme Court decision, clinics have opened across the country, first in Quebec and gradually in the other provinces. Statistics on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in clinics thus cover Quebec for the period 1978 to 1989, to which province are added Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia from 1990 and Alberta from 1991.

Whereas between 1978 and 1988 the annual number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy remained relatively stable, in one year, 1990, the number rose from 79,300 to 92,900, an increase of 13,600 or 17% (Table 14). There is, however, an accounting artifact here, since 97% of this increase, or just over 13,000, was due solely to the increase in the number performed in clinics, 85% of which were performed in one or another of the five provinces reporting them for the first time. It is intriguing to observe that,

Table 14. Number of Therapeutic Abortions for Canadian Residents, Based on Sources Within and Outside Canada, 1970-1993

Year	Hospital Events[1]	Clinic Events[2]	In the United States[3]	Total
1970	11,152	..	..	11,152
1971	30,923	..	6,309	37,232
1972	38,853	..	6,573	45,426
1973	43,201	..	5,501	48,702
1974	48,136	..	4,299	52,435
1975	49,311	..	4,394	53,705
1976	54,478	..	4,234	58,712
1977	57,564	..	2,300	59,864
1978	62,290	2,618	1,802	66,710
1979	65,043	3,629	1,073	69,745
1980	65,751	4,704	1,644	72,099
1981	65,053	4,207	2,651	71,911
1982	66,254	4,506	4,311	75,071
1983	61,750	3,635	3,983	69,368
1984	62,247	3,571	3,631	69,449
1985	62,712	3,706	2,798	69,216
1986	63,462	3,498	2,612	69,572
1987	63,585	3,681	2,757	70,023
1988	66,137	4,617	1,939	72,693
1989	70,702	7,059	1,551	79,312
1990	71,092	20,236[4]	1,573	92,901
1991	70,277	23,343	1,439	95,059
1992	70,408	31,151[5]	526	102,085[5]
1993	72,434	31,508	461	104,403

[1] Relates to therapeutic abortions performed in Canadian hospitals.
[2] For 1978-1989 information relates to the province of Quebec only. For 1990, it relates to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia; 1991 to 1993 data includes Alberta in addition to provinces for prior years.
[3] Legal abortions performed on Canadian women in certain American states, especially along the Canada-United States border.
[4] Abortion figures for clinics revised by Ontario from 10,200 to 8,993 for 1990.
[5] Figures revised due to late receipt of 1,588 clinic abortion cases from the province of Quebec.
Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Therapeutic Abortions 1993***, Catalogue No. 82-219.

while the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in clinics increased by 187%, the number performed in hospitals remained almost unchanged (an increase of 0.5%). It is impossible to believe that the attitude of Canadian women to the subject changed in a single year to that extent merely because new clinics opened their doors. If that had been the case, a decline in the birth rate and in fertility should have been seen; however, in 1990, the number of births increased by 12,800 to 405,500, a 25-year record, and the total rate rose to 1.71 children per woman, there again a level unequalled since 1978.

At the request of Statistics Canada, some 16 American states, mainly border states, have for several years been providing figures on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in their jurisdiction on Canadians; prior to 1975, only New York had complied with the Canadian request. If the number of states providing information to Statistics Canada has increased over time, the quality of coverage continues to be variable from one state to another. (Some states do not collect information on voluntary interruptions

of pregnancy carried out in clinics, while others do not systematically record the place of residence). Annual variations in the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed on Canadians in the United States are thus due more to changes in the care with which data are collected than to changes in behaviour. For example, the increase of 1,660 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy between 1981 and 1982 is mainly due to the fact that the state of Washington provided figures for the first time that year; the total of 1,155 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy accounted for 70% of the increase of 1,660 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy obtained by Canadians in the United States.

Statistics on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in Canadian hospitals, although not perfect, are certainly the most complete. They come from reports produced by the provinces and territories, which obtain them from hospitals, and have been compiled by Statistics Canada since 1970. Since 1983, however, Prince Edward Island has not provided a report, and thus figures are only available on the number of residents of that province who obtained voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in other provinces. Moreover, some British Columbia hospitals stopped completing reporting forms for individual cases in 1992, so the figures for that province come partly from case-reporting forms and partly from the Hospital Medical Records Institute (HMRI) system. This means that not only are some demographic or medical details missing, but doubts exist on how complete coverage is.

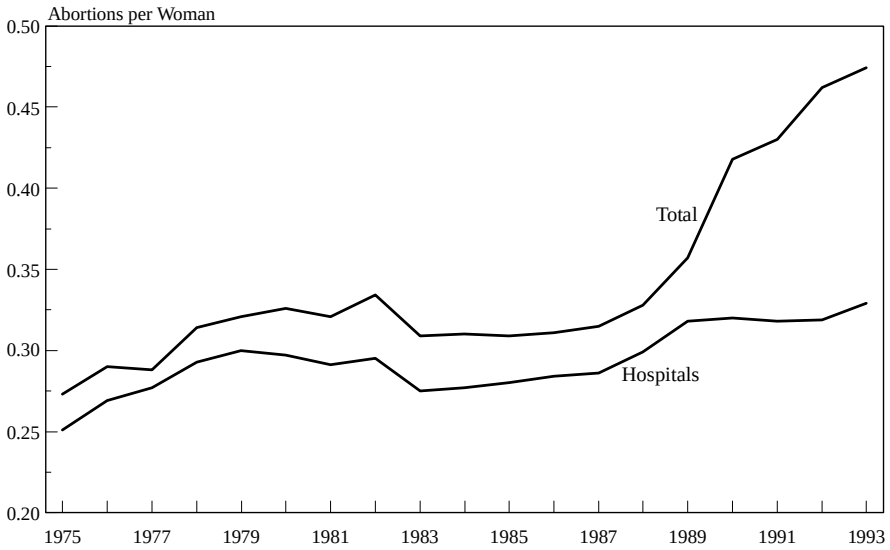
The Total Rate of Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy

It is thus very difficult to pinpoint changes in behavioural trends or provincial variations, and even more difficult to explain the causes. Figure 5 proposes two measures of the cross-sectional intensity of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in Canada for the period 1975 to 1993. These are two total rates, the first calculated using operations performed in hospitals and the other the total known number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy.

The first calculation gives a better picture of changes in trends over time, since statistics on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in hospitals have doubtless been less affected by legislative changes. The rate tended to rise until 1979, when it reached 0.30 interruptions per woman; since then the rate has oscillated around this level: 0.28 in 1988, 0.33 in 1993.

The second calculation no doubt gives a better estimate of intensity. Prior to 1989, the two rates moved almost together, although some peaks were noted that correspond to enlarging the statistical universe; for example, in 1978 the rate rose due to the inclusion of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in clinics in Quebec, and in 1982 to the addition of figures on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed on Canadians provided by the state of

Figure 5. Total Therapeutic Abortion Rate for Abortions in Hospitals and for Total Abortions, Canada, 1975-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Therapeutic Abortions 1993***, Catalogue No. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Washington. After 1989, as more provinces reported, the two curves showed completely different trends. The total rate based on all sources increased abruptly, from 0.33 per woman in 1988 to 0.47 in 1993, an increase of 44% in 5 years.

Age at the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy

Analysis of the demographic characteristics of women who have had a voluntary interruption of pregnancy is made even more difficult by gaps in the data. In 1993, for example, complete information on the demographic characteristics of women who had had a voluntary interruption of pregnancy were available for only 54,444 cases, or 75.2% of those performed in hospitals[7]. It should be added that the number is linked to the number of conceptions, which in turn is linked to the number of women and the use of contraception, further unavailable information. It may nevertheless be assumed that, with regard to the age of women at the time of their voluntary interruptions of pregnancy, those for whom data is

[7]Clinics do not provide the age of women who have voluntary interruptions of pregnancy.

Table 15. Number of Abortions by Age of Woman, Percentage Distribution and Abortion Rate per 1,000 Women, Canada, 1975-1993

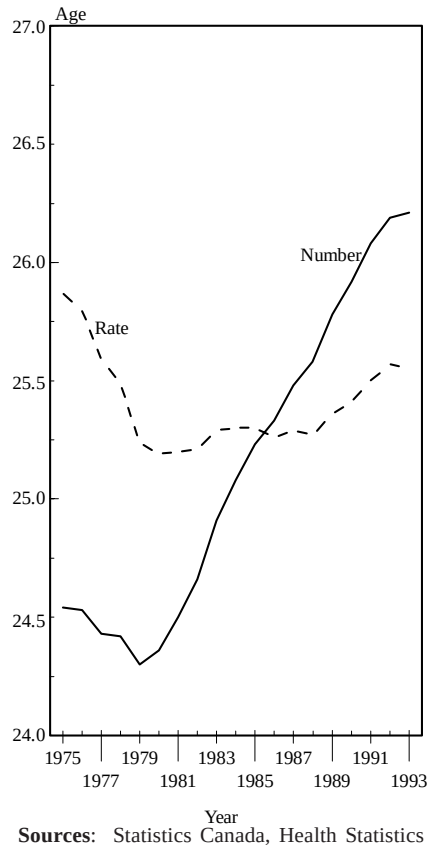
Year	Less than 15	15-17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44[1]	Total
	Number								
1975	651	8,097	8,073	15,636	10,437	5,730	3,447	1,632	53,703
1976	717	8,511	8,810	17,395	11,628	6,397	3,568	1,686	58,712
1977	697	8,646	9,092	18,137	11,602	6,702	3,453	1,535	59,864
1978	642	9,179	10,208	20,916	12,873	7,501	3,803	1,588	66,710
1979	694	9,498	10,988	22,017	13,447	7,887	3,789	1,425	69,745
1980	613	9,500	11,273	22,927	14,114	8,371	3,831	1,470	72,099
1981	605	8,821	10,912	23,263	14,324	8,638	3,936	1,412	71,911
1982	585	8,310	11,223	24,660	15,300	9,141	4,393	1,459	75,071
1983	560	7,003	9,711	23,129	14,426	8,719	4,467	1,353	69,368
1984	503	6,766	9,122	23,268	14,834	8,810	4,774	1,372	69,449
1985	554	6,422	8,764	23,131	14,949	9,079	4,866	1,451	69,216
1986	431	6,552	8,630	22,789	15,227	9,502	5,055	1,386	69,572
1987	442	6,352	8,636	22,345	15,699	9,781	5,208	1,560	70,023
1988	415	6,230	9,066	22,872	16,626	10,311	5,510	1,663	72,693
1989	453	6,353	9,893	24,143	18,536	11,587	6,445	1,905	79,315
1990	600	7,248	11,072	27,895	21,815	14,289	7,809	2,173	92,901
1991	494	7,532	10,649	28,649	21,975	14,974	8,375	2,411	95,059
1992	580	8,112	11,112	30,536	23,295	16,357	9,250	2,843	102,085
1993	664	8,306	11,378	31,226	23,323	17,015	9,544	2,947	104,403
	Percentage Distribution								
1975	1.2	15.1	15.0	29.1	19.4	10.7	6.4	3.0	100.0
1976	1.2	14.5	15.0	29.6	19.8	10.9	6.1	2.9	100.0
1977	1.2	14.4	15.2	30.3	19.4	11.2	5.8	2.6	100.0
1978	1.0	13.8	15.3	31.4	19.3	11.2	5.7	2.4	100.0
1979	1.0	13.6	15.8	31.6	19.3	11.3	5.4	2.0	100.0
1980	0.9	13.2	15.6	31.8	19.6	11.6	5.3	2.0	100.0
1981	0.8	12.3	15.2	32.3	19.9	12.0	5.5	2.0	100.0
1982	0.8	11.1	14.9	32.8	20.4	12.2	5.9	1.9	100.0
1983	0.8	10.1	14.0	33.3	20.8	12.6	6.4	2.0	100.0
1984	0.7	9.7	13.1	33.5	21.4	12.7	6.9	2.0	100.0
1985	0.8	9.3	12.7	33.4	21.6	13.1	7.0	2.1	100.0
1986	0.6	9.4	12.4	32.8	21.9	13.7	7.3	2.0	100.0
1987	0.6	9.1	12.3	31.9	22.4	14.0	7.4	2.2	100.0
1988	0.6	8.6	12.5	31.5	22.9	14.2	7.6	2.3	100.0
1989	0.6	8.0	12.5	30.4	23.4	14.6	8.1	2.4	100.0
1990	0.6	7.8	11.9	30.0	23.5	15.4	8.4	2.3	100.0
1991	0.5	7.9	11.2	30.1	23.1	15.8	8.8	2.5	100.0
1992	0.6	7.9	10.9	29.9	22.8	16.0	9.1	2.8	100.0
1993	0.6	8.0	10.9	29.9	22.3	16.3	9.1	2.8	100.0
	Rate per 1,000 Women [2]								
1975	2.7	11.6	17.6	14.3	10.6	7.2	5.3	2.6	9.7
1976	3.1	12.0	19.0	15.4	11.4	7.7	5.4	2.7	10.3
1977	3.0	12.1	19.3	15.8	11.2	7.6	5.0	2.4	10.3
1978	2.8	12.9	21.3	17.9	12.2	8.1	5.2	2.5	11.3
1979	3.1	13.4	22.5	18.6	12.5	8.2	5.0	2.2	11.6
1980	2.9	13.5	23.1	19.0	12.8	8.4	4.9	2.3	11.7
1981	3.1	13.1	22.4	18.8	12.7	8.3	4.8	2.1	11.5
1982	3.1	13.0	23.1	19.9	13.2	8.8	5.0	2.1	11.8
1983	3.0	11.7	20.5	18.6	12.1	8.2	4.8	1.9	10.8
1984	2.6	11.8	20.4	18.7	12.3	8.1	5.0	1.8	10.7
1985	2.9	11.3	21.1	18.8	12.3	8.1	4.9	1.8	10.6
1986	2.4	11.4	21.8	18.9	12.4	8.3	4.9	1.7	10.6
1987	2.5	11.1	22.3	19.2	12.6	8.3	5.0	1.8	10.5
1988	2.3	11.1	23.1	20.5	13.1	8.5	5.2	1.8	10.8
1989	2.5	11.6	24.7	22.3	14.4	9.4	5.8	2.0	11.6
1990	3.2	13.1	28.1	26.4	17.0	11.3	6.8	2.1	13.5
1991	2.7	13.4	28.0	27.5	17.6	11.6	7.2	2.3	13.7
1992	3.1	14.3	29.6	29.5	19.1	12.5	7.7	2.6	14.6
1993	3.5	14.6	29.8	30.3	19.7	12.9	7.7	2.7	14.9

[1] Includes abortions for women aged 45 and over.

[2] The rates for women under 15 are based on the population of women aged 14 and the rates for the age group 40-44 are based on the population of women of that age group.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Therapeutic Abortions 1993***, Catalogue No. 82-219 and calculations by the author.

Figure 6. Average Age of Women at Abortion Calculated Using Numbers and Rates, Canada, 1975-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Therapeutic Abortions 1993***, Catalogue No. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

missing would not be so different from the group as a whole as to invalidate the conclusions presented here. It is agreed that this is a debatable hypothesis.

Table 15 shows the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy by age group and their percentage distribution. It can be seen that the number among younger women has hardly changed over the period, while it has increased significantly among older women. The annual average variation over the entire period was 0.1% a year for women under 17 and 1.8% for those 18 or 19. In comparison, the number among women 30-34 and 35-39 increased much more rapidly, rising from 5,730 to 17,015 for the former group and from 3,447 to 9,544 for the latter, for annual average variations of 5.9% and 5.5% respectively. The number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy among women in the intermediate age groups (20-24, 25-29) increased, but at about the same rate as for all women, so that the proportion of women under 20 among all women who had a voluntary interruption of pregnancy decreased strongly, while the proportion for women over 30 showed a corresponding increase. The proportion of women under 20 fell from about a third (31.3%) in 1975 to about a fifth (19.5%) of the total, while the proportion of older women rose from approximately a fifth (20.1%) to just over a quarter (28.2%). Concluding that the propensity to interrupt a pregnancy voluntarily decreased among younger women and increased among older women would be rather hasty, since ***changes in the distribution of the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy by age were due more to changes in the age structure of the population than to changes in the age-specific rates***. The rates in fact increased for all age groups, but increased more among women 20-24 (annual average variation of 4.0% over the entire period) than

among very young women (variation of 2.1% per year among women under 20) or mature women (annual average variation of 1.9% and 0.2% among women 35-39 and 40-44 respectively).

Figure 6 gives an excellent example of the misinterpretation possible if changes in the age structure of the population are not taken into consideration. Between 1979 and 1993, the average age of women having a voluntary interruption of pregnancy calculated on the number of events increased continually and rapidly, rising from 24.3 to 26.2. The average age calculated using the rates, however, varied much less, rising from 25.2 to 25.6 over the same period. This is because the average age calculated on the number of events was strongly affected by the arrival during the period of the large baby-boom cohorts followed by the small baby-bust cohorts at the ages where the rate of voluntary interruption of pregnancy is at its maximum.

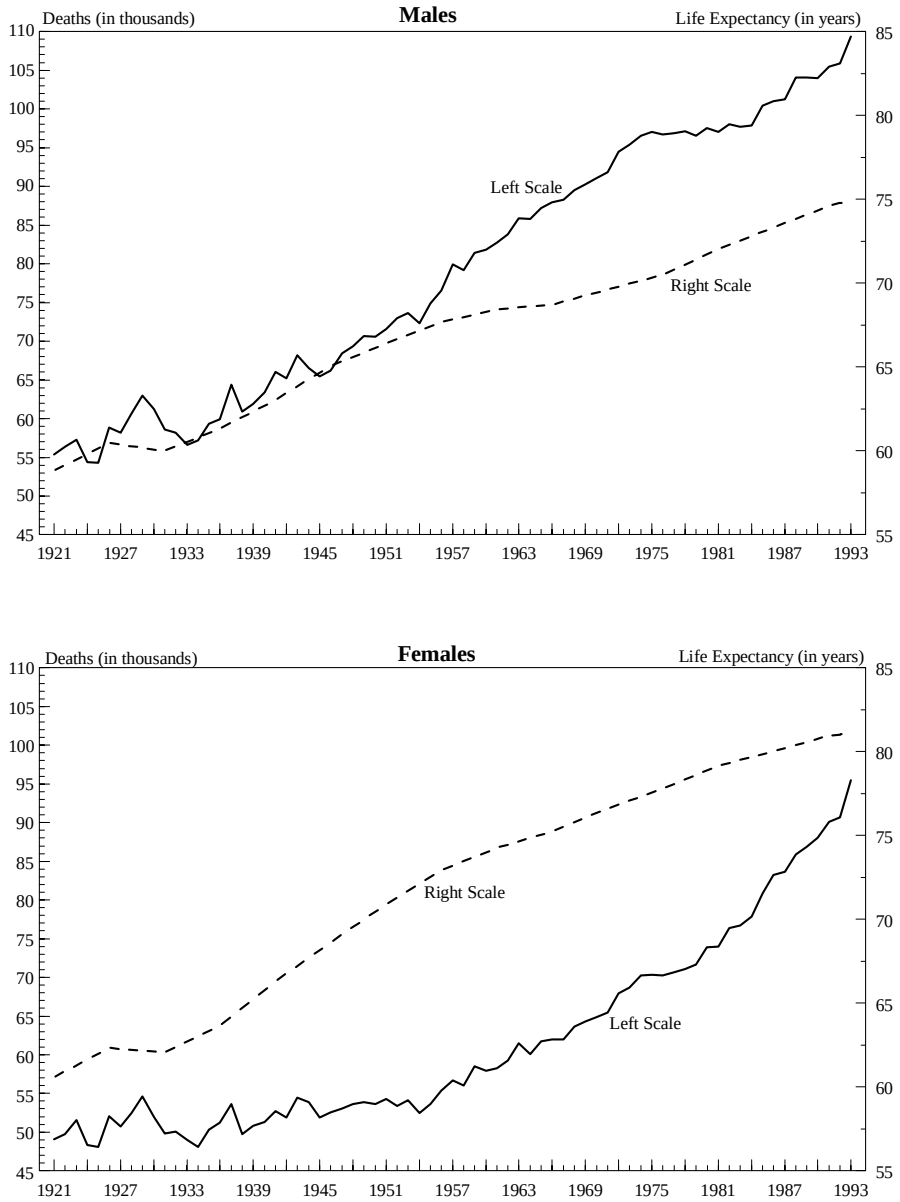
MORTALITY

The 1993 "Rise" in Mortality

The number of deaths in Canada in 1993 was 204,912 (Table A6 in the Appendix), ***up 8,377 (4.3%) from the previous year***. The increase in the number of deaths over time in a growing and aging population is not abnormal, since sufficient gains in mortality cannot be expected to offset the increase due to age in the number of people likely to die. At the same time, by taking care to damp the inevitable accidental fluctuations by using a three-year average of deaths, the continuing steady rise in life expectancy can be seen (Figure 7). ***What is noteworthy in 1993 is the size of the increase in the number of deaths, which was the highest since the Second World War***. Publication of these statistics gave rise to speculation on the possible causes of the increase. Some people saw the effect of a deterioration in health services, others the economic slowdown and increase in unemployment, still others the negative effects of increasing environmental deterioration. Because of their categorical nature, these explanations seem at the very least hasty and perhaps even imprudent since the causes mentioned normally act only quite slowly, and their effects are generally only observable in retrospective analyses, not from one year to the next.

Figure 7A shows the annual variations in the number of deaths in Canada for the period 1971 to 1993. The extent of fluctuation around the trend line from one year to another is an indication of the cautious interpretation to be made of a variation observed in a given year for predicting the following year's variation, even if the value observed for one year, as was the case in 1993, is a little farther from the line than those of the other years. The shallow positive slope of the line may be interpreted as the effect of an upward trend in the number of deaths due to the aging of the population.

Figure 7. Number of Deaths and Life Expectancy at Birth, by Sex, Canada, 1921-1993



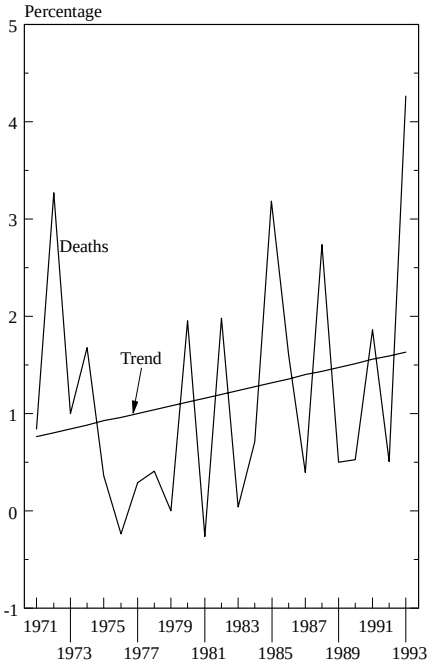
Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

On analysis, there are two components of the increase observed in the number of deaths:

- a first due to structural changes in the population (aging and increase), obtained by applying the 1992 death rates to the 1993 population, and
- a second attributable to the intrinsic and unexpected rise in the death rate obtained by calculating the difference between observed deaths and forecast deaths.

The results of these calculations are shown in Table 16. Based solely on the numerical and structural changes in the population, the number of deaths should have increased by 5,830, or 3.0%, for Canada as a whole between 1992 and 1993, but the observed increased was 8,380 or 4.3%. This suggests that 2,550 deaths, or 1.3% might be due to changes in mortality.

Figure 7A. Annual Change in the Number of Deaths, Canada, 1971-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table 16. Number of Observed and Expected Deaths and Annual Change (in percent), Canada and Provinces, 1992 and 1993

	Observed Deaths		Expected Deaths	Annual Change			Annual Change (%)		
	1992	1993	1993	Observed	Expected	Difference	Observed	Expected	Difference
Canada	196,535	204,912	202,361	8,377	5,826	2,551	**4.26**	**2.96**	1.30
Nfld	3,798	3,891	3,889	93	91	2	2.45	2.40	0.05
P.E.I.	1,114	1,145	1,131	31	17	14	2.78	1.53	1.26
N.S.	7,544	7,559	7,712	15	168	-153	0.20	2.23	-2.03
N.B.	5,609	5,806	5,735	197	126	71	3.51	2.25	1.27
Que.	48,824	51,711	50,386	2,887	1,562	1,325	5.91	3.20	2.71
Ont.	73,206	75,853	75,383	2,647	2,177	470	3.62	2.97	0.64
Man.	8,980	9,299	9,152	319	172	147	3.55	1.92	1.64
Sask.	7,793	8,164	7,966	371	173	198	4.76	2.22	2.54
Alta	14,679	15,338	15,187	659	508	151	4.49	3.46	1.03
B.C.	24,615	25,764	25,441	1,149	826	323	4.67	3.36	1.31

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table 17. Evolution of Mortality from Diseases of the Circulatory System and from Tumors, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1993[1]

Year	Diseases of the Circulatory System [2]	Ischemic Heart Diseases [3]	Cerebro-vascular Diseases [4]	Tumors and Cancers [5]	Malignant Tumors of the Respiratory System [6]
	Males				
1971	412.63	281.73	70.65	164.08	46.44
1972	414.59	282.18	71.68	165.62	47.31
1973	408.44	276.86	69.11	167.25	49.12
1974	408.99	277.36	68.51	166.63	51.15
1975	393.87	266.94	65.65	167.02	50.74
1976	389.54	264.38	62.45	167.30	52.54
1977	380.25	258.99	59.54	169.40	54.24
1978	365.20	246.57	57.16	171.17	55.48
1979	351.95	232.12	55.09	173.00	56.74
1980	344.81	227.49	52.27	174.58	58.77
1981	331.40	220.25	50.32	172.48	57.63
1982	323.92	214.16	47.06	175.76	60.75
1983	311.55	205.29	44.32	175.01	61.27
1984	297.40	195.85	43.00	178.49	62.63
1985	289.99	190.84	40.75	178.76	60.90
1986	282.32	183.48	39.39	179.29	61.47
1987	267.76	174.37	38.57	178.26	61.25
1988	260.77	169.29	36.80	182.16	63.23
1989	250.09	159.79	37.19	179.28	62.69
1990	231.04	146.39	35.67	177.32	61.86
1991	225.64	142.06	34.18	177.45	61.04
1992	219.64	137.65	33.25	174.87	59.49
1993	219.60	136.86	34.48	172.69	59.13
	Females				
1971	335.33	188.19	84.60	134.11	8.35
1972	334.44	187.50	84.49	137.52	10.03
1973	327.98	186.06	80.00	136.61	10.61
1974	326.24	185.96	79.25	137.17	11.32
1975	312.33	174.84	77.98	132.39	11.59
1976	303.54	171.16	73.12	131.41	11.84
1977	293.10	166.00	68.64	132.50	13.36
1978	283.55	161.79	67.21	132.68	14.17
1979	271.11	149.03	63.62	135.28	15.47
1980	269.71	148.03	60.68	133.70	16.17
1981	256.43	140.88	58.55	134.21	17.07
1982	252.48	138.78	56.01	134.28	18.45
1983	240.21	131.08	52.87	134.26	18.72
1984	232.06	128.66	49.81	136.37	20.83
1985	225.44	122.61	48.74	139.10	22.41
1986	222.70	121.16	48.34	139.06	22.48
1987	210.86	114.71	45.07	138.82	23.82
1988	206.88	111.07	45.30	139.84	25.17
1989	198.12	105.39	43.94	137.90	25.09
1990	187.16	100.34	40.72	138.13	25.61
1991	184.13	97.69	40.42	138.70	27.44
1992	177.56	92.22	40.14	137.98	27.19
1993	177.88	91.78	41.17	139.06	29.01

[1] Rate per 100,000, standardized on the structure by age and sex of the 1976 population.

[2] Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

[3] Causes 410-414, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

[4] Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

[5] Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

[6] Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Causes of Death***, Catalogue No. 84-208, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 18. Number of Deaths from Diseases of the Circulatory System (Causes 460-519 in the I.C.D.) and Annual Percentage Change, by Sex and Broad Age Groups, Canada, 1987-1992 and 1992-1993

Age Group	1987	1992	1993	1987-1992	1992-1993
	Males				
0-34	156	117	117	-5.6	0.0
35-59	486	486	461	0.0	-5.1
60-74	2,699	2,609	2,748	-0.7	5.3
75+	5,242	6,198	6,646	3.4	**7.2**
Total	8,583	9,410	9,972	**1.9**	**6.0**
	Females				
0-34	119	99	106	-3.6	7.1
35-59	288	310	339	1.5	9.4
60-74	1,292	1,507	1,587	3.1	5.3
75+	4,147	5,336	6,049	5.2	**13.4**
Total	5,846	7,252	8,081	**4.4**	**11.4**

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Causes of Death***, Catalogue No. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

Diseases of the circulatory system and tumours and cancers are responsible for approximately two-thirds of deaths in Canada. For these two main sections of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-9), the death rates calculated for 1993, standardized on the 1976 population, are consistent with the observed trend (Table 17), apart from a slowing of the decrease in diseases of the circulatory system. The increase in deaths among women due to malignant tumours of the respiratory system is in line with the trend of the past 20 years (an increase of 7% in the standardized rate). These two leading causes of death, then, do not explain the unexpected increase in the 1993 death rate.

The explanation must thus lie elsewhere. While the death rate for certain causes of death varies little from one year to another, for other causes, which are related to viral or bacterial infections, the number of deaths may vary significantly even without an epidemic. These include flu, pneumonia and bronchitis. Since the specific cause of death is not always clear, it is often preferable to use the broader classifications rather than the detailed causes. Flu, pneumonia and bronchitis come under Chapter VIII of ICD-9, Diseases of the Respiratory System. In 1993, there was a noticeable increase in the number of deaths from these causes, particularly among very old women (Table 18). While between 1987 and 1992 the annual average variation in the number of deaths observed for this set of causes was 1.9% for men and 4.4% for women, in 1993 the increases were 6.0% and 11.4% respectively. Among those 75 and over, the increase from 1992 to 1993 was 7.2% for

Table 19. Number of Deaths per Two-Month Period, Canada 1992 and 1993

Month	Number of Deaths		Change (%)
	1992	1993	
Total	196,535	204,912	4.3
January-February	34,651	34,774	0.4
March-April	32,716	36,903	**12.8**
May-June	31,784	32,747	3.0
July-August	31,574	32,359	2.5
September-October	32,053	32,972	2.9
November-December	33,757	35,157	4.1
Total without March-April	163,819	168,009	**2.6**

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

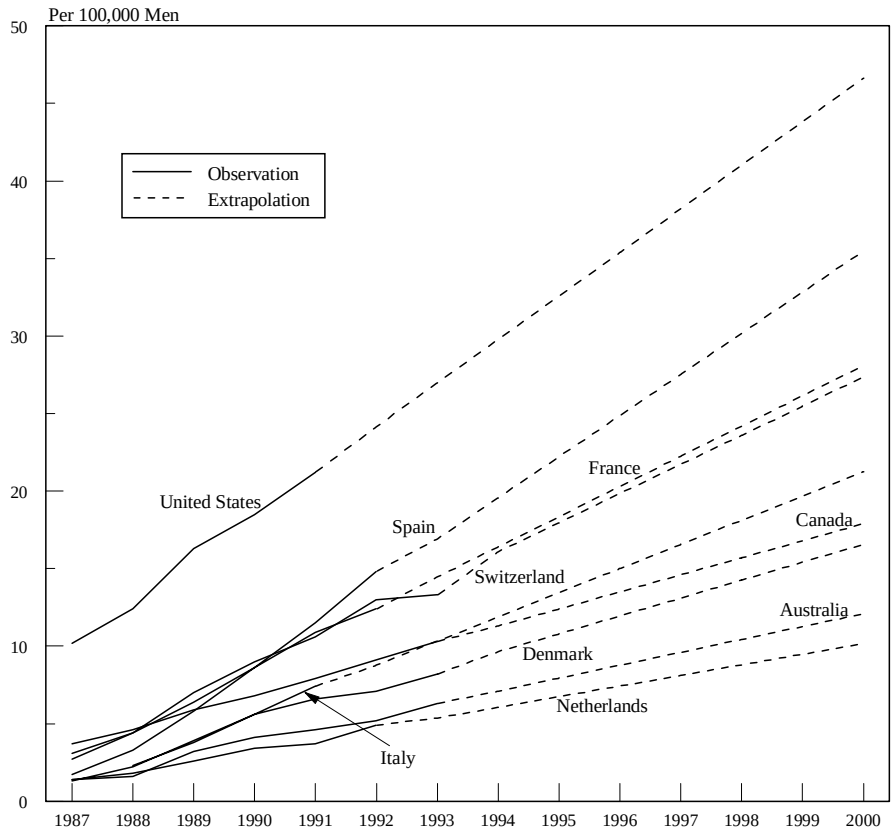
men and 13.4% for women. Another indication of the effect of diseases of the respiratory system on the unexpected increase in the number of deaths recorded in 1993 is seen in Table 19, which shows deaths for 1992 and 1993 by two-month period. The 12.8% increase observed in March and April is over three times higher than for any other two-month period. If the extraordinary increase in March and April is excluded, the average increase for the whole year would be 2.6%, or about the value that might have been expected due to structural changes alone (Table 16). ***It seems reasonable to conclude that the increase in the number of deaths observed in 1993 was exceptional and accidental. Nothing indicates that there is any change in mortality trends, and it is only if the phenomenon is repeated that one would have to look for the underlying causes***.

HIV Mortality Trends in Canada and Selected Western Countries

The most recent figures for deaths due to HIV, most of them for 1993, follow almost exactly the progression lines that had been calculated with the 1987-1992 data. Figure 8 in this year's report considers only deaths among men, since the disease has so far claimed relatively few female victims.

It would seem that deaths in each of the Western countries are increasing at their own rate. The sample of countries for which figures are available has increased, but it is still not possible to group them into families of countries. The World Health Organization (WHO) collects these figures from the statistical agencies of the various countries and distributes them as is. Although in theory the medical world seems certain when it identifies deaths due to HIV, the quality of the statistics doubtless varies from one country

Figure 8. Crude Mortality Rates from HIV (Causes 042-044 in the I.C.D.) and Extrapolations, Selected Countries, 1987-2000



Sources: Data requested from the World Health Organisation, Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Causes of Death***, Catalogue No. 84-208, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

to another. Nonetheless, with the values of the rates for 6 or 7 consecutive years, the estimated regression lines still show correlation coefficients higher than 0.97, except for New Zealand where annual rates were more erratic. In general, the slope of extrapolation lines is accentuated as mortality increases and, with one exception, these lines do not cross. Projections for the year 2000 take the form of a fan, from 10.1 per 100,000 in the Netherlands to 46.6 in the United States. The exception is Canada, which is second highest at the beginning of the period of observation and sixth highest at the end of the projection period.

Table 20. Main Indicators on Deaths Due to AIDS, Certain Countries, 1993

Country	Male Rates [1]	Percentage of Deaths before Age 6 (both sexes)	Percentage of Deaths at Ages 25-54	Female Deaths as a Percent of All Deaths
Australia (1993)	6.3	0.2	89.0	4.2
Canada (1993)	**10.3**	**0.4**	**90.3**	**5.8**
Denmark (1993)	8.2	1.3	88.0	7.4
France (1992)	12.4	0.6	87.0	16.4
Germany (1993)	4.5	0.4	87.0	12.6
Italy (1991)	7.4	1.0	90.0	19.6
Netherlands (1992)	4.9	0.5	91.0	10.0
New Zealand (1992)	3.4	0.0	82.0	4.9
Spain (1992)	14.8	1.2	86.0	17.1
Switzerland (1993)	13.3	0.5	93.0	24.7
United Kingdom (1992)	1.9	1.0	85.0	6.9
United States (1991)	21.2	0.8	90.0	11.9

[1] Per 100,000.

Sources: Data requested from the World Health Organisation, Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Causes of Death***, Catalogue No. 84-208, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

It is also noteworthy that, in all countries, deaths continue to be concentrated in the 25-54 age group (85% to 91% of male deaths). Conversely, no doubt because of their small numbers in certain countries, the frequency of deaths among women is more variable, but remains low (Table 20). The death rates for children under one year of age (per 100,000) are generally low. They do not exceed 1 in Germany, the United Kingdom and Australia and are even zero in the Netherlands and New Zealand. Spain's is surprisingly high in contrast, taking successively the values 3.4, 3.0, 3.5 and 4.5 from 1989 to 1992. In most countries, the number of children's deaths is growing more slowly than those of other ages. The percentage of deaths to children under 5 year of age is lower in 1993 than in 1987. In France, the percentage dropped from 1.8% to 0.6%, in Italy 4.7% to 1.0%, in Spain 3.1% to 1.2% and in the United States from 1.4% to 0.8%. Canada reported four in 1993. This could be the beneficial effect of efforts at prevention.

In Canada, the number of deaths attributed to HIV was 1,564 in 1993, an increase of 206 (15%) over the previous year (Table 21). As in all Western countries, AIDS is a cause of death basically among males, as 94.1% of all deaths due to AIDS since 1987 were men. ***Despite the proximity of the United States, where the incidence of this cause of death is the highest of all Western countries, it appears to be less significant in Canada than in other countries in Western Europe***.

Table 21. Deaths Due to HIV (Causes 042-044 in the ICD) by Broad Age Groups and Sex, Canada, 1987-1993

Year	Sex	Age Group					Total
		0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60 +	
1987	Males	1	85	293	87	22	488
	Females	5	7	12	8	5	37
1988	Males	2	96	361	126	29	614
	Females	3	10	28	7	9	57
1989	Males	3	124	485	164	21	797
	Females	2	10	20	10	12	54
1990	Males	3	108	576	215	35	937
	Females	1	14	19	7	4	45
1991	Males	3	129	698	233	42	1,105
	Females	4	15	25	14	7	65
1992	Males	4	161	783	305	35	1,288
	Females	4	10	38	11	7	70
1993	Males	7	159	924	330	54	1,474
	Females	2	19	49	13	7	90

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Causes of Death***, Catalogue No. 84-208.

The 1993 Life Table

To avoid random fluctuations in mortality, it is customary to calculate life tables by taking as numerator of the rates the average of deaths over a number of years, generally three. The year 1993 was the last for which data by age were available at the time of publishing this report. The last three-year table that can be calculated is therefore centred on the year 1992 and is based on the average of deaths in 1991, 1992 and 1993. Since mortality tends to decrease from year to year, however, a preliminary estimate may be obtained for the last year for which figures are available, while discounting accidental variations, by using the average of the number of deaths of the previous year (1992) and twice the number of deaths in the past year (1993). This is the approach that has always been used in this report, and Table A7 (Appendix) shows the results in terms of life expectancies at various ages.

The preliminary table thus calculated for 1993 shows that the increase in deaths discussed above was not enough to reverse the upward trend in life expectancy,[8] ***which stood at 74.96 years for men and 81.16 years for women***. Annual gains were, nevertheless, slowed down. During the period 1981 to 1991, life expectancy at birth increased annually on average by 0.27 years for men and 0.19 years for women. From 1991 to 1992 the increases

[8] A life table constructed in this way does not contradict a table based on a single year. It fixes the level for a period while the annual table shows variations which can be accidental.

were 0.17 and 0.07 respectively. If life expectancy increased for both sexes, gains since the mid-1970s have been higher for men, and the gap between the life expectancies of the two sexes has continued to narrow. The gap in favour of women fell from 7.44 years in 1976 to 6.24 in 1992, but is still significant. But the situation in Canada is not exceptional, since the average difference for the 23 industrialized countries for which figures are available (see Table 2) is virtually the same: 6.19 years.

THE MEANING AND USE OF THE PARAMETERS OF THE LIFE TABLE

Principle of the Life Table

The life-table model (whether it represents mortality, nuptiality or some other phenomenon) includes several variants. Although not extremely complex, this model is nevertheless not simple. The names of its parameters seem to have such obvious and unequivocal meanings that they inspire confidence, but great familiarity with the model is needed if they are not sometimes to be used or interpreted incorrectly.

One of the most serious mistakes and also one of the commonest is to attribute to the life table a predictive capacity which it does not possess. Some people read a table of cancer mortality as a prediction that such-and-such a fraction of the population will die of this disease. Another mistake is to calculate the number of years of life remaining to a person of a given age by subtracting that age from the expectation of life at birth.

As the life table is perhaps the demographer's most useful, and most used, tool for descriptions and analyses of demographic processes, it is worth providing a succinct description of the essential principles on which it rests, a brief history of its development and an account of its weaknesses.

The life table as we know it was born gradually, with the development of arithmetic and statistics, from the desire to measure the rate at which the individuals in a group, although all born at the same time, disappear. Of course, this purpose has never been formulated in such a simplistic fashion. It has, in fact, only taken shape slowly on the basis of many discoveries, to which the table itself has given rise, on the age at which people die, the causes of death and also on the care that they could be provided with. It resulted, among other things, from knowledge of the origin of diseases and their mode of propagation. This vague quest for a law, which inspired and encouraged all these calculations and developments, is based on the fairly obvious principle that to live is to be exposed to the risk of dying and that, after having escaped this fate for a certain period of time, one inevitably

succumbs to it, whether by accident or through exhaustion of one's life force.[9] It may thus be observed of a group of individuals born in the same year and kept under observation (which is the only criterion of uniformity normally used in constructing an aggregate mortality table[10]) that the number decreases as they grow older. At the end of each time unit chosen (normally a year) since birth, the survivors are counted and during each time unit those deceased. The ratio of the number of deceased to the number present at the beginning of the period provides a post-factum probability of dying within the interval, and the actual numbers of the initial group observed can be ignored by applying probabilities to a group taken as unity (in practice 10,000 or 100,000). From that point on, combining the numbers produces significant indices, the best known of which is the average duration of life, or life expectancy at birth.

It is thus essential to bear in mind when looking at a life table that the frequency of occurrence of events or the reduction in the number of persons at risk depend on the time elapsed since the source event, in the case of general mortality, since birth. The other parameters are simply the product of relations between the number of events and the number of persons at risk.

A life table drawn up as described above, if it is indeed possible to calculate it so rigorously, cannot be completed until the last individual in the group has died, or about 100 years later. Information is then available on the rate at which the individuals in the group disappeared and it can thus be shown that, on average, they lived so many years and had a probability *x* of dying between two given ages. For this reason, these tables are known as longitudinal tables. This information is only interesting from an historical perspective, but normally interest focusses more on current levels of mortality, strictly calculated, and the table is not an adequate instrument for this purpose. A rate, standardized if one wishes to make comparisons, would do the job in most cases. Without eliminating the fundamental problem, it is possible, however, to obtain indications using the device of the fictitious cohort and the period table. Developmental work and research in fact began with this type of table. For a long time the fact was ignored that the fragments of generations at various ages which compose the fictional cohort have characteristics resulting from living different histories. Longitudinal tables have appeared only relatively recently.

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[9] The principle of the life table is already present in the London merchant draper John Graunt's book, but after the endeavours of the astronomer Halley, it was necessary to wait for the 18th century (Deparcieux, Duvillard, Kersseboom) to perfect the model. The first table in its present form was finally drawn up by Milne and published in England in 1815 by William Farr. The first official table in the United States was prepared at the beginning of this century (1900-1902).

[10] In theory, as many tables can be constructed as homogeneous populations can be identified. One may, for example, construct the life table of diabetics diagnosed at age *x*, or those operated on for lung cancer at age 45. The time unit chosen would doubtless be a month, and survivors, number of deceased, probabilities of survival, etc., would be calculated in the same way.

The Period Table

Instead of observing a group of individuals as they pass through various ages, the method is transposed to an artificial cohort whose experience concerning the risk of death is borrowed from the individuals of different ages running these risks during a given period (generally a year or a few years). This group is thus known as a fictitious, or hypothetical, cohort. The subsequent calculations are the same as for the generation table. The table, however, is no longer a description of experience but a statistical construction based on the hypothesis that all cohorts have the same behaviour as a function of age as far as death is concerned, although this implicit hypothesis was not made explicit, and questioned, until later.

It follows that the interpretation of the parameters of the so-called "period" table is different from that of the generation table. Strictly speaking, these parameters do not apply to any particular group of people. They are, in short, measurements of the mortality or survival characterizing the year and the population for which the table was drawn up. To say, as is often heard, that female life expectancy at birth in 1991 is 79.8 years means that a girl born that year may hope to live an average of 79.8 years, is in a strict sense a misinterpretation. However, when such tables came into general use people were particularly impressed by the advances in combating killer infectious diseases. Interest had thus shifted to gains in the probability of surviving from one birthday to the next in those segments of life where death had struck the hardest. These characteristics of the period life table and the preoccupations linked to its origins become fully apparent when it is observed that almost all of us live longer on average than the life table drawn up for the year of our birth would suggest. But it is also true that the indicators drawn from period life tables are comparable and give an indication of the speed and ages at which victories over death are won, since almost without exception changes in the probabilities of survival have to date been in only one direction, upward, and from year to year tables are drawn up in the same way.

It is thus important to bear in mind that, in the period table, it is always life already elapsed that serves as the basis, and that the assumption on which the systematic preparation of such tables depends is that the past life of cohorts has no effect on their period behaviour. Implicitly this means that the probability of surviving, for example from age 27 to age 28 during year *x*, is unrelated to the cohort to which one belongs, but owes everything to the circumstances prevailing during that year for people of that age.

It becomes clear from the above that drawing up a life table implies that the event being studied (so far, death) causes the individual experiencing the event to disappear from the field of observation; obviously, it is only the survivors who are subject to this risk. Since the phenomenon studied

is the only one to eliminate individuals, the measurements drawn from the table deal only with the phenomenon. When looking at the risk of death, one can thus speak of the effect of mortality, since only death, independently of any other phenomenon such as emigration, acts to reduce the size of the group. The table thus becomes a powerful analytical tool since, in a situation where a number of phenomena conflict, the effect of only one is studied to the exclusion of those of the others.

Any unrepeatable phenomenon, like death, can in principle be analyzed using the life table provided the appropriate data are available to construct it. The first phenomenon that seemed to lend itself to the construction of a table was first marriage. Marrying for the first time in a closed population is in effect to withdraw from the ranks of the unmarried and, after eliminating the effects of mortality, the number of unmarried people is seen to decline with age by marriage alone. As opposed to mortality, not all unmarried persons marry, and the table is thus normally ended at an arbitrarily set age. As well, in western countries, people cannot marry before a certain age, which sets the lower limit for beginning the table. This period table has been criticized precisely because marriage is, as pointed out by A. Sauvy, “flexible”, which means it can intensify or decline rapidly at any time in certain cohorts involved in the fictitious cohort. It becomes evident that behaviour at a given age is not independent of behaviour at earlier ages. But the purpose of the table is more to determine the levels valid for a given period than to point out “accidents”. There have also been several attempts to calculate birth-order fertility tables, since a woman cannot give birth to more than one first child, one second child, etc.

Whatever the phenomenon studied, the essential point here is that it is the fact of being eliminated from the group of persons at risk that makes the table an instrument for analyzing the phenomenon that eliminates them, and that the resemblance of an unrepeatable event to death is not in fact exact.

The Multiple-Decrement Table

Researchers have also developed a multiple-decrement table, which is a little more difficult to build and use. Still based on the duration of exposure to risk, validly represented by age in an aggregate table, this table distinguishes among those leaving a group on the basis of several causes, such as leaving the unmarried state through either marriage or death. The problem is interference between phenomena, that is, the difficulty of determining the role played by one phenomenon in the fact that the other does not appear within the chosen time unit. This type of table is often used in analyzing cause-specific mortality. It is only recently, through work by Pollard, that a satisfactory solution has been found to the problem of distributing responsibility for disappearing from observation on the basis of simple and

credible hypotheses.[11] Using this analytical procedure, the role played by the various causes of death in mortality can be determined. Obviously the values of the parameters of these tables are only as valid as the independence of the phenomena involved and the hypotheses which underlie their construction.

Multi-State Tables

The last category of table is the multi-state table.[12] Its proponents see it as a way to take into account and measure transitions from a state which has as its counterpart, except in the case of death, entering another state. The phenomena studied can be divorce, marriage, employment, unemployment, etc. For a given cohort, and from the demographic perspective, it is possible to deduce the mean length of time spent in one of the states which, combined, form the total life, as well as other indicators. The principal interest of these tables is thus different from that of simple tables. It is not the measurement of the degree and timing of a phenomenon, to the exclusion of others that obscure its manifestation, which single-state tables attempt to measure, but above all the evaluation of the time passed in the various states resulting precisely from the combination of effects of these phenomena. At the same time, when these tables are period tables, they may not inspire confidence because of the heterogeneity of the population. Very frequently relevant information on the time elapsed since the previous event is unavailable, so transitions are introduced into the mechanism for calculating period tables by linking their appearance to the age of the person who causes or experiences it. Age is, of course, the time elapsed since birth. But this duration is not, either in reality or in the conventions of the fictitious cohort, responsible in most cases for the appearance of the transition in question. When the time elapsed between two successive states can be taken into consideration, confidence in the table is greater. But it goes against reason when, for lack of adequate information, a constitutive element of the life of the average individual is considered to be that, *x* years after their birth in 1991, so many divorced women per 1,000 rejoin the ranks of the married, since this fact is not related to age understood as the duration of exposure to the risk. What happens here is that recent divorces and much older divorces are placed on the same footing, but changes of state can be very volatile,[13] even over short periods, and their many and various combinations can in no way represent the average behaviour of individuals. The analytical power

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[11] In fact, instead of resolving the problem as a number of other researchers before him had attempted to do, notably Calot and Léry or Arriaga, he reached his objective by bypassing the difficulty.

[12] These tables, also known as multi-regional, originate in the study of migration. In the model they propose, an individual may disappear from the group only temporarily, and then return to it and once again become an individual "at risk".

[13] They are at the mercy of legislative changes, passing fashion and other factors completely exogenous to the phenomenon.

of such a table disappears, since, instead of having an analysis of the effect of each of the events making up the situation, their synthesis is presented, in other words, reality itself. Saying on the basis of such a table that in 1991 the average man would spend 40 years in the married state assumes that, in the abstract, men will marry, be widowed, divorced and remarry as these acts occur in 1991, and moreover at the age at which they are experienced that year. This assumes a series of hypotheses that is difficult accept.

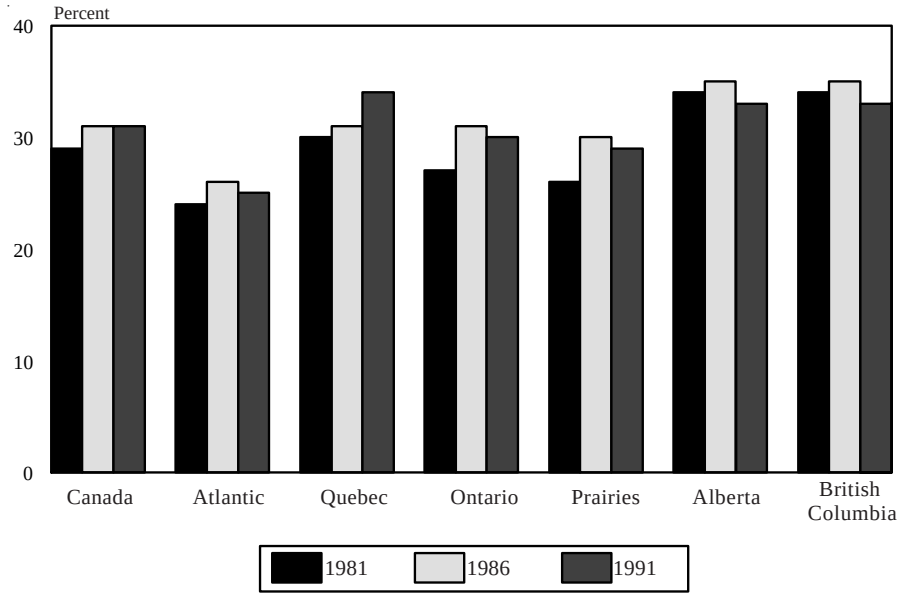
Without going into the more obscure details of their construction, the unfortunate result for the person unfamiliar with the principles on which these tables are based is that they are presented with measurements that in their simplicity give the impression of translating real average behaviour, whereas they are in fact very complex constructions, applicable it is not clear to whom, and subject to a number of hypotheses, many of which are difficult to justify.

While these multi-state tables are not satisfactory from an analytical point of view, the area in which they can be remarkably useful is in preparing projections. In constructing scenarios for the future, the projections' author can imagine behaviour and assign it to the population over whose destiny he presides in his hypotheses. The transitions he imagines and the rate at which they occur can reveal demographic states on which it is extremely useful to reflect to find courses of action that might be taken to achieve or prevent them.

Some Results of Multi-State Tables on Marriage and Divorce

Three-year multi-state tables for marriage and divorce were drawn up centred on the years 1981, 1986 and 1991. Introducing into the model the probabilities at each age of death, marriage, divorce and remarriage produces the number of events between two birthdays in a fictitious cohort forming the radix of the table (10,000 or 100,000 individuals at birth). In the table, the age-specific distribution of various events may be observed, their sum obtained (except for deaths), and classic central-tendency and dispersion indices calculated that can then be interpreted as demographic indices. For example, if 2,900 divorces are counted in the female table, it can be concluded that, out of 10,000 women, 29% were divorced in the course of their life, if the table is calculated from birth and assuming one divorce only per woman, or that 29% of 10,000 married women would divorce if the radix of the table is the group of women married at age 15. The mean age at the event, the median age, the time spent in a given state, etc., can also be calculated. The probabilities used are age-specific rates observed during the year for which the table was constructed, which are converted into quotients and applied to the "survivors" of the appropriate event. Probabilities of widowhood are derived from the death rates for the other sex, adjusted by plus or minus two years depending on whether the widowed person is a man or a

Figure 9. Proportion of Marriages Which Would End in Divorce, by Sex, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

woman, since the average difference in age at marriage is about that order of magnitude. It is even possible to introduce differential mortality by marital status and different nuptiality values for unmarried persons and those already married.

The interest of the measures thus obtained is less their value than comparisons at various dates. Instead of obtaining an understanding of behaviour, one obtains descriptions at each date. It will be noted that, while the table thus constructed provides indicators with some weaknesses, they are not the only ones in the world of demography. Synthetic indices are doubtful indicators because, to use an additive synthesis, the sum of total events is taken rather than rates. These total events are valid measurements only at the cost of hypotheses that can sometimes be quite cumbersome. When they involve unrepeatable events such as first marriage, they reveal their weakness by providing values that exceed unity, which is absurd, but these weaknesses go unnoticed when

repeatable events are involved. This is the case with the total fertility rate, which is interpreted as the number of children born throughout their life to women in the fictitious cohort. The indices from the multi-state table, despite their weaknesses, provide a better estimate of period intensity since they never present illogical results.

Results

The table reveals that marriage in 1991 is almost as resistant to divorce as in 1981. While in 1981 29% of marriages would have ended in divorce, in 1991 the proportion is only slightly higher, at 31%. Figure 9 shows higher values in all regions in 1986, due to the changes to the Divorce Act in 1985. The Atlantic region shows the lowest risk of a marriage ending in divorce (24% in 1981 and 25% in 1991). Prior to 1991, the highest risk was in British Columbia (35% in 1986), but in 1991 Quebec moved into first place with 34%. But this asssumes no differential migration by those divorcing or for those for whom divorce is a reason to migrate.

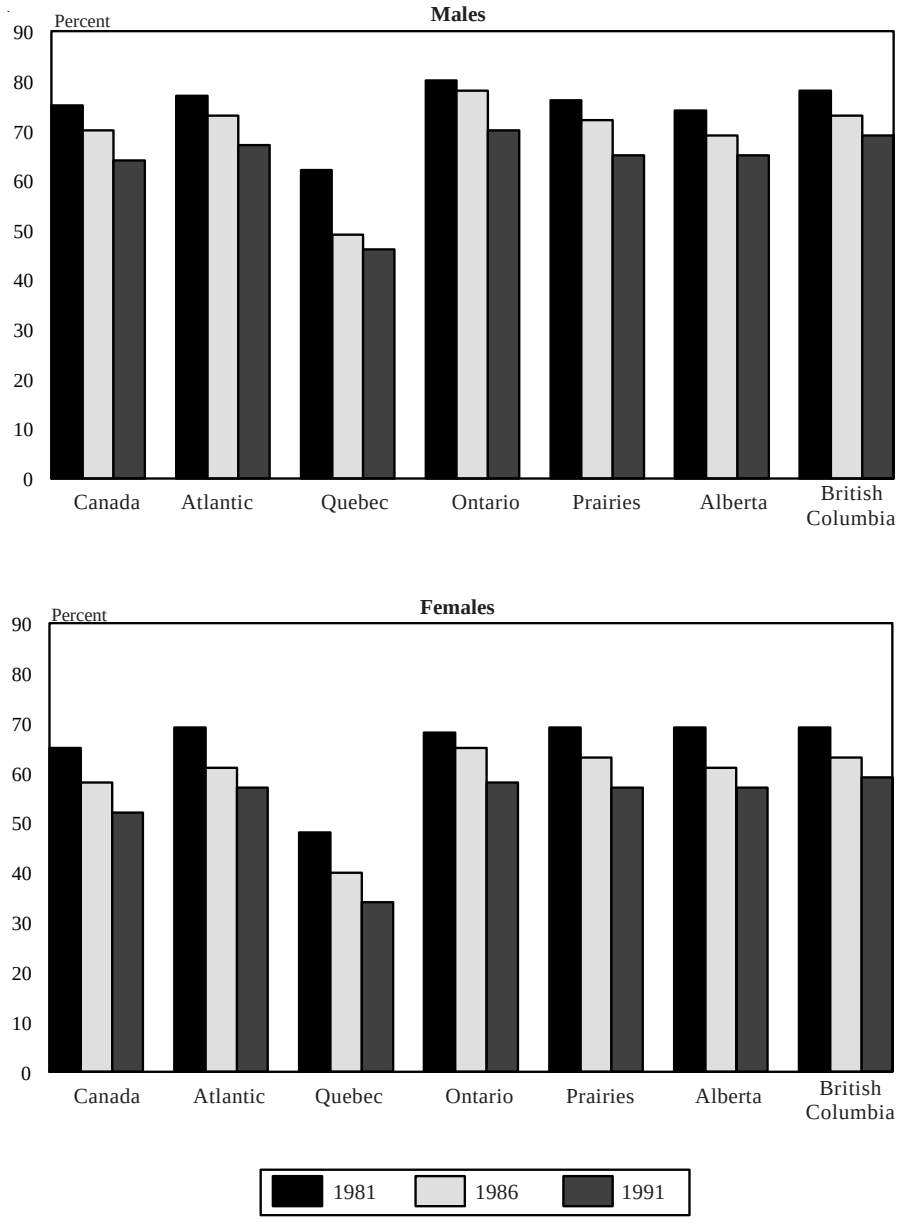
Remarriage of the Widowed and Divorced

The 1981 table showed that 75% of divorced men and 65% of divorced women remarried, while the 1991 table shows that interest declined significantly, since only 64% of men and 52% of women would remarry. Figure 10 shows that Quebec is leading the way in this disaffection (46% of divorced men and 34% of divorced women would remarry). The average age at divorce was 41.8 for Canadian men and 39.0 for Canadian women. From Figure 11 comes the observation that the probability of young divorced women remarrying is higher than that of men, but matters change with age and after age 30 it is men who are more likely to contract a new marriage. If the propensity of the widowed to remarry is less than that of the divorced, the factor responsible is the age at which the previous marriage was dissolved. The average age at widowhood is 74.1 for men and 71.2 for women. This more than venerable age is responsible for the fact that only 11% of widowers and 4% of widows remarry, and it is very likely that those people who do remarry are the younger ones.

Time Spent in Various Marital Statuses

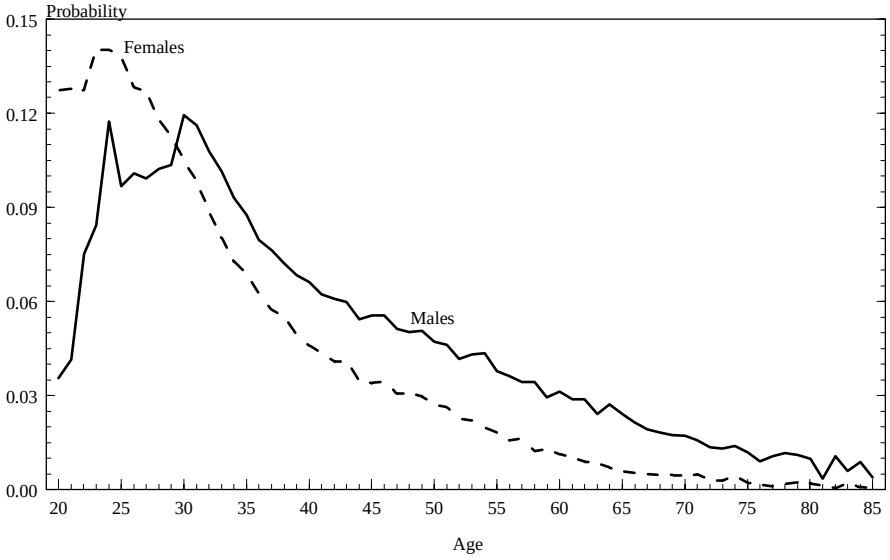
Figure 13 shows the average time spent by the average Canadian man and woman in various marital statuses, using 1981 and 1991 observations. The number of years lived as a divorcee increased by one and a half years for both men and women, while the duration of widowhood decreased by one year for women and remained the same for men. This is

Figure 10. Proportion of Divorced Who Would Remarry, by Sex, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Figure 11. Probability of Remarriage for the Divorced by Age and Sex, Canada, 1991 According to Multi-State Tables

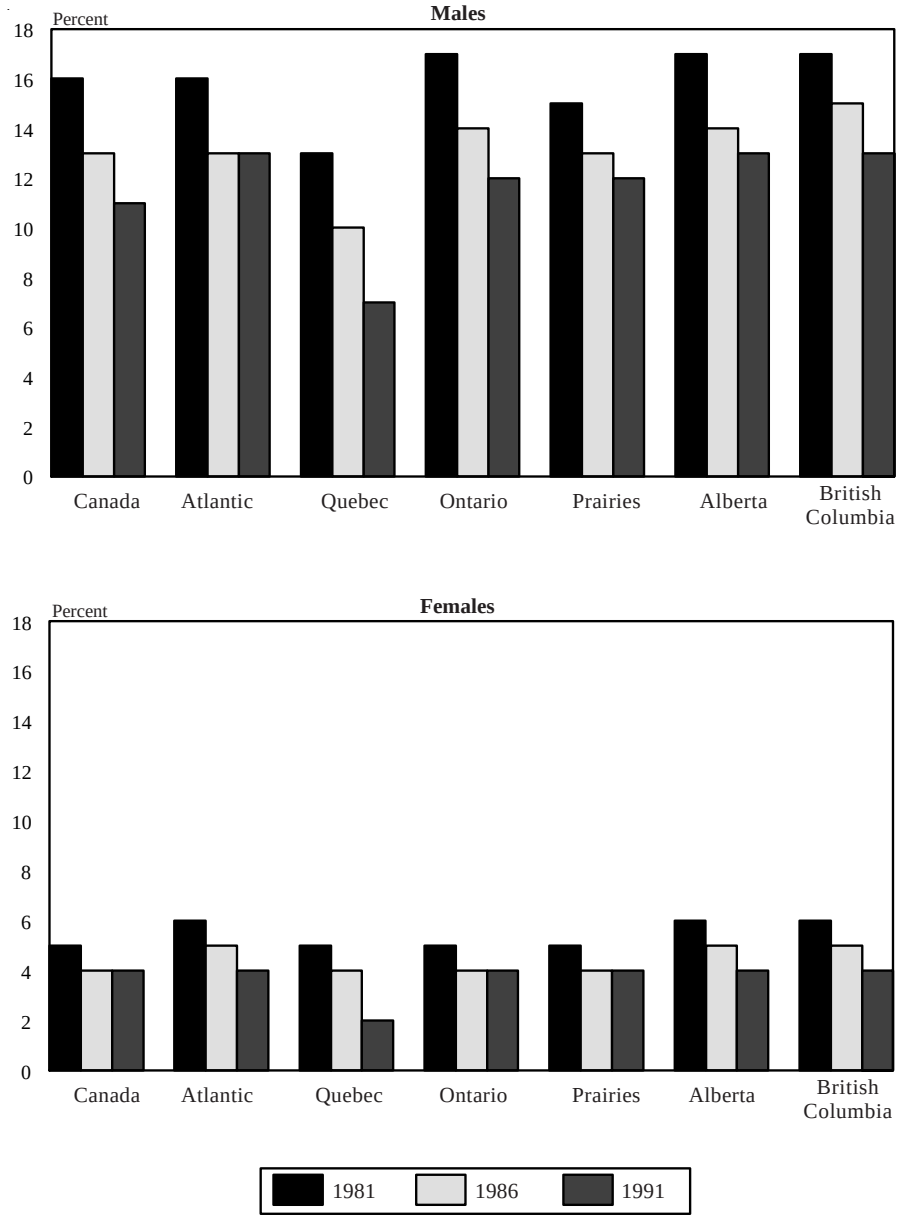


Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

due to advances in male life expectancy and also the decline in interest in marriage among the divorced. The greatest changes can be seen in the time spent in the married state: a reduction of 5.7 years for men and 4.3 years for women, more than offset by the increase in time spent in the unmarried state: 6.4 years for men and 6.0 years for women. These are the effects of delaying marriage and spending more time in common-law unions.

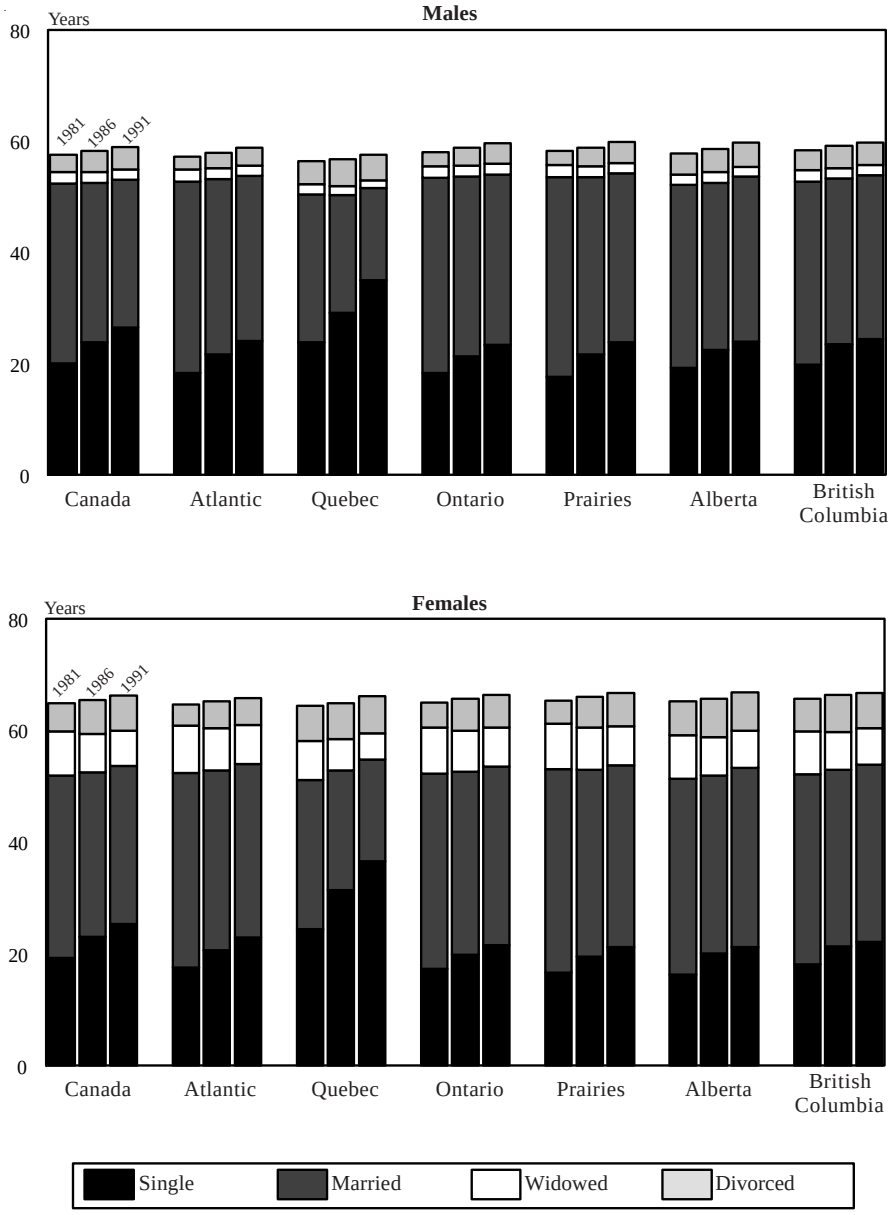
Time spent in the married state is an abstract value which depends on the proportion of people who marry, the average number of marriages per person who marries, and the average duration of each marriage. If only the average duration of each marriage had changed, the time spent as a married person would have decreased by only half a year for men and about a third of a year for women. If only the average number of marriages per married person had changed, the time spent as a married person would have decreased by 1.3 years for men and women. Most of the decrease observed is thus due to the reduction in the proportion of people who marry.

Figure 12. Proportion of the Widowed Who Would Remarry, by Sex, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Figure 13. Expectation at Age 15 of Living in Different Marital Statuses, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

INTERNATIONAL IMMIGRATION

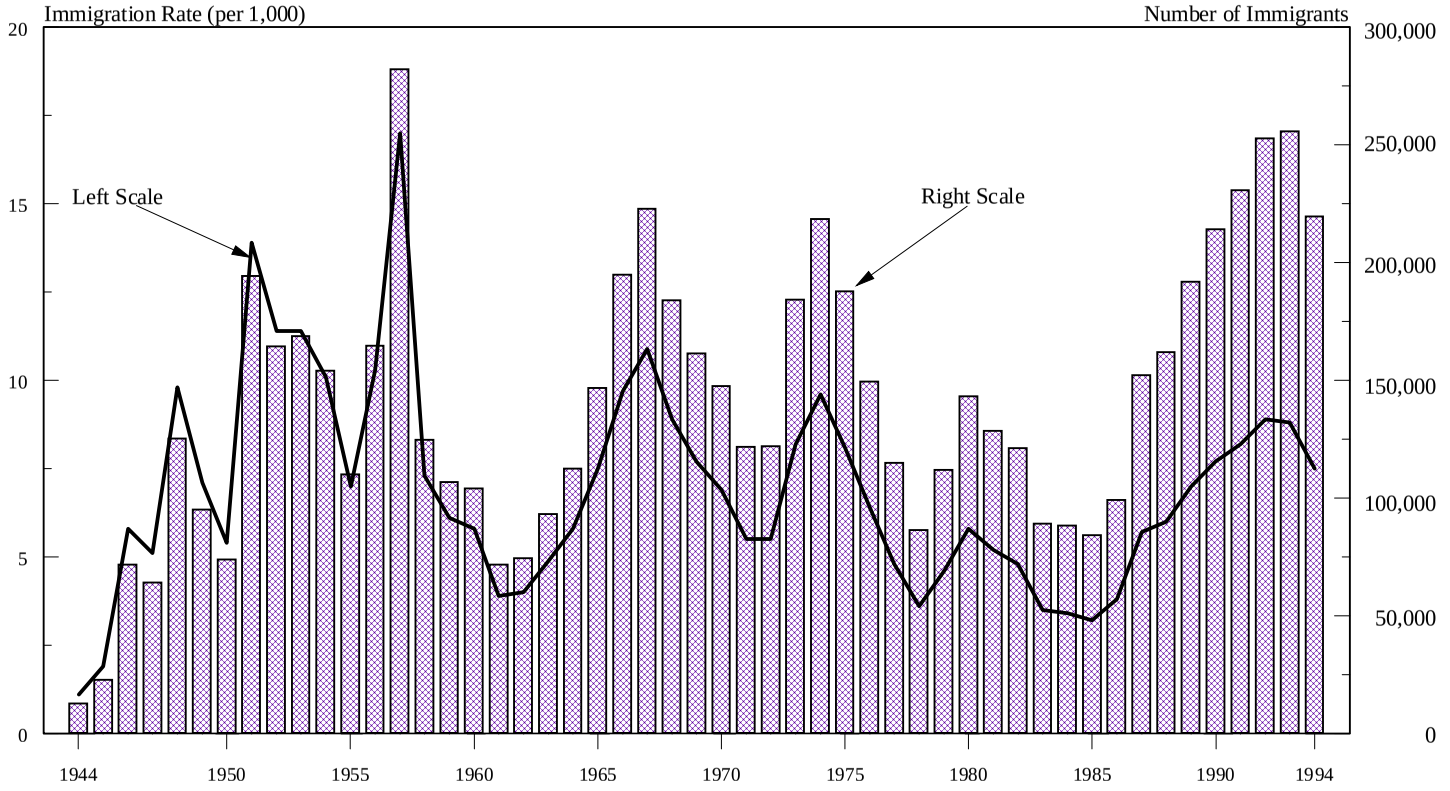
In 1994, Canada granted permanent-resident status to 217,147 people, some 38,600 fewer than the previous year. As a rate, this represents 7.4 immigrants per 1,000 population, ***a decrease of close to 15% from the preceding year*** (Figure 14). Emigration remained relatively stable at 45,400, and the net immigration rate thus also declined from 7.3 per 1,000 in 1993 to 5.9 per 1,000 in 1994. It is nonetheless still higher than in the other two leading immigration destinations, the United States (2.8 per 1,000), and Australia, which recently reduced admissions significantly (3.5 per 1,000), and of the same order of magnitude as New Zealand (6.2 per 1,000).

Origins of Immigrants

Not all countries from which immigrants come were affected to the same extent by Canada's reduction of immigration levels. The number of nationals even increased for certain countries of origin. Hong Kong (33,107), China (22,852), the Philippines (18,636) and India (17,928) were still the main sources of immigrants and are still the only ones from which Canada accepted more than 10,000 emigrants (Table 22). Immigrants of this group increased in importance both in terms of numbers and proportion again in 1994, ***accounting*** with 92,523 immigrants ***for 42.6% of all immigration to Canada***, compared to 34.8% (89,087 immigrants) in 1993. These four countries therefore continue to stand out by the volume of their immigration to Canada. By comparison, the 9,681 immigrants from all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, fifth in the list of countries from which immigrants come, represent only about half that from the country before it: India; and less than a third of the country in first place: Hong Kong. Each of the four leading source countries sent more immigrants to Canada than all the countries of the African continent. Natives of Hong Kong and China have even increased significantly in number (9,028 or 19.2%), to the extent that in 1994 these two countries alone accounted for over a quarter (25.7%) of landed immigrants in Canada. Among the countries that supplied more than 2,000 immigrants in 1993 or 1994, increases were recorded, apart from Hong Kong and China, only for South Africa (763), Russia (732), Egypt (568) and Guyana (644).

The Asian countries are increasingly important sources of immigration to Canada (Table A8). In 1993, immigrants from these countries represented 58.4% of total immigration, and they now represent 64.0%. Not all parts of Asia are equally represented, however; the Middle East, for example, has never supplied many immigrants, and its importance continued to decline in 1994. The countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia are mainly responsible for that region's importance as a source of immigrants. The size of the immigrant flow from these countries has pushed far into the background

Figure 14. Number of Immigrants and Immigration Rate, Canada, 1944-1994



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 22. Countries from Which more than 2,000 Immigrants Came to Canada in 1993 or 1994

	1993	1994 [4]	Difference
AFRICA			
Egypt	1,658	2,226	568
Ghana	2,202	1,341	-861
Republic of South Africa	1,642	2,405	763
Somalia	3,651	1,640	-2,011
AMERICA			
El Salvador	2,963	1,178	-1,785
United States	6,446	4,931	-1,515
Guyana	3,531	4,175	644
Haiti	3,688	2,105	-1,583
Jamaica	6,099	3,774	-2,325
Trinidad and Tobago	4,201	2,289	-1,912
ASIA			
China	19,689	22,852	3,163
South Korea	3,804	2,971	-833
Hong Kong	27,242	33,107	5,865
India	21,668	17,928	-3,740
Iran	4,164	2,850	-1,314
Iraq	3,310	2,196	-1,114
Lebanon	4,794	2,612	-2,182
Pakistan	4,478	4,211	-267
Philippines	20,488	18,636	-1,852
Sri Lanka	9,417	6,744	-2,673
Taiwan	9,362	6,886	-2,476
Vietnam	8,356	6,349	-2,007
EUROPE			
France	3,347	2,483	-864
Great Britain [1]	5,928	4,622	-1,306
Poland	6,924	3,483	-3,441
Romania	3,781	3,509	-272
Russia [2]	4,163	4,895	732
Yugoslavia [3]	9,974	9,681	-293

[1] Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.
[2] Includes U.S.S.R., Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldovia and Russia.
[3] Includes Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.
[4] Preliminary data as of September 12, 1995.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 23. Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants by Intended Province of Destination, Canada, 1956-1994

Province	Year												
	1956	1961	1971	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994[1]
Newfoundland	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5
New Brunswick	0.5	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	19.0	23.6	15.8	16.4	19.6	17.6	15.9	17.8	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	**12.5**
Ontario	55.0	50.9	52.8	42.7	50.0	55.8	55.0	54.6	53.0	51.5	54.7	52.5	51.9
Manitoba	3.5	3.5	4.3	4.2	3.8	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.0	1.9	1.8
Saskatchewan	1.3	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.0
Alberta	6.0	6.7	7.1	15.0	9.7	7.9	8.7	8.4	8.8	7.4	7.0	7.3	7.9
British Columbia	10.8	10.2	15.5	17.1	12.7	12.4	14.3	13.2	13.4	13.9	14.5	17.9	**21.7**
Yukon and Northwest Territories	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unknown	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	164,857	71,689	121,900	128,618	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	219,690

[1] Preliminary data as of September 13, 1995.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 24. Percentage of Immigrants to Canada Whose Province of Destination is Quebec, by Class, 1990-1994

Class	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	5 Years
Total	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	12.4	18.2
Family	12.5	14.9	12.9	15.0	12.7	13.7
Refugees	17.6	29.2	21.0	21.8	20.7	22.7
Assisted Relatives	13.3	13.7	6.7	5.1	**2.5**	8.2
Independents	24.4	25.5	24.4	19.1	**10.8**	20.6

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, ***Le Québec en Mouvement 1995*** and calculations by the author.

the European countries which, even in the early 1980s, still supplied about a third of Canada's immigrants but which in 1994 accounted for only a sixth (16.9%).

Immigration from Poland appears to have hit a low. In the early 1990s, there were as many as 16,000 immigrants a year from this country, only surpassed by those from Hong Kong. Their number has been declining rapidly since 1992 (Table A8); in 1994, there were fewer than 3,500, a decrease of 50% from the previous year. This situation is due to geopolitical changes in Europe. Between 1993 and 1994, the number of immigrants from four other countries dropped by over 40%: El Salvador (-60%), Somalia (-55%), Trinidad and Tobago (-45%) and Lebanon (-45%). These are countries to which Canada opened its doors wide for humanitarian reasons.

Anticipated Province of Destination

Ontario has always been by far the most popular destination for immigrants. Over half of them (114,100 or 51.9%) planned to settle there, a proportion more or less equal to that of the previous year (Table 23). In terms of numbers, however, this is a reduction of over 20,000. What was really noteworthy was the attraction of British Columbia, particularly in 1994. ***In a decreasing immigrant flow, the proportion*** (18% in 1993 and 22% in 1994) ***and number*** (45,700 in 1993 and 47,800 in 1994) ***of immigrants choosing British Columbia increased***.

The extent of changes observed in 1994 in the distribution of immigrants by province of destination was all the more striking because annual variations are normally quite small. Since Ontario continues to attract over than half of all immigrants, the increase in the proportion of immigrants choosing British Columbia was at the expense of Quebec. The west coast has long directly attracted approximately 15% of annual immigrants, but in 1994 for the first time, 22% of immigrants said they planned to settle there. Since

Table 25. Projected Number of Immigrants by Class According to the New Immigration Plan, Canada, 1994-1995

	Number (in thousands)			Percentage			
	1994		1995 Plan	1994		1995 Plan	
	Planned	Observed		Planned	Observed	Minimum	Maximum
Immediate Family	68.0	..	53.0 to 55.0	27.2	..	27.9	25.6
Parents and Grandparents	43.0	..	33.0 to 35.0	17.2	..	17.4	16.3
Total (Family)	**111.0**	**92.3**	**86.0 to 90.0**	**44.4**	**42.4**	**45.3**	**41.9**
Skilled Workers	73.7	80.0	56.0 to 61.0	29.5	36.7	29.5	28.4
Principal Applicant	30.7	..	24.0 to 26.0	12.3	..	12.6	12.1
Dependant	43.0	..	32.0 to 35.0	17.2	..	16.8	16.3
Business	24.0	27.0	15.0 to 19.0	9.6	12.4	7.9	8.8
Principal Applicant	6.0	..	4.0 to 5.0	2.4	..	2.1	2.3
Dependant	18.0	..	11.0 to 14.0	7.2	..	5.8	6.5
Total (Economic)	**97.7**	**107.0**	**71.0 to 80.0**	**39.1**	**49.1**	**37.4**	**37.2**
Live-in Caregiver	8.0	..	5.0 to 7.0	3.2	..	2.6	3.3
Deferred Removal Order Class	-	..	4.0 to 6.0	-	..	2.1	2.8
Retirees	5.0	..	...	2.0	..	...	...
Total (Others)	**13.0**	**..**	**9.0 to 13.0**	**5.2**	**..**	**4.7**	**6.0**
Total Immigrant	**221.7**	**199.3**	**166.0 to 183.0**	**88.7**	**91.5**	**87.4**	**85.1**
Government Assisted	7.3	..	7.3 to 7.3	2.9	..	3.8	3.4
Privately Sponsored	6.0	..	2.7 to 3.7	2.4	..	1.4	1.7
Refugees Landed in Canada	15.0	..	12.0 to 18.0	6.0	..	6.3	8.4
Dependants Abroad	-	..	2.0 to 3.0	-	..	1.1	1.4
Total (Refugee)	**28.3**	**18.5**	**24.0 to 32.0**	**11.3**	**8.5**	**12.6**	**14.9**
Total	**250.0**	**217.8**	**190.0 to 215.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, ***A Broader Vision: Immigration and Citizenship Plan 1995-2000***, annual report to Parliament, 1994.

1946, Quebec has only occasionally received less than 17% of immigrants to Canada, but in 1994 only 12.5% planned to settle there. In two years, Quebec and British Columbia had changed place. In 1992, Quebec's international migration balance was 42,300 and that of British Columbia, 30,000; in 1994 these balances were 21,400 and 41,300 respectively.

The decrease in immigration to Quebec in number of persons is impressive: 27,400 immigrants in 1994 compared to 44,900 in 1993, a drop of 17,500 or 39% from the 1993 level. This is despite the fact that Quebec's immigration plan anticipated 40,000 immigrants.[14] Under the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration, this province participates in the selection of independent immigrants,[15] which might explain the larger proportion of this class in Quebec before 1994 (Table 24). These immigrants, and in particular

[14] This is already well below the 55,000 immigrants Quebec might have received under the provisions of the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration, which was intended to allow this province to receive the proportion of immigrants to Canada each year that corresponds to its demographic weight in Confederation.

[15] The independent-immigrant class includes retirees, business, assisted relatives and other independents.

Table 26. Percentage Distribution of Immigrants by Class According to the New Immigration Plan, Canada, 1994-2000

Class	1994	1995	1996	1997-1999	2000
Economic	43.0	43.0	47.0	52.0	53.0
Family	51.0	51.0	47.0	44.0	44.0
Others	6.0	6.0	6.0	4.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, ***A Broader Vision: Immigration and Citizenship Plan 1995-2000***, annual report to Parliament, 1994.

business people, are sensitive to the economic climate, and it is not unlikely that the current economic situation is responsible for the decline in the number of foreign applications. In addition, as a result of difficult labour-market conditions, Quebec's Department of International Affairs, Immigration and Cultural Communities (MAIICC) has tightened its selection criteria. Operational problems related to the reorganization of immigration offices by the federal government might also have been partly responsible for this decrease, in particular with respect to immigrants selected abroad.

Immigration Levels and the New Immigration and Citizenship Plan

The 1991-1995 five-year plan, which anticipated maintaining the annual number of immigrants at 250,000 until 1995, has now been abandoned and replaced by a new plan which puts more emphasis on the objectives of immigration policy than on the total number of immigrants accepted. The former plan allowed a shortfall in one class to be offset by an increase in the number of immigrants accepted in another class to arrive at the total number of immigrants expected, despite the fact that the size of each class had been calculated in the first place on the basis of a policy objective (the economy, humanitarian aid and family reunification). From now on, the total number of people admitted every year will be the sum of the number admissible in each class. There will obviously be a range of values in each class so as to maintain a degree of flexibility and achieve the overall objectives of the policy. Immigration levels are expected to drop, and the number of immigrants in 1995 might lie between 190,000 and 215,000 (Table 25).

The new plan puts the accent on the economic aspect of immigration policy. While the new orientation means that numbers are no longer an imperative,[16] the proportion that each class should represent will continue to be calculated. The breakdown forecast for the period 1995-2000 (Table 26)

[16] The total number of immigrants will be set on an annual basis taking into account the absorptive capacity of the country and long-term objectives.

Table 27. Immigrants to Canada by Class, 1981-1994

Year		Family Class	Refugees[2]	Designated Persons	Assisted Relatives	Independent Immigrants[3]	Total
1981	No.	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
	%	39.7	0.6	11.0	13.7	35.0	100.0
1982	No.	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
	%	41.3	1.5	12.5	9.9	34.9	100.0
1983	No.	48,698	4,100	9,867	4,997	21,495	89,157
	%	54.6	4.6	11.1	5.6	24.1	100.0
1984	No.	43,814	5,625	9,717	8,167	20,916	88,239
	%	49.7	6.4	11.0	9.3	23.7	100.0
1985	No.	38,514	6,080	10,680	7,396	21,632	84,302
	%	45.7	7.2	12.7	8.8	25.7	100.0
1986	No.	42,197	6,490	12,657	5,890	31,985	99,219
	%	42.5	6.5	12.8	5.9	32.2	100.0
1987	No.	53,598	7,473	14,092	12,283	64,652	152,098
	%	35.2	4.9	9.3	8.1	42.5	100.0
1988	No.	51,331	8,741	18,095	15,567	68,195	161,929
	%	31.7	5.4	11.2	9.6	42.1	100.0
1989	No.	60,774	10,210	26,794	21,520	72,703	192,001
	%	31.7	5.3	14.0	11.2	37.9	100.0
1990	No.	73,457	11,398	28,291	23,393	77,691	214,230
	%	34.3	5.3	13.2	10.9	36.3	100.0
1991	No.	86,378	18,374	35,027	22,247	68,755	230,781
	%	37.4	8.0	15.2	9.6	29.8	100.0
1992	No.	99,960	28,699	23,176	19,880	81,127	252,842
	%	39.5	11.4	9.2	7.9	32.1	100.0
1993[1]	No.	111,178	22,035	8,159	22,191	88,574	252,137
	%	44.1	8.7	3.2	8.8	35.1	100.0
1994[1]	No.	92,263	16,643	1,864	26,939	80,054	217,763
	%	42.4	7.6	0.9	12.4	36.8	100.0

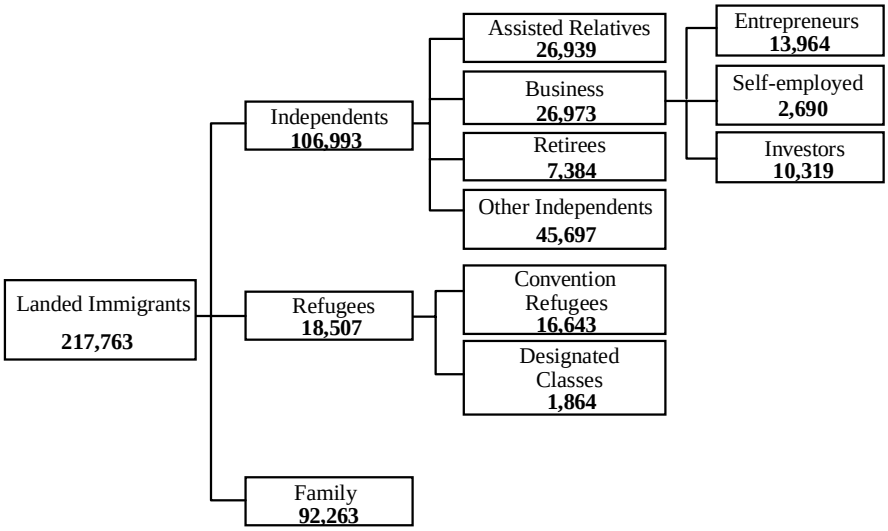
[1] Preliminary data as of April 1995.
[2] Convention refugees.
[3] Includes business, retirees and other independants.
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

shows a wish to increase the independent class (from 43% in 1995 to 53% in 2000), and to reduce immigrants coming in under family reunification (from 51% to 44%). The importance given to independent immigrants is also reflected in the awarding of selection points; since 1993, more points have been given for educational level and skills as well as for the ability to speak one of the two official languages.

Immigrant Classes for 1994

Preliminary figures for 1994 show this policy being put into effect (Figure 15 and Table 27). The number of immigrants decreased in the three classes, although at quite different rates. Whereas immigrants in the family class decreased in a proportion similar to that of the total (-17.0%), those

Figure 15. Distribution of Immigrants by Class and Category, 1994[1]



[1] Preliminary data as of April 1995.
Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

in the refugee category were down much more (-38.7%) and ***the independent class remained relatively stable*** (-3.4%). The result is that this last class increased considerably and now represents close to half the total immigrants (49.1% compared to 43.9% the previous year), ***at the expense of the refugee category, whose proportion (8.5%) dipped below the 10% level for the first time since these statistics began being published (1981)***.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW IMMIGRANTS ON ARRIVAL

Age and Sex

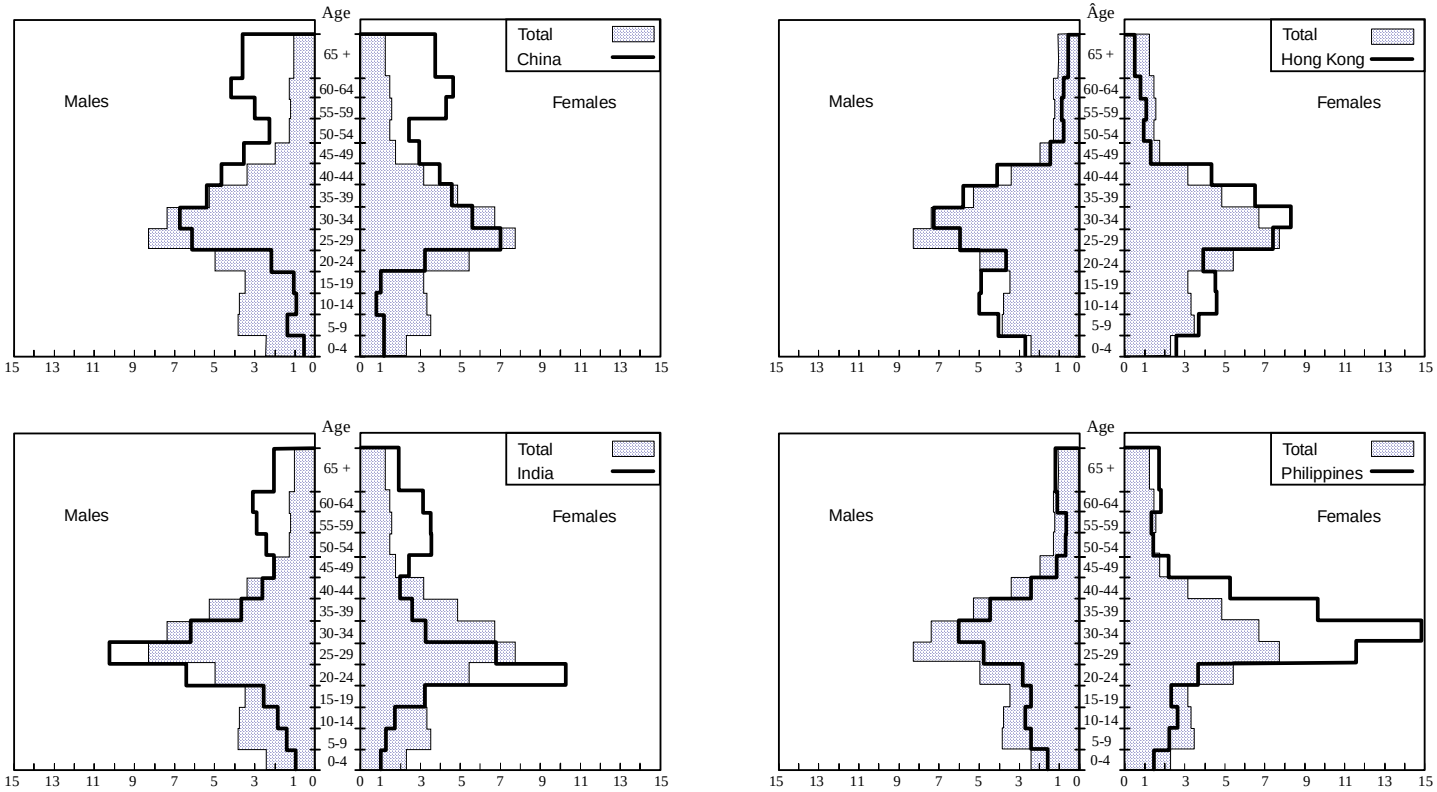
Given the importance taken by the new countries contributing to immigration, it is worthwhile to examine the demographic characteristics of new arrivals. The information comes from the immigration statistics compiled each year by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and concerns immigrants arriving during the period 1990 to 1992, the last three years for which final figures were available at the time of writing. While basic demographic data such as age, sex and marital status can be assumed to be reliable, figures on province of destination require more caution since they have to do only with intentions.

Figure 16 compares the breakdown by age and sex of all immigrants with that of immigrants who were natives of the four main source countries. ***The age pyramid of the immigrant population is a pyramid in name only. The overall shape of the age and sex breakdown of this population looks more like a lozenge due to the high concentration in the 20-44 age group, which accounts for over half of all immigrants (57%)***. The immigrant population is young, in the sense that the proportion of those under 20 (26%) is greater than that of those over 45 (17%) and there are very few individuals over 65 (5%). The sex ratio is close to unity (349,500 men and 348,300 women).

Compared to immigrants as a whole, those born in Hong Kong were even younger: 32% were under 20 and only 10% were over 45, of whom only 2% were over 65. Women were slightly more numerous than men (the sex ratio was 94.3). Those from China had a similar sex ratio with 96.0 men per 100 women, but the age structure is bimodal and, above all, the population is much older: 15% of immigrants born in China were over 65 on arriving in Canada, a percentage three times higher than that of immigrants as a whole and even higher than that of the Canadian population in the 1991 census (11.6%). The Chinese represent 8% of all immigrants, but 26% of immigrants 65 and over. At the opposite end of the age scale, people under 20 made up over a quarter of all immigrants but only a twelfth of the immigrants born in China. There were also large proportions of immigrants in the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups, which, although not peculiar to China, nevertheless stands out in contrast to the abnormally small younger age groups.

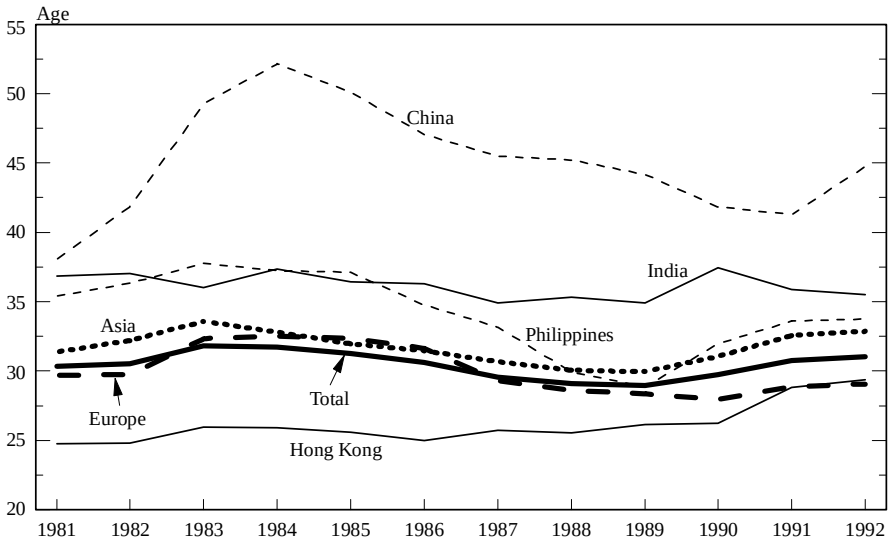
As a general rule, the place of birth of immigrants gives a good idea of their ethnic origin, but in the case of Hong Kong and mainland China it is hard to make a distinction between the two countries since the ethnic origin is often the same. Two historical events explain the surprising shape of the age pyramid of immigrants born in China. The history of migratory exchanges between China and Hong Kong is to a great extent responsible for the large proportion of elderly people among immigrants born in China. Hong Kong is a young “city state” with a capitalist regime whose recent rapid population growth has been fuelled by immigration from its neighbour, the most densely populated country in the world, with a Communist political regime. A large proportion of Hong Kong residents are Chinese who first fled the socialist regime of the People’s Republic of China. With the coming expiry of the long-term lease between the British and the Chinese and the consequent return of Hong Kong to China, many of those who first fled the socialist regime are now seeking to leave Hong Kong. In 1992, for example, over half the immigrants born in China and close to three-quarters of those over 65 gave Hong Kong as their last country of permanent residence. The second important event was the Canadian decision, following the armed repression of student demonstrations in Tien an Men Square, to offer all Chinese students temporarily resident in Canada the opportunity to exchange their temporary-

Figure 16. Age Pyramids of Immigrants by Place of Birth, Canada, 1990-1992 (in percent)



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics***, and calculations by the author.

Figure 17. Average Age of Immigrants by Place of Birth, Canada, 1981-1992



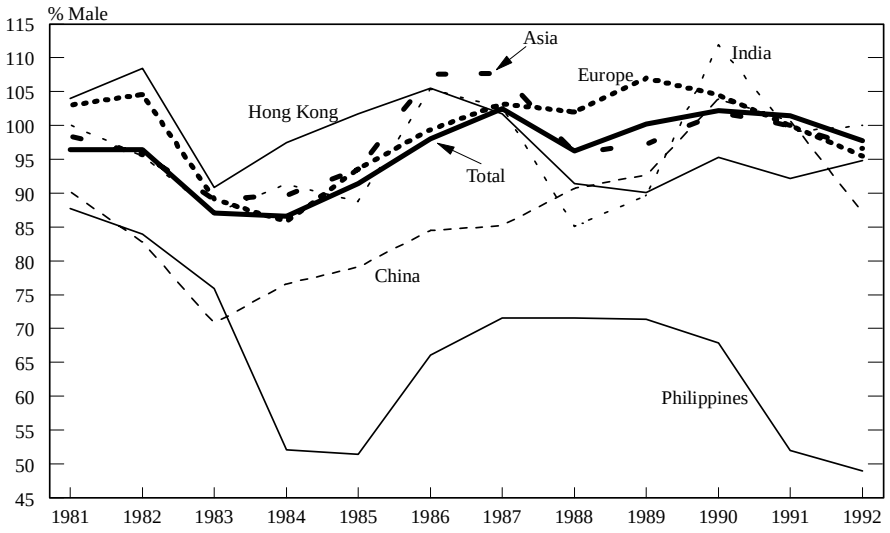
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and calculations by the author.

resident visa for permanent-resident status. Some 19,000 students benefitted from this exceptional measure and became landed immigrants. Since these were generally graduate university students, often without children, this would explain both the size of the 25-34 age group and the small proportion of those 14 and under.

The age structure of immigrants from India shows a larger proportion of older people and a smaller proportion of young people under 20 than in the immigrant population as a whole, without however displaying distortions as wide as those of immigrants born in China. Only 14% of Indian immigrants were under 20 and about 8% were over 65. What is curious is the size of the group of women aged 20 to 24, 21% of women, almost twice the proportion of immigrants as a whole (11%). For men, the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups were also large compared to the total. It is possible that the high degree of endogamy among immigrants from India results in the concentration of immigrants in these male and female age groups, since these are the ages when most marriages take place. Many Indian men and women in Canada would choose their future spouse in India.

As for immigration from the Philippines, it is noteworthy for the large number of women, particularly between the ages 25 and 39. Two-thirds of Filipino immigrants are women. This state of affairs is directly linked

Figure 18. Sex Ratio of Immigrants by Country of Birth, Canada, 1981-1992



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and calculations by the author.

to the importance that the Canadian Live-in Caregiver Program has taken on over the years for citizens of this country. People accepted under this program first come in as non-permanent residents and, after working for two years with a temporary work permit, can apply for permanent-resident status. This waiting period would explain in part why the modal age group is older than that of the immigrant population in general.

As shown in Figures 17 and 18, the differences in structure by age and sex seen in the age pyramids of immigrants arriving between 1990 and 1992 are not due to the current economic situation. The average ages of immigrants born in China, and to a lesser extent those from India, are consistently higher, in fact much higher, than the average age of immigrants as a whole. Conversely, immigrants born in Hong Kong are consistently younger, although the trend in recent years has been towards the average. The sex ratio of immigrants from the Philippines exceeded 75 men per 100 women only in 1981 and 1982, but has twice as often been around 50 men per 100 women.

Marital and Family Status

Immigrants from these four countries show breakdowns by marital status and family status that differ both one from the other and from all other

Table 28. Distribution of Immigrants of the Four Main Countries of Origin by Marital Status and Family Status, Canada, 1990-1993

	Country of Origin					
	China	Hong Kong	India	Philippines	Others	Total
	Marital Status					
Single	27.5	60.8	37.6	62.8	51.6	50.3
Married	64.0	37.5	56.6	32.3	43.6	44.8
Widowed	6.9	1.0	5.2	3.6	2.6	3.0
Divorced	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	1.5	1.2
Others	0.6	0.1	0.2	1.0	0.6	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Family Status					
Claimant	63.0	29.6	55.4	62.8	54.5	53.3
Spouse	23.3	16.4	16.9	9.0	13.0	14.2
Dependent Child	10.2	39.3	24.4	22.6	28.6	27.6
Others	3.5	14.6	3.2	5.6	3.9	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics***, and calculations by the author.

immigrant source countries (Table 28). Whereas half of all immigrants are unmarried on arrival in Canada, this proportion is almost two-thirds for those born in Hong Kong (60.8%) and the Philippines (62.8%), one-third among those from India (37.6%) and a little over a quarter for those from China (27.5%). In the case of India, this observation gives further support to the hypothesis of search for a spouse because of endogamy. These differences are obviously linked to the particularly young age structure of immigrants from the Philippines and Hong Kong and the older age structure of those from India and particularly China.

It should be noted that, while the breakdowns by marital status for immigrants born in Hong Kong and the Philippines are similar, there is a great difference between them in their relative proportions of applicants and dependants. Two-thirds of Filipino immigrants are themselves applicants, while the proportion is less than a third for natives of Hong Kong. The high proportions of unmarried people and principal applicants among Filipinos are in line with the importance of the Live-in Caregiver Program. In the case of natives of Hong Kong, many of the children born there have parents who were born in China, which would explain the unusually high percentage of dependent children (39.3%) from this country and the curiously low percentage of applicants (29.6%).

Table 29. Distribution of Immigrants of Four Main Countries of Origin by Intended Region of Destination, Canada, 1990-1993

	Country of Birth					
	China	Hong Kong	India	Philippines	Others	Total
Atlantic	1.7	0.7	1.4	0.5	1.8	1.6
Quebec	11.6	12.4	7.0	7.6	23.7	19.5
Ontario	47.5	48.5	53.4	54.4	54.1	53.0
Prairies	13.0	11.0	11.7	19.8	9.8	10.9
British Columbia	26.2	27.5	26.6	17.8	10.6	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and calculations by the author.

Choice of Province of Destination

Nearly half the immigrants from each of these four immigrant source countries stated that they intended to settle in Ontario, and in this they differ little from other immigrants (Table 29). However, a much smaller proportion of these immigrants choose Quebec, which has the effect of benefiting especially British Columbia. Although during the period under study Quebec succeeded in attracting 23.7% of immigrants from all other countries, a percentage fairly close to its demographic weight in Confederation, only one immigrant out of fifteen (7.0%) from India planned to settle in that province and, although slightly higher, the proportion of Hong Kong natives[17] was nevertheless no more than one out of eight (12.4%). British Columbia on the other hand attracted a much larger proportion of immigrants from these four countries than from all other countries. Over a quarter of immigrants born in China (26.2%), Hong Kong (27.5%) and India (26.6%) planned to settle in this west-coast province, whereas one counted only one out of ten (10.6%) among those from other countries. It is also curious to note the substantial proportion of immigrants from the Philippines (19.8%) who wanted to settle in the Prairies, a percentage almost twice as high as that for other countries (9.8%).

INTERNAL MIGRATION

Traditionally, preliminary estimates of internal migration were calculated on the basis of information from family-allowance records. This universal program yielded one of the best estimates of monthly internal movements of families with children in the world. Thanks to adjustment factors proven through long use, it was possible to obtain a highly satisfactory estimate of the annual number of interprovincial migrants and of flows between provinces. For the first time in 1993, preliminary figures on internal mobility

[17]Quebec makes special efforts to recruit these well-off immigrants.

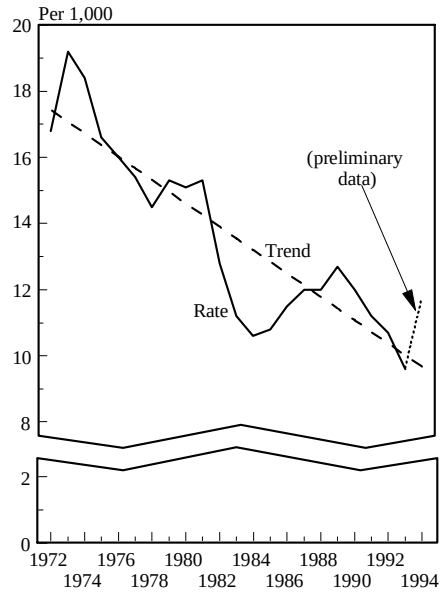
Table 30. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenu Canada Tax Files, January to December 1993

Number of Migrants: 276,413

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	146	1,708	629	263	4,333	181	89	1,268	1,402	47	193
Prince Edward Island	74	...	446	368	69	544	17	6	165	182	1	3
Nova Scotia	1,012	511	...	2,457	1,012	5,950	525	259	1,717	2,927	28	98
New Brunswick	358	416	2,299	...	1,910	3,644	270	119	1,060	1,082	12	39
Quebec	286	119	865	1,865	...	19,379	521	264	2,057	5,146	65	145
Ontario	3,263	854	5,902	3,482	15,464	...	4,463	2,393	11,050	25,048	145	564
Manitoba	178	21	475	274	589	5,063	...	2,314	4,300	5,705	47	249
Saskatchewan	77	18	283	73	416	2,101	2,280	...	9,723	5,276	135	219
Alberta	697	190	1,207	816	1,715	9,222	3,262	7,135	...	25,611	349	1,022
British Columbia	512	159	1,486	716	1,919	9,877	2,647	2,874	15,526	...	664	353
Yukon	56	5	47	14	34	205	82	146	507	1,233	...	63
Northwest Territories	90	24	96	62	144	390	230	232	1,115	576	108	...
In	6,603	2,463	14,814	10,756	23,535	60,708	14,478	15,831	48,488	74,188	1,601	2,948
Out	10,259	1,875	16,496	11,209	30,712	72,628	19,215	20,601	51,226	36,733	2,392	3,067
Net Migration	-3,656	588	-1,682	-453	-7,177	-11,920	-4,737	-4,770	-2,738	37,455	-791	-119

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Figure 19. Interprovincial Migration Rates, Canada, 1972-1994



Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

were calculated in part using records on child tax benefits, those on family allowances having been phased out.[18] These changes have no doubt weakened the quality of preliminary data. Compared to the final figures obtained using income-tax records, the preliminary estimates for 1993 were overestimated: instead of 319,000 interprovincial migrants, the final figures show 276,400, approximately 42,700 people or 13.4% fewer (Table 30).

Almost all interprovincial movements were overestimated (84 out of 90) but, although the volume of migrants indicated by the preliminary figures was significantly affected, provincial net balances were much less affected, and remarks concerning overall migratory trends, in particular the attraction of British Columbia for those leaving all other provinces, remain valid. Among the most noteworthy changes resulting from the final figures are the lower losses for Ontario (-11,900 instead of -15,200) and Alberta (-2,700 instead of -4,400) against lower gains for British Columbia (37,500 instead 38,900) and heavier losses for Nova Scotia (-1,700 instead of -500) and Saskatchewan (-4,800 instead of -3,300).

For almost a quarter of a century mobility in Canada has been falling (Figure 19), but overlying this basic trend are small fluctuations which coincide with recessions. Observation shows that, during periods of recession, employment stagnates or shrinks, with fewer job offerings exerting downward pressure on mobility. Conversely, during periods of prosperity, the number of movements increases. ***The internal migration rate reached its lowest levels at the end of the last two recessions: 10.6 per 1,000 in 1984 and 9.6 per 1,000 in 1993. The low mobility in 1993 is in line with the long-term trend represented by the trend line and also reflects the extent of the economic difficulties that affected the country in the early 1990s***.

[18] Eligibility for these benefits is no longer universal but depends on family income.

Table 31. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenu Canada Tax Files and Child Tax Credits
January to December 1994

Number of Migrants: 341,863

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	223	2,629	717	416	7,470	216	134	1,709	2,000	34	390
Prince Edward Island	126	...	509	419	103	538	32	97	182	241	-	-
Nova Scotia	1,569	922	...	3,109	1,059	7,572	515	265	1,934	3,737	32	242
New Brunswick	457	632	2,846	...	2,335	4,789	345	121	1,277	1,131	-	156
Quebec	369	115	1,158	2,612	...	26,262	583	320	1,949	6,788	53	159
Ontario	4,515	953	6,671	4,519	17,000	...	5,545	2,657	12,323	26,702	179	483
Manitoba	227	52	456	487	680	5,796	...	3,339	5,178	6,907	44	275
Saskatchewan	87	56	228	170	223	2,750	3,426	...	11,863	5,946	55	290
Alberta	885	173	1,762	807	1,666	10,864	5,125	9,873	...	30,850	528	1,268
British Columbia	507	192	1,631	841	2,323	14,175	3,771	4,047	19,298	...	860	420
Yukon	23	4	17	8	22	127	30	37	547	1,313	...	154
Northwest Territories	132	6	135	130	194	561	359	241	1,394	717	166	...
In	8,897	3,328	18,042	13,819	26,021	80,904	19,947	21,131	57,654	86,332	1,951	3,837
Out	15,938	2,247	20,956	14,089	40,368	81,547	23,441	25,094	63,801	48,065	2,282	4,035
Net Migration	-7,041	1,081	-2,914	-270	-14,347	-643	-3,494	-3,963	-6,147	38,267	-331	-198

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table 32. Net Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1970-1994

Year	New-foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon and Northwest Territories	Total
1970	-5,950	-29	-3,967	-2,373	-41,156	54,590	-7,707	-28,358	9,898	22,579	2,473	412,559
1971	733	-129	-755	1,798	-25,005	18,580	-7,251	-17,986	2,408	25,034	2,573	405,301
1972	-189	858	2,845	241	-19,891	8,227	-7,735	-17,296	6,538	24,927	1,475	375,184
1973	-2,510	478	2,107	2,841	-14,730	-5,275	-2,200	-13,261	2,698	30,537	-685	433,992
1974	-618	1,386	1,576	4,192	-11,852	-22,163	-5,400	-4,835	14,810	22,655	249	421,336
1975	915	814	4,454	7,572	-12,340	-25,057	-4,134	6,555	23,463	-2,864	622	385,330
1976	-2,732	309	361	1,640	-20,801	-10,508	-3,655	3,819	34,215	-1,490	-1,158	376,970
1977	-4,009	614	-1,277	-886	-46,536	8,596	-3,789	384	32,344	15,507	-948	366,918
1978	-3,540	25	-109	-1,644	-33,424	415	-9,557	-3,701	31,987	20,698	-1,150	348,929
1979	-4,217	-225	-1,840	-2,219	-30,025	-15,317	-13,806	-3,510	39,212	33,241	-1,294	370,862
1980	-3,082	-1,082	-2,494	-4,165	-24,283	-34,919	-11,342	-4,382	46,933	40,165	-1,349	372,167
1981	-6,238	-783	-2,465	-4,766	-22,549	-19,665	-3,621	-520	40,243	21,565	-1,201	380,041
1982	261	-6	1,591	2,183	-28,169	19,614	1,498	1,743	3,961	-2,019	-657	322,634
1983	-1,092	799	3,861	2,296	-19,080	32,825	950	2,501	-26,246	4,029	-843	285,599
1984	-3,585	524	2,963	812	-10,943	36,691	-49	733	-30,591	3,505	-60	273,323
1985	-5,019	-13	-234	-1,559	-6,023	33,414	-1,755	-5,014	-9,568	-3,199	-1,030	281,275
1986	-4,682	-493	-739	-2,897	-3,020	42,916	-3,039	-7,020	-20,293	910	-1,643	302,352
1987	-4,374	301	-2,183	-1,762	-7,410	40,278	-4,751	-9,043	-27,595	17,618	-1,079	318,890
1988	-2,154	424	71	-1,215	-7,003	14,898	-8,584	-16,338	-5,535	25,865	-429	323,685
1989	-2,606	-102	572	-21	-8,379	-1,205	-10,004	-18,589	3,366	37,367	-399	347,990
1990	-1,137	-273	-106	1,014	-9,567	-15,117	-8,613	-15,928	11,055	38,704	-32	332,637
1991	-1,086	-416	1,039	-79	-13,047	-9,978	-7,581	-9,498	5,510	34,572	564	315,419
1992	-2,731	482	138	-1,155	-9,501	-13,242	-6,152	-6,914	-73	39,458	-310	306,382
1993	-3,656	588	-1,682	-453	-7,177	-11,920	-4,737	-4,770	-2,738	37,455	-910	276,413
1994	-7,041	1,081	-2,914	-270	**-14,347**	**-643**	-3,494	-3,963	-6,147	**38,267**	-529	341,863
Total	-70,339	5,132	813	-875	-446,258	126,035	-136,508	-175,191	179,855	525,086	-7,750	8,678,051

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Preliminary figures for 1994 appear to indicate that the economic recovery, like those before it, has favoured mobility. According to these preliminary figures the number of migrants stood at 341,900 in 1994 (Table 31). The comparison of the preliminary and final figures for 1993 suggests that this figure might be overestimated,[19] but that the trends and particularly the balances should indicate real changes. Among the most notable can be emphasized: an almost nil balance for Ontario in contrast with the large negative balances of the four previous years (-12,600 on average, Table 32), but consonant with the economic recovery; an important deterioration in the position of Quebec (a loss of 14,300) and Newfoundland (a loss of 7,000) mainly benefiting Ontario, and a negative balance for Alberta (-6,100) mainly in favour of British Columbia. As for this province, it continued to be the only one showing a large positive balance in its population exchanges with the others (38,300).

THE INSTITUTIONALIZED POPULATION

What do a nun in a convent, a Naval rating at sea, an elderly nursing-home resident and a penitentiary inmate have in common? They are all classified by the Census as residents in collective dwellings. Published census data include the minimum of information on this population, and it is excluded from almost all surveys. The grounds for this neglect are that its share of the total population is small, 1.6% in 1991,[20] and has been shrinking; and that it is a residual category whose members have nothing important in common.

But there are arguments for paying more attention to it. The population in collective dwellings, although small, is not negligible: over 440,000 people in the 1991 census. The aging of the population is slowing the fall in its share of the population. Certain components of the population are of public-policy interest: long-term residents of health-related facilities, for example, or the inmates of correctional institutions. Recent public policy has stressed deinstitutionalization, shifting people from supervised collective dwellings to private households. Finally, however little else they have in common, the members of this population are distinguished by the fact that, willingly or unwillingly, they find themselves in living arrangements differing from those modern society considers normal. Its demographic significance lies in this feature: it is that part of the population which, for one reason or another, is outside the nuclear family, the milieu in which the population is reproduced.[21]

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[19] It would constitute a 23.7% increase over the number of migrants in the previous year!

[20] 1991 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 93-311, Table 2.

[21] With one notable exception: members of the Hutterian Brotherhood.

Census Concepts

The current Census concepts on the subject date back to the 1961 census, although the basic idea goes back much further. Census enumeration begins with the dwelling, a set of living quarters in which a person or group of persons resides or could reside. Dwellings are classified as collective or private. A collective dwelling is one of a commercial, institutional or communal nature. Like private dwellings, collective dwellings may be unoccupied, or occupied by usual residents. Only in the latter case is the dwelling counted in the census. It should be kept in mind that collective dwellings are not the same as non-family households; the latter are in private dwellings.

People are enumerated where they are found on the day of the census but tabulated in their usual place of residence. Of course most people are found in the private dwelling in which they normally live, but some are temporarily away from home (for example, in a hotel or hospital) and some do not live in a private dwelling (for example, soldiers in barracks or someone living in a rooming house). They will be enumerated as residents of a collective dwelling only if they are long-term residents (resident for more than six months) or if they have no other usual place of residence in Canada.

Collective dwellings are grouped into a few large categories. The two most important numerically are institutional collective dwellings and service collective dwellings. Smaller categories are work camps, military camps and Hutterite colonies. In the 1991 census, institutional residents make up three-quarters of the population in collective dwellings. Institutions comprise hospitals and other related institutions, with 63% of the population in collective dwellings (these are referred to as health-related facilities in this section), religious institutions (7%), correctional institutions (4%) and orphanages (less than 1%). Within the hospital category, the most important institutions in terms of number of long-term residents are special-care homes for the elderly and the chronically ill. These include fully half the population in collective dwellings.

The most important of the non-institutional groups in collective dwellings is people living in service collective dwellings, for example, lodgings, but this is no longer a common life-style. Here, older men are slightly more numerous than older women (5,500 compared to 4,200 for those aged 65 or over), contrary to the situation in health-related facilities.

The age-sex structure is highly skewed in most components of the population in collective dwellings, although not always in the same direction. In the 1991 census, women aged 75 or over make up 58% of all residents of special-care homes, and women aged 65 or over make up 53% of all residents of religious institutions. At the same time, men under 35 make up 65% of all residents of correctional facilities.

In fact, in the younger adult years, men are more likely to be long-term residents of collective dwellings than women whatever the type of dwelling. This is obviously true for work camps and military camps, and notoriously true for correctional facilities, but it is also true for health-related facilities.

While other segments of the population in collective dwellings are also affected by public policy or by the shifting age-sex structure of the population, particularly those in correctional facilities, the armed forces and service collective dwellings, the long-term population in health-related facilities is of particular importance because of its large and growing size and the costs associated with it.

Health-Related Facilities in Non-Census Data

Statistics Canada occasionally may publish data indirectly related to the population in collective dwellings, especially in the health field. In particular, the Health and Activity Limitation Surveys, 1986-87 and 1991, include the population in health-related facilities. Administrative data are potentially useful in the study of this population because they consist of annual data or provide a broader context for analysis. But conceptual and measurement differences make it difficult to make direct comparisons between the results of these surveys and census data, and the following analysis will be restricted to the latter.

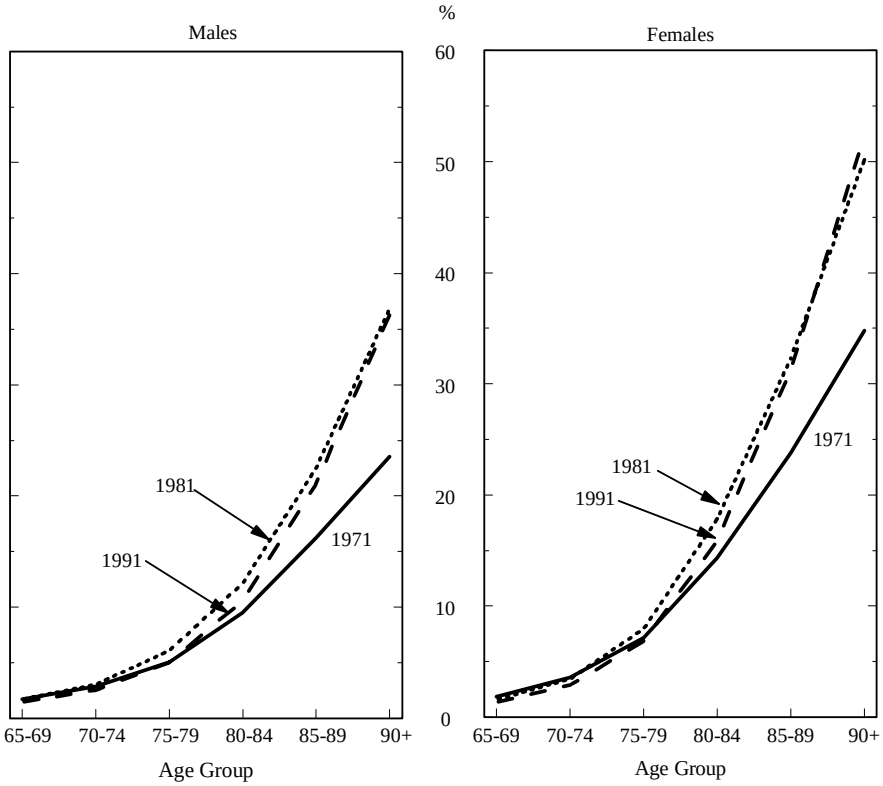
The Population in Health-Related Facilities in the Census

The data used here bear on age, sex and marital status. Their source is special tabulations from the 1971, 1981 and 1991 censuses. The small number of permanently resident staff has been omitted.

In 1971, about 176,000 people are in health-related facilities, increasing to about 233,000 in 1981 and 280,000 in 1991.[22] Population growth and the aging of the population account almost equally for this increase; changes in prevalence by sex and age by themselves would have resulted in a decrease. Figure 20 (for people 65 and over) and Appendix Table A9 show the prevalence of residence in health-related facilities by sex and age. The proportion of the population in health-related facilities increases fractionally: from 0.82% in 1971 to 0.96% in 1981 to 1.03% in 1991. The distribution by age is highly skewed. At the ages of 90 and over, long-term residents of health-related facilities are 30% or more of the population of those ages, but the percentage falls rapidly with age and by 55 to 59 is below 1% of the population of those ages.

[22] Numbers in this section are from the unpublished tables.

Figure 20. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility, by Sex and Age Group for Those Aged 65 and over, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991



Source: Table A10.

The proportion of the population in health-related facilities falls between 1971 and 1981 at ages below 70 (for example, in the population aged 15 to 64 it falls from 0.5% to 0.3%; at younger ages the fall is relatively even greater, although the percentages are very small). In contrast, the proportion of the population in health-related facilities increases at ages 70 or over, slightly at ages 70 to 74 and more in older age groups. For those aged 90 or over, the increase is from 31% of the population to 46%. Between 1981 and 1991, despite the fact that the proportion in health-related facilities actually rises in the population as a whole, it falls in all age groups except 35 to 39, where it is unchanged, and 90 or over, where it rises slightly. The overall proportion increases because of the greater increase in the size of the oldest age groups in the total population relative to younger ages.

A larger proportion of women is in health-related facilities than men, and the gap widens between 1971 and 1991. There is, however, a significant difference in terms of age. At younger ages, the proportion of women in health-related facilities is generally lower than that of men. The situation of younger men and women improves between 1971 and 1991, but that of women improves more. In 1971, with the exception of the 15-24 age groups,[23] women are less likely to be in health-related facilities than men in all groups up to the age of 49. In 1981 and 1991, except for the 0-4 age group, where the sexes are equal, women are less likely to be in health-related facilities until age 70.

The experience of men and women at older ages is in sharp contrast. The proportion of women resident in health-related facilities is greater than that of men. The difference increases with age and also with time. At ages 80 or over, the proportion of women is 7 percentage points higher than that of men in 1971, 9 percentage points higher in 1981 and 10 percentage points higher in 1991. Most of the increase for older men and women takes place between 1971 and 1981; between 1981 and 1991, the situation of men, and to a lesser degree of women, improves slightly, except for women aged 90 or over, where the proportion resident in health-related facilities increases. In 1991, 52% of women aged 90 or over are long-term residents of health-related facilities, compared to 36% of men of the same age.[24]

The Marital Status of Residents of Health-Related Facilities

Since the population resident in collective dwellings (including health-related facilities) is the population outside the domestic circle, this circumstance should be reflected in their marital status. Marital status is here grouped in three categories: married, including consensual unions; separated, widowed or divorced; and never married.

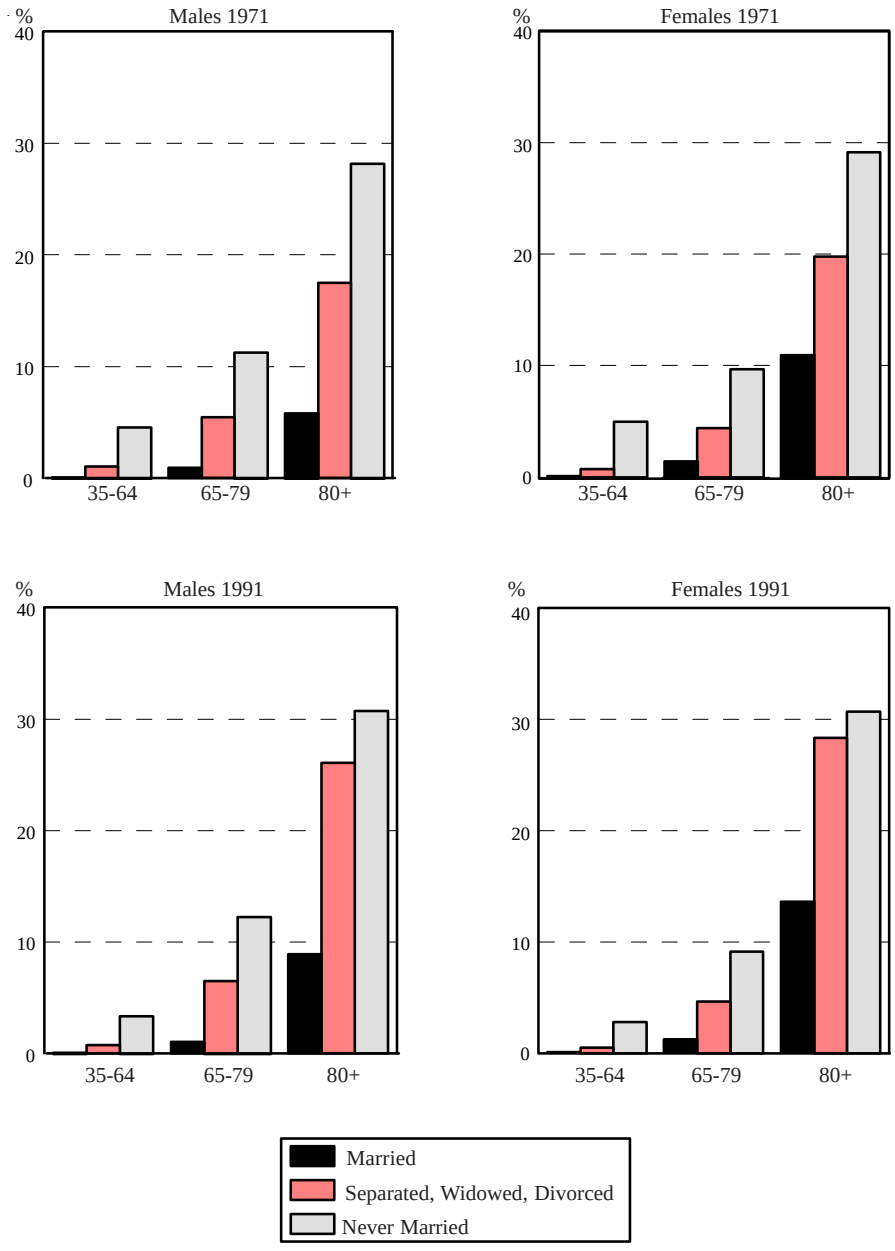
Long-term residents of health-related facilities, whether men or women, are a larger proportion of the never married than of other marital statuses in all the broad age groups shown in Figure 21, and of the separated, widowed or divorced than of the married. For example, in the age group 35 to 64 in 1991, 3% of never-married men are resident in health-related facilities compared to 0.8% of separated, widowed or divorced men and less than 0.1% of married men (Figure 21 and Appendix Table A10). For women of the same ages, the figures are 3%, 0.6% and less than 0.1%.

In each of the three marital statuses, the proportion resident in health-related facilities increases with age, but at different rates. The most rapid

[23] The unusually high proportions of women aged 15 to 24 who are long-term residents of health-related facilities in 1971, about 0.5% representing about 10,000 individuals, is difficult to account for; the overrepresentation is slight in 1981, and has disappeared by 1991.

[24] But note that men aged 90 or over will be on average somewhat younger than women aged 90 or over.

Figure 21. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility, by Sex, Marital Status and Age, for Those Aged 35 and over, Canada, 1971 and 1991



Source: Table A11.

growth for the never married occurs early, in the transition from the 15-34 age group to the 35-64 age group, and growth between older age groups is at a slower pace. Institutionalization may have been precipitated by lack of the support provided by a spouse; alternatively, the condition leading to institutionalization may have prevented the person from finding a marriage partner. For the separated, widowed or divorced, the most rapid growth occurs from the 35-64 age group to the 65-79 age group. For the married, rapid growth occurs both here and in the next transition, from the 65-79 age group to 80 or over. The later transition for the married may reflect the support provided by the spouse, which only fails as the couple reaches advanced age. Married women aged 80 or over are much more likely than married men of the same age to be institutionalized, presumably reflecting the traditional division of roles between the sexes, in which the husband is less likely to be the care-giver.

Between 1971 and 1991, the proportion of never-married men and women resident in health-related facilities does not change much in each age group. This is also true of the separated, widowed or divorced and of the married, except for those in the oldest age group. Here there is an increase between 1971 and 1981 (from 7% to 11% for the married and from 19% to 28% for the separated, widowed or divorced) followed by a very slight decrease to 1991, narrowing the gap between the marital statuses at the ages of 80 and over. It is only possible to speculate on the reason for this change. Over the two decades, sources of support for the frail elderly among the married and the separated, widowed or divorced in their own household or in the extended family may have grown fewer, or access to institutional support may have increased for these groups. The Census reveals the change, but does not lend itself to explaining it.

The changing marital-status structure of residents of health-related facilities results from changes in the age and marital-status structure of the population and in the prevalence of institutionalization in each group.

Below the age of 65, the large majority of residents in health-related facilities has never been married (in 1991, 41,000 compared to 13,000 of other marital statuses: see Table 33). In 1971, never-married men and women residents of health-related facilities in this age group are almost equal in number. Between 1971 and 1991, due to changing age-sex prevalence rates, the number of women falls sharply, from 29,000 to 16,000, compared to the number of men, which falls from 30,000 to 25,000.

At 65 to 79, due to population aging and changes in the population in terms of marital status (and not to changes in prevalence), the never married are a minority, and separated, widowed or divorced women begin to predominate. At the ages of 80 or over, separated, widowed or divorced women are the fastest growing category. In 1971 they make up 17% of the

Table 33. Number of Long-Term Residents in Health-Related Facilities, by Sex, Marital Status and Broad Age Group, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991

Age Group	Marital Status and Sex					
	Married		Separated, Widowed, Divorced		Never Married	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	1971					
0-64	3,350	3,800	2,345	3,690	29,680	29,460
65-79	4,530	4,655	5,715	15,700	7,755	7,865
80+	4,055	3,250	9,930	29,700	4,005	6,380
Total	11,940	11,725	17,995	49,080	41,450	43,690
	1981					
0-64	2,620	2,705	3,690	4,265	27,920	18,985
65-79	7,580	6,625	9,295	24,295	9,290	8,480
80+	7,905	5,910	16,150	63,730	4,610	9,075
Total	18,105	15,255	29,145	92,285	41,810	36,535
	1991					
0-64	2,320	2,300	3,710	4,745	25,100	16,250
65-79	9,385	8,290	10,485	28,870	9,145	8,960
80+	11,920	9,300	19,500	91,250	5,445	13,255
Total	23,620	19,900	33,690	124,850	39,690	38,460

Note: Excludes resident staff. Married includes consensual unions.
Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of Canada of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data.

residents of health-related facilities of all ages and marital statuses and of both sexes, in 1981, 27%, and in 1991, 33%. Between 1971 and 1981, just over half of the increase in the institutionalization of this group is due to the increase in their prevalence of institutionalization and just under half to their increasing numbers in the population. Between 1981 and 1991, it is wholly due to their increasing numbers in the population, which in fact offset a slight fall in prevalence.

In 1971, the never married make up 48% of residents of health-related facilities. The changes described above produce substantial changes over the next two decades. The separated, widowed or divorced more than double in number, the never married decrease slightly and the married almost double to produce a marital distribution by 1991 in which the never married make up only 28%. These changes represent especially the growing number of older women who are separated, widowed or divorced, as well as the changes in institutionalization between 1971 and 1991, increasing the prevalence rates for the oldest groups and decreasing them for younger people.

Table 34. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility by Age Group and Sex, Regions, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (in percent)

Age Group	Sex and Region							
	Male				Female			
	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	West	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	West
	1971							
0-64	0.32	0.44	0.31	0.33	0.50	0.48	0.30	0.32
65-69	1.50	1.92	1.69	1.57	1.39	2.62	1.59	1.53
70-74	1.89	3.52	2.88	2.74	2.57	5.12	3.07	3.13
75-79	3.21	6.16	4.83	5.06	4.42	9.23	6.78	7.05
80+	7.42	13.18	13.15	13.91	12.51	18.94	20.19	21.43
Total	0.53	0.70	0.61	0.74	0.89	1.00	0.94	1.01
	1981							
0-64	0.27	0.37	0.30	0.28	0.21	0.29	0.22	0.22
65-69	1.44	1.94	1.60	1.69	1.38	1.88	1.47	1.51
70-74	2.55	3.46	2.89	3.06	2.89	4.30	3.11	3.31
75-79	4.90	6.79	5.81	6.19	6.22	9.68	7.37	7.79
80+	13.28	19.23	17.28	19.61	20.38	27.05	26.69	29.35
Total	0.62	0.76	0.71	0.79	0.95	1.15	1.21	1.23
	1991							
0-64	0.26	0.33	0.23	0.22	0.20	0.26	0.17	0.17
65-69	1.45	1.89	1.28	1.32	1.22	1.78	1.23	1.22
70-74	2.22	3.33	2.29	2.35	2.47	3.83	2.60	2.58
75-79	4.60	6.70	4.67	4.41	5.54	8.85	6.41	6.10
80+	13.60	19.10	15.64	15.87	20.99	27.96	26.66	25.88
Total	0.69	0.83	0.66	0.70	1.14	1.47	1.31	1.27

Notes: Exludes resident staff. West includes Territories.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of Canada of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data and calcualtions by the author.

Regional Differences in Institutionalization

Because long-term residential care in health-related facilities is an important element in public spending, it is of interest to examine institutionalization on a geographical basis. Because numbers are not large, the population has been grouped into four regions, the Atlantic, Ontario, Quebec, and the West (including the Territories). Since attention focuses mainly on older people, the population under 65 is presented as a single age group, and five-year age groups are used for the population aged 65 to 79.

In 1991, about 1% of the population are long-term residents of health-related facilities (Table A9 in the Appendix). ***The prevalence for women is almost twice that for men, due to the much higher proportion of women aged 75 or over*** and especially 80 or over resident in health-related facilities. Are there regional variations in institutionalization, and specifically in these patterns?

In 1991, Quebec has the highest proportion of its population resident in health-related facilities, 0.8% of men and 1.5% of women (Table 34). The other regions are much alike as far as the institutionalization of men goes, all about 0.7%, while Ontario is second in terms of the institutionalization of women. This pattern is recent. In 1981, the West led, while Quebec was second for men and third for women; in 1971, the West again led, with Quebec second for men and a close second for women. The Atlantic region shows in most instances the weakest trend in institutionalization.

When particular age-sex groups are examined, differences between regions, mostly minor, are observed. In 1991, Quebec has the highest prevalence of institutionalization for both sexes and at all ages, except that that for women aged 80 or over (28%) is not much higher than that for Ontario (27%), the next highest in this age-sex category. In 1971 and 1981, the West has the highest overall prevalence of institutionalization (0.7% and 0.8% for men and 1.0% and 1.2% for women), but due entirely to higher prevalence among people aged 80 or over. At younger ages, Quebec again takes the lead. However, these interregional differences are not large.

The most striking differences are between the Atlantic region and all others, especially in the oldest age groups. For example, in 1971, 7% of men in the Atlantic region aged 80 or over were resident in health-related facilities, compared to 13% to 14% in the other regions, and 13% of women compared to 19% to 21% in other regions. By 1991, the differences had decreased: 14% for men compared to 16% to 19% in the other regions and 21% for women compared to 26% to 28% in the other regions. But the lower prevalence of institutionalization in the Atlantic region remains the only important and sustained interregional difference.

Levels of institutionalization depend on a number of factors, including the health status of the population and the availability of and relative emphasis between institutional and home-based services in different jurisdictions. Because the health status of the population is comparatively stable geographically at present, substantial differences in rates of institutionalization are more likely to reflect differences in service provision.

Why Pay Attention to the Population in Collective Dwellings?

Although attention here has focussed on residents of health-related facilities, the purpose has been to demonstrate the interest of the census category of long-term residents in collective dwellings as a whole. The limited attention given to this population is undeserved. Its number is greater than the 1991 populations of sixteen out of Canada's 25 census metropolitan areas, and greater than the total urban population of three out of ten provinces.

At one time much more diverse, it is becoming increasingly homogeneous in terms of age, sex, and the type of dwelling people live in. Decreasing institutionalization at younger ages represents a success for public policy, just as the increasing institutionalization of elderly women represents a serious challenge. Regional differences reflect different approaches to the provision of health services and raise issues of the degree to which needs are met throughout the country.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Appendices

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Newfoundland

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	545.2	4.2	8.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	13.0	15.5	-2.5	2.6
1974	549.4	4.5	7.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	12.4	13.0	-0.6	2.6
1975	553.9	7.3	8.0	0.6	0.2	0.1	12.3	11.4	0.9	2.6
1976	561.2	4.0	7.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	9.7	12.4	-2.7	1.6
1977	565.2	2.7	7.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	8.1	12.2	-4.0	1.0
1978	567.9	2.1	6.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	8.1	11.7	-3.5	1.0
1979	569.9	2.3	7.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	8.9	13.1	-4.2	1.0
1980	572.2	3.5	7.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	9.3	12.4	-3.1	1.0
1981	575.8	-0.6	6.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	8.5	14.8	-6.2	1.6
1982	575.1	4.2	5.8	-0.1	0.2	0.1	10.6	10.3	0.3	2.1
1983	579.4	2.0	5.4	-0.2	0.2	-0.2	7.6	8.7	-1.1	2.1
1984	581.4	-0.5	5.0	-0.1	0.2	0.1	5.7	9.3	-3.6	2.1
1985	580.9	-2.0	4.9	-0.1	0.2	0.0	6.0	11.0	-5.0	2.1
1986	578.8	-1.7	4.6	-0.2	0.2	0.2	7.7	12.4	-4.7	1.8
1987	577.1	-1.2	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	8.4	12.8	-4.4	1.5
1988	575.9	0.9	3.9	0.2	0.2	0.3	10.0	12.2	-2.2	1.5
1989	576.8	0.7	4.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	10.1	12.7	-2.6	1.5
1990	577.5	1.5	3.7	0.4	0.1	-0.1	10.2	11.4	-1.1	1.5
1991	578.9	2.6	3.4	0.3	0.1	0.5	9.9	10.9	-1.1	0.6
1992 (PD)	581.5	2.5	3.1	0.5	0.1	1.5	8.0	10.7	-2.7	...
1993 (PR)	584.1	-1.1	2.5	0.5	0.1	-0.6	6.6	10.3	-3.7	...
1994 (PR)	583.0	-4.2	2.3	0.3	0.1	..	8.9	15.9	-7.0	...
1995 (PR)	578.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	545.2	7.7	15.5	-7.8	21.8	6.2	0.6	28.4	0.8
1974	549.4	8.2	12.6	-4.4	18.6	6.0	0.6	23.6	0.9
1975	553.9	13.1	14.3	-1.2	20.1	5.8	0.6	20.5	1.1
1976	561.2	7.0	13.9	-6.8	19.8	5.9	0.4	22.1	0.5
1977	565.2	4.7	12.8	-8.1	18.4	5.5	0.4	21.5	0.3
1978	567.9	3.6	11.3	-7.6	16.7	5.5	0.4	20.5	-0.1
1979	569.9	4.1	12.3	-8.2	17.8	5.5	0.4	23.0	0.4
1980	572.2	6.1	12.2	-6.0	18.0	5.8	0.4	21.5	0.5
1981	575.8	-1.1	12.0	-13.1	17.6	5.6	0.4	25.7	0.2
1982	575.1	7.3	10.0	-2.7	15.9	5.9	0.4	17.9	-0.1
1983	579.4	3.5	9.4	-5.9	15.4	6.0	0.3	14.9	-0.4
1984	581.4	-0.9	8.7	-9.5	14.7	6.1	0.2	16.0	-0.2
1985	580.9	-3.5	8.5	-12.1	14.7	6.1	0.2	18.9	-0.2
1986	578.8	-3.0	7.9	-10.9	14.0	6.1	0.3	21.4	-0.4
1987	577.1	-2.1	7.2	-9.3	13.5	6.3	0.3	22.2	0.2
1988	575.9	1.5	6.8	-5.3	13.0	6.2	0.4	21.1	0.3
1989	576.8	1.2	7.0	-5.8	13.4	6.4	0.4	22.0	0.5
1990	577.5	2.6	6.4	-3.9	13.2	6.7	0.4	19.7	0.6
1991	578.9	4.5	5.8	-1.3	12.4	6.5	0.4	18.8	0.6
1992 (PD)	581.5	4.4	5.4	-1.0	11.9	6.5	0.3	18.4	0.9
1993 (PR)	584.1	-1.8	4.3	-6.2	11.0	6.7	0.2	17.6	0.9
1994 (PR)	583.0	-7.2	4.0	-11.2	10.9	6.9	0.3	27.4	0.5
1995 (PR)	578.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Prince Edward Island

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	114.5	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.8	4.3	0.5	0.7
1974	115.4	1.8	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	5.2	3.8	1.4	0.7
1975	117.2	1.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.6	3.8	0.8	0.7
1976	118.4	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.3	4.0	0.3	0.2
1977	119.5	1.8	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.9	3.3	0.6	-0.1
1978	121.3	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.0	-0.1
1979	122.5	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.6	-0.2	-0.1
1980	123.5	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.1	-1.1	-0.1
1981	123.6	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	4.3	-0.8	0.0
1982	123.8	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.1
1983	124.8	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.5	0.8	0.1
1984	126.4	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.5	0.5	0.1
1985	127.8	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.1
1986	128.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	3.0	-0.5	0.4
1987	128.8	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.8	0.3	0.6
1988	129.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.1	0.4	0.6
1989	130.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.4	-0.1	0.6
1990	130.8	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	3.1	-0.3	0.6
1991	131.0	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.3	-0.4	0.2
1992 (PD)	131.1	1.4	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.7	2.3	0.5	...
1993 (PR)	132.5	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.9	0.6	...
1994 (PR)	132.5	1.7	0.5	0.1	0.0	..	3.3	2.2	1.1	...
1995 (PR)	133.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	114.5	7.7	7.5	0.2	16.4	8.9	0.2	37.7	1.3
1974	115.4	15.6	7.3	8.3	16.7	9.4	0.2	32.5	1.6
1975	117.2	10.2	7.4	2.8	16.4	9.0	0.2	32.2	1.1
1976	118.4	9.3	7.1	2.2	16.3	9.2	0.2	33.6	1.1
1977	119.5	14.6	7.7	7.0	16.4	8.7	0.2	27.2	0.8
1978	121.3	9.8	8.1	1.7	16.3	8.2	0.1	28.4	0.4
1979	122.5	8.3	7.4	0.9	15.7	8.3	0.1	29.4	1.7
1980	123.5	0.7	7.5	-6.7	15.8	8.4	0.1	33.3	1.0
1981	123.6	2.0	7.3	-5.3	15.3	8.0	0.1	34.4	0.3
1982	123.8	7.7	7.6	0.2	15.5	7.9	0.1	27.1	0.6
1983	124.8	13.1	6.8	6.2	15.2	8.4	0.1	19.7	0.0
1984	126.4	10.6	6.6	3.9	15.4	8.7	0.1	20.0	0.1
1985	127.8	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.7	8.7	0.1	22.2	0.2
1986	128.7	1.2	6.3	-5.0	15.0	8.7	0.1	23.2	0.7
1987	128.8	5.8	6.5	-0.7	15.1	8.6	0.1	21.5	0.9
1988	129.6	6.8	6.7	0.2	15.2	8.6	0.1	23.5	0.7
1989	130.5	2.6	6.5	-3.9	14.8	8.3	0.1	26.4	0.7
1990	130.8	1.4	6.7	-5.2	15.4	8.7	0.1	23.7	1.1
1991	131.0	1.2	5.3	-4.1	14.4	9.1	0.1	25.2	0.4
1992 (PR)	131.1	10.4	5.6	4.8	14.0	8.5	0.1	17.1	0.5
1993 (PR)	132.5	10.2	4.6	5.7	13.2	8.6	0.1	14.1	0.7
1994 (PR)	132.5	12.8	3.6	9.2	12.5	8.9	0.1	16.7	0.7
1995 (PR)	133.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Nova Scotia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual[2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	810.4	7.6	6.4	1.8	0.4	0.1	26.3	24.1	2.1	3.2
1974	818.1	6.6	6.0	1.9	0.3	-0.1	27.2	25.6	1.6	3.2
1975	824.7	9.6	6.3	1.5	0.3	0.1	25.6	21.1	4.5	3.2
1976	834.2	5.8	5.9	1.4	0.3	-0.1	23.0	22.6	0.4	2.1
1977	840.0	4.1	5.4	1.0	0.3	-0.1	19.9	21.2	-1.3	1.3
1978	844.2	4.9	5.7	0.4	0.3	-0.1	19.5	19.6	-0.1	1.3
1979	849.1	3.7	5.6	0.8	0.3	0.1	18.4	20.3	-1.8	1.3
1980	852.8	3.3	5.4	1.2	0.3	0.2	18.5	21.0	-2.5	1.3
1981	856.1	3.5	5.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	19.3	21.7	-2.5	0.9
1982	859.6	7.5	5.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	18.8	17.3	1.6	0.6
1983	867.1	9.4	5.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	18.3	14.5	3.9	0.6
1984	876.5	8.7	5.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.3	14.4	3.0	0.6
1985	885.2	4.8	5.1	0.5	0.2	-0.2	16.7	16.9	-0.2	0.6
1986	890.0	4.4	5.1	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.1	17.8	-0.7	0.8
1987	894.4	3.1	5.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	17.6	19.8	-2.2	1.0
1988	897.5	5.8	4.8	0.9	0.2	0.8	19.2	19.1	0.1	1.0
1989	903.2	6.5	5.0	1.0	0.2	0.7	20.4	19.8	0.6	1.0
1990	909.8	5.4	5.5	0.9	0.2	-0.2	18.6	18.7	-0.1	1.0
1991	915.2	6.4	4.8	0.5	0.3	0.1	19.0	17.9	1.0	0.4
1992 (PD)	921.6	7.2	4.3	1.5	0.4	0.9	17.8	17.7	0.1	...
1993 (PR)	928.8	4.3	4.0	2.2	0.4	-0.6	14.8	16.5	-1.7	...
1994 (PR)	921.6	3.6	3.7	2.6	0.4	..	18.0	21.0	-2.9	...
1995 (PR)	928.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow[3]			In	Out	
1973	810.4	9.4	7.8	1.5	16.3	8.5	1.2	29.7	2.2
1974	818.1	8.1	7.4	0.7	15.8	8.4	1.2	31.2	2.3
1975	824.7	11.5	7.6	3.9	15.8	8.2	1.2	25.5	1.8
1976	834.2	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.3	8.3	1.0	27.0	1.6
1977	840.0	4.9	6.4	-1.5	14.7	8.3	0.9	25.2	1.2
1978	844.2	5.8	6.7	-0.9	14.8	8.1	0.8	23.2	0.5
1979	849.1	4.4	6.5	-2.2	14.6	8.0	0.8	23.8	1.0
1980	852.8	3.9	6.3	-2.4	14.5	8.2	0.8	24.6	1.4
1981	856.1	4.1	6.0	-1.9	14.1	8.1	0.8	25.3	1.0
1982	859.6	8.7	6.2	2.5	14.3	8.0	0.8	20.0	0.9
1983	867.1	10.8	6.1	4.6	14.2	8.1	0.8	16.6	0.4
1984	876.5	9.8	6.2	3.6	14.1	7.8	0.7	16.3	0.7
1985	885.2	5.4	5.8	-0.4	14.0	8.2	0.7	19.1	0.5
1986	890.0	4.9	5.7	-0.8	13.9	8.1	0.7	20.0	0.7
1987	894.4	3.5	5.6	-2.1	13.5	7.9	0.7	22.1	0.8
1988	897.5	6.4	5.3	1.1	13.5	8.2	0.7	21.2	1.0
1989	903.2	7.2	5.5	1.7	13.8	8.3	0.8	21.9	1.1
1990	909.8	5.9	6.0	-0.1	14.1	8.1	0.7	20.5	1.0
1991	915.2	7.0	5.2	1.8	13.1	7.9	0.7	19.5	0.6
1992 (PD)	921.6	7.8	4.7	3.2	12.8	8.2	0.7	19.1	1.7
1993 (PR)	928.8	4.7	4.3	0.4	12.4	8.1	0.5	17.7	2.4
1994 (PR)	921.6	3.9	4.0	-0.1	12.2	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7
1995 (PR)	928.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

New Brunswick

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	654.4	8.5	6.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	22.7	19.9	2.8	1.8
1974	663.0	10.1	6.2	0.9	0.6	0.0	22.9	18.7	4.2	1.8
1975	673.1	14.0	6.6	0.9	0.6	0.1	24.2	16.6	7.6	1.8
1976	687.2	8.1	6.6	0.7	0.6	0.0	18.9	17.3	1.6	1.4
1977	695.3	5.0	6.3	0.1	0.5	0.0	15.5	16.4	-0.9	1.1
1978	700.4	3.0	5.6	-0.4	0.5	0.0	14.3	16.0	-1.6	1.1
1979	703.4	3.2	5.7	0.2	0.5	0.1	14.3	16.5	-2.2	1.1
1980	706.6	1.2	5.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	13.2	17.4	-4.2	1.1
1981	707.9	0.1	5.4	-0.1	0.5	0.4	13.8	18.6	-4.8	1.3
1982	708.0	6.0	5.3	-0.3	0.4	-0.2	14.8	12.7	2.2	1.4
1983	714.0	6.3	5.3	-0.2	0.4	0.0	13.2	10.9	2.3	1.4
1984	720.3	4.6	5.1	-0.3	0.4	-0.1	12.0	11.2	0.8	1.4
1985	724.9	2.0	4.9	-0.4	0.5	0.0	11.5	13.1	-1.6	1.4
1986	726.9	1.3	4.3	-0.3	0.4	0.1	11.4	14.3	-2.9	0.4
1987	728.1	3.0	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.1	13.2	15.0	-1.8	-0.3
1988	731.2	4.1	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.6	13.7	14.9	-1.2	-0.3
1989	735.2	4.9	4.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	15.0	15.0	0.0	-0.3
1990	740.1	5.9	4.4	0.0	0.4	-0.1	14.2	13.2	1.0	-0.3
1991	746.1	4.5	4.0	-0.2	0.4	0.2	12.8	12.9	-0.1	-0.1
1992 (PD)	750.6	3.6	3.8	-0.2	0.5	0.8	11.9	13.1	-1.2	...
1993 (PR)	754.3	2.8	3.2	-0.2	0.4	-0.3	10.8	11.2	-0.5	...
1994 (PR)	746.1	2.7	3.0	-0.3	0.5	..	13.8	14.1	-0.3	...
1995 (PR)	750.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	654.4	13.0	9.6	3.3	17.3	7.7	1.0	30.1	0.6
1974	663.0	15.2	9.3	5.8	17.1	7.8	1.0	28.0	1.3
1975	673.1	20.7	9.8	10.9	17.3	7.6	1.1	24.4	1.3
1976	687.2	11.8	9.6	2.2	17.1	7.5	0.8	25.0	1.0
1977	695.3	7.2	9.1	-1.8	16.5	7.4	0.7	23.4	0.2
1978	700.4	4.3	8.0	-3.7	15.4	7.4	0.6	22.8	-0.6
1979	703.4	4.6	8.1	-3.4	15.4	7.3	0.6	23.4	0.3
1980	706.6	1.8	7.5	-5.8	15.0	7.5	0.6	24.6	0.7
1981	707.9	0.2	7.6	-7.4	14.8	7.3	0.6	26.3	-0.1
1982	708.0	8.4	7.4	1.0	14.8	7.3	0.6	17.8	-0.4
1983	714.0	8.8	7.4	1.4	14.7	7.3	0.5	15.2	-0.3
1984	720.3	6.3	7.0	-0.7	14.3	7.3	0.5	15.5	-0.4
1985	724.9	2.8	6.7	-4.0	13.9	7.2	0.5	18.0	-0.5
1986	726.9	1.8	6.0	-4.2	13.5	7.5	0.5	19.6	-0.4
1987	728.1	4.2	5.7	-1.6	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.5	-0.3
1988	731.2	5.5	5.7	-0.2	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.3	-0.2
1989	735.2	6.6	5.7	1.0	13.1	7.5	0.6	20.4	0.0
1990	740.1	8.0	5.9	2.1	13.2	7.3	0.5	17.7	-0.1
1991	746.1	6.1	5.4	0.7	12.7	7.3	0.5	17.3	-0.2
1992 (PD)	750.6	4.8	5.0	-0.2	12.5	7.5	0.4	17.4	-0.3
1993 (PR)	754.3	3.6	4.3	-0.6	12.0	7.7	0.4	14.8	-0.3
1994 (PR)	746.1	3.6	3.9	-0.3	11.8	7.8	0.5	18.6	-0.4
1995 (PR)	750.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Quebec

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual[2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	6,210.8	50.7	41.4	13.4	6.7	1.7	39.6	54.4	-14.7	-2.3
1974	6,261.4	59.5	42.9	20.1	6.3	-0.3	39.3	51.2	-11.9	-2.3
1975	6,320.9	64.2	50.2	16.1	6.3	1.7	34.5	46.8	-12.3	-2.3
1976	6,385.1	52.2	53.3	18.4	6.2	-0.5	31.6	52.4	-20.8	4.5
1977	6,437.3	12.0	53.7	9.0	5.5	-0.3	24.4	71.0	-46.5	9.4
1978	6,449.3	17.6	51.8	3.8	5.4	-0.5	24.5	57.9	-33.4	9.4
1979	6,466.9	33.3	55.3	10.5	5.1	1.8	23.6	53.7	-30.0	9.4
1980	6,500.2	43.3	53.9	15.1	4.7	3.3	21.9	46.2	-24.3	9.4
1981	6,543.5	42.6	52.6	13.4	4.2	4.8	23.6	46.1	-22.5	9.8
1982	6,586.1	22.9	47.3	11.8	4.8	-2.8	19.9	48.1	-28.2	10.1
1983	6,609.0	27.6	43.9	7.0	4.3	1.6	22.3	41.4	-19.1	10.1
1984	6,636.6	33.0	43.4	5.8	4.3	0.6	25.2	36.2	-10.9	10.1
1985	6,669.6	40.5	40.6	7.2	4.1	4.6	25.4	31.4	-6.0	10.1
1986	6,710.1	60.0	37.7	12.4	4.0	13.9	26.0	29.0	-3.0	5.0
1987	6,770.1	59.0	36.2	21.1	3.5	7.1	26.0	33.4	-7.4	1.4
1988	6,829.1	77.0	38.8	20.7	3.0	22.9	27.8	34.8	-7.0	1.4
1989	6,906.0	73.0	44.1	28.7	2.9	7.2	29.5	37.8	-8.4	1.4
1990	6,979.0	69.4	49.6	35.5	2.6	-7.4	26.9	36.4	-9.6	1.4
1991	7,048.4	67.8	48.2	45.1	3.1	-15.0	24.5	37.6	-13.0	0.6
1992 (PD)	7,116.2	72.4	47.3	42.3	3.2	-10.9	25.4	34.9	-9.5	...
1993 (PR)	7,188.6	73.5	40.7	38.9	3.1	-2.0	23.5	30.7	-7.2	...
1994 (PR)	7,262.1	40.7	37.8	21.4	3.1	-7.3	26.0	40.4	-14.3	...
1995 (PR)	7,302.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow[3]			In	Out	
1973	6,210.8	8.1	6.6	1.5	13.5	6.8	2.4	8.7	2.1
1974	6,261.4	9.5	6.8	2.6	13.6	6.8	2.4	8.1	3.2
1975	6,320.9	10.1	7.9	2.2	14.7	6.8	2.0	7.4	2.5
1976	6,385.1	8.1	8.3	-0.2	15.0	6.7	1.8	8.2	2.9
1977	6,437.3	1.9	8.3	-6.5	15.1	6.7	1.4	11.0	1.4
1978	6,449.3	2.7	8.0	-5.3	14.8	6.7	1.4	9.0	0.6
1979	6,466.9	5.1	8.5	-3.4	15.2	6.7	1.3	8.3	1.6
1980	6,500.2	6.6	8.3	-1.6	14.9	6.7	1.2	7.1	2.3
1981	6,543.5	6.5	8.0	-1.5	14.5	6.5	1.3	7.0	2.0
1982	6,586.1	3.5	7.2	-3.7	13.8	6.6	1.1	7.3	1.8
1983	6,609.0	4.2	6.6	-2.5	13.3	6.7	1.2	6.3	1.1
1984	6,636.6	5.0	6.5	-1.6	13.2	6.7	1.3	5.4	0.9
1985	6,669.6	6.0	6.1	0.0	12.9	6.8	1.3	4.7	1.1
1986	6,710.1	8.9	5.6	3.3	12.6	7.0	1.3	4.3	1.8
1987	6,770.1	8.7	5.3	3.4	12.3	7.0	1.3	4.9	3.1
1988	6,829.1	11.2	5.7	5.6	12.6	7.0	1.4	5.1	3.0
1989	6,906.0	10.5	6.3	4.2	13.3	7.0	1.4	5.4	4.1
1990	6,979.0	9.9	7.1	2.8	14.0	6.9	1.3	5.2	5.1
1991	7,048.4	9.6	6.8	2.8	13.7	6.9	1.2	5.3	6.4
1992 (PD)	7,116.2	10.1	6.6	3.5	13.4	6.8	1.2	4.9	5.9
1993 (PR)	7,188.6	10.2	5.6	4.5	12.8	7.2	1.1	4.3	5.4
1994 (PR)	7,262.1	5.6	5.2	0.4	12.5	7.4	1.2	5.5	2.9
1995 (PR)	7,302.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Ontario

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	8,032.5	126.1	63.9	65.5	18.1	4.1	104.2	109.4	-5.3	20.2
1974	8,158.7	120.1	63.7	82.6	17.3	-1.2	89.5	111.7	-22.2	20.2
1975	8,278.7	106.1	65.2	64.6	17.5	4.1	80.9	106.0	-25.1	20.2
1976	8,384.8	92.2	62.1	41.3	17.3	-1.7	88.7	99.2	-10.5	16.2
1977	8,477.0	98.2	61.3	27.3	15.4	-1.2	98.6	90.0	8.6	13.4
1978	8,575.2	72.6	59.8	12.3	15.2	-1.7	86.6	86.2	0.4	13.4
1979	8,647.8	76.0	60.2	26.1	14.4	4.0	83.5	98.9	-15.3	13.4
1980	8,723.9	74.0	60.6	41.1	13.0	7.6	74.2	109.1	-34.9	13.4
1981	8,797.9	96.3	59.3	32.2	11.9	17.5	80.6	100.2	-19.7	5.0
1982	8,894.1	120.4	61.2	25.4	13.4	-0.1	89.1	69.5	19.6	-1.0
1983	9,014.5	123.6	62.3	13.5	12.3	1.7	88.2	55.4	32.8	-1.0
1984	9,138.1	131.3	66.6	16.7	11.9	-1.6	89.1	52.4	36.7	-1.0
1985	9,269.4	132.2	65.5	16.6	12.4	3.4	88.4	54.9	33.4	-1.0
1986	9,401.7	174.1	66.0	27.9	11.4	24.7	100.1	57.1	42.9	-1.1
1987	9,575.8	206.4	66.5	65.4	10.8	22.2	104.7	64.4	40.3	-1.2
1988	9,782.2	235.2	67.4	72.2	9.5	70.0	91.4	76.5	14.9	-1.2
1989	10,017.4	218.6	74.4	87.3	9.3	47.6	87.3	88.5	-1.2	-1.2
1990	10,236.0	165.4	80.1	96.8	8.4	-6.0	75.2	90.3	-15.1	-1.2
1991	10,401.4	146.9	78.6	98.2	9.9	-30.3	71.2	81.2	-10.0	-0.5
1992 (PD)	10,548.3	178.6	77.4	119.2	9.9	-14.7	67.6	80.8	-13.2	...
1993 (PR)	10,726.9	150.2	72.0	115.5	9.6	-35.2	60.7	72.6	-11.9	...
1994 (PR)	10,877.1	131.3	69.3	93.9	9.7	-40.9	80.9	81.5	-0.6	...
1995 (PR)	11,008.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	8,032.5	15.6	7.9	7.7	15.3	7.4	7.2	13.5	8.1
1974	8,158.7	14.6	7.7	6.9	15.1	7.4	6.1	13.6	10.1
1975	8,278.7	12.7	7.8	4.9	15.1	7.3	5.4	12.7	7.8
1976	8,384.8	10.9	7.4	3.6	14.6	7.2	5.9	11.8	4.9
1977	8,477.0	11.5	7.2	4.3	14.4	7.2	6.5	10.6	3.2
1978	8,575.2	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.0	7.1	5.6	10.0	1.4
1979	8,647.8	8.8	6.9	1.8	14.0	7.1	5.4	11.4	3.0
1980	8,723.9	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.1	7.2	4.7	12.5	4.7
1981	8,797.9	10.9	6.7	4.2	13.8	7.1	5.0	11.3	3.6
1982	8,894.1	13.4	6.8	6.6	13.9	7.1	5.5	7.8	2.8
1983	9,014.5	13.6	6.9	6.7	14.0	7.1	5.4	6.1	1.5
1984	9,138.1	14.3	7.2	7.0	14.3	7.0	5.4	5.7	1.8
1985	9,269.4	14.2	7.0	7.2	14.2	7.1	5.3	5.9	1.8
1986	9,401.7	18.4	7.0	11.4	14.1	7.2	6.0	6.0	2.9
1987	9,575.8	21.3	6.9	14.5	13.9	7.0	6.2	6.7	6.8
1988	9,782.2	23.8	6.8	16.9	13.9	7.1	5.4	7.7	7.3
1989	10,017.4	21.6	7.3	14.2	14.4	7.0	5.1	8.7	8.6
1990	10,236.0	16.0	7.8	8.3	14.6	6.9	4.3	8.8	9.4
1991	10,401.4	14.0	7.5	6.5	14.5	7.0	4.0	7.8	9.4
1992 (PD)	10,548.3	16.8	7.3	9.5	14.2	6.9	3.8	7.6	11.2
1993 (PR)	10,726.9	13.9	6.7	7.2	13.7	7.0	3.3	6.7	10.7
1994 (PR)	10,877.1	12.0	6.3	5.7	13.4	7.1	4.4	7.5	8.6
1995 (PR)	11,008.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Manitoba

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,004.5	9.8	8.8	3.7	1.4	0.2	33.8	36.0	-2.2	2.1
1974	1,014.3	7.2	8.9	4.5	1.4	-0.1	30.2	35.6	-5.4	2.1
1975	1,021.5	8.6	8.8	4.5	1.4	0.2	28.4	32.5	-4.1	2.1
1976	1,030.1	6.4	8.5	3.2	1.3	-0.1	25.1	28.7	-3.7	2.9
1977	1,036.5	5.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	-0.1	21.6	25.3	-3.8	3.4
1978	1,041.8	-2.5	8.1	1.3	1.2	-0.1	18.7	28.2	-9.6	3.4
1979	1,039.3	-4.9	8.0	3.0	1.1	0.2	18.8	32.6	-13.8	3.4
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.6	6.1	1.0	0.4	19.0	30.4	-11.3	3.4
1981	1,034.8	7.8	7.4	3.4	1.0	0.7	22.7	26.3	-3.6	1.2
1982	1,042.6	13.7	7.6	3.2	0.8	0.2	20.9	19.4	1.5	-0.4
1983	1,056.2	12.7	8.1	1.8	1.0	0.4	18.5	17.5	1.0	-0.4
1984	1,069.0	11.7	8.4	2.3	0.8	-0.2	17.2	17.2	0.0	-0.4
1985	1,080.7	9.4	8.3	1.6	0.9	-0.1	17.2	19.0	-1.8	-0.4
1986	1,090.1	7.0	8.1	1.9	0.9	0.2	17.4	20.5	-3.0	1.0
1987	1,097.0	5.3	8.2	2.8	0.9	0.1	18.1	22.9	-4.8	2.0
1988	1,102.3	1.8	7.9	3.0	0.8	0.7	16.1	24.7	-8.6	2.0
1989	1,104.1	1.4	8.5	3.7	1.0	0.2	17.1	27.1	-10.0	2.0
1990	1,105.6	3.5	8.5	4.6	0.9	0.2	16.9	25.5	-8.6	2.0
1991	1,109.1	5.4	8.3	3.5	1.2	0.8	16.1	23.6	-7.6	0.8
1992 (PD)	1,114.5	6.4	7.6	3.0	1.1	0.9	15.9	22.0	-6.2	...
1993 (PR)	1,120.9	5.9	7.4	2.7	1.0	-0.5	14.5	19.2	-4.7	...
1994 (PR)	1,126.8	6.1	7.2	1.7	1.1	-0.4	19.9	23.4	-3.5	...
1995 (PR)	1,132.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	1,004.5	9.7	8.7	1.0	16.8	8.1	1.6	35.6	3.7
1974	1,014.3	7.0	8.7	-1.7	17.0	8.3	1.4	35.0	4.5
1975	1,021.5	8.4	8.5	-0.1	16.7	8.2	1.3	31.7	4.4
1976	1,030.1	6.1	8.2	-2.0	16.2	8.0	1.1	27.8	3.1
1977	1,036.5	5.1	8.2	-3.1	16.1	7.9	0.9	24.4	2.7
1978	1,041.8	-2.4	7.8	-10.2	15.8	8.0	0.8	27.1	1.3
1979	1,039.3	-4.7	7.7	-12.4	15.7	7.9	0.8	31.4	2.9
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.3	-7.0	15.5	8.2	0.8	29.4	5.9
1981	1,034.8	7.5	7.1	0.3	15.5	8.3	1.0	25.3	3.3
1982	1,042.6	13.0	7.3	5.8	15.4	8.1	0.9	18.5	3.1
1983	1,056.2	12.0	7.6	4.4	15.6	8.0	0.8	16.5	1.7
1984	1,069.0	10.9	7.8	3.1	15.5	7.7	0.7	16.0	2.2
1985	1,080.7	8.7	7.7	1.0	15.8	8.1	0.7	17.5	1.5
1986	1,090.1	6.4	7.4	-1.0	15.6	8.1	0.7	18.7	1.7
1987	1,097.0	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.4	7.9	0.7	20.8	2.5
1988	1,102.3	1.7	7.2	-5.5	15.4	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7
1989	1,104.1	1.3	7.7	-6.4	15.7	8.0	0.6	24.5	3.4
1990	1,105.6	3.2	7.7	-4.5	15.7	8.0	0.6	23.1	4.1
1991	1,109.1	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.5	8.0	0.6	21.3	3.1
1992 (PD)	1,114.5	5.7	6.8	-1.1	14.8	8.0	0.6	19.7	2.6
1993 (PR)	1,120.9	5.3	6.6	-1.3	14.9	8.3	0.5	17.1	2.4
1994 (PR)	1,126.8	5.4	6.3	-1.0	14.7	8.3	0.7	20.7	1.5
1995 (PR)	1,132.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Saskatchewan

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual[2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	915.9	-6.1	7.2	0.4	0.7	0.1	26.2	39.4	-13.3	1.3
1974	909.8	2.7	7.3	0.8	0.7	0.0	28.0	32.8	-4.8	1.3
1975	912.5	15.3	7.6	1.6	0.7	0.1	30.0	23.4	6.6	1.3
1976	927.8	13.0	8.2	1.2	0.7	0.0	26.2	22.4	3.8	0.8
1977	940.7	10.6	9.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	22.2	21.8	0.4	0.4
1978	951.3	5.6	8.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	19.3	23.0	-3.7	0.4
1979	956.9	8.1	9.6	1.8	0.5	0.1	21.1	24.6	-3.5	0.4
1980	965.0	8.1	9.4	2.8	0.5	0.2	20.7	25.0	-4.4	0.4
1981	973.1	11.3	9.7	1.4	0.5	0.3	23.2	23.7	-0.5	0.1
1982	984.4	12.9	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.0	21.0	19.3	1.7	-0.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	0.5	0.5	0.1	19.5	17.0	2.5	-0.1
1984	1,011.3	12.9	10.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	17.3	16.6	0.7	-0.1
1985	1,024.2	6.6	10.1	0.5	0.6	0.3	15.8	20.8	-5.0	-0.1
1986	1,030.8	2.8	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.4	15.9	22.9	-7.0	1.5
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	9.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	15.7	24.7	-9.0	2.6
1988	1,033.2	-8.1	8.7	1.3	0.5	0.4	13.6	30.0	-16.3	2.6
1989	1,025.1	-10.6	8.7	1.2	0.5	0.2	15.3	33.9	-18.6	2.6
1990	1,014.5	-8.4	8.0	1.5	0.5	0.1	16.1	32.0	-15.9	2.6
1991	1,006.1	-0.8	7.2	1.6	0.5	0.6	17.4	26.9	-9.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	1,005.3	3.4	7.2	1.6	0.5	1.1	17.4	24.3	-6.9	...
1993 (PR)	1,008.7	2.8	6.1	1.5	0.5	-0.5	15.8	20.6	-4.8	...
1994 (PR)	1,011.5	3.1	5.7	1.2	0.5	-0.3	21.1	25.1	-4.0	...
1995 (PR)	1,014.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow[3]			In	Out	
1973	915.9	-6.7	7.8	-14.5	16.2	8.4	1.2	43.2	0.5
1974	909.8	3.0	8.0	-5.1	16.6	8.6	1.3	36.0	0.9
1975	912.5	16.6	8.3	8.3	16.6	8.3	1.3	25.5	1.7
1976	927.8	13.9	8.7	5.2	17.1	8.4	1.2	24.0	1.2
1977	940.7	11.2	9.5	1.7	17.5	8.0	1.0	23.1	1.2
1978	951.3	5.9	9.2	-3.3	17.3	8.1	0.8	24.1	0.4
1979	956.9	8.4	10.0	-1.6	17.6	7.7	0.9	25.6	1.9
1980	965.0	8.4	9.7	-1.3	17.6	7.9	0.9	25.8	2.9
1981	973.1	11.5	9.9	1.6	17.6	7.7	1.0	24.2	1.5
1982	984.4	13.0	9.6	3.4	17.9	8.3	0.9	19.5	1.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	3.8	17.8	7.6	0.8	16.9	0.5
1984	1,011.3	12.7	10.1	2.6	17.7	7.6	0.7	16.3	1.1
1985	1,024.2	6.4	9.9	-3.4	17.7	7.8	0.6	20.2	0.5
1986	1,030.8	2.7	9.2	-6.4	17.0	7.8	0.6	22.2	1.0
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	8.9	-9.3	16.5	7.6	0.6	23.9	1.1
1988	1,033.2	-7.9	8.4	-16.3	16.3	7.9	0.5	29.1	1.3
1989	1,025.1	-10.4	8.6	-19.0	16.3	7.8	0.6	33.2	1.1
1990	1,014.5	-8.3	8.0	-16.3	15.9	8.0	0.6	31.7	1.5
1991	1,006.1	-0.8	7.2	-7.9	15.2	8.1	0.6	26.8	1.6
1992 (PD)	1,005.3	3.4	7.2	-3.8	14.9	7.7	0.6	24.2	1.6
1993 (PR)	1,008.7	2.8	6.0	-3.3	14.1	8.1	0.6	20.4	1.4
1994 (PR)	1,011.5	3.0	5.6	-2.6	13.8	8.2	0.7	24.8	1.2
1995 (PR)	1,014.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Alberta

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,716.6	28.8	18.5	2.2	4.6	0.7	70.5	67.8	2.7	-0.1
1974	1,745.5	42.4	18.6	4.6	4.4	-0.1	75.4	60.6	14.8	-0.1
1975	1,787.9	56.4	20.2	7.4	4.5	0.7	76.7	53.2	23.5	-0.1
1976	1,844.2	74.0	21.5	6.6	4.5	-0.2	83.5	49.3	34.2	-7.4
1977	1,918.2	76.2	22.8	4.6	4.1	-0.1	82.8	50.5	32.3	-12.5
1978	1,994.4	73.1	23.5	1.3	4.1	-0.2	82.6	50.6	32.0	-12.5
1979	2,067.5	86.5	24.9	5.2	4.0	0.7	96.1	56.9	39.2	-12.5
1980	2,154.1	103.9	27.0	12.4	3.7	1.2	106.7	59.8	46.9	-12.5
1981	2,257.9	90.0	29.8	11.6	3.6	2.5	107.6	67.3	40.2	-2.3
1982	2,347.9	43.4	32.1	8.8	4.1	-0.4	72.7	68.8	4.0	5.0
1983	2,391.4	7.2	33.0	1.5	4.0	0.0	45.9	72.1	-26.2	5.0
1984	2,398.6	2.2	31.4	2.3	3.9	0.2	39.3	69.9	-30.6	5.0
1985	2,400.8	22.1	30.6	0.5	4.3	1.2	49.9	59.5	-9.6	5.0
1986	2,422.9	14.5	30.2	2.4	3.7	2.5	49.5	69.8	-20.3	3.9
1987	2,437.4	11.2	28.8	4.6	3.8	4.6	45.3	72.9	-27.6	3.0
1988	2,448.6	35.3	28.2	7.5	3.6	4.7	54.8	60.3	-5.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	44.8	29.5	9.8	3.3	1.9	64.7	61.3	3.4	3.0
1990	2,528.7	52.0	28.9	12.4	3.1	-0.4	67.4	56.3	11.1	3.0
1991	2,580.7	45.0	28.3	8.4	3.8	0.3	61.2	55.7	5.5	1.3
1992 (PD)	2,625.7	44.9	27.4	10.2	3.8	3.6	55.6	55.7	-0.1	...
1993 (PR)	2,670.6	33.0	25.0	11.1	3.7	-4.1	48.5	51.2	-2.7	...
1994 (PR)	2,703.6	26.0	23.9	9.8	3.8	-5.4	57.7	63.8	-6.1	...
1995 (PR)	2,729.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	1,716.6	16.7	10.7	6.0	16.9	6.2	3.4	39.2	1.3
1974	1,745.5	24.0	10.5	13.5	16.9	6.4	3.6	34.3	2.6
1975	1,787.9	31.0	11.1	19.9	17.4	6.3	3.6	29.3	4.1
1976	1,844.2	39.3	11.4	27.9	17.6	6.2	3.9	26.2	3.5
1977	1,918.2	39.0	11.7	27.3	17.6	5.9	3.8	25.8	2.3
1978	1,994.4	36.0	11.5	24.5	17.4	5.9	3.8	24.9	0.6
1979	2,067.5	41.0	11.8	29.2	17.5	5.7	4.3	27.0	2.5
1980	2,154.1	47.1	12.3	34.8	18.0	5.8	4.8	27.1	5.6
1981	2,257.9	39.1	12.9	26.1	18.5	5.6	4.8	29.2	5.0
1982	2,347.9	18.3	13.5	4.8	19.0	5.5	3.2	29.0	3.7
1983	2,391.4	3.0	13.8	-10.8	19.0	5.3	2.0	30.1	0.6
1984	2,398.6	0.9	13.1	-12.1	18.4	5.3	1.7	29.1	1.0
1985	2,400.8	9.1	12.7	-3.5	18.2	5.5	2.1	24.7	0.2
1986	2,422.9	6.0	12.4	-6.4	18.0	5.6	2.1	28.7	1.0
1987	2,437.4	4.6	11.8	-7.2	17.2	5.5	1.9	29.8	1.9
1988	2,448.6	14.3	11.4	2.9	17.1	5.6	2.2	24.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	17.9	11.8	6.1	17.3	5.5	2.6	24.5	3.9
1990	2,528.7	20.3	11.3	9.0	16.8	5.5	2.7	22.1	4.8
1991	2,580.7	17.3	10.9	6.4	16.4	5.6	2.4	21.4	3.2
1992 (PD)	2,625.7	16.9	10.3	6.6	15.9	5.5	2.1	21.0	3.9
1993 (PR)	2,670.6	12.3	9.3	3.0	15.0	5.7	1.8	19.1	4.1
1994 (PR)	2,703.6	9.6	8.8	0.8	14.7	5.9	2.2	23.5	3.6
1995 (PR)	2,729.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

British Columbia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	2,348.3	72.1	16.3	17.6	4.8	0.8	87.1	56.6	30.5	-2.0
1974	2,420.4	69.5	16.3	24.0	4.7	-0.2	84.2	61.5	22.7	-2.0
1975	2,489.9	41.6	17.1	19.7	4.8	0.8	61.1	64.0	-2.9	-2.0
1976	2,531.5	32.1	17.1	11.8	4.8	-0.3	59.3	60.8	-1.5	-0.3
1977	2,563.6	43.8	18.1	7.1	4.3	-0.2	62.8	47.3	15.5	1.0
1978	2,607.5	45.6	18.2	3.8	4.3	-0.3	65.4	44.7	20.7	1.0
1979	2,653.1	65.5	19.2	9.2	4.1	0.8	76.6	43.4	33.2	1.0
1980	2,718.5	83.4	20.7	18.2	3.8	1.5	80.0	39.8	40.2	1.0
1981	2,801.9	65.3	21.6	15.5	3.4	3.3	70.4	48.8	21.6	0.1
1982	2,867.2	34.8	22.0	10.9	3.9	-0.6	45.9	47.9	-2.0	-0.6
1983	2,901.9	38.3	23.1	6.4	3.7	0.5	43.9	39.9	4.0	-0.6
1984	2,940.3	36.0	23.2	4.5	3.8	0.4	42.0	38.5	3.5	-0.6
1985	2,976.2	28.6	21.8	3.6	3.9	1.8	42.6	45.8	-3.2	-0.6
1986	3,004.8	33.9	20.8	4.3	4.0	4.5	49.5	48.6	0.9	0.6
1987	3,038.7	57.7	20.0	12.0	3.7	5.8	60.9	43.3	17.6	1.5
1988	3,096.4	74.0	20.4	17.5	3.2	8.5	67.5	41.6	25.9	1.5
1989	3,170.4	88.2	20.8	19.3	3.2	9.0	79.4	42.0	37.4	1.5
1990	3,258.6	87.7	22.0	22.5	3.1	2.8	78.4	39.7	38.7	1.5
1991	3,346.3	85.1	21.6	25.1	3.3	1.1	74.5	39.9	34.6	0.6
1992 (PD)	3,431.4	100.9	21.5	30.0	3.4	6.5	78.4	39.0	39.5	...
1993 (PR)	3,532.2	94.0	20.3	38.9	3.3	-6.0	74.2	36.7	37.5	...
1994 (PR)	3,626.2	92.7	19.8	41.3	3.4	-10.1	86.3	48.1	38.3	...
1995 (PR)	3,718.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	2,348.3	30.2	6.8	23.4	14.4	7.6	4.3	23.7	7.4
1974	2,420.4	28.3	6.6	21.7	14.4	7.8	4.1	25.1	9.8
1975	2,489.9	16.6	6.8	9.8	14.5	7.6	3.0	25.5	7.9
1976	2,531.5	12.6	6.7	5.9	14.1	7.4	2.8	23.9	4.6
1977	2,563.6	17.0	7.0	10.0	14.2	7.2	3.0	18.3	2.8
1978	2,607.5	17.3	6.9	10.4	14.2	7.2	3.1	17.0	1.4
1979	2,653.1	24.4	7.2	17.2	14.3	7.2	3.5	16.2	3.4
1980	2,718.5	30.2	7.5	22.7	14.5	7.0	3.7	14.4	6.6
1981	2,801.9	23.0	7.6	15.4	14.6	7.0	3.2	17.2	5.5
1982	2,867.2	12.1	7.6	4.4	14.8	7.2	2.1	16.6	3.8
1983	2,901.9	13.1	7.9	5.2	14.7	6.8	1.9	13.7	2.2
1984	2,940.3	12.2	7.9	4.3	14.8	7.0	1.8	13.0	1.5
1985	2,976.2	9.6	7.3	2.3	14.4	7.1	1.9	15.3	1.2
1986	3,004.8	11.2	6.9	4.3	13.9	7.0	2.1	16.1	1.4
1987	3,038.7	18.8	6.5	12.3	13.6	7.1	2.6	14.1	3.9
1988	3,096.4	23.6	6.5	17.1	13.7	7.2	2.8	13.3	5.6
1989	3,170.4	27.4	6.5	21.0	13.6	7.2	3.3	13.1	6.0
1990	3,258.6	26.6	6.7	19.9	13.8	7.1	3.2	12.0	6.8
1991	3,346.3	25.1	6.4	18.7	13.5	7.1	3.0	11.8	7.4
1992 (PD)	3,431.4	29.0	6.2	22.8	13.3	7.1	3.1	11.2	8.6
1993 (PR)	3,532.2	26.2	5.7	20.6	12.9	7.2	2.9	10.3	10.9
1994 (PR)	3,626.2	25.2	5.4	19.8	12.8	7.4	3.4	13.1	11.2
1995 (PR)	3,718.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Yukon

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	20.9	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.6	-0.3	-0.1
1974	21.1	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.1
1975	21.7	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	2.8	2.5	0.2	-0.1
1976	22.4	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.9	-0.4	-0.3
1977	22.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.4
1978	23.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.8	-0.2	-0.4
1979	24.1	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.8	-0.4	-0.4
1980	24.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.7	-0.4	-0.4
1981	24.9	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	4.1	-1.4	-0.3
1982	24.4	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	2.8	-1.2	-0.3
1983	23.8	-0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.4	-0.8	-0.3
1984	23.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.7	-0.1	-0.3
1985	24.4	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.0	-0.4	-0.3
1986	24.6	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.0	0.2	-0.2
1987	25.4	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.2	0.1	-0.2
1988	26.1	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.1	0.3	-0.2
1989	27.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	-0.2
1990	27.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	-0.2
1991	28.4	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.4	1.9	0.5	-0.1
1992 (PD)	29.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.2	2.2	0.0	...
1993 (PR)	30.1	-0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1	1.6	2.4	-0.8	...
1994 (PR)	29.6	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1	2.0	2.3	-0.3	...
1995 (PR)	29.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	20.9	7.7	14.7	-7.0	20.0	5.3	0.1	121.5	-0.9
1974	21.1	28.4	17.8	10.6	23.1	5.3	0.1	125.3	-0.3
1975	21.7	30.9	13.4	17.5	18.5	5.1	0.1	113.7	0.0
1976	22.4	12.7	14.4	-1.7	19.9	5.5	0.1	129.2	-0.7
1977	22.7	35.2	14.2	21.0	18.8	4.5	0.1	119.1	-1.4
1978	23.5	25.5	15.0	10.5	18.8	3.7	0.1	119.0	-1.3
1979	24.1	15.8	15.4	0.5	20.6	5.2	0.1	116.3	-0.3
1980	24.5	17.1	14.1	3.0	19.3	5.2	0.1	109.9	1.4
1981	24.9	-21.8	16.0	-37.9	21.8	5.7	0.1	165.7	1.0
1982	24.4	-21.9	16.9	-38.7	21.8	4.9	0.1	117.4	-1.7
1983	23.8	-2.4	17.9	-20.4	22.7	4.7	0.1	99.3	0.5
1984	23.8	25.6	17.1	8.6	21.5	4.5	0.1	70.6	-0.4
1985	24.4	9.7	13.9	-4.2	18.9	5.0	0.1	82.8	-0.3
1986	24.6	31.3	14.8	16.5	19.3	4.5	0.1	80.4	-0.2
1987	25.4	28.1	14.3	13.8	18.5	4.2	0.1	85.7	0.8
1988	26.1	36.0	14.5	21.6	19.6	5.1	0.1	78.9	1.0
1989	27.1	23.6	14.0	9.5	17.5	3.5	0.1	85.5	2.1
1990	27.8	22.9	15.7	7.2	19.8	4.1	0.1	80.1	0.9
1991	28.4	38.8	15.7	23.2	19.6	3.9	0.1	64.6	0.3
1992 (PD)	29.5	18.3	13.8	4.5	17.8	3.9	0.1	75.1	1.9
1993 (PR)	30.1	-14.6	12.9	-27.5	17.0	4.1	0.1	80.1	1.3
1994 (PR)	29.6	2.1	12.3	-10.2	16.4	4.0	0.1	76.9	1.6
1995 (PR)	29.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Northwest Territories

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	40.3	0.8	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.6	4.0	-0.4	-0.1
1974	41.2	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.2	0.2	-0.1
1975	42.4	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	3.9	0.4	-0.1
1976	44.1	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.9	-0.8	-0.3
1977	44.7	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.4	5.4	-1.0	-0.3
1978	45.1	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.9	4.8	-1.0	-0.3
1979	45.6	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.6	-0.8	-0.3
1980	46.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.3	-0.9	-0.3
1981	46.9	1.8	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.1	0.2	-0.4
1982	48.6	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	3.2	0.6	-0.4
1983	50.8	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	-0.4
1984	52.5	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.1	-0.4
1985	54.2	1.1	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.0	-0.6	-0.4
1986	55.3	-0.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	4.9	-1.8	-0.4
1987	55.2	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	4.7	-1.2	-0.4
1988	55.8	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.5	4.3	-0.8	-0.4
1989	56.9	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.1	-0.4	-0.4
1990	58.3	1.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.8	3.8	0.0	-0.4
1991	60.1	1.8	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.6	0.1	-0.2
1992 (PD)	61.9	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.7	-0.3	...
1993 (PR)	63.0	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.0	-0.1	2.9	3.1	-0.1	...
1994 (PR)	64.3	1.1	1.3	0.1	0.0	-0.2	3.8	4.0	-0.2	...
1995 (PR)	65.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	40.3	20.5	23.4	-2.9	29.6	6.1	0.2	98.1	3.4
1974	41.2	31.1	20.0	11.1	24.9	4.9	0.2	100.4	3.9
1975	42.4	38.2	22.2	16.0	27.2	5.0	0.2	90.6	3.6
1976	44.1	13.1	21.9	-8.8	26.6	4.8	0.2	110.5	3.2
1977	44.7	9.8	22.1	-12.3	26.5	4.5	0.2	119.7	2.0
1978	45.1	10.3	22.0	-11.7	26.5	4.5	0.2	106.4	1.8
1979	45.6	15.3	23.5	-8.1	27.9	4.5	0.2	99.1	2.4
1980	46.3	12.2	22.8	-10.7	28.0	5.1	0.1	92.4	1.5
1981	46.9	37.5	23.2	14.4	27.3	4.1	0.2	84.9	1.5
1982	48.6	44.0	22.7	21.3	27.4	4.7	0.2	65.2	0.6
1983	50.8	31.9	24.2	7.7	28.9	4.7	0.1	66.5	0.4
1984	52.5	32.1	22.6	9.5	27.1	4.4	0.1	65.5	0.6
1985	54.2	19.5	22.3	-2.9	26.3	3.9	0.1	73.1	-0.2
1986	55.3	-1.8	23.0	-24.8	27.3	4.3	0.1	88.9	-0.2
1987	55.2	11.5	23.9	-12.4	27.4	3.6	0.1	84.5	0.1
1988	55.8	19.6	23.7	-4.1	27.6	3.9	0.1	76.4	0.4
1989	56.9	23.4	21.4	2.0	25.7	4.3	0.1	71.2	-0.2
1990	58.3	31.8	22.9	8.9	26.8	3.8	0.1	63.5	-0.4
1991	60.1	29.4	22.9	6.5	26.8	3.9	0.1	58.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	61.9	17.8	20.8	-3.0	24.9	4.1	0.1	59.0	0.8
1993 (PR)	63.0	19.8	20.4	-0.6	24.5	4.1	0.1	48.2	1.5
1994 (PR)	64.3	16.6	20.7	-4.0	24.2	3.5	0.1	62.2	1.0
1995 (PR)	65.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

[1] Immigration: From Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Emigration: Estimates based on Family Allowance and Income Tax files. Net: Emigrants substracted from immigrants.

[2] The residual is the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period. This error is equal to the difference between the number expected in the census by the components method and the enumeration corrected for net under-enumeration. This "error" encompasses errors on the components and on the net under-enumeration of the censuses.

[3] Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

(PD) Final postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of October, 1995.

(PR) Updated postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of October, 1995.

Note: All other data are based on final intercensal estimates. Calculations made on unrounded numbers.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statisatics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table A2. Nuptiality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Number of Marriages												
1978	3,841	939	6,560	5,310	45,936	67,491	8,232	7,139	18,277	21,388	194	216	185,523
1979	3,737	893	6,920	5,355	46,341	67,980	7,769	7,272	18,999	22,087	181	277	187,811
1980	3,783	939	6,791	5,321	44,848	68,840	7,869	7,561	20,818	23,830	200	269	191,069
1981	3,758	849	6,632	5,108	41,005	70,281	8,123	7,329	21,781	24,699	235	282	190,082
1982	3,764	855	6,486	4,923	38,354	71,595	8,264	7,491	22,312	23,831	225	260	188,360
1983	3,778	937	6,505	5,260	36,144	70,893	8,261	7,504	21,172	23,692	243	286	184,675
1984	3,567	1,057	6,798	5,294	37,433	71,922	8,393	7,213	20,052	23,397	212	259	185,597
1985	3,220	956	6,807	5,312	37,026	72,891	8,296	7,132	19,750	22,292	185	229	184,096
1986	3,421	970	6,445	4,962	33,083	70,839	7,816	6,820	18,896	21,826	183	257	175,518
1987	3,481	924	6,697	4,924	32,616	76,201	7,994	6,853	18,640	23,395	189	237	182,151
1988	3,686	965	6,894	5,292	33,519	78,533	7,908	6,767	19,272	24,461	209	222	187,728
1989	3,905	1,019	6,828	5,254	33,325	80,377	7,800	6,637	19,888	25,170	214	223	190,640
1990	3,791	996	6,386	5,044	32,060	80,097	7,666	6,229	19,806	25,216	218	228	187,737
1991	3,480	876	5,845	4,521	28,922	72,938	7,032	5,923	18,612	23,691	196	215	172,251
1992	3,254	850	5,623	4,313	25,841	70,079	6,899	5,664	17,871	23,749	221	209	164,573
1993	3,163	885	5,403	4,177	25,021	66,575	6,752	5,638	17,860	23,446	180	216	159,316

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Marriages***, catalogue No. 84-212.

Table A3.1 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Males Cohorts, 1944-1976, Canada

	Year of Birth																															
	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944
	Year of 17th Birthday																																
	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
17	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.6	1.5	2.0	2.4	3.3	3.8	4.4	4.8	4.6	4.2	4.3	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.8	4.0	4.4
18		1.8	2.3	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.6	3.9	4.4	5.9	6.5	8.2	9.2	10.7	12.6	14.6	17.7	18.9	19.9	21.1	18.3	17.9	17.2	16.9	17.8	18.1	18.3	15.9	15.3	17.1
19			5.2	5.9	6.5	7.1	7.4	8.0	8.1	8.9	9.9	10.9	12.9	15.9	18.9	21.6	24.1	27.4	31.1	35.0	39.4	42.6	45.6	46.5	42.2	41.7	39.8	41.0	44.2	44.6	39.2	37.7	38.1
20				10.5	12.4	13.9	15.1	16.4	16.7	16.8	19.2	21.2	23.6	27.8	33.3	38.3	42.2	47.0	50.9	56.0	58.6	67.2	72.9	77.0	79.2	73.3	73.6	73.4	77.4	82.8	73.3	70.6	71.7
21					18.8	21.1	23.1	26.4	28.8	28.4	29.0	31.8	36.2	39.9	45.2	51.8	57.4	63.5	67.6	71.1	75.0	77.6	90.1	93.8	102.9	109.9	109.5	114.0	120.1	127.6	118.1	112.9	114.0
22						27.9	30.3	34.6	37.9	40.1	40.8	41.1	44.9	49.8	53.9	58.4	65.1	68.4	75.2	77.8	78.6	81.0	85.1	95.3	103.3	111.2	119.2	117.3	130.3	140.0	128.6	128.2	130.6
23							37.0	39.2	44.8	50.1	50.2	51.4	52.3	54.5	59.9	63.1	64.0	68.9	72.0	76.3	75.8	77.0	78.8	80.8	89.9	94.8	103.2	111.0	109.2	130.7	121.1	119.6	128.1
24								44.0	47.5	51.0	56.6	56.7	57.2	56.7	58.5	62.7	63.9	64.7	65.5	67.4	69.2	68.7	68.0	68.7	70.0	77.3	82.0	86.9	92.0	92.1	98.3	98.5	106.0
25									48.1	50.0	54.0	58.5	59.7	57.7	56.1	56.3	59.0	59.6	57.3	58.4	60.0	60.0	58.7	57.8	58.6	58.1	63.2	65.1	68.6	71.4	72.9	75.2	80.8
26										47.8	48.0	51.0	54.5	54.6	53.1	48.9	49.3	51.9	49.6	49.5	50.4	49.7	48.4	47.5	46.1	47.0	46.0	48.7	50.0	52.7	54.6	53.2	59.7
27											43.4	44.0	45.4	48.6	47.6	46.0	43.9	42.5	43.8	42.3	40.3	40.5	40.6	39.6	38.4	37.1	37.0	36.4	37.9	38.8	39.6	40.0	40.4
28												37.8	38.6	38.9	41.9	40.5	38.6	36.0	34.3	35.6	34.2	33.6	33.0	32.3	31.4	30.4	30.1	29.9	28.5	29.4	29.2	29.6	29.9
29													33.1	32.5	33.4	34.9	33.8	32.5	30.5	28.6	29.7	28.4	27.8	26.4	26.3	25.3	24.0	22.7	22.7	22.3	22.7	22.1	22.8
30														27.7	27.7	27.1	28.8	27.9	26.4	24.8	23.5	23.3	22.6	22.1	21.0	20.3	19.8	18.8	18.3	17.7	17.2	17.6	17.8
31															22.5	22.4	22.5	23.1	21.9	21.0	19.9	17.5	18.4	17.9	17.4	16.2	15.6	15.1	14.2	13.8	13.8	13.5	13.5
32																18.5	18.7	18.0	18.2	17.9	17.4	15.7	14.5	14.8	14.7	13.0	12.9	12.0	11.6	10.9	10.7	10.7	10.8
33																	15.3	14.5	15.0	14.9	14.3	13.9	12.8	11.6	11.7	11.2	10.9	10.0	9.5	9.1	8.9	8.3	8.8
34																		12.3	11.9	11.8	12.5	11.8	11.6	10.2	9.3	9.5	8.7	8.5	7.8	7.7	7.2	7.0	6.8
35																			9.8	9.9	9.7	9.9	9.7	9.5	8.5	7.5	7.6	7.4	6.7	6.4	6.1	6.0	5.9
36																				8.2	8.1	8.0	7.9	8.0	7.3	7.1	6.4	6.1	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.0	4.4
37																					6.5	6.3	6.4	6.6	6.6	6.1	5.4	5.0	4.6	4.4	4.4	3.9	4.1
38																						5.5	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.0	4.6	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.3	3.3
39																							4.5	4.4	4.2	4.0	4.2	4.3	3.7	3.7	3.3	3.2	2.8
40																								3.5	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.7
41																									2.8	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.0
42																										2.3	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.0
43																											1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.9
44																												1.7	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.9
45																													1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A3.2 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Females Cohorts, 1944-1978, Canada

	Year of Birth																																		
	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944
	Year of 15th Birthday																																		
	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959
15	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.1	2.0	2.4	2.4	2.7	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.4	4.1	4.2	5.4	5.0	5.4	5.8
16		1.1	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	3.0	3.6	3.9	4.5	4.9	5.8	6.5	7.6	9.1	11.2	13.7	15.5	17.0	18.2	17.3	17.7	16.7	15.7	16.5	16.8	17.6	19.5	21.6	21.6	22.4	25.7
17			2.7	3.1	3.8	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.5	6.0	7.5	8.3	9.4	10.9	12.5	14.9	16.7	19.2	23.2	26.8	32.3	35.2	38.8	40.8	39.0	40.6	38.6	39.7	40.8	41.0	44.8	48.7	45.4	48.5	53.5
18				10.4	11.0	13.3	15.2	16.0	16.5	18.0	21.5	24.0	25.3	29.1	33.6	37.8	43.8	48.3	52.9	59.8	66.2	75.2	79.5	84.1	89.2	82.4	82.7	82.0	81.7	84.5	88.0	93.6	87.2	86.2	94.3
19					18.2	21.2	23.5	26.2	29.1	31.2	32.3	37.3	39.9	43.1	48.0	54.5	61.3	67.6	71.4	76.6	82.4	87.9	97.3	102.3	110.6	114.9	108.7	108.7	108.6	110.3	116.5	123.1	109.4	106.7	112.7
20						29.0	31.3	35.8	40.7	44.9	45.6	47.7	50.3	56.1	59.2	64.2	72.3	77.3	82.9	85.8	88.7	92.5	92.7	103.7	110.4	117.3	124.5	121.1	121.5	126.1	132.8	141.3	124.7	118.5	124.9
21							39.3	41.9	47.0	53.7	57.1	59.2	59.6	61.2	66.6	70.9	71.9	77.8	79.7	84.4	85.4	87.1	86.3	86.5	96.9	103.4	111.7	119.8	122.2	126.7	134.6	143.0	132.1	122.9	124.5
22								47.4	50.4	55.6	63.0	64.6	65.8	64.3	66.6	69.6	70.5	71.0	72.6	75.0	74.9	75.9	73.2	73.9	74.4	81.5	85.4	90.8	95.7	96.2	105.8	115.9	105.1	100.7	103.0
23									53.2	56.7	61.3	66.3	66.6	66.8	64.6	62.7	66.1	65.6	63.9	64.6	63.7	63.5	62.1	59.5	59.9	58.2	63.3	65.2	67.6	70.6	70.1	83.0	76.3	74.1	78.2
24										54.2	56.4	58.7	64.6	64.4	62.1	58.5	56.4	57.4	55.9	53.5	52.9	50.5	50.6	48.0	45.9	45.4	44.5	48.3	48.5	48.8	49.7	48.4	53.4	50.6	53.6
25											51.7	53.3	54.2	57.2	56.5	54.4	50.4	47.2	48.1	45.5	42.5	41.3	40.4	39.4	36.9	35.4	34.9	34.3	35.5	35.2	34.9	35.4	36.2	37.7	38.1
26												44.4	44.4	46.6	48.4	45.9	43.6	39.0	37.9	38.6	35.9	33.9	32.3	30.7	29.2	28.3	26.8	27.2	26.3	26.4	25.2	24.9	26.3	25.0	27.9
27													36.8	37.5	38.0	39.4	36.0	35.1	31.8	29.5	29.2	28.0	25.9	25.1	23.8	23.6	21.4	20.9	20.3	19.9	19.5	18.4	19.1	18.3	19.4
28														30.4	31.1	30.3	31.2	29.4	27.4	25.2	22.0	22.6	21.9	20.1	19.1	18.2	17.5	16.4	15.8	15.2	14.7	14.7	15.0	14.3	15.1
29															25.5	24.1	23.8	24.7	23.2	22.1	19.7	17.1	17.7	16.7	15.8	15.3	14.5	13.6	12.6	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.4	11.4	11.1
30																19.7	19.7	19.0	19.5	18.8	16.8	15.3	13.7	14.0	13.6	12.1	11.7	11.1	10.5	9.6	9.2	9.1	9.1	9.2	8.7
31																	15.7	15.3	14.5	15.2	14.0	13.1	11.4	10.3	10.4	10.3	9.5	8.8	8.4	7.6	7.4	6.8	7.1	7.3	7.1
32																		12.4	11.9	11.7	12.0	11.1	10.1	9.0	7.8	8.1	7.8	7.5	7.0	6.4	6.1	5.8	5.9	5.8	5.7
33																			10.0	9.9	9.4	9.1	8.8	8.1	7.2	6.5	6.6	6.4	5.8	5.4	5.4	4.9	4.8	4.6	4.6
34																				8.1	8.1	7.9	7.5	6.9	6.3	5.7	5.4	5.4	5.1	4.5	4.3	4.0	3.9	4.0	4.0
35																					6.5	6.4	6.3	6.1	5.7	5.4	5.1	4.2	4.2	3.9	3.6	3.2	3.5	3.2	3.4
36																						5.0	4.8	5.1	4.8	4.6	4.4	3.8	3.4	3.3	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.5	2.7
37																							4.2	4.0	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.2	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.3
38																								3.6	3.3	3.1	2.8	3.1	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.1
39																									2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.6
40																										2.2	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.3
41																											1.9	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3
42																												1.4	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.1
43																													1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2
44																														1.2	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.9
45																															0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.9

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A4. Divorce

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Number of Divorces												
1979	483	144	2,275	1,223	14,379	21,793	2,152	1,528	6,531	8,826	62	78	59,474
1980	555	163	2,314	1,326	13,898	22,441	2,282	1,836	7,580	9,464	82	76	62,017
1981	569	187	2,285	1,334	19,193	21,680	2,399	1,932	8,418	9,533	75	66	67,671
1982	625	205	2,281	1,663	18,579	23,640	2,392	1,815	8,882	10,164	117	67	70,430
1983	711	215	2,340	1,942	17,364	23,073	2,642	2,000	8,758	9,347	88	85	68,565
1984	590	195	2,263	1,427	16,845	21,635	2,611	1,988	8,454	8,988	100	74	65,170
1985	561	213	2,337	1,360	15,814	20,851	2,313	1,927	8,102	8,330	96	72	61,976
1986	687	199	2,609	1,729	19,026	27,549	2,982	2,479	9,556	11,299	94	95	78,304
1987	1,117	275	2,759	1,995	22,098	39,095	3,923	2,968	9,535	12,184	142	109	96,200
1988	906	269	2,494	1,673	20,340	32,524	3,102	2,501	8,744	10,760	82	112	83,507
1989	1,005	248	2,527	1,649	19,829	31,298	2,912	2,460	8,237	10,658	82	93	80,998
1990	1,016	281	2,419	1,699	20,474	28,977	2,798	2,364	8,489	9,773	81	92	78,463
1991	912	269	2,280	1,652	20,274	27,694	2,790	2,240	8,388	10,368	67	86	77,020
1992	867	227	2,304	1,633	19,695	30,463	2,657	2,325	8,217	10,431	117	98	79,034
1993	930	227	2,376	1,606	19,662	28,903	2,586	2,239	8,612	10,889	94	103	78,227
	Mean Duration of Marriage for Persons Divorced in the Year [1]												
1979	12.7	12.0	12.1	12.6	12.9	12.3	11.9	12.4	10.4	11.8	10.8	10.2	12.1
1980	12.1	12.8	11.1	11.7	11.8	11.8	10.8	11.1	10.5	11.8	11.8	12.6	11.5
1981	11.8	12.4	11.3	11.8	11.8	11.9	11.0	10.5	10.5	11.7	11.2	9.0	11.5
1982	11.7	12.3	11.0	11.8	11.6	11.9	11.2	10.7	10.5	11.8	11.8	11.1	11.5
1983	11.1	12.6	11.0	11.8	11.4	11.9	10.9	10.4	10.6	11.8	11.5	11.2	11.4
1984	11.9	13.2	11.5	12.3	11.5	11.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.3	10.4	11.6
1985	11.4	12.8	11.4	11.9	11.7	12.0	10.7	10.7	11.0	12.3	11.5	10.3	11.6
1986	11.7	12.5	11.3	11.8	11.5	11.7	11.1	10.7	10.9	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.5
1987	11.3	11.7	11.1	11.7	11.3	11.6	10.5	10.4	10.9	11.8	11.7	11.0	11.4
1988	11.7	12.4	11.0	11.7	11.1	11.5	10.6	10.6	11.0	11.7	11.4	10.4	11.3
1989	11.7	11.5	11.3	11.5	11.0	11.3	10.3	10.8	11.0	11.5	11.5	10.5	11.2
1990	11.3	11.9	11.3	11.1	10.8	11.2	10.5	10.6	11.0	11.5	11.4	10.1	11.1
1991	11.5	13.0	11.0	11.5	11.0	10.9	10.3	10.9	10.8	11.3	11.2	9.0	11.0
1992	11.0	12.1	11.2	11.0	10.8	10.9	10.5	10.7	10.8	11.2	10.8	9.7	10.9
1993	11.7	11.8	10.9	11.5	10.5	10.8	10.4	10.6	10.6	11.0	10.6	10.1	10.8

[1] Excludes divorces for marriages of a duration greater than 25 years.

Note: Divorces by duration of marriage from 1980 are revised.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Divorces***, Catalogue No. 84-213 and calculations by the author.

Table A5. Births and Fertility

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Live Births												
1979	10,170	1,934	12,406	10,848	98,646	121,655	16,242	16,944	37,003	38,432	501	1,283	366,064
1980	10,332	1,958	12,369	10,636	97,421	123,316	15,989	17,057	39,749	40,104	476	1,302	370,709
1981	10,130	1,897	12,079	10,503	95,322	122,183	16,073	17,209	42,638	41,474	536	1,302	371,346
1982	9,173	1,924	12,325	10,489	90,800	124,856	16,123	17,722	45,036	42,747	525	1,362	373,082
1983	8,929	1,907	12,401	10,518	88,154	126,826	16,602	17,847	45,555	42,919	540	1,491	373,689
1984	8,560	1,954	12,378	10,360	87,839	131,296	16,651	18,014	44,105	43,911	519	1,444	377,031
1985	8,500	2,008	12,450	10,121	86,340	132,208	17,097	18,162	43,813	43,127	464	1,437	375,727
1986	8,100	1,928	12,358	9,788	84,634	133,882	17,009	17,513	43,744	41,967	483	1,507	372,913
1987	7,769	1,955	12,110	9,588	83,791	134,617	16,953	17,034	42,110	41,814	478	1,523	369,742
1988	7,487	1,977	12,182	9,617	86,612	138,066	17,030	16,763	42,055	42,930	521	1,555	376,795
1989	7,762	1,937	12,533	9,667	92,373	145,338	17,321	16,651	43,351	43,769	480	1,479	392,661
1990	7,604	2,014	12,870	9,824	98,048	150,923	17,352	16,090	43,004	45,617	556	1,584	405,486
1991	7,166	1,885	12,016	9,497	97,310	151,478	17,282	15,304	42,776	45,612	568	1,634	402,528
1992	6,918	1,850	11,874	9,389	96,146	150,593	16,590	15,004	42,039	46,156	529	1,554	398,642
1993	6,421	1,754	11,568	9,049	92,391	147,848	16,709	14,269	40,292	46,026	508	1,559	388,394
1994 (P)	6,330	1,685	11,380	8,920	91,295	147,155	16,580	14,025	39,810	47,115	485	1,570	386,350
	Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1,000)												
1991: 15-19	30.8	33.3	31.0	30.8	17.2	22.0	43.9	46.1	38.4	24.9	42.6	110.4	25.7
20-24	80.1	85.3	79.5	89.8	79.9	65.7	96.6	111.1	92.7	76.4	119.7	173.3	77.5
25-29	100.8	136.5	111.3	110.7	128.7	115.8	132.6	140.2	123.7	112.2	130.2	136.5	120.3
30-34	57.7	80.5	69.3	59.8	77.9	90.5	87.9	80.0	86.5	84.7	89.1	101.1	83.6
35-39	16.2	30.6	22.1	15.2	23.0	32.8	27.8	24.8	31.2	30.7	35.0	43.3	28.3
40-44	2.4	3.5	2.9	1.7	3.0	4.5	4.3	3.1	4.2	4.5	7.9	6.2	3.9
45-49	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.2	1.3	0.0	0.2
1992: 15-19	30.0	30.1	30.7	33.7	17.7	22.2	42.4	44.5	36.3	24.0	36.1	94.4	25.4
20-24	74.7	81.3	78.8	82.5	76.6	64.4	92.0	109.3	89.7	73.7	106.9	161.7	75.0
25-29	99.1	135.1	109.5	109.9	128.4	116.0	127.0	138.9	120.9	110.0	115.3	138.0	119.3
30-34	58.0	88.5	70.5	61.3	80.3	92.1	86.4	83.3	88.3	85.3	79.5	94.8	85.3
35-39	15.0	24.2	23.1	16.9	23.9	33.6	29.3	24.6	30.4	31.4	37.4	39.9	28.9
40-44	2.0	4.0	3.1	2.5	3.3	4.9	4.6	3.7	4.4	4.8	8.4	7.8	4.2
45-49	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
1993: 15-19	26.5	30.7	30.4	31.0	17.2	22.3	43.3	44.0	33.1	22.5	41.3	99.6	24.7
20-24	66.8	83.4	74.6	80.0	75.4	62.7	92.1	104.4	87.4	70.8	99.7	167.8	73.0
25-29	96.4	121.4	108.6	107.4	122.2	110.6	128.6	133.9	118.1	106.7	116.0	138.7	114.7
30-34	54.6	79.5	71.0	60.8	80.2	92.6	90.3	78.9	84.6	84.2	76.1	91.6	84.9
35-39	15.0	26.3	23.7	17.5	24.2	34.5	29.4	25.8	29.9	32.7	41.0	28.1	29.5
40-44	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.5	3.6	5.2	4.0	3.8	4.4	5.3	3.0	6.5	4.4
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.1

Table A5. Birth and Fertility - concluded

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Fertility Rates by Birth Order (per 1,000 women)												
1991: 1	22.2	24.3	24.4	23.9	26.8	25.9	28.3	25.0	26.4	24.8	30.9	34.3	25.9
2	17.5	22.0	18.8	18.6	20.2	20.5	21.2	22.9	22.9	20.0	23.8	31.1	20.6
3	6.5	10.7	8.0	7.1	7.6	8.6	10.9	12.9	11.0	8.7	10.8	18.8	8.8
4	2.0	3.7	2.3	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.3	5.3	3.8	2.5	3.8	11.0	2.7
5 +	0.9	2.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	3.0	3.3	2.2	1.2	2.2	9.5	1.3
1992: 1	21.3	23.1	24.1	23.5	25.6	25.6	26.9	24.4	25.7	24.5	26.5	32.0	25.3
2	17.4	21.3	19.3	18.5	20.4	21.1	20.4	22.9	22.4	19.9	21.3	25.8	20.7
3	6.4	11.4	7.5	7.1	7.8	8.6	10.6	12.6	10.4	8.4	12.4	17.6	8.7
4	1.7	3.9	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.5	4.2	5.1	3.8	2.5	2.7	11.7	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	3.1	3.4	2.3	1.1	1.6	11.0	1.3
1993: 1	20.3	22.1	23.5	22.7	24.1	25.1	26.8	23.7	24.6	24.7	28.2	34.1	24.6
2	15.9	20.0	18.6	18.2	19.8	20.5	20.7	21.4	21.3	19.0	17.6	24.5	20.0
3	5.9	10.8	7.5	6.5	7.5	8.3	10.4	11.6	10.0	7.8	9.9	17.5	8.3
4	1.3	3.5	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.5	4.9	3.5	2.3	4.6	10.5	2.6
5 +	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.8	1.9	1.2	0.7	2.1	4.9	0.8
	Total Fertility Rate (Women Aged 15-49) [1]												
1979	..	1.94	1.70	1.75	1.67	1.61	1.86	2.18	1.85	1.63	1.95	3.02	1.70
1980	..	1.94	1.67	1.69	1.62	1.61	1.82	2.13	1.85	1.63	1.79	3.02	1.67
1981	..	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
1982	..	1.89	1.64	1.66	1.48	1.59	1.80	2.14	1.89	1.65	1.96	2.81	1.64
1983	..	1.83	1.63	1.65	1.43	1.59	1.83	2.10	1.90	1.65	2.16	3.00	1.62
1984	..	1.84	1.60	1.61	1.43	1.62	1.82	2.08	1.86	1.68	2.07	2.80	1.63
1985	..	1.86	1.60	1.57	1.40	1.60	1.85	2.08	1.86	1.65	1.83	2.66	1.61
1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.68	1.69
1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64	1.94	1.95	1.79	1.61	1.89	2.67	1.66

(P) Preliminary.

[1] Number of children per woman.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A6. Mortality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Deaths												
1979	3,136	1,022	6,843	5,172	43,311	61,468	8,217	7,369	12,109	19,204	127	205	168,183
1980	3,345	1,035	7,004	5,297	43,512	62,746	8,436	7,651	12,710	19,371	128	238	171,473
1981	3,230	992	6,958	5,139	42,684	62,838	8,648	7,523	12,823	19,857	141	196	171,029
1982	3,385	980	6,941	5,197	43,497	63,696	8,490	8,202	12,968	20,707	118	232	174,413
1983	3,498	1,050	7,047	5,206	44,275	64,507	8,521	7,611	12,588	19,827	113	241	174,484
1984	3,520	1,109	6,913	5,272	44,449	64,703	8,290	7,710	12,730	20,686	108	237	175,727
1985	3,557	1,110	7,315	5,230	45,707	66,747	8,756	8,031	13,231	21,302	123	214	181,323
1986	3,540	1,121	7,255	5,458	46,892	67,865	8,911	8,061	13,560	21,213	113	235	184,224
1987	3,629	1,116	7,112	5,408	47,616	68,119	8,710	7,808	13,316	21,814	108	197	184,953
1988	3,591	1,112	7,412	5,450	47,771	70,679	9,100	8,100	13,894	22,546	136	220	190,011
1989	3,718	1,089	7,516	5,496	48,305	70,907	8,819	7,920	13,854	22,997	95	249	190,965
1990	3,884	1,143	7,388	5,426	48,420	70,818	8,863	8,044	14,068	23,577	115	227	191,973
1991	3,798	1,188	7,255	5,469	49,121	72,917	8,943	8,098	14,451	23,977	114	237	195,568
1992	3,798	1,114	7,544	5,609	48,824	73,206	8,980	7,793	14,679	24,615	117	256	196,535
1993	3,890	1,145	7,559	5,806	51,711	75,853	9,299	8,164	15,338	25,764	123	260	204,912
1994 (P)	4,035	1,200	7,650	5,940	53,545	77,865	9,425	8,305	15,895	27,325	120	230	211,535
	Infant Deaths (age less than 1 year)												
1979	109	21	148	124	1,040	1,247	211	194	423	434	8	35	3,994
1980	110	22	135	116	953	1,175	184	193	500	442	9	29	3,868
1981	98	25	139	114	807	1,073	191	203	452	424	8	28	3,562
1982	99	15	106	110	800	1,041	146	186	442	423	11	22	3,401
1983	95	16	116	112	676	1,013	173	180	383	377	10	31	3,182
1984	79	16	97	81	645	992	144	169	425	378	7	25	3,058
1985	92	8	98	97	626	961	170	200	352	349	5	24	2,982
1986	65	13	104	81	604	969	157	157	393	355	12	28	2,938
1987	59	13	90	67	594	888	142	155	315	359	5	19	2,706
1988	70	14	79	69	563	910	132	140	347	362	3	16	2,705
1989	64	12	73	69	632	985	115	134	325	360	2	24	2,795
1990	70	12	81	71	612	946	138	123	346	344	4	19	2,766
1991	56	13	69	58	578	953	111	126	285	298	6	20	2,573
1992	49	3	71	59	522	886	113	110	304	286	2	26	2,431
1993	50	16	82	65	529	922	118	115	268	264	4	15	2,448

(P) Preliminary.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211.

Table A7. Life Expectancy at Different Ages, Canada, 1992 and 1993

Age	1992 Table (triennial)[1]		1993 Table (preliminary)[2]	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	74.78	81.02	74.96	81.16
1	74.29	80.48	74.47	80.62
5	70.40	76.56	70.58	76.70
10	65.46	71.62	65.64	71.76
15	60.54	66.68	60.71	66.81
20	55.79	61.79	55.96	61.92
25	51.08	56.90	51.23	57.04
30	46.36	52.01	46.52	52.15
35	41.65	47.14	41.81	47.28
40	36.98	42.32	37.15	42.46
45	32.36	37.56	32.54	37.70
50	27.85	32.91	28.02	33.04
55	23.54	28.40	23.70	28.52
60	19.53	24.08	19.68	24.18
65	15.86	19.98	15.99	20.09
70	12.60	16.14	12.71	16.24
75	9.73	12.60	9.83	12.69
80	7.36	9.52	7.47	9.62
85	5.51	6.96	5.61	7.06
90	4.32	5.06	4.46	5.18

[1] Calculated by using the average of deaths in 1991, 1992 and 1993.

[2] Calculated by using, to set an average, the deaths in 1992 and twice the deaths in 1993.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A8. Landed Immigrants in Canada by Country of Birth, 1980-1994

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994 [2]
EUROPE	40,210	44,784	44,356	23,664	20,581	18,530	22,518	36,486	39,187	50,844	50,561	46,651	43,338	45,487	36,734
British Isles [1]	16,445	18,912	14,525	4,945	4,657	3,998	4,612	7,650	7,906	7,358	6,897	6,383	5,831	5,928	4,622
Portugal	4,222	3,292	2,308	1,373	869	917	1,981	5,904	6,294	7,952	7,740	5,837	2,700	1,563	754
France	1,461	1,681	1,821	1,237	970	994	1,124	1,486	1,819	2,128	1,996	2,619	3,105	3,347	2,483
Greece	1,044	924	884	617	578	579	555	750	595	798	604	618	593	537	331
Italy	1,873	2,057	1,496	879	892	733	785	1,123	961	1,204	1,066	775	663	690	512
Poland	1,395	4,093	9,259	5,374	4,640	3,642	5,283	7,132	9,360	16,042	16,536	15,737	11,918	6,924	3,483
Other	13,770	13,825	14,063	9,239	7,975	7,667	8,178	12,441	12,252	15,362	15,722	14,682	18,528	26,498	24,549
AFRICA	5,383	5,901	5,196	3,913	3,851	3,912	5,189	9,047	9,604	12,482	13,845	16,530	20,113	17,515	13,658
ASIA	73,026	50,759	43,863	38,183	42,730	39,438	42,417	69,081	83,283	95,292	113,978	122,228	141,816	149,343	138,968
Philippines	6,147	5,978	5,295	4,597	3,858	3,183	4,203	7,420	8,651	11,907	12,590	12,626	13,737	20,488	18,636
India	9,531	9,415	8,858	7,810	6,082	4,517	7,481	10,635	11,942	10,738	12,572	14,248	14,228	21,668	17,928
Hong Kong (B.C.C.)	3,874	4,039	4,452	4,238	5,013	5,121	4,318	12,618	18,355	15,694	23,134	16,425	27,927	27,242	33,107
China	8,965	9,798	6,295	5,321	5,769	5,166	4,178	6,611	7,903	9,001	14,193	20,621	22,160	19,689	22,852
Middle East [2]	4,665	5,409	5,321	3,964	4,951	5,239	6,947	10,904	12,325	17,697	23,826	25,561	21,816	18,798	13,333
Other	39,844	16,120	13,642	12,253	17,057	16,212	15,290	20,893	24,107	30,255	27,663	32,747	41,948	41,458	33,112
NORTH AMERICA and CENTRAL AMERICA	9,442	10,183	10,030	10,200	10,223	10,898	12,412	13,691	11,495	11,899	13,042	18,899	18,676	14,371	8,402
United States	8,098	8,695	7,841	6,136	5,727	5,614	6,094	6,547	5,571	5,814	5,067	5,270	5,891	6,446	4,931
CARIBBEAN, BERMUDA	7,515	8,797	8,717	7,258	5,696	6,240	8,948	11,210	9,481	10,967	11,784	13,046	15,142	16,699	9,738
AUSTRALASIA	1,215	1,020	758	394	430	399	449	539	528	634	725	735	918	1,013	705
SOUTH AMERICA	5,381	6,114	6,892	4,825	4,046	4,273	6,546	10,833	7,210	8,595	8,602	10,468	10,240	9,511	7,703
OCEANIA	944	1,024	1,183	720	599	612	740	1,144	1,140	1,186	1,692	2,213	2,479	1,808	1,239
Other	1	36	152	-	83	-	-	67	1	102	1	11	120	-	-
Total	143,117	128,618	121,147	89,157	88,239	84,302	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	217,147

[1] Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.
[2] Includes Turkey, Bahrein, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of Yemen.
[3] Preliminary data as of September 12, 1995.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table A9. Canadian Population as of July 1st, 1993 and 1994, by Age and Sex (in thousands)

Age	1993		1994	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	200.9	190.3	198.8	189.1
1	206.7	197.0	201.8	191.3
2	208.2	197.2	207.8	198.1
3	209.0	198.9	209.5	198.5
4	201.6	192.5	210.4	200.2
5	196.7	188.3	203.1	193.7
6	197.4	190.0	197.8	189.4
7	203.6	195.5	198.5	191.0
8	203.8	195.4	204.6	196.5
9	201.9	193.7	205.1	196.5
10	200.7	192.2	203.1	194.7
11	200.9	192.2	201.9	193.3
12	202.5	193.3	202.3	193.4
13	202.5	191.7	204.2	194.9
14	199.1	188.5	204.3	193.4
15	197.1	186.7	200.8	190.1
16	198.2	189.1	198.5	188.2
17	201.2	191.5	199.6	190.6
18	202.2	193.0	202.5	193.3
19	197.0	189.3	203.7	195.2
20	200.4	192.6	198.2	191.5
21	206.2	199.1	201.8	194.7
22	215.8	211.0	207.3	201.1
23	219.0	213.8	216.8	212.6
24	217.7	213.2	219.8	215.1
25	219.3	214.9	218.2	214.3
26	225.8	221.0	219.7	215.7
27	240.0	233.7	226.1	221.4
28	259.2	251.9	240.3	234.1
29	268.5	259.8	259.4	252.4
30	273.3	265.1	268.7	260.3
31	271.5	263.6	273.6	265.6
32	274.6	267.3	271.7	264.0
33	270.7	264.7	274.5	267.6
34	265.4	260.0	270.7	265.0
35	263.8	258.3	265.2	260.3
36	257.8	254.8	263.6	258.6
37	248.4	246.0	257.6	255.2
38	246.5	245.9	248.2	246.5
39	237.9	239.1	246.3	246.4
40	228.6	230.2	237.8	239.6
41	223.7	222.6	228.5	230.5
42	220.9	219.2	223.6	223.0
43	217.9	214.7	220.9	219.5
44	214.2	212.3	217.9	215.1
45	214.3	210.7	214.3	212.7
46	214.4	211.5	214.3	211.0

Table A9. Canadian Population as of July 1st 1993 and 1994, by Age and Sex (in thousands) - Concluded

Age	1993		1994	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
47	186.3	183.3	214.4	211.8
48	173.8	170.9	186.0	183.5
49	168.2	166.3	173.3	171.0
50	163.2	161.3	167.8	166.4
51	152.3	150.6	162.8	161.3
52	146.1	145.5	151.9	150.6
53	137.6	136.9	145.7	145.8
54	133.6	133.4	137.2	137.1
55	128.6	128.4	133.2	133.6
56	124.2	125.3	128.1	128.7
57	124.9	126.1	123.6	125.5
58	122.5	124.0	124.4	126.2
59	120.2	121.2	121.8	124.0
60	122.2	124.4	119.4	121.1
61	122.7	125.1	121.2	124.2
62	120.5	125.6	121.4	124.8
63	117.5	123.7	119.2	125.2
64	111.5	119.7	116.1	123.2
65	109.7	120.0	109.8	119.0
66	105.9	118.2	107.8	119.1
67	103.2	119.5	103.7	117.2
68	99.3	117.2	100.9	118.2
69	94.8	114.9	96.9	115.8
70	90.1	111.7	92.2	113.3
71	87.9	111.0	87.2	109.8
72	82.2	106.0	85.0	109.2
73	76.1	99.8	79.2	103.9
74	63.7	86.4	73.3	97.9
75	59.0	80.9	60.8	84.3
76	55.3	78.0	55.9	78.5
77	52.5	75.6	52.1	75.4
78	50.5	74.6	49.1	72.9
79	45.4	69.5	47.2	71.7
80	40.4	62.9	42.1	66.4
81	35.1	57.2	37.1	59.9
82	30.9	52.5	32.0	54.0
83	26.7	46.8	27.8	49.3
84	22.6	41.7	23.9	43.7
85	19.1	37.0	19.9	38.5
86	15.8	32.4	16.8	33.9
87	12.9	28.1	13.6	29.4
88	10.6	24.2	10.8	25.1
89	8.7	20.4	8.8	21.3
90 +	28.0	76.4	29.4	80.1
Total	14,349.0	14,598.0	14,494.3	14,757.0

1993: Updated postcensal estimates.
1994: Updated postcensal estimates.
Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table A10. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility by Five-Year Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (in percent)

Age Group	Male			Female			Total		
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
0-4	0.07	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.01
5-9	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.10	0.05	0.01	0.12	0.06	0.02
10-14	0.24	0.14	0.05	0.15	0.09	0.03	0.20	0.11	0.04
15-19	0.33	0.21	0.10	0.43	0.16	0.06	0.38	0.19	0.08
20-24	0.33	0.28	0.18	0.57	0.20	0.12	0.45	0.24	0.15
25-29	0.30	0.32	0.26	0.29	0.20	0.16	0.29	0.26	0.21
30-34	0.30	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.20	0.17	0.30	0.25	0.23
35-39	0.35	0.30	0.31	0.32	0.21	0.20	0.33	0.26	0.26
40-44	0.41	0.32	0.30	0.37	0.26	0.23	0.39	0.29	0.27
45-49	0.51	0.42	0.35	0.47	0.30	0.27	0.49	0.37	0.31
50-54	0.63	0.54	0.42	0.64	0.42	0.36	0.63	0.48	0.39
55-59	0.79	0.75	0.60	0.84	0.58	0.49	0.82	0.66	0.55
60-64	1.14	1.07	0.89	1.24	0.89	0.79	1.19	0.98	0.84
65-69	1.70	1.70	1.46	1.84	1.58	1.37	1.77	1.63	1.41
70-74	2.89	3.05	2.54	3.55	3.45	2.90	3.26	3.27	2.74
75-79	5.03	6.08	5.03	7.18	7.97	6.84	6.25	7.18	6.10
80-84	9.48	12.13	10.59	14.38	17.86	15.89	12.32	15.74	13.92
85-89	16.25	22.51	21.10	23.81	32.33	31.32	20.74	29.03	28.01
90+	23.53	36.87	36.29	34.77	50.21	52.37	30.58	46.04	48.07
15-64	0.45	0.39	0.33	0.50	0.30	0.25	0.48	0.34	0.29
0-79	0.50	0.51	0.45	0.62	0.55	0.52	0.56	0.53	0.49
80+	12.84	18.07	16.28	19.54	26.96	26.24	16.78	23.83	22.82
Total	0.66	0.74	0.72	0.97	1.17	1.32	0.82	0.96	1.03

Note: Excludes resident staff.
Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data.

Table A11. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility by Age Group, Marital Status and Sex, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (in percent)

Age	Marital Status and Sex											
	Married			Separated, Widowed, Divorced			Never Married			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	1971											
0-14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.11	0.13
15-34	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.25	0.19	0.21	0.53	0.86	0.67	0.32	0.41	0.36
35-64	0.11	0.13	0.12	1.09	0.78	0.88	4.60	5.00	4.79	0.59	0.60	0.60
65-79	0.97	1.43	1.16	5.49	4.41	4.66	11.29	9.73	10.45	2.81	3.71	3.30
80+	5.85	10.96	7.39	17.53	19.83	19.20	28.17	29.16	28.76	12.84	19.54	16.78
Total	0.25	0.25	0.25	4.21	4.62	4.50	0.73	0.87	0.80	0.66	0.97	0.82
	1981											
0-14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07
15-34	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.18	0.09	0.13	0.47	0.41	0.44	0.27	0.19	0.23
35-64	0.08	0.09	0.08	1.14	0.67	0.83	4.58	3.83	4.24	0.53	0.42	0.47
65-79	1.16	1.39	1.25	7.42	5.04	5.53	12.97	8.61	10.44	3.07	3.72	3.43
80+	9.30	14.79	11.05	27.25	28.70	28.39	32.25	30.24	30.86	18.07	26.96	23.83
Total	0.31	0.27	0.29	4.78	6.08	5.71	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.74	1.17	0.96
	1991											
0-14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02
15-34	0.01	- -	0.01	0.18	0.10	0.13	0.35	0.27	0.31	0.21	0.13	0.17
35-64	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.77	0.55	0.63	3.35	2.83	3.12	0.43	0.35	0.39
65-79	1.08	1.21	1.14	6.49	4.65	5.03	12.24	9.14	10.48	2.63	3.28	2.99
80+	8.89	13.54	10.47	26.10	28.35	27.93	30.77	30.70	30.71	16.28	26.24	22.82
Total	0.36	0.30	0.33	4.19	6.39	5.75	0.66	0.72	0.69	0.72	1.32	1.03

Notes: Excludes resident staff. Married includes consensual unions.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.


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Part II

Demographic Similarities and Differences between Ontario and Quebec


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INTRODUCTION

The 1990 report compared the situation of the Canadian population with that of the United States, Canada's historical partner in the settlement of North America, showing their similarities and differences and how each has developed over time. Continuing in the same vein, the 1993 report described the Mexican situation in comparison with the population of Canada. It seemed worthwhile to consider why and how Canada's two most densely populated provinces, Quebec and Ontario, are alike and differ. These are the provinces with the greatest economic weight, each of which contains one of the country's largest metropolitan areas; they are both literally and figuratively the central provinces and prior to Confederation in fact made up Canada. Like Canada and the United States, these provinces are next-door neighbours and thus have close relations commercially and economically, as well as demographically. Nature has endowed them with similar riches, but their respective histories before and after Confederation have not been the same. Industrial development treated them differently. The 19th century saw the manufacturing sector in Ontario expand, while Quebec remained much longer in the traditional farming mode. Most significantly, however, the two provinces were not settled in the same way. The British in Ontario and the French in Quebec differed in both extraction and wealth; however, being united in Confederation increased contacts and trade between them, strengthened osmosis, facilitated the mixing of cultures and allowed closer relations to develop. Immigration further blended the various peoples, encouraged borrowing and brought new ways of life to their common heritage. It must now be determined whether there are differences in the most intimate aspect of the populations of each of these units, that is, in their demographic behaviour. Or, to put it better, despite the equalizing effects of progress, do any traces of their former behaviour persist?

Each of the provinces has kept its own particular social structures. They differ in the laws and regulations that govern many aspects of the lives of their citizens, from the practice of medicine and construction standards to the highway code and a thousand and one details of everyday life.

Despite the limits imposed on interpretation of information by the administrative and political framework in which it is collected, comparison remains one of the best ways to determine what progress is still possible by measuring levels of the same phenomenon in both units. In the area of demography, not all components of the two provinces will be examined. Among the classical elements, only those which seem most pertinent are briefly studied: population composition, rate of growth and the components of growth, i.e. fertility, mortality and migration. Also analyzed are linguistic behaviour, the domestic arrangements of individuals and a few characteristics

Table 1. Distribution of the Canadian Population by Region, 1901-1991

Year	Region					
	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec and Ontario	West	Canada
	Distribution of the Canadian Population					
1901	16.6	30.7	40.6	71.3	12.1	100.0
1911	13.0	27.8	35.1	62.9	24.1	100.0
1921	11.4	26.9	34.1	61.0	27.6	100.0
1931	9.7	27.7	33.1	60.8	29.5	100.0
1941	11.6	28.9	32.8	61.7	26.7	100.0
1951	11.0	28.8	33.6	62.4	26.6	100.0
1961	10.4	28.8	34.2	63.0	26.6	100.0
1971	9.5	27.9	35.7	63.6	26.9	100.0
1981	9.2	26.4	35.4	61.8	29.0	100.0
1991	8.5	25.3	36.9	62.2	29.3	100.0
	Distribution of the Population of Quebec and Ontario					
	Quebec		Ontario		Total	
1901	43.0		57.0		100.0	
1911	44.6		55.4		100.0	
1921	45.6		54.4		100.0	
1931	46.8		53.2		100.0	
1941	46.9		53.1		100.0	
1951	46.1		53.9		100.0	
1961	45.8		54.2		100.0	
1971	43.9		56.1		100.0	
1981	42.7		57.3		100.0	
1991	40.6		59.4		100.0	

Note: Before 1951, Newfoundland was not included. The West includes the country west of Ontario.
Source: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada.

of the labour force. Often a given situation is meaningless unless one knows how it came to be, and this made it necessary at times to go back and examine some historical details.

COMPARISON OF GROWTH IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

General View

When population change in Canada is examined, it can be seen that, in close to 100 years in a geographical framework that has remained almost unchanged, the population distribution has changed much less than might have been expected, apart from the event of Prairie settlement. In particular, ***Quebec and Ontario, which in 1911 contained 63% of Canada's population, still have 62% in 1991*** (Table 1), and throughout the entire period there have been no noteworthy fluctuations.

A comparison of the situation ***at the turn of the century to that in 1991***, specifically to include the opening up of the Prairies, shows that ***the eastern and western parts of the country have exchanged their respective weights***. The Maritime provinces, indeed the Atlantic region, now has about the same share (9%) as the West as a whole then had (12%). The change in population share between Quebec and Ontario themselves has been slight. While in 1901 Quebec accounted for 43% of the two, in 1991 it had 41%, despite marked differences in fertility, and migratory movements involving large population volumes.

Comparison of Natural Increase

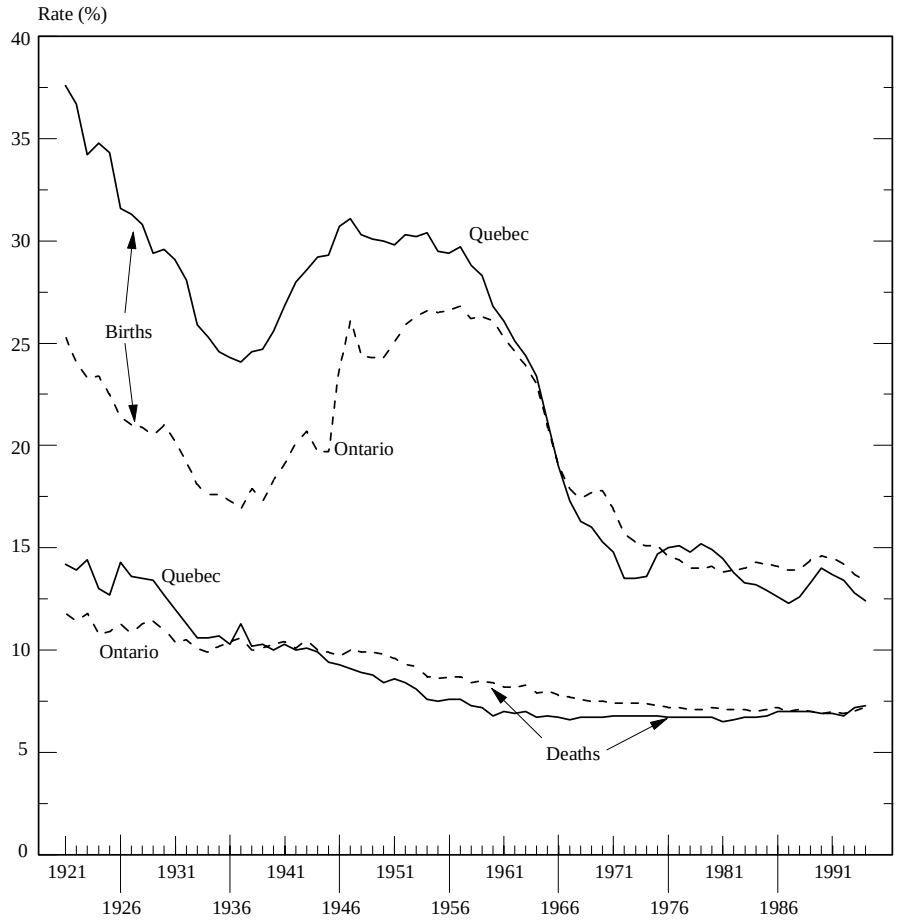
Natural increase is the difference between births and deaths and its rate is the difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate. It is not easy to explain the fluctuations over time in each of the provinces, since each year the number of births depends on the number of women, their age structure and their fertility, to mention only the essentials, since a higher or lower, earlier or later, marriage rate could be added.

Looking at births, it would be no exaggeration to say that, between the beginning and the end of the period, the position of the two provinces has been reversed. Quebec's crude birth rate at the beginning of the period was 50% higher than that of Ontario (Figure 1). Even during the significant decline in both provinces at the time of the Great Depression, Quebec's rate remained 40% higher. The baby-boom episode completely changed the trend in the two provinces, and during the 1945-1964 period, the difference fell to almost nil. This means that the baby boom, a passing anomaly in the birth rate, was more strongly marked in Ontario than in Quebec, due to the fact that Ontario's birth rate was much lower than that of Quebec around 1946, permitting a strong increase. Furthermore, by comparing the fertility levels in each province in the period running from the beginning of the 1960s to the middle of the 1970s to those existing before the Second World War, a better understanding of the long-term trend is obtained. In both provinces, the annual rates after the peak of the baby boom oscillate around a line whose slope in each case is close to that represented by the rates from the turn of the century to the Depression. It may be observed that the birth rate continued to drop in a more pronounced fashion in Quebec than in Ontario after the baby boom.

The drop in the Quebec birth rate of the last 20 years is due to low female fertility in a still-growing population. On the other hand, in Ontario female population growth has harmonized with the level of fertility so that there has been much less of a decline in the birth rate.

Taking a slightly different point of view, the drop from the 1946 peak in Quebec of 30.7 per 1,000 to lower but somewhat more stable levels around

Figure 1. Birth and Death Rates, Quebec and Ontario, 1921-1994

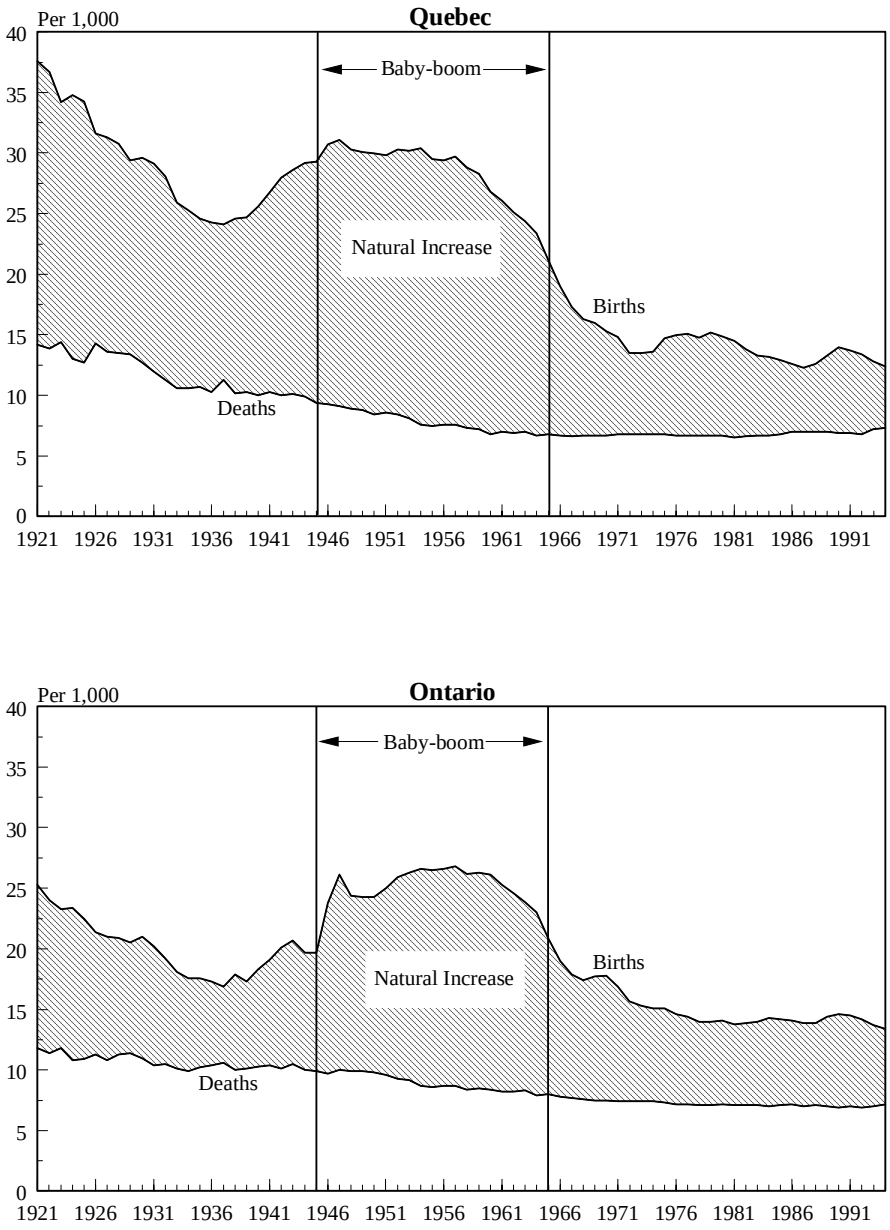


Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

1971 of 14.8 per 1,000 produces a difference between the birth rates of 15.9 per 1,000 in 25 years, while in Ontario the difference was only 6.9 per 1,000 in as many years.

At this level of analysis, the mortality trend is fairly simple, because it moves in one direction, only population variations influence the rate slightly. The death rate was higher in Quebec than in Ontario until 1941 (Figure 1), despite a younger population. However, annual changes have been recorded in both provinces. Later, although Quebec's

Figure 2. Rate of Natural Increase, Quebec and Ontario, 1921-1994



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 2. Comparison of Different Population Ratios for Quebec and Ontario, 1921-1991

	1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2016
	Quebec									
Ratio of Ages 0-14 to Total Population (%)	38.9	38.1	35.6	31.9	33.7	35.4	29.3	21.5	19.8	15.5
Ratio of Ages 65 and Over to Total Population (%)	4.8	4.6	4.8	5.3	5.7	5.8	6.8	8.7	11.0	17.7
Number of Children Aged 0-14 per 1,000 Women Aged 15-49	602	554	490	505	525	531	308	263	236	233
	Ontario									
Ratio of Ages 0-14 to Total Population (%)	31.4	30.2	27.9	24.4	27.0	32.2	28.3	21.6	20.2	16.8
Ratio of Ages 65 and Over to Total Population (%)	5.5	5.9	6.8	8.0	8.7	8.1	8.3	9.9	11.5	15.7
Number of Children Aged 0-14 per 1,000 Women Aged 15-49	387	399	349	363	447	508	330	254	257	240
	Numeric Superiority of Ontario (%)									
	32.2	24.3	19.4	13.6	13.4	18.6	27.8	34.6	47.9	75.9

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, Demography Division, Population Projections Section and calculations by the author.

rate was lower than Ontario's, this was not due to lower mortality than in the neighbouring province, but rather to a younger population, the result of higher past fertility. As proof, since 1966, the curves of the Quebec and Ontario rates move closer together, mainly because of the aging of the Quebec population, resulting in stagnation or even a slight increase in the rate, while mortality as such has steadily declined. This latter observation is borne out by the trend in the most important indicator, life expectancy at birth. Whereas in Ontario, the average life span for both sexes in 1931 was 62.5 years, it was only 57.0 years in Quebec. In 1993, male life expectancy is 75.3 years in Ontario and 74.2 in Quebec, while for women the values are identical at 81.2 years (Table A2.6).

The result is that ***natural increase in Quebec, which was much higher than that in Ontario at the beginning of the period*** (23.4 per 1,000 compared to 13.5 per 1,000), ***shrank during the baby boom*** (21.8 compared to 17.9 per 1,000) ***to become even lower since 1971*** (7.5 versus 9.5 per 1,000), with the exception of a short period from 1976 to 1981. In 1994, the rate is 5.1 per 1,000 in Quebec and 6.2 in Ontario (Figure 2).

Changes in the Size and Structure of the Ontario and Quebec Age Pyramids

A comparison of changes in the size and structure of the Ontario and Quebec populations from the turn of the century to the present gives a broad outline of the demographic history of each province.

Apart from the fact that Ontario has always been more populous than Quebec, most of the changes in demographic behaviour that have arisen between the populations of these provinces between 1901 and 1991 are reflected in the forms of their age pyramids and in their rates of growth.

As far as size goes, the most favourable comparison of the Quebec population to the Ontario population was in 1951, when Ontario's population was only 13.4% larger. From the turn of the century to that date, Ontario's numerical superiority had been declining regularly; it has since increased regularly to the point where, in 1991, it is nearly 50% larger than that of Quebec (Table 2). But changes in population size are almost inevitably linked to changes in age structure and, because of its socioeconomic consequences, this is the most interesting aspect.

Even at the turn of the century, Ontario's population was older than that of Quebec. Its proportion of young people was less and of older people greater, due to higher fertility and mortality in Quebec. The higher fertility is demonstrated, for lack of classical measurements of the phenomenon that would require vital-statistics data which are not available before 1921, by the infant-woman ratio, which Henripin used frequently in his 1961 Census monograph. This ratio is calculated by dividing the census figure for children under 5 by the number of women 15 to 49, and is expressed as infants per 1,000 women.[1] In 1901, the ratio was 602 for Quebec and only 387 for Ontario.

Apart from stronger numerical growth in Quebec than in Ontario, the first 30 years of this century brought few changes. The proportion of young people declined about the same amount in both provinces, with Quebec losing 3.3 percentage points and Ontario 3.5. But the fraction of people over 65 remained stable in Quebec while it increased from 5.5% to 6.8% in Ontario. The fertility indicator, which decreased in both provinces, was nevertheless still higher in Quebec, despite falling much more than in Ontario.

Ten years later, in ***1941***, the proportion of young people can be seen to continue to decline in both provinces and the proportion of older people can be seen to begin to increase in Quebec, where it reached 5.3%, but remained much higher in Ontario at 8.0%. The fertility indicator again turned upward, showing that the Depression was a thing of the past, since the previous year

[1] The total fertility rate for 1922 to 1993 by calendar year is presented in Table 3 as supplemental information.

Table 3. Total Fertility Rates, Quebec and Ontario, 1911 to 1993

Year	Quebec	Ontario	Year	Quebec	Ontario
1911	5.445	3.670	1957	4.001	3.714
1921	5.295	3.215	1958	3.938	3.680
1922	..	3.055	1959	3.928	3.773
1923	..	2.963	1960	3.764	3.793
1924	..	2.983	1961	3.700	3.742
1925	..	2.877	1962	3.578	3.689
1926	4.307	2.730	1963	3.473	3.618
1927	4.266	2.702	1964	3.333	3.475
1928	4.195	2.704	1965	2.996	3.125
1929	4.010	2.667	1966	2.646	2.790
1930	4.059	2.748	1967	2.367	2.586
1931	4.001	2.648	1968	2.180	2.461
1932	3.804	2.530	1969	2.100	2.447
1933	3.502	2.369	1970	1.974	2.401
1934	3.441	2.286	1971	1.878	2.221
1935	3.369	2.276	1972	1.669	1.987
1936	3.364	2.219	1973	1.628	1.901
1937	3.268	2.161	1974	1.606	1.839
1938	3.261	2.273	1975	1.658	1.799
1939	3.211	2.202	1976	1.665	1.712
1940	3.287	2.316	1977	1.678	1.681
1941	3.389	2.403	1978	1.630	1.628
1942	3.529	2.505	1979	1.670	1.615
1943	3.571	2.591	1980	1.615	1.605
1944	3.643	2.474	1981	1.568	1.573
1945	3.666	2.469	1982	1.482	1.585
1946	3.832	2.970	1983	1.434	1.586
1947	3.896	3.277	1984	1.427	1.615
1948	3.805	3.097	1985	1.399	1.602
1949	3.797	3.110	1986	1.375	1.596
1950	3.812	3.111	1987	1.366	1.577
1951	3.775	3.222	1988	1.427	1.590
1952	3.861	3.406	1989	1.527	1.626
1953	3.877	3.539	1990	1.637	1.668
1954	3.944	3.667	1991	1.649	1.657
1955	3.904	3.732	1992	1.652	1.667
1956	3.904	3.657	1993	1.614	1.641

Note: 1911 and 1921: Jacques Henripin, ***Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada***, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1968.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, Catalogue No. 84-210. After 1971, calculations made by the Demography Division, Research and Analysis Section.

for Quebec and the previous three years for Ontario had been better for the birth rate. However, Quebec's ratio at 505 was much higher than that of Ontario, at only 363.

Before ***1951***, both age pyramids had grown larger without any significant change in shape, but they then began to be distorted by the baby boom, and in Ontario to a certain degree by the upswing in immigration after the War.[2]

[2] From 1946 to 1951, Ontario received 211,000 immigrants and Quebec only 54,000.

For the first time, the number of children under a year old in the census was higher in Ontario than in Quebec. The proportion of young people in Quebec grew somewhat, but the increase of 1.8 percentage points was less than that of its Ontario counterpart, which grew by 2.6 percentage points. On the other hand, the increase in the proportion of elderly persons was greater in Ontario than in Quebec. The infant-woman ratio increased by 20 points in Quebec; Ontario's increased more strongly, by 84 points, but was still much lower.

In ***1961***, the baby boom had already begun to decline in Quebec. In fact, the number of births began falling from 1957, with the exception of 1959. By contrast, in Ontario, partly because the number of women of child-bearing age increased following strong immigration, it had scarcely begun. Women aged 19 to 39 in 1951 (1,032,900) had become the 29-49 age group and their numbers, far from being reduced by mortality, were increased by 210,000 by internal and international migration, to 1,242,235.

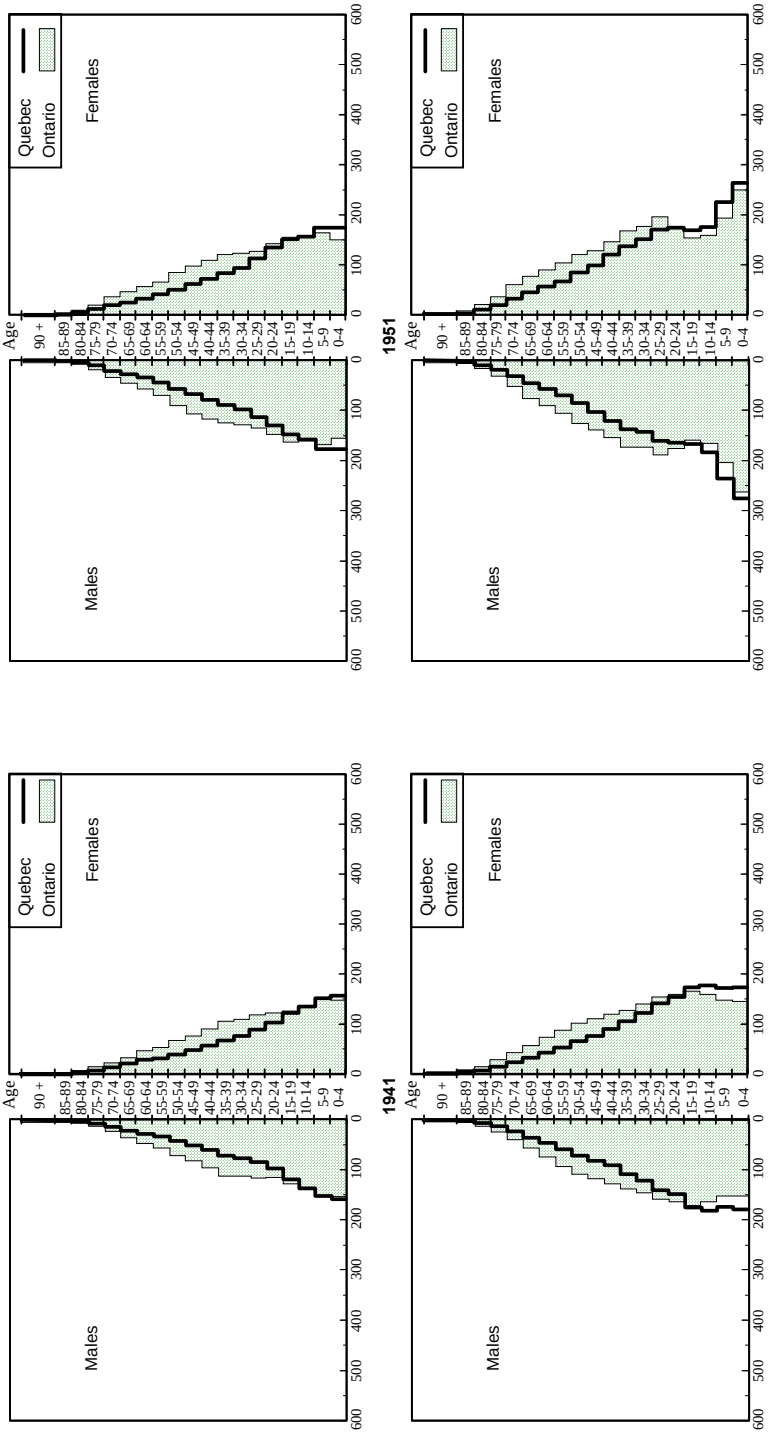
Overall, the 15-49 age group in Ontario went from 873,000 to 1,456,000. The group of young people in Quebec had again grown (35.4%), but the corresponding group in Ontario grew even more: with 32.2% of the total population, the proportion of young people increased by 5.2 percentage points, while in Quebec the increase was only 1.7 percentage points. The difference between the proportion of young people in the two provinces was no more than 3.2 percentage points. Looking at the elderly, in Ontario the rejuvenation of the population from the bottom resulted in a reduction in the percentage of older people, although they still represented 8.1% while in Quebec they stood at only 5.8%. The infant-woman ratio in Ontario (508) was catching up with Quebec's (531).

The year ***1971*** was an important one in the demographic evolution of the populations of the two provinces since, ***for the first time, the Quebec pyramid could be fitted entirely within that of Ontario*** (Figure 3): this means that at all ages the Quebec population was smaller than that of Ontario. The proportion of young people dropped 6.1 percentage points so that, at 29.3%, it was almost the same as that of Ontario (28.3%). The percentage of the elderly in Quebec increased by 1 percentage point, while in Ontario the increase was only 0.2. For the first time, the infant-woman ratio, which had declined in both provinces, was higher in Ontario (330 compared to 308).

In ***1981***, the proportion of young people in Quebec and Ontario declined, and their near equality of 10 years earlier was now complete at 21.5% and 21.6%. The elderly in Ontario still formed a greater share of the population than their Quebec counterparts. Their percentage was 9.9%, while in Quebec it rose only to 8.7%. The infant-woman ratio in Quebec, at 263, was not much higher than that in Ontario at 254.

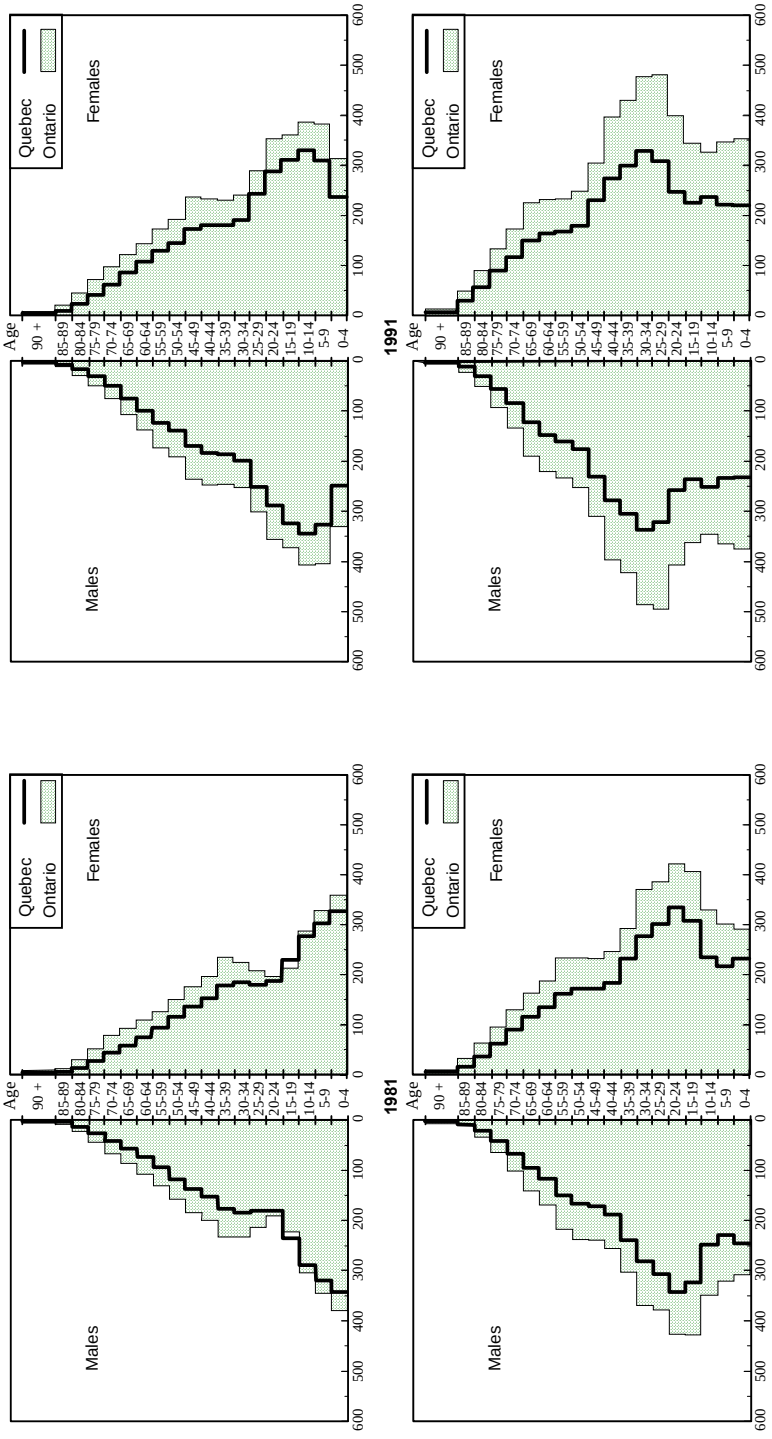
Finally, in ***1991***, the momentum of growth attained in past decades is keeping both populations on their path. The proportion of young people is

Figure 3. Age Pyramids of the Population of Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 2016 (in thousands)



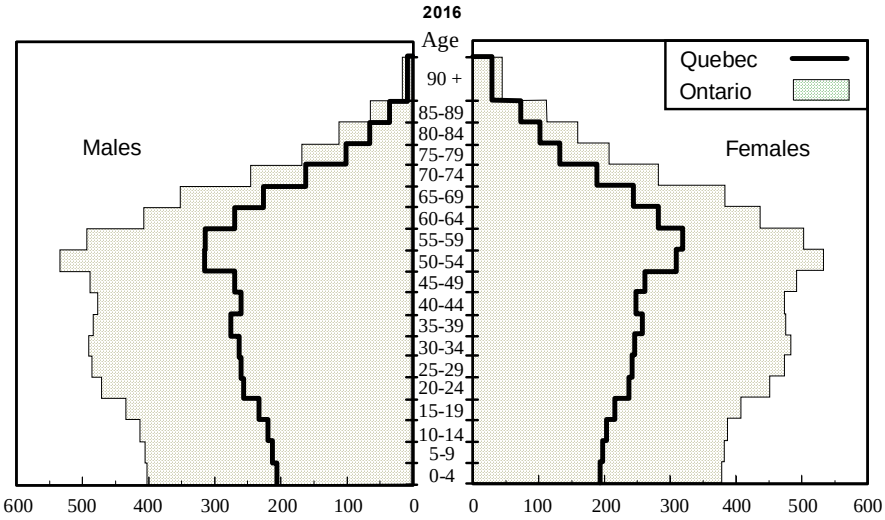
Source: See the end of figure.

Figure 3. Age Pyramids of the Population of Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 2016 (in thousands) - Continued



Source: See the end of figure.

Figure 3. Age Pyramids of the Population of Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 2016 (in thousands) - Concluded



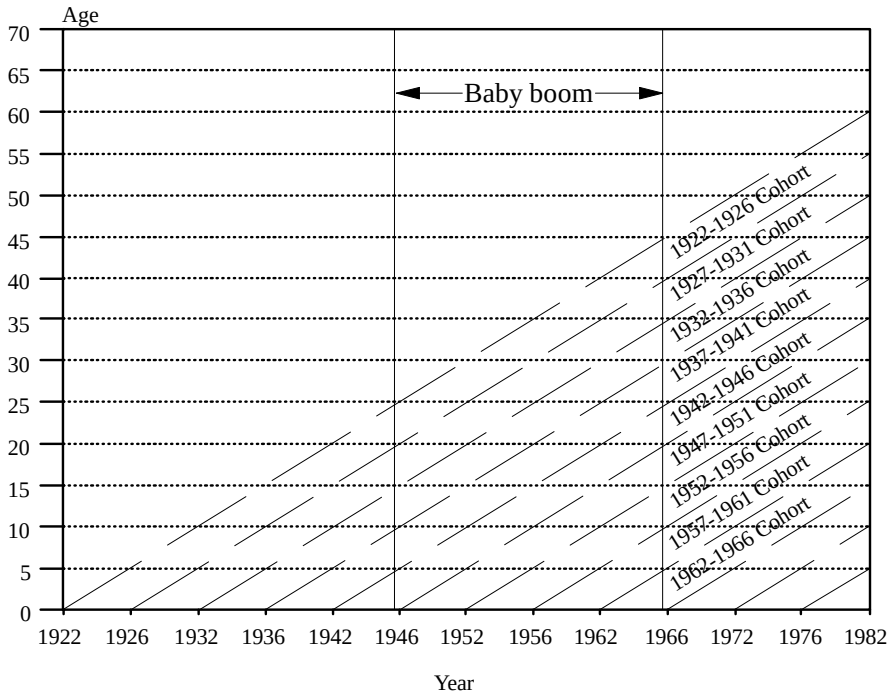
Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and Population Projections Section.

now a little smaller in Quebec than Ontario, 19.8% compared to 20.2%, and the proportion of elderly people is 11.0% in Quebec and 11.5% in Ontario. The infant-woman ratio in Quebec, at 236, is lower than that of the other province.

The differences in population development in the two provinces have had two major consequences. First, Quebec's share in the national total declines, and this is all the more pronounced since there is at the same time a significant increase in the population west of Ontario. Quebec which, at the turn of the century, had 30.7% of the country's population, has only 24.9% in 1994, and this is not the consequence of Newfoundland's joining Confederation in 1949. ***The second consequence is the faster aging of the Quebec population***, as the population over 65 rises from 8.7% in 1981 to 11% in 1991, an increase of 2.3 percentage points, while the increase in Ontario is only 1.6. The proportion of young people declined more in Quebec than in Ontario as well (1.7 percentage points compared to 1.4).

The outline presented by population projections for 2016 shows that, if the scenarios on which they are based come to pass, Quebec's population 20 years from now will be only 57% of Ontario's, and its share in the Canadian total will be only 22%. Twenty years is generally considered the short run

Figure 4. Graphic Representation of the Passing of the Cohorts during the Baby Boom



as far as population change is concerned, although, as noted, the unexpected baby boom, through changes in fertility, caused rapid and significant changes in population size and structure. For the moment, nothing in this area indicates that there will be any recovery in Quebec specifically, and to maintain its share of the national total it would have to attract annual immigration well above recent levels.

COHORT FERTILITY

Different Progressions

The change in age structure of the populations of Ontario and Quebec is mainly due to each province's fertility. Fertility may be satisfactorily, although rather imprecisely, measured by women's answers to the census question on the number of children born to them.

When these figures, as reported in the 1991 census by respondents divided into cohort groups, are examined, the first observation, clearly and

Table 4. Completed Fertility per 1,000 Ever-Married Women According to the 1991 Census of Canada

Age Group	Cohort	Quebec	Ontario	By Mother Tongue (single answers only)					
				English		French		Other	
				Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
30-34	1957-1961	1,560	1,653	1,549	1,647	1,540	1,625	1,771	1,678
35-39	1952-1956	1,811	1,958	1,811	1,928	1,776	1,913	2,170	2,065
40-44	1947-1951	1,969	2,090	1,947	2,039	1,935	2,071	2,320	2,245
45-49	1942-1946	2,210	2,316	2,212	2,282	2,179	2,366	2,538	2,402
50-54	1937-1941	2,678	2,734	2,655	2,726	2,680	3,069	2,691	2,678
55-59	1932-1936	3,214	3,065	2,944	3,068	3,290	3,677	2,853	2,912
60-64	1927-1931	3,596	3,124	3,070	3,100	3,744	3,939	2,885	3,015
65-69	1922-1926	3,840	3,025	2,938	2,965	4,079	4,101	2,960	2,950
70 +	1921 and -	3,887	2,750	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Fertility***, Catalogue No. 93-321.

unsurprisingly, is a decline in the reproductive behaviour of women from one cohort group to the next in both Ontario and Quebec. Even taking into consideration the selective effect of differential mortality due to the past fertility of aging women, and lapses of memory, in both provinces the completed fertility of cohorts prior to 1921 was clearly higher than that of women completing their fertile period in 1991. What is interesting about the difference between the two provinces is the extent of these changes and the cohorts responsible for them. Two phenomena are responsible for the changes in behaviour: the underlying downward trend in fertility inherent in the second part of the demographic transition, and the baby-boom episode.

The completed fertility of pre-1921 cohorts can be taken as typical of the difference in fertility behaviour between women in Ontario and Quebec, each cohort group developing over time in different sociocultural environments. At the height of the baby boom in 1955 (Figure 4), the youngest women were over 30 and thus past their maximum fertility, so this episode had little effect on their completed fertility. There is a significant difference between the two provinces: with 3.9 children per woman, in comparison to their counterparts in Ontario, who had only 2.8 (Table 4), Quebec women in these cohorts still retained much of the legendary high fertility of their forebears.

The women of the following two groups of five cohorts (1922-1926 and 1927-1931) were respectively 19 to 24 and 14 to 19 in 1945 (and thus 39 to 44 and 34 to 39 in 1965). The women of these cohorts were in fact the mothers of the majority of baby-boomers. But Table 4 shows that, while the completed fertility of Ontario women in the 1927-1931 cohorts was slightly higher than that of their immediate elders (3.1 children instead of 3.0), that

of Quebec women was lower (3.6 instead of 3.8). This means that ***the circumstances that reinforced the fertility of Ontario women after the*** War did not produce the same effect on Quebec women, quite the opposite.

This observation is confirmed by the behaviour of subsequent cohorts. Completed fertility decreased gradually in both provinces, but in Quebec the decline was more regular than in Ontario. In the latter, the 1927-1931 cohorts, at 3.12 children, and the 1932-1936 cohorts, at 3.07, virtually plateaued. The women in the latter of these two groups were about 15 to 19 in 1950 and 30 to 35 in 1965. They also, like their predecessors, had higher fertility rates at the peak child-bearing ages since they would not have had access to oral contraceptives, only recently introduced, until they were 25 to 35. The 1937-1941 cohorts were the last to participate in the baby boom, but they had access to the pill and, in both provinces, there was a clear decrease in completed fertility, although this was more pronounced in Quebec.

Fertility thus declined from one cohort to the next, but differently in each province:

- Between the 1922-1926 cohorts and the 1947-1951 cohorts, the completed fertility of Quebec women dropped from 3.84 children per woman to 1.97, while that of Ontario women decreased from 3.03 to 2.09;

- For the Quebec women who participated in the baby boom, there was no abrupt rise in fertility, and completed fertility showed the underlying downward trend in successive cohorts which still continues, while for Ontario women there was an increase in the propensity to have children. The result, ***for cohorts that have completed their fertility, is that all the Ontario cohorts replaced themselves, while the Quebec cohorts who were 40 to 44 in 1991 failed on average to do so***;

- For cohorts with incomplete fertility, it may be observed that Quebec women are less fertile than Ontario women. Quebec women who were 35 to 39 in 1991 have had 1.81 children and Ontario women 1.96, while in the 30-34 age group, Ontario women have had 1.65 children and Quebec women only 1.56.

Influence of Mother Tongue

It is worth examining whether cultural background, which can be estimated by mother tongue, has an influence on fertility. Table 4 shows no significant difference between Quebec and Ontario Anglophones in the same cohorts, except that Quebec women with English mother tongue were slightly less fertile than their Ontario counterparts. For women whose mother tongue was French, the difference between the two provinces was greater: Franco-Ontarian women, whatever their cohort group, had higher completed fertility than Quebec Francophone women. Allophones, those with a mother tongue

Table 5. Proportion of Ever-Married Women by Number of Children Ever Born, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	0 Children		1 Child		2 Children		3 Children		4 Children		5 Children		6 Children	
	Province													
	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.
70 +	14.7	13.6	11.1	16.0	15.7	24.7	13.6	18.1	11.3	11.0	8.4	6.3	25.2	10.4
65-69	11.6	10.0	9.4	12.0	16.4	24.4	16.1	20.8	13.5	13.6	9.7	7.7	23.2	11.5
60-64	10.0	8.7	9.6	10.2	18.0	24.0	17.9	22.1	15.4	14.9	10.2	8.4	18.8	11.7
55-59	9.4	7.5	9.6	9.3	22.0	24.8	21.4	24.3	15.5	16.1	9.3	8.4	12.9	9.6
50-54	9.2	7.9	11.9	10.2	29.8	30.3	24.2	26.2	12.8	13.8	6.2	6.2	5.9	5.4
45-49	10.5	9.3	15.4	12.3	38.4	39.4	22.3	24.5	8.6	9.4	2.9	3.1	2.0	2.1
40-44	11.8	10.5	17.4	14.4	43.3	44.1	20.2	21.9	5.3	6.7	1.3	1.7	0.7	0.9
35-39	14.1	13.0	19.8	16.0	43.9	43.3	17.4	20.5	3.8	5.4	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Fertility***, Catalogue No. 93-321.

other than English or French, form a third, heterogeneous group, and here the behaviour of Ontario allophones was neither systematically nor significantly different from that of Quebec allophones. For the last group, however, changes occurring in country of origin may have had an influence on fertility levels, new-immigrant women having slightly higher fertility. In summary, considering changes in childbearing, the downward trend in fertility seems to depend more on province than mother tongue.

Infertility

The average number of children per woman is a very summary indication of reproductive behaviour; the level of childlessness of married women is even more so. According to the 1991 census (Table 5), in all cohorts whose representatives were questioned, ***more women are found to be childless at the end of their fertile period in Quebec than in Ontario***. The number of childless Quebec women remained high even in the cohorts most involved in the baby boom, although the level decreased in both provinces during this episode.

The greater childlessness in Quebec could be explained by the fact that Quebec women have always married later and that physiological infertility increases with age. The phenomenon may have been aggravated by the large number of mature women leaving religious orders between 1960 and 1980, many of whom subsequently married. These women were thus no longer never married on census day and, since they were more likely to be childless than women their age in general, they would have pushed the fertility level of their cohorts downward. This is only a tenuous hypothesis, because in Quebec an increase in childlessness has been noted for the last few years, as it has been in Ontario, although to a lesser extent.

Size of Completed Fertility

Infertility is not the only significant cultural element in reproductive behaviour. Family size is also one. Comparisons between Quebec and Ontario in this area are obscured by the fact that immigrant women are included in the statistical universe, and they may have had some or all of their children before coming to Canada.

It can be seen that very large completed fertilities (6 or more children) were more common in the older Quebec cohorts than in comparable Ontario cohorts (Table 5). The point of reversal in the distribution between Quebec and Ontario is around fourth-order children. There were more Ontario women with low completed fertility and fewer with high completed fertility. Differences in family size become minimal beginning with the 1932-1936 cohorts, that is, those who, in round figures, were between 15 and 20 around 1950, making them 25 to 30 in 1960 when the use of the contraceptive pill began to spread. Observation confirms that the phenomenon is not geographical but cultural since it was Francophones who, in former times, had very large families both in Ontario and Quebec (Table 4). Examination of Table 5 once again shows, by the trend in completed fertilities of four or more children, the difference in the way the baby boom was experienced in Quebec and Ontario.

In contrast, two-child families are an exact mirror image: among the younger cohorts there are large proportions of these families both in Ontario and Quebec.

In short, although even recently there were more childless Quebec women than Ontario women, those who were fertile had much larger completed fertilities. These characteristics have practically disappeared with the increasingly generalized adoption of the two-child family both in Ontario and in Quebec.

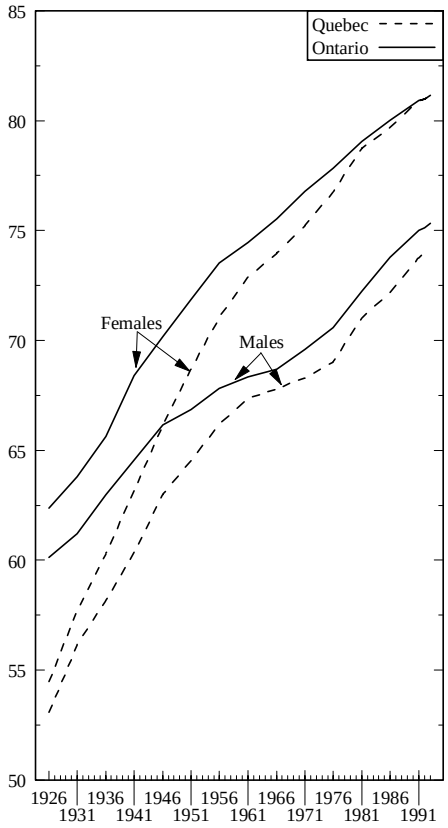
MORTALITY

General Progress

It is not easy to summarize the fight against death in these two provinces without resorting to minute analyses leading to long explanations. But since the two provinces belong to the same world and living conditions have developed in each of them basically in parallel, despite certain differences which will be discussed, an examination of overall indicators seems sufficient.

The best of these is certainly life expectancy at birth, which is available for Quebec and Ontario back to 1926. Figure 5, which shows the values of this indicator at 5-year intervals, demonstrates their convergence; as time

Figure 5. Life Expectancy at Birth, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1926-1993



Source: Table A2.6.

passes, the difference between the two provinces diminishes. In the past, it is probable that the relative economic underdevelopment of Quebec caused the persistence of lower living standards. Due to more difficult communications in every sense of the term, the population of Quebec continued to have less healthy eating habits and less scientific means of personal care. Moreover, greater endogamy encouraged the transmission of certain genetic weaknesses or diseases, which had an effect on the level of mortality. ***In 1926, the difference with Ontario in life expectancy at birth was 7.1 years for men and 7.9 years for women***. Technological progress has allowed the communication of knowledge, with the result that, not only in Canada but in the entire western world, people live and are being cared for and protected both better and more equally. Life expectancies have consequently increased and the differences have considerably decreased. This convergence has led to ***a difference between Quebec and Ontario in 1993 of 1.1 years for men and practically no difference for women*** (Figure 5).

Since slight differences nevertheless persist and standardized death rates by cause and province are available for the early 1990s, it is possible to observe whether there are any causes specifically responsible. Table 6 shows only the most devastating causes and those where marked differences are seen. It indicates that, for men, a few causes, such as lung cancer, are still under less control in Quebec than in Ontario. Suicide is also more common among Quebec men. For women, there is no particularly remarkable cause, nor any less important causes whose effects cancel out those of more important ones.

At the same time, what is mainly responsible for Quebec's catching up with Ontario in terms of life expectancy at birth is changes in infant mortality.

Table 6. Standardized Death Rates (per 100,000) for Specific Causes of Death, Quebec and Ontario, 1992

Causes	Quebec	Ontario
	Males	
All Malignant Tumors	284.03	236.75
Malignant Neoplasm of the Lung	102.75	71.25
Diseases of the Circulatory System	357.30	345.20
Malignant Neoplasm of Respiratory System	95.90	77.95
Pneumonia	23.60	32.90
Chronical Obstructions	43.90	33.70
Traumatism, Poisoning	54.00	33.20
Traffic Accidents	19.60	14.50
Suicides	27.10	14.70
	Females	
All Malignant Tumors	160.70	152.60
Diseases of the Endocrine Gland	21.80	17.80
Cerebro-Vascular Diseases	42.80	48.20

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

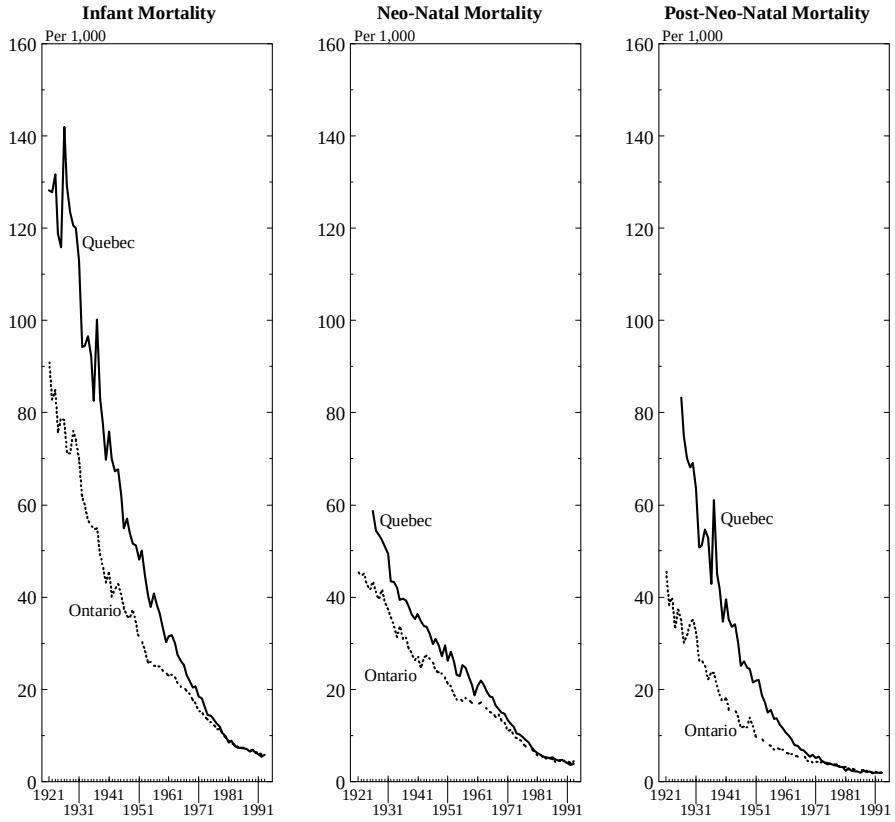
Infant Mortality Trends in Quebec and Ontario

As in all industrialized countries, infant mortality has decreased considerably over the period under study (1921 to the present), the rate losing 94% of its value in about 70 years. Obviously the law of diminishing returns has come into play here as elsewhere. As proof, ***half of the gains were made during the first 20 years, with only 2.5% of the total gains in the past 10 years***.

The two components of infant mortality (neonatal and post-neonatal) have not developed in the same way, as neonatal mortality, i.e., that occurring in the first month of life, has tended to decrease much less rapidly than post-neonatal mortality, that occurring in the first year of life but after the first month (see Figure 6). The main difference has been in the rate of reduction. While most of the gains in post-neonatal mortality were recorded in the first part of the period and much more modest gains during the second, it was almost the reverse for neonatal mortality, which has declined relatively slowly but has continued to decline at basically the same rate until the present.

In this national picture, the provinces of Quebec and Ontario have their own profiles, and at the outset Quebec's impressive narrowing of the gap with its neighbour in the two components of infant mortality may be noted. While in the early 1920s the Quebec rate was around 130 per 1,000 and that of Ontario close to 86 per 1,000, the two rates are now at about the same level of around 6 per 1,000, and in some years the Quebec rate has been even lower than that of Ontario.

Figure 6. Infant Mortality Rates, Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Without belittling progress in such field as gynaecology and obstetrics, an important cause of the reduction in infant mortality has historically been the reduction in fertility. In effect, with the reduction in fertility, higher-order children became fewer, and it was they who were most at risk of early death because of the older age of their mothers. Since completed fertility in Quebec was much larger than in Ontario, as was shown in the section on fertility, it is not surprising that its decline had a more pronounced effect on the level of infant mortality there than in Ontario. To this first general reason, and at the risk of a slight inaccuracy, it may be added that post-neonatal mortality is a reflection of the quality of the infant's living conditions and diet, and the care to which it has access. This is the type of mortality where it is easiest to make gains without deploying substantial means. Quebec, which was behind

Ontario in socioeconomic terms, has made great progress during the period, particularly in the areas of education, hygiene and diet. The post-neonatal death rate fell from 76 per 1,000 around 1926, when Ontario's rate was about 32, to 14 per 1,000 in 1956.

Table 7. Percentage of the Population Born Outside Canada, Quebec and Ontario, 1901-1991

Year	Quebec	Ontario
1901	5.4	14.8
1911	7.3	20.1
1921	8.0	21.9
1931	8.8	23.4
1941	6.7	19.4
1951	5.6	18.5
1961	7.4	21.7
1971	7.8	22.2
1981	8.3	23.7
1991	8.6	23.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, tables of places of birth and calculations by the author.

As for the victories over neonatal mortality, they are mainly due to the ability to prevent the death of newborns, who may be severely handicapped even before birth. These gains call for much more impressive measures and greater skill on the part of the medical services. It is remarkable that Quebec has achieved such a significant reduction in neonatal mortality (Figure 6 shows that the rate of decrease was more rapid in Quebec than in Ontario) while the number of low-birth-weight babies remained high. Low birth weight is recognized as the main risk factor for perinatal mortality.

It may be concluded that the Quebec environment was less healthy than that of Ontario for a great many years, in the sense of carrying a greater risk of death for newborns. ***The conclusion can also be drawn that the efforts made in Quebec in the area of perinatal mortality have been particularly remarkable***.

MIGRATION

An Old Situation

At no census since the beginning of this century has 10% of the Quebec population been born outside Canada. Ontario, on the other hand, has practically never had less than 15%. At almost every census, the latter province's proportion has been around 18% to 20%, and since 1961 it has risen from 22% to 24% (Table 7). This is no doubt because the American midwest, of which southern Ontario is a neighbour, continued to be an industrial and commercial centre exerting a strong attraction even after its heyday in the mid-19th century. From this perspective, Quebec, and in particular Montreal, has historically been mainly a transit point for European immigrants, a gateway to the centres of employment. Ontario was early one of these centres and began at the end of the last century to attract the part of the Quebec population emigrating because they could not find work in traditional agriculture.

Table 8. Percentage of the Population of Quebec and Ontario Born in Canada but Outside the Province, Various Census Years

Year	Ontario	Quebec
1901	4.0	1.5
1921	5.1	2.4
1941	7.2	3.6
1961	11.8	4.6
1991	13.3	4.1

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, tables of places of birth and calculations by the author.

Obviously for much the same reasons, to which must be added the language barrier, Quebec, as discussed above, has never had more than a small share of its Canadian-born population born in another province. Probably because of the English minority, particularly in Montreal, and the intensification of communications, this fraction has nevertheless increased. In 1961 it peaked for the recent period at 4.6%. It then declined, standing at 4.1% in 1991. Conversely, in Ontario, internal migration has constantly increased the proportion of its population made up of the Canadian-born who were born in another province, who now amount to 13.3% of Ontarians born in Canada (Table 8).

Immigration to Quebec: a Matter both of Attraction and Retention

Census figures allow a description of the situation which results from the constant movement of people in unequal flows and opposing directions across provincial borders. The fact remains that Quebec does not appear to attract many foreigners or Canadians from other provinces, and retains few of those who do settle there. This phenomenon is well known but is still worth a quantitative, even if succinct, assessment.

Of the 231,065 international immigrants who entered Quebec between 1971 and 1980, only 141,220, or 61%, remained in 1991. Some of course have died, and others had returned home, but this is true for Ontario as well, and the same calculations give this province a figure of 75%. ***For the more recent immigration period, from 1981 to 1987, the same dissimilarity appears between the two provinces. Of 134,629 immigrants to Quebec, the 1991 census indicates that 101,475, or 75%, remained, while Ontario retained 94%***.

Certainly Quebec has always, at first vaguely and now explicitly, had the goal of maintaining its share of the Canadian population. For many years, however, it has seen that share decline slowly through a combination of a low rate of natural increase and weak immigration. Since fertility had long been higher than in Ontario, there was always the hope that the decline would be followed by a recovery; the population situation was not a cause for concern. But the experience of the sharp fall in the level of the birth rate of the 1960s brought with it the realization that the fall in fertility in Quebec represented a return to a long-term downward trend, and that it was this that

was leading to a reduction in the province's share of the national total. It became clear that, in these circumstances, measures had to be implemented to encourage population growth. From a modest start, natality incentives became more substantial in the late 1980s. Long-term success is not yet assured, but for the moment Quebec is the only province with any sort of population policy.

During this period, Ontario, whose women had lower fertility than those of Quebec, attracted a large share of immigration. But since the reform of the Act, it happens that this immigration has consisted of populations whose fertility is somewhat higher than that of Canadian-born women. These complementary phenomena have resulted in above-average population growth.

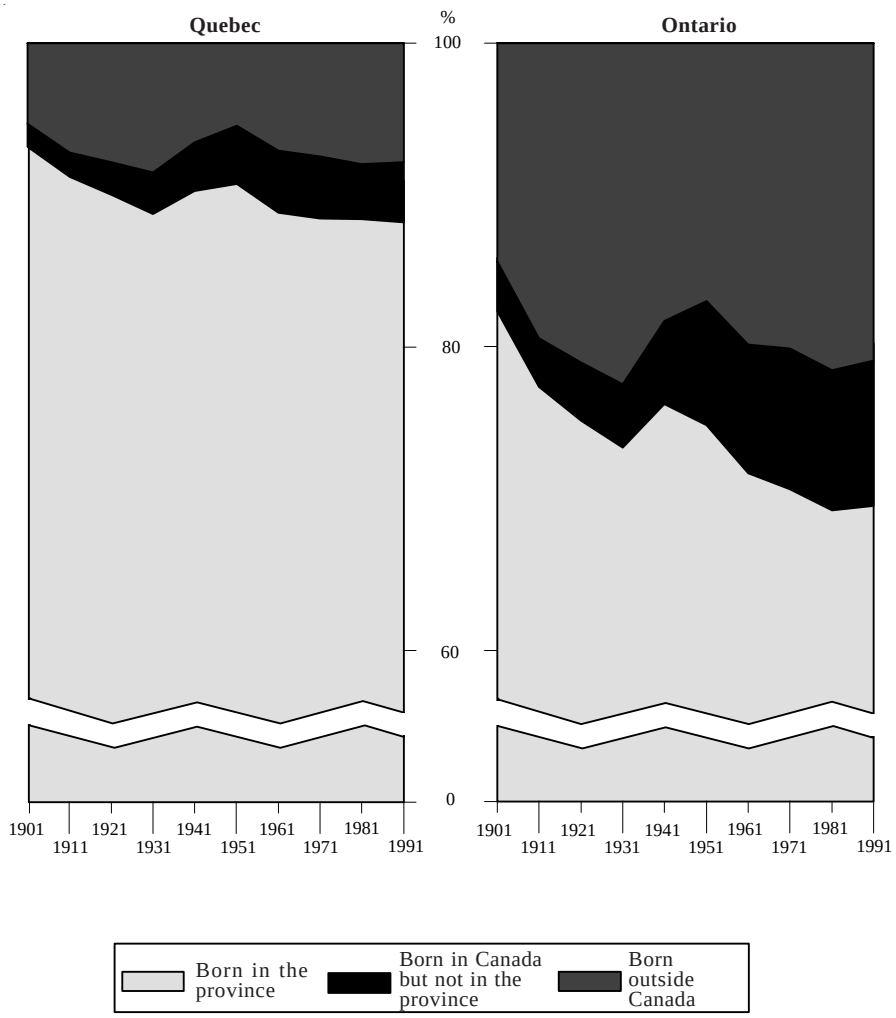
Quebec, which historically was not very interested in immigration, has recently changed its attitude and sought to attract immigrants in an attempt to offset the low birth rate. A series of agreements with the federal government, including the Cullen-Couture Accord, resulted on February 5, 1991, in the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration, which expressly states that Quebec undertakes to implement an immigration policy with a view to preserving its share in the Canadian population by receiving a proportion of Canada's total landed immigrants equal to its percentage of the total Canadian population, with the right to exceed this figure by 5%. Straightforward calculations based on population projections drawn up by the Demography Division of Statistics Canada[3] show, however, that, taking into account anticipated levels of fertility, mortality and internal migration, and the 50,000 immigrants already foreseen, Quebec would need 35,000 more immigrants a year than already forecast nan unlikely scenarion to prevent a decline to 23% of the population of Canada in 2015.

It seems that managing the growth of the Quebec population is neither simple nor straightforward. On the one hand, the province has demonstrated a desire to increase fertility, as shown by the measures aimed at encouraging families to have a third child. On the other hand, it seeks to attract people who are French-speaking, skilled, educated and prepared to contribute to its economic development. But this type of immigrant is rare in today's world, and the result is a difficult choice whereby, to obtain skilled immigrants, the province must allow those who do not know French time to adapt themselves and integrate into society, enabling them to learn the language and adjust to Quebec culture.

It is a well-known fact that migration, whether internal or international, is increasingly toward large cities, whether flowing from rural areas or smaller cities. Canada's rural regions and small towns have little attraction for those who decide to settle in this country. Under these circumstances, Ontario has an advantage over Quebec, since it has a number of large cities with substantial

[3] See the 1994 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada.

Figure 7. Percentage Distribution of the Population of Quebec and Ontario by Place of Birth, 1901-1991



Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada and calculations by the author.

commercial or industrial sectors, while Quebec has only Montreal. Apart from it, Quebec has no metropolitan area with a profile like that of Oshawa, Windsor, London, Hamilton or St. Catharine's. This is why ***immigrants in Quebec are much more concentrated in Montreal than immigrants in Ontario are in Toronto (88% in the former and 62% in the latter)***. For immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991, however, the concentration is even higher, and especially in Toronto.

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

The initial reaction to Figure 7 is one of surprise to see relatively little change over the past century in the composition of the population of each province in terms of people's place of birth, despite constant, large-scale migration. This is in fact quite normal, since censuses count what are commonly known as population stocks. The impression of a paradox comes from the fact that ethnic origin and place of birth are unconsciously associated. Canadian-born children of immigrants are Canadians by birth, while their foreign-born parents eventually die off. The differences in composition due to past migrations and their effects would be more clearly seen in terms of ethnic origin.

If for each province three sub-populations are examined, those born in the province, those born in Canada in another province, and those not born in Canada, very different levels and changes are observed.

The Unusually Homogeneous Population of Quebec

The stronger growth in Ontario since the beginning of the century of the number of people not born in the province compared to Quebec has had the effet of decreasing the proportion of those born in Ontario more quickly than those born in Quebec. ***In 1901 in Quebec, those born in the province represented 93.1% of the population, and in 1991 they still represent 87.7%***. The decrease of 5.4 percentage points in 90 years in people born in the province is minimal compared to the decrease in Ontario of 15.4 percentage points. Since Ontario had already at the beginning of the century attracted more people born outside the province than Quebec had, the difference between the two provinces has become considerable and the phenomenon shows no signs of decreasing. ***At present, a third of Ontario residents were not born in the province.***

Between 1931 and 1961, a change may be noted in both provinces, reflected in the shape of the curves in the figure by an increase in the proportion of those born in the province. The situation is due to two very significant events in demographic terms: the Great Depression and the baby boom. The Depression slowed down both immigrant arrivals and interprovincial migration, and the baby boom strengthened natural increase. But the two provinces did not experience these phenomena in the same way. Ontario reacted more extremely to the Depression than Quebec, since Ontario had already become the foremost immigrant destination once the great movement to settle the Prairies was past. The proportion of persons born in the province did increase, but the rise in immigration after the War gave the curve a downward trend between 1941 and 1951, whereas the phenomenon did not appear in Quebec until the 1951-1961 decade. Those not born in the province are either international immigrants or Canadians born in another

province. While the proportion of immigrants increases in both provinces over time, this happens more rapidly in Ontario. During the 1901-1991 period, international immigrants to Quebec rise from 5.4% to 8.6%, an increase of about 3 percentage points (3.2). The increase in Ontario is 8.7 percentage points, so that ***in 1991 in Ontario close to one person out of four was not born in Canada, while the figure for Quebec is about one out of twelve***.

But Ontario also attracts more Canadians from other provinces than Quebec. The proportion of Canadians born from other provinces in Quebec rises from 1.5% to 4.1%, while during the same period the proportion of Ontario residents in this category increases from 4.0% to 13.3%. In the first case the difference is 2.6 percentage points and in the second 9.3.

The result of these differences is that Quebec, which was already more homogeneous in terms of the place of birth of its residents at the turn of the century, has basically changed little. ***Nine out of ten residents of Quebec are still born in the province, while Ontario has a remarkable attraction for other Canadians and international immigrants***.

These observations on population balances calculated at census time are confirmed by studies of annual or period population movements. Although these studies are not complete and, in the case of international migrants, take into account only people entering the country and their intended destination on arrival, the figures are nevertheless eloquent and corroborate the above conclusions.

Moreover, annual internal movements offer a clearer view, since the people who change province may disappear due to death or emigration before the next census. Using the components of annual population estimates by province[4], available since the early 1950s, it is possible to confirm that the two provinces have very different behaviour.

Net migration for Quebec shows that it has always lost in its exchanges with the other provinces. The total of 40 consecutive years save one of net losses amounts to some 600,000 people, while Ontario, which came out ahead in most years, gained a total of over 450,000 internal migrants. The close proximity of the two provinces favoured movements back and forth, but in a 40-year period, Quebec lost approximately 470,000 people to Ontario, close to 80% of its total deficit.

Moreover, from 1960 to 1993, Quebec received only 850,000 international immigrants while Ontario received 2.5 million. In the 1994 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, a study of movements from 1990 to 1991 showed that people in Quebec are generally reluctant to leave their province if they were born there and that many of them return after having left. If

[4] Interprovincial movements are estimated each year using various administrative files and income-tax returns.

Table 9. Nuptiality Rates for Quebec and Ontario, 1926-1991

	1926	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
	Quebec							
Crude Rates (per 1,000)	6.8	5.8	9.8	8.8	6.8	8.2	6.4	4.2
Global Rates (per 1,000)[1]	32.9	21.8	34.4	39.4	34.2	37.1	26.5	18.2
	Ontario							
Crude Rates (per 1,000)	7.5	6.9	11.4	9.8	7.1	9.0	8.1	7.4
Global Rates (per 1,000)[1]	35.0	27.8	45.8	54.5	47.5	49.2	37.9	31.3

[1] Calculated using the never-married population aged 15 to 54.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Marriages***, Catalogue No. 84-212, various censuses of Canada and calculations by the author.

the 12 months leading up to the 1991 census are representative of normal behaviour, they provide an even better understanding of the uniformity of Quebec's population. During this 12-month period, 21,700 people entered Quebec, but 13,200 of them were simply returning to their province of birth. During the same 12 months, 25,000 left Quebec, but only 14,600 of them were born there.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN QUEBEC AND ONTARIO

Domestic life, among other things, expresses personal positions on the importance of values and religious beliefs, the role of tradition, and sensitivity to public opinion. It is thus instructive to compare how individuals behave in the two provinces, in so far as each is home to a particular society, in terms of marriage, divorce, common-law unions and living alone.

Nuptiality

Marital behaviour has always been different in Quebec and Ontario, and continues to be so. For the past, the crude rate will be used (the number of marriages per 1,000 population), or a slightly more refined indicator, the ratio of the number of marriages to the population aged 15-54 available for marriage, that is, never-married persons, widows and divorcees, to reduce to some extent the differences in population composition (Table 9). Both measurements indicate that ***people have always married less in Quebec than in Ontario***, perhaps one reason being the celibacy of the members of the clergy, who are more numerous in Quebec.

The recent period, however, is particularly interesting because it has seen major changes in marital values as reflected in statistics on marriages, divorces

Table 10. Main Caracteristics of the Primonuptiality Table, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1993

	Quebec		Ontario	
	1976	1993	1976	1993
	Males			
Average Age	26.52	30.18	26.03	29.72
Difference (in years)	3.66		3.69	
Single Survivors (number)	16,693	58,220	9,326	29,028
Increase (in percent)	249		211	
	Females			
Average Age	24.39	28.32	23.74	27.69
Difference (in years)	3.93		3.95	
Single Survivors (number)	14,846	52,187	8,040	22,888
Increase (in percent)	252		185	

Source: Primonuptiality tables done with data from the Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data.

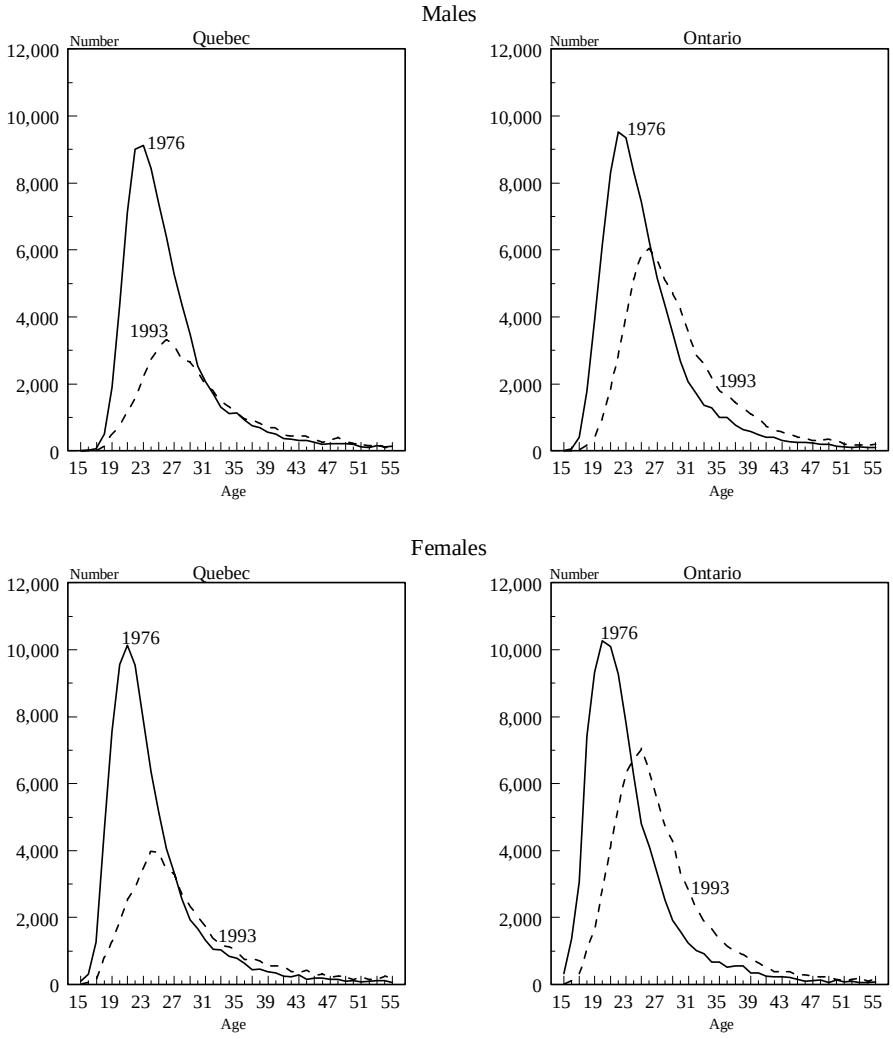
and common-law unions. ***In 1971, the crude marriage rate in Ontario was 9.0 per 1,000, and in 1991 it had fallen to 7.4 per 1,000, a reduction of 18%***. Although noteworthy, this decline is modest in comparison to that observed ***in Quebec, where the rate for the same period fell from 8.2 per 1,000 to 4.2, a reduction of 49%***.

The differences shown by these general indicators are borne out by the more refined rates found in the nuptiality table. In 1976, common-law unions were not numerous enough to create any major distortions in the age-specific marriage rates of never-married persons. It is thus possible to draw up a table for each province, the main parameters of which are shown in the table above (Table 10).

This table and Figure 8 show that men and women in Quebec have always married a little later than men and women in Ontario, and even more that they marry less often. Whether at the beginning or the end of the period, never-married men and women are more numerous in Quebec than in Ontario, and the median and mean ages at marriage are slightly higher in Quebec than Ontario. While moving in the same direction, the two provinces have increased the gap that has always separated them.

It is clear that both provinces are affected by the great swing away from the institution of marriage that has swept the western world, but it is noteworthy that in recent years it has been more rapid in Quebec than in Ontario. The number of never-married persons (Table 10) increases more in Quebec than in Ontario (249% compared to 211% for men and 252% compared to 185% for women). The increase in the mean age,

Figure 8. Marriages of the Primonuptiality Table, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1993



Source: Primonuptiality tables done with data from the Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data.

although starting from different levels, is the same for women (3.7 years) and men (3.9 years). The result of these changes is that, in 1993, the table leaves almost twice as many never-married men in Quebec at age 50 as in Ontario and far more than twice as many never-married women.

Remarriage

Compared to 1976, remarriages in both provinces have become more numerous by 1993 due to the increased access to divorce made possible by changes in the law between these two dates (Table 11). The proportion of marriages in which at least one spouse has already been married rises from 24.8% to 32.8% in Ontario, an increase of 7.6 percentage points. In Quebec the increase is 16.2 percentage points. This considerable difference may be linked to old habits dating back before 1969, when very different conditions prevailed in the two provinces regarding divorce. While divorce has been possible in Ontario since 1930, it only became possible in Quebec in 1968. Formerly, Quebec residents either had to change province or submit a request for divorce to the federal parliament, measures that significantly reduced the number. For basically similar populations, the divorce rate per 100,000 was 5.9 in Quebec and 50.1 in Ontario in 1950. In 1960 it was 4.0 in Quebec and 60.2 in Ontario. Given the major decline in mortality, it is divorces that are responsible for remarriages, and no longer widowhood. In 1966, 544 divorced men and 367 divorced women remarried in Quebec, while the figures in Ontario were 3,025 for men and 2,832 for women.[5] Out of 1,000 marriages in Quebec, there were 12 in which one partner was divorced, while the proportion in Ontario was 55. At current levels of numbers and proportions, the situation of remarriage might stabilize in Quebec, particularly if common-law unions continue to replace marriage.

During the period, changes in the proportion of remarriages involving two previously married persons (Table 11) yield the same remarks for Quebec. It is noteworthy, however, that the proportion of remarriages of this type stabilizes in Ontario but at a higher level. This observation should be seen in the light of the more frequent choice in Quebec of a common-law union rather than remarriage following the failure of a previous marriage.

Common-Law Unions

While there has been no doubt for some time about the decline in nuptiality and the interpretation to be given to it, it is not life as a couple that is at issue but the legal basis of the union. It is remarkable that society has accepted these changes so rapidly. When the 1981 census was being prepared, no consideration was given to the idea of counting the number of people who had already opted for this form of union. The extent of this phenomenon at that time can only be estimated using a person's relationship to the reference person and their sex and marital status. The 1986 census yielded more accurate estimates, but it is only in 1991 that counts based on a direct question become available.

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[5] Figures courtesy of the Health Status and Vital Statistics Section of Statistics Canada's Health Statistics Division.

Table 11. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1993

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion or Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	%	Number	%
	Quebec						
1976	50,790	39,911	39,047	7,219	14.2	2,405	33.3
1977	48,171	43,392	42,459	7,828	16.3	2,663	34.0
1978	45,936	40,909	39,872	8,133	17.7	2,958	36.4
1979	46,341	41,294	40,098	8,278	17.9	3,012	36.4
1980	44,848	39,821	38,660	8,246	18.4	2,969	36.0
1981	41,005	36,018	34,844	8,177	19.9	2,971	36.3
1982	38,354	33,356	32,389	7,912	20.6	2,904	36.7
1983	36,144	31,419	30,416	7,629	21.1	2,824	37.0
1984	37,433	31,847	30,777	8,623	23.0	3,619	42.0
1985	37,026	31,643	30,647	8,394	22.7	3,368	40.1
1986	33,083	27,084	27,881	7,880	23.8	3,321	42.1
1987	32,616	26,496	27,208	8,068	24.7	3,462	42.9
1988	33,519	26,984	27,690	8,698	25.9	3,666	42.1
1989	33,325	26,741	27,462	8,837	26.5	3,610	40.9
1990	32,060	26,454	25,887	8,370	26.1	3,409	40.7
1991	28,922	23,788	23,166	7,749	26.8	3,141	40.5
1992	25,841	20,763	20,197	7,599	29.4	3,123	41.1
1993	25,021	19,900	19,361	7,596	30.4	3,185	41.9
	Ontario						
1976	69,364	57,401	56,808	17,236	24.8	7,283	42.3
1977	67,730	55,481	54,746	17,738	26.2	7,495	42.3
1978	67,491	54,627	53,944	18,581	27.5	7,830	42.1
1979	67,980	54,679	53,912	19,309	28.4	8,060	41.7
1980	68,840	55,182	54,150	19,998	29.0	8,350	41.8
1981	70,281	56,055	55,027	20,737	29.5	8,743	42.2
1982	71,595	57,095	55,616	21,472	30.0	9,007	41.9
1983	70,893	55,838	54,509	22,232	31.4	9,207	41.4
1984	71,922	56,525	55,183	22,576	31.4	9,560	42.3
1985	72,891	57,370	56,166	22,639	31.1	9,607	42.4
1986	70,839	55,975	54,972	21,637	30.5	9,094	42.0
1987	76,201	57,689	56,441	26,513	34.8	11,779	44.4
1988	78,533	59,795	58,463	26,914	34.3	11,894	44.2
1989	80,377	61,604	60,623	26,831	33.4	11,702	43.6
1990	80,097	61,800	61,066	26,024	32.5	11,304	43.4
1991	72,938	56,622	55,998	23,438	32.1	9,818	41.9
1992	70,079	54,354	53,512	22,648	32.3	9,644	42.6
1993	66,575	51,600	50,849	21,581	32.4	9,120	42.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Table 12. Standardized Prevalence Rate for Common-Law Unions, Quebec and Ontario, 1981 to 1991

Province	Rate			Index		
	1981	1986	1991	1981	1986	1991
Quebec	9.0	14.4	19.0	170	272	358
Ontario	5.3	6.3	7.6	100	119	143

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Given the observations above on nuptiality, it should be no surprise that common-law unions are more common in Quebec than Ontario, but some figures will allow a few refinements.

As a preliminary and global observation, it may by noted that, in the 1991 census, 11% of the Quebec population over 15 were in common-law unions, while the percentage for Ontario was only 5%.

But the prevalence rate, by its conciseness, is a better indicator of the propensity to live in a common-law union. It gives the number of couples not in legally sanctioned unions per 100 couples (Table 12). The extent of the difference between the populations of the two provinces is evident. This propensity was less developed in Ontario than in Quebec in 1981, and since then has progressed little in the former, whereas it has increased considerably in the latter. ***The 1981 Ontario prevalence rate was 5.3%, while the Quebec rate in the same year was 9%. But 10 years later, the Ontario rate had risen to 7.6% and Quebec's to 19.0%***.

Retrospective studies such as the General Social Survey are very useful to round out the information provided by the census, since they permit an account of the situations experienced by individuals which no longer exist. The 1990 survey shows that ***approximately 30% of persons 15 and over living in Quebec have been in a common-law union at some time in their life, while the percentage in Ontario is only about 18%*** (Table 13). The choice of people in Quebec of common-law unions compared to that of Ontarians is even more evident when the proportions by age group are examined. For both sexes, it may be seen in the same survey that the proportion in Quebec is much higher in all groups than it is in Ontario.

Age of Partners in Common-Law Unions

While the numbers and rates are lower in Ontario than in Quebec, the age-specific distribution of people in common-law unions is somewhat different (Table 14). In Ontario, the proportion of men and women over 35 in common-law unions is greater than in Quebec. In other words, life in common-law unions is less restricted to young people. Of women living in

Table 13. Those Who Have Ever Lived in a Common-Law Union, by Sex and Age Group, Quebec and Ontario, 1990

Age Group	Males		Females		Total	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	In Thousands					
15-19	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]
20-24	--[2]	53[3]	110	101	184	154
25-29	184	117	209	168	394	285
30-34	192	132	152	153	343	286
35-39	116	121	122	114	238	235
40-44	91	75[3]	75[3]	49[3]	166	123
45-49	--[2]	62[3]	--[2]	42[3]	109	105
50-59	--[2]	62[3]	--[2]	54[3]	94	116
60+	--[2]	39[3]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	65[3]
Total	803	665	774	725	1,577	1,390
	As a Percent of the Age-Sex Group[1]					
15-19	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]
20-24	--[2]	14.1[3]	45.4	27.8	37.2	20.9
25-29	60.6	26.9	68.5	38.1	64.5	32.6
30-34	62.8	31.8	48.6	35.9	55.6	33.9
35-39	41.5	32.1	42.8	29.3	42.2	30.7
40-44	35.9	21.2	28.9	13.5[3]	32.4	17.3
45-49	--[2]	22.9[3]	--[2]	15.1[3]	26.4	18.9
50-59	--[2]	13.4[3]	--[2]	11.7[3]	14.4	12.5
60+	--[2]	6.0[3]	--[2]	--[2]	--[2]	4.5[3]
Total	31.4	18.1	28.5	18.8	29.9	18.4

[1] Excluding non-response to the question on common-law relationships.
[2] Not shown because of high sampling variability.
[3] Because of high sampling variability, this estimate should be interpreted with caution.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1990.

this type of union, 40% in Ontario and only 34% in Quebec are over 35. For men, the imbalance is 48% to 43%. Since this is the distribution of a distribution, part of the percentage difference may be due to the fact that the Ontario population is slightly older than Quebec's. The propensity may not be the only thing explaining the differences.

Immigrants and Common-Law Unions

The two provinces are far from having the same proportion of immigrants, but in both cases the fraction of immigrants living in common-law unions is lower than that of the immigrant population itself (Table 15). In 1991 in

Table 14. Population in Common-Law Unions by Age and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Number			Percentage		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
	Quebec					
15-19	1,905	8,810	10,715	0.6	2.9	1.7
20-24	33,175	55,660	88,835	10.8	18.1	14.5
25-29	72,095	77,015	149,110	23.5	25.1	24.3
30-34	65,360	61,150	126,510	21.3	19.9	20.6
35-39	45,425	39,780	85,205	14.8	13.0	13.9
40-44	31,320	25,275	56,595	10.2	8.2	9.2
45-49	22,155	16,700	38,855	7.2	5.4	6.3
50-54	13,380	9,220	22,600	4.4	3.0	3.7
55-59	9,125	5,445	14,570	3.0	1.8	2.4
60-64	6,090	3,625	9,715	2.0	1.2	1.6
65 +	6,870	4,235	11,105	2.2	1.4	1.8
Total	306,900	306,915	613,815	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Ontario					
15-19	1,575	5,585	7,160	0.9	3.1	2.0
20-24	20,860	31,130	51,990	11.5	17.1	14.3
25-29	38,595	39,915	78,510	21.2	21.9	21.6
30-34	32,125	30,895	63,020	17.6	17.0	17.3
35-39	24,645	24,010	48,655	13.5	13.2	13.4
40-44	21,250	19,250	40,500	11.7	10.6	11.1
45-49	15,110	12,425	27,535	8.3	6.8	7.6
50-54	9,900	7,355	17,255	5.4	4.0	4.7
55-59	7,160	4,595	11,755	3.9	2.5	3.2
60-64	5,015	2,945	7,960	2.8	1.6	2.2
65 +	5,925	4,050	9,975	3.3	2.2	2.7
Total	182,160	182,155	364,315	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Age, Sex and Marital Status***, Catalogue No. 93-310

Quebec, 9.8% of the population aged 15 and over was born outside Canada, but only 3.9% of the population in common-law unions are immigrants. In Ontario, where 29% of the population are immigrants, 15.8% of the population in common-law unions were born outside Canada. Differences in age structure between the two populations, immigrant and Canadian-born, cannot explain this difference. This observation may be refined by calculating the ratio of persons who reported at the last census living in common-law unions to the number of immigrants aged 15 to 64, the ages at which the great majority of people opting for this form of union are found. The proportions are small among immigrants in both provinces (5.2% in Quebec and 3.1% in Ontario). For the Canadian-born, the difference between the two provinces is

Table 15. Population Aged 15 and Over in Common-Law Unions by Place of Birth, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Place of Birth	Population in Common-Law Unions	Percentage	Population	Percentage
	Quebec			
Born in the Province of Residence	567,125	92.7	4,843,070	86.2
Born in Another Province	20,910	3.4	222,040	4.0
Born Outside Canada	23,800	3.9	552,415	9.8
Total	611,835	100.0	5,617,525	100.0
	Ontario			
Born in the Province of Residence	242,535	67.6	4,645,070	59.6
Born in Another Province	59,615	16.6	897,060	11.5
Born Outside Canada	56,595	15.8	2,245,830	28.8
Total	358,745	100.0	7,787,960	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Immigration and Citizenship***, Catalogue No. 93-316, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

considerable: observation shows 12.4% in Quebec and 4.4% in Ontario (Table 16). The fact that the percentage for immigrants is higher in Quebec suggests a "province effect" probably linked to the fact that the calculations had to do with persons, and a union may be made up of a person born in Canada and an immigrant. Since men and women in Quebec are more likely than Ontarians to choose a common-law union, they probably involve more immigrants, but the phenomenon may also stem from the different composition of the immigrant population in the two provinces.

Fertility of Women in Common-Law Unions

Since common-law unions have become a little more widespread, their fertility has been observed. In the beginning, when this type of union was often a trial marriage, they did not last long since, barring a break-up, pregnancy in most cases put an end to them by transforming them into a marriage. Acceptance of the common-law union as a form of conjugal life has been rapidly followed by the acceptance of childbearing in these unions, and the number of births outside marriage has been seen to rise. This general observation nevertheless masks a considerable diversity between societies. Since the number of births

Table 16. Population Aged 15 to 64 in Common-Law Unions by Place of Origin, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

	Quebec	Ontario
Immigrant Population	460,650	1,850,160
In Common-Law Unions	23,800	56,595
Percentage	5.2	3.1
Born in Canada	4,748,880	6,846,170
In Common-Law Unions	588,035	302,150
Percentage	12.4	4.4

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Table 17. Proportion of Women in Common-Law Unions Who had Children, by Age Group, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

	Quebec		Ontario	
Percentage of those Aged 15 and Over in Common-Law Unions	10.7		4.3	
Age	Percentage of Women in Common-Law Unions	Percentage with Children	Percentage of Women in Common-Law Unions	Percentage with Children
15-19	4.0	17.8	1.6	29.6
20-24	24.1	26.4	8.5	25.3
25-29	25.8	42.7	8.7	35.0
30-34	18.8	60.4	6.7	54.6
35-39	13.1	66.1	5.6	67.2
40-44	9.2	69.5	4.7	76.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Fertility***, Catalogue No. 93-321 and calculations by the author.

during a year to women living in common-law unions is not known, an estimate of their fertility must be attempted based on available data, in this case, births by legal marital status as determined by the Vital Statistics section of Statistics Canada. By breaking births down into two categories, those to unmarried mothers and others, the majority of births to women in common-law unions can be assumed to fall in the category of births to unmarried women, and it must be recognized that they are more likely to be fertile than unmarried women without a partner. A comparison between the percentages for Quebec and Ontario based on this summary classification leaves no doubt as to the difference in behaviour between the two provinces. Already ***in 1986, births to unmarried mothers made up 25% of total births in Quebec, but only 12% in Ontario. In 1992, the proportions were 41% and 16% respectively, and in 1993 they are 44% for Quebec and still only 16% for Ontario***.[6] In Quebec, where the item of information is recorded, the father is unknown in fewer than 5% of births to unmarried mothers, according to the province's statistical bureau. This would suggest that the majority of births are to women living in common-law unions, and it seems likely that the same is true for Ontario.

Turning to the situation as presented in the census, the 1991 census provides information on the number of children to women living in common-law unions, but this information still does not permit a measurement of the fertility of these unions. The marital status of the respondent is that in which she found herself at the time of the census and not necessarily that in which she was living at the birth of her children. This no doubt explains why the percentage of women who have children increases with age, since women living in common-law unions include divorced women

[6] Based on unpublished figures from the Vital Statistics section of Statistics Canada's Health division.

Table 18. Distribution of Population Living in Common-Law Unions, by Age Group and Marital Status, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Males			Females		
	Single	Separated / Divorced	Widowed	Single	Separated / Divorced	Widowed
	Quebec					
15-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
20-24	99.0	1.0	0.0	98.0	1.0	1.0
25-29	96.0	4.0	0.0	93.0	7.0	0.0
30-34	85.0	15.0	0.0	77.0	22.0	1.0
35-39	62.0	37.0	1.0	57.0	42.0	1.0
40-44	38.0	61.0	1.0	35.0	60.0	5.0
45-49	22.0	75.0	3.0	24.0	66.0	10.0
50-54	18.0	77.0	5.0	20.0	61.0	19.0
55-59	16.0	73.0	11.0	18.0	49.0	33.0
60-64	16.0	65.0	19.0	17.0	38.0	45.0
65 +	17.0	44.0	39.0	17.0	20.0	63.0
	Ontario					
15-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
20-24	98.0	2.0	0.0	95.0	5.0	0.0
25-29	89.0	11.0	0.0	80.0	20.0	0.0
30-34	67.0	33.0	0.0	54.0	45.0	1.0
35-39	42.0	57.0	1.0	33.0	64.0	3.0
40-44	25.0	74.0	1.0	20.0	75.0	5.0
45-49	16.0	82.0	2.0	15.0	76.0	9.0
50-54	14.0	82.0	4.0	12.0	71.0	17.0
55-59	14.0	76.0	10.0	11.0	61.0	28.0
60-64	14.0	69.0	17.0	12.0	48.0	40.0
65 +	16.0	51.0	33.0	13.0	28.0	59.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Age, Sex and Marital Status***, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

and some widows who had children during their marriage (Table 17). This being said, there are not many relatively young widowed, separated or divorced women in common-law unions, as shown in Tables 18 and 19, and examination of Table 17 shows that common-law unions in both provinces are fertile and, in many age groups, a little more so in Quebec than in Ontario.

Marital Status of Persons in Common-Law Unions

This last observation suggests examining the marital status of those living in a common-law union. Clearly, anyone can choose this type of arrangement. Since this form of conjugal life does not have all the legal consequences of marriage, the partners cannot be called bigamists, if they are married to someone else. There are some in the census, although only a few, who are classified in the married category.

Table 19. Percentage of Population in Common-Law Unions by Marital Status and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Single			Separated			Widowed			Divorced		
	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion
Males	Quebec											
15-19	229,950	1,895	0.8	95	5	5.3	70	0	0.0	110	10	9.1
20-24	224,755	32,965	14.7	600	70	11.7	95	5	5.3	570	135	23.7
25-29	205,065	69,400	33.8	3,170	620	19.6	165	35	21.2	4,970	2,035	40.9
30-34	139,060	55,295	39.8	6,825	1,675	24.5	450	140	31.1	16,975	8,255	48.6
35-39	78,840	28,280	35.9	8,975	2,480	27.6	840	310	36.9	29,380	14,355	48.9
40-44	43,845	11,795	26.9	9,915	2,775	28.0	1,450	470	32.4	34,930	16,275	46.6
45-49	25,930	4,960	19.1	8,780	2,555	29.1	2,155	675	31.3	31,400	13,965	44.5
Females												
15-19	217,820	8,780	4.0	145	5	3.4	150	5	3.3	130	15	11.5
20-24	199,100	54,810	27.5	1,555	290	18.6	215	15	7.0	1,540	535	34.7
25-29	159,810	71,255	44.6	5,545	1,105	19.9	570	140	24.6	10,300	4,510	43.8
30-34	106,705	46,895	43.9	9,505	2,030	21.4	1,635	505	30.9	27,440	11,720	42.7
35-39	61,980	21,975	35.5	11,095	2,120	19.1	3,200	915	28.6	39,670	14,765	37.2
40-44	37,145	8,895	23.9	11,215	1,805	16.1	5,510	1,270	23.0	42,710	13,310	31.2
45-49	24,050	3,965	16.5	9,305	1,290	13.9	8,690	1,700	19.6	35,895	9,750	27.2
Males	Ontario											
15-19	346,725	1,550	0.4	210	5	2.4	110	0	0.0	160	20	12.5
20-24	333,375	20,355	6.1	2,045	225	11.0	140	10	7.1	985	270	27.4
25-29	247,640	34,240	13.8	9,295	1,475	15.9	285	45	15.8	8,805	2,835	32.2
30-34	130,095	21,440	16.5	15,620	3,165	20.3	585	115	19.7	21,160	7,400	35.0
35-39	66,495	10,385	15.6	16,555	3,800	23.0	925	180	19.5	28,285	10,275	36.3
40-44	39,165	5,325	13.6	16,630	4,140	24.9	1,580	300	19.0	31,230	11,480	36.8
45-49	22,190	2,400	10.8	12,935	3,275	25.3	2,120	365	17.2	25,400	9,070	35.7
Females												
15-19	324,550	5,515	1.7	425	20	4.7	230	5	2.2	200	40	20.0
20-24	286,630	29,615	10.3	5,740	665	11.6	375	45	12.0	2,910	805	27.7
25-29	175,185	31,745	18.1	17,230	2,540	14.7	855	155	18.1	16,590	5,475	33.0
30-34	92,670	16,650	18.0	22,400	3,695	16.5	1,980	360	18.2	31,190	10,190	32.7
35-39	51,425	8,035	15.6	21,550	3,535	16.4	3,590	580	16.2	39,470	11,855	30.0
40-44	32,485	3,940	12.1	19,775	3,000	15.2	6,045	910	15.1	42,985	11,405	26.5
45-49	19,345	1,860	9.6	13,905	1,845	13.3	9,110	1,060	11.6	33,670	7,660	22.8

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Age, Sex and Marital Status***, Catalogue No.93-310 and calculations by the author.

Table 20. Distribution of Families According to Certain Characteristics, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

	Quebec		Ontario	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total with and without Children	1,883,230	100.0	2,726,735	100.0
Spouses	1,307,445	69.4	2,201,775	80.7
Common-Law	306,910	16.3	182,155	6.7
Single Parent Families:				
In which the head is not widowed	201,865	10.7	264,920	9.7
In which the head is widowed	67,015	3.6	77,875	2.9

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Families: Number, Type and Structure***, Catalogue No. 93-312, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

In both provinces, in all age groups and for both sexes, divorced persons have the greatest propensity to form common-law unions (Table 19). The proportion is, however, higher in Quebec than in Ontario. As in the case of marriage, the proportion of women decreases with age while that of men increases because of a "market" that works against women who are no longer young. In second position are the never-married, and curiously it is Quebec women aged 25 to 34 who have the highest percentage in all female categories and age groups. Compared to Ontario, at all ages, the proportions are significantly higher in Quebec. There are much higher proportions of widows and widowers, as well as separated persons, in Quebec than in Ontario, and in both categories their position most of the time falls midway between divorcees and never-married persons.

Single-Parent Families

The distribution of families by type corroborates what has been observed in terms of the differential behaviour of individuals in the other aspects of their domestic life.

Considered as a whole, the families in each province are not distributed among the categories in the same way (Table 20). In 1991, husband-wife families represented 81% of all families in Ontario, while single-parent families accounted for only 13%. In Quebec, husband-wife families represented barely 70% and single-parent families over 14%. The major difference between the two provinces remains the proportion of families where the partners are in a common-law union, as was shown in the preceding paragraphs: 6.7% for Ontario and 16.3% for Quebec.

Single-parent families have attracted attention particularly since common-law unions have spread and divorces have become more frequent. In the not-too-distant past, single-parent families were not rare, due to the early death of one of the parents before the last child had left home, and since childbearing

Table 21. Lone-Parent Families with a Non-Widowed Female Head Aged 15 to 54 and at Least One Child Aged Less than 18, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Total Number of Families		Lone-Parent Families		Percentage	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
15-24	41,255	61,455	9,610	19,030	23.3	31.0
25-34	353,365	504,155	46,250	67,810	13.1	13.5
35-44	401,670	580,755	59,110	68,765	14.7	11.8
45-54	125,580	167,685	16,965	18,565	13.5	11.1
15-54	921,870	1,314,050	131,935	174,170	14.3	13.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Families: Number, Type and Structure***, Catalogue No. 93-312, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

then took place throughout the fertile life of spouses, families where one of the two parents had died were numerous. Just when gains in life expectancy allowed couples to remain together longer and declining fertility reduced family size, the separation of couples by divorce suddenly became easier and the first common-law unions appeared, although so far these are more fragile than marriages. But in this area societies are characterized by their readiness to adopt non-traditional behaviour. This can be clearly seen in the comparison between Ontario and Quebec.

The common image of the contempory single-parent family is, for most people, that of a young single, separated or divorced woman raising one or more children under 18 on her own. These families represent 14% of all Quebec families and 13% of all Ontario families with children under 18 where the mother is between 15 and 54. There is thus no dissimilarity between the two societies, and it is in the distribution of single-parent status by age of the mother of these families that Ontario differs from Quebec. In Ontario, 31% of mothers of families in the 15-24 age group are single parents but only 23% in Quebec. In the older groups, the difference is less pronounced, but proportionally they are slightly more numerous in Quebec (Table 21).

Life Alone

Although there have always been people who live alone, in recent years their numbers have tended to increase. Certainly, material progress in such areas as diet, housing, and household appliances facilitates this type of domestic arrangement and has definitely contributed to the increase in households made up of only one person. But these new possibilities may merely permit the realization of a desire that perhaps people have always had but couldn't put into practice. The family and even the couple are less and less seen as the basic social unit; the choice of a form of conjugal life is no longer exclusively a question of material resources. One's philosophy of life plays a role, together with traditions and social constraints.

Table 22. Proportion of One-Person Households by Population of the Age Group (in percent), Quebec and Ontario, 1981 to 1991

Age Group	Quebec			Ontario		
	1981	1986	1991	1981	1986	1991
15-19	1.1	0.9	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.1
20-24	6.9	6.3	7.3	7.2	5.2	4.7
25-29	9.0	9.2	10.8	9.7	8.9	8.5
30-34	7.4	8.9	10.2	7.4	7.9	8.1
35-39	6.1	7.8	9.6	5.6	6.4	7.3
40-44	5.8	7.3	9.3	4.8	5.8	6.8
45-49	6.5	7.9	10.1	5.2	5.9	7.1
50-54	7.9	9.1	11.4	6.7	7.1	7.9
55-59	10.0	11.4	13.5	9.2	9.2	9.9
60-64	13.4	14.5	16.5	13.5	13.3	13.2
65-69	12.3	19.3	20.7	19.4	19.1	18.3
70-74	22.2	24.4	25.8	26.0	25.8	24.9
75-79	24.4	27.4	29.8	31.6	32.3	31.6
80-84	22.2	26.7	30.1	33.6	35.3	35.7
85-89	16.1	20.1	24.7	28.8	31.2	33.4
90 +	9.3	11.9	13.8	18.1	20.0	20.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

In this area, people in Quebec and Ontario do not appear to behave in the same way. Since age offers different possibilities, it seems reasonable to break the age scale into three to make observations more relevant: young adults, mature adults, and the elderly. The measurement used to assess the phenomenon is the ratio of the number of one-person households in a given age group to the number of persons in that age group.

A person who reports living alone is, by definition, neither a member of a couple nor of a family, whatever that person's marital status may be (Table 22). Up until age 45, with the exception of the 25-29 age group in Ontario, the fraction in all age groups increases with time, and Quebec is no exception. Living alone is more common in Quebec and is growing more rapidly. From age 25 on, close to one person out of 10 in Quebec lives alone, while in Ontario on average only one out of 12 does so. These figures are consistent with nuptiality indicators, but also show that common-law unions do not replace marriage. More and more never-married, widowed or divorced persons are living alone, without a spouse, relative or child.

From age 45, it is less surprising that this ratio increases, since as age increases the number of people who are no longer tempted by conjugal life or cannot form a couple increases. In these intermediate ages, the gap between

the two provinces is just as noteworthy as among young people. It should be added that the Ontario population contains a large proportion of new immigrants who come from countries where marriage is considered the norm and where family ties are in general very strong.

At older ages, for the obvious reason of being able to maintain one's material independence longer, the ratios in both provinces are increasingly high and the differences between the provinces are minimal.

LANGUAGES

The question of language inevitably arises in comparing the populations of Ontario and Quebec; however, everything significant appears to have been said already on this topic, and it is difficult to avoid commonplaces. The objective here, then, will only be to recall some facts that are generally ignored and which sometimes go against current thinking.

Mother Tongue

Despite obvious weaknesses, mother tongue is still the best indicator of the cultural identity of a people. In Canada, whose most numerous non-aboriginal settlers were the French and the British, the French and English languages have existed side by side for centuries. After the original settlement, new French and British colonists contributed unequally and were so located as to result in the simplified picture of Quebec as French-speaking and the rest of Canada as English-speaking. This was never exactly the case, since major English settlements existed in Quebec, mainly in Montreal, the Eastern Townships and the Ottawa Valley, while French-speaking communities grew up in neighbouring parts of Ontario and on the frontier of settlement of the rest of the country. The need to communicate for various purposes, particularly economic, initially within the American continent, but increasingly with the rest of the world, has resulted in increasing numbers of French speakers having to use English. The result is that there has long had to be a distinction between mother tongue, and language of communication, which may be home language or working language, depending on the circumstances. But this distinction includes various types of bilingualism, which have become even more numerous as the origin of immigrants becomes more diversified and these immigrants learn one or both of the country's two official languages. The result is a long list of terms for classifying individuals. The statistics used come exclusively from censuses, which did not all ask the same questions or always require the same level of precision in answers, and thus the numbers retained include multiple reponses after distribution.[7]

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[7] Francophones and Anglophones are those whose mother tongue is French and English respectively.

Table 23. Population of Quebec and Ontario by Mother Tongue, 1951-1991

Year	Total	English		French		Other	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
	Quebec						
1951	4,055,681	558,256	13.8	3,347,030	82.5	150,395	3.7
1961	5,259,211	697,402	13.3	4,269,689	81.2	292,120	5.6
1971	6,027,765	789,185	13.1	4,867,250	80.7	371,330	6.2
1981	6,369,055	693,600	10.9	5,254,195	82.5	421,265	6.6
1991	6,810,305	626,200	9.2	5,585,650	82.0	598,455	8.8
Increase 1951-1991	2,754,624	67,944	12.2	2,238,620	66.9	448,060	297.9
	Ontario						
1951	4,597,542	3,755,442	81.7	341,502	7.4	500,598	10.9
1961	6,236,092	4,834,623	77.5	425,302	6.8	976,167	15.7
1971	7,703,105	5,971,570	77.5	482,045	6.3	1,249,490	16.2
1981	8,534,260	6,611,990	77.5	465,335	5.5	1,456,940	17.1
1991	9,977,055	7,443,540	74.6	503,345	5.0	2,030,170	20.3
Increase 1951-1991	5,379,513	3,688,098	98.2	161,843	47.4	1,529,572	305.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, ***Languages in Canada***, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

Before describing the various situations and how they have developed in the two provinces under study, it is necessary to call to mind the main demographic phenomena that are responsible for the strengthening or weakening of language groups. These are mainly migration, differential fertility (and eventually mortality), language transfers and language transmission.

It should also be noted that collecting and processing the information is not an easy task, given that anything related to the language or culture of an individual gives rise to a certain amount of emotion and may lead the person, perhaps unwittingly, to give inaccurate answers, influenced by the current economic, social or political situation. There may also be a memory bias, particularly in the case of mother tongue. The opinion individuals may have of their knowledge of a language is extremely variable; moreover, the answers often differ depending on how the question is phrased.

Changes in Mother Tongue[8]

As a result of the various processes mentioned above, but particularly because of migratory phenomena, the population by mother tongue of the two provinces has changed over time, particularly in recent years, due to large changes in the volume and country of origin of flows of immigrants.

[8] In census terms, mother tongue is the first language the individual learned as an infant and still understands.

Table 24. Migration Exchange Between Quebec and Ontario, by Five-Year Period and Mother Tongue, 1976-1991

	From Ontario to Quebec	From Quebec to Ontario	Quebec Net
	English		
1971-1976	25,655	55,825	-30,170
1976-1981	15,675	83,380	-67,705
1981-1986	14,975	49,850	-34,875
1986-1991	20,050	35,475	-15,425
1971-1991	76,355	224,530	-148,175
	French		
1971-1976	24,940	24,380	-560
1976-1981	20,735	26,245	5,510
1981-1986	17,385	27,150	9,765
1986-1991	26,115	23,135	-2,980
1971-1991	89,175	100,910	11,735

Source: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

In Quebec between 1951 and 1991, the number of persons whose mother tongue was French increased by 67%, those whose mother tongue was English by 12% and those with another mother tongue by 300%. Since the Anglophone group grew more slowly than the Francophone or allophone groups, their share of the population decreased. It was 13.8% in 1951 and only 9.2% in 1991 (Table 23). By increasing their numbers by 67%, Francophones maintained their relative weight at 82%. Those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English increased fourfold, and their share of the population rose from 3.7% to 8.8%.

It would have taken 940,000 people of English mother tongue to maintain their proportion at 13.8%. The difference between this and the actual number of Anglophones is 314,000. This variance cannot be explained either by differential natural increase between the groups or by language transfers. The cause must lie in differences in international and internal migratory balances. It seems clear that internal migration plays the leading role. It would have taken only 232,000 people of other mother tongue to maintain their share of the population; however, they number almost 350,000 more and this time the responsibility lies in international migration. Although complete figures are lacking, the balances of intercensal migratory exchanges of Anglophones between Ontario and Quebec between 1971 and 1991 support the hypothesis that internal migration has worked to the detriment of English Quebeckers (Table 24). The total of the balances for the last four 5-year periods of 148,175 includes only those people who were more than 5 years old in each period.

Table 25. Evolution of the Population by Mother Tongue and Home Language, Quebec, 1971 and 1991

	1971	1991	Difference	Difference (in percent)
	French			
Mother Tongue	4,867,250	5,585,650	718,400	14.8
Home Language	4,870,100	5,651,795	781,695	16.1
	English			
Mother Tongue	789,185	626,200	-162,985	-20.7
Home Language	887,875	761,815	-126,060	-14.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, ***Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer***, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, ***Languages in Canada***, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

The Quebec balances of Francophones are quite different. They were sufficiently positive in two five-year periods out of four that the total for the last two decades is also positive. It stands at 11,735 (Table 24).

During the same 1951-1991 period in Ontario, although Anglophones increased their numbers more than Quebec Francophones, ***their share decreased***. Their numbers doubled, but ***they represented only 75% of the population instead of 82%***. Francophones increased more in Ontario than Anglophones in Quebec (47% compared to 12%); however, their share of the population dropped from 7.4% to 5%. ***People of other mother tongue, as in Quebec, increased by a factor of four; they numbered a million more than the total required to maintain their 11% proportion of the Ontario population, and represented 20% in 1991***.

Home Language

In 1971, there were 4,867,250 Francophones in Quebec, and 4,870,100 persons who spoke French at home (Table 25). It is not legitimate to conclude that the same individuals are involved, since people with one mother tongue may speak another language at home. In 1991, the number of Francophones stood at 5,585,650, which constitutes an increase between the two dates of 14.8%. The group of persons speaking French at home numbered 5,651,795, an increase for the same period of 16.1%. It is thus necessary to conclude that ***French as the language of home communication made more progress in Quebec than the Francophone population***. While the Anglophone population in Quebec decreased by 20.6% between 1971 and 1991, the population speaking English at home declined by 126,060, or 14.2%.

In Ontario, the number of Anglophones increased by 24.6%, or 1,471,970 individuals, during the same period (Table 26). But the group with English as home language grew by 1,941,455, for an increase of 29.5%. The changes for those speaking French at home and those of French mother tongue are

Table 26. Evolution of the Population by Mother Tongue and Home Language, Ontario, 1971 and 1991

	1971	1991	Difference	Difference (in percent)
	English			
Mother Tongue	5,971,570	7,443,540	1,471,970	24.6
Home Language	6,558,060	8,499,515	1,941,455	29.6
	French			
Mother Tongue	482,045	503,345	21,300	4.4
Home Language	352,465	318,705	-33,760	-9.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, ***Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer***, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, ***Languages in Canada***, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

not as great, and are mainly in the other direction. While ***the Francophone group increased by 21,300, or 4.4%, the group with French as home language lost 33,760 people (9.6%)***.

In both provinces, the majority language is gaining users. Between 1971 and 1991, the percentage of the Ontario population using English at home increased only slightly (from 85.1% to 85.2%) while the proportion using French at home declined, from 4.6% to 3.2%. Over the same period, the percentage of people speaking French at home rose from 80.8% to 83.0% in Quebec, while that of people speaking English fell from 14.7% to 11.2%.

Analyzing the changes that have taken place in home language in the various language groups and, for a first approximation, ignoring the question of data comparability, it may be observed that:

1) ***In Quebec, more Anglophones speak French and fewer Francophones speak English as their home language***. In 1971, Anglophones speaking French at home represented 6.2% of their group, while in 1991 they represented 9.1% (Table 27). The change for those of French mother tongue is smaller, and even barely perceptible, since the proportion of them speaking English at home fell from 1.5% to 1.0%;

2) ***In Ontario, it is people of French mother tongue who speak more English, while Anglophones speak less French***. The proportion of Francophones speaking English at home stood at 29.9% in 1971 and rose to 36.9% in 1991. Conversely, but dealing with very small figures, the percentage of Anglophones speaking French fell by half (from 0.2% to 0.1%).

The third group is made up of persons whose mother tongue is neither French nor English. In Quebec, where these people numbered 371,330 in

Table 27. Evolution of Home Language and Mother Tongue in Quebec and Ontario, 1971 and 1991

	French		English	
	1971	1991	1971	1991
	Quebec			
Speaking English at Home	73,515	58,040	...	...
Speaking French at Home	...	...	49,060	54,305
Total	4,866,410	5,556,105	788,830	599,145
Percentage	1.5	1.0	6.2	9.1
	Ontario			
Speaking English at Home	144,235	178,985	...	...
Speaking French at Home	...	...	12,165	6,860
Total	482,350	485,395	5,967,725	7,380,370
Percentage	29.9	36.9	0.2	0.1

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, ***Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer***, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, ***Languages in Canada***, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

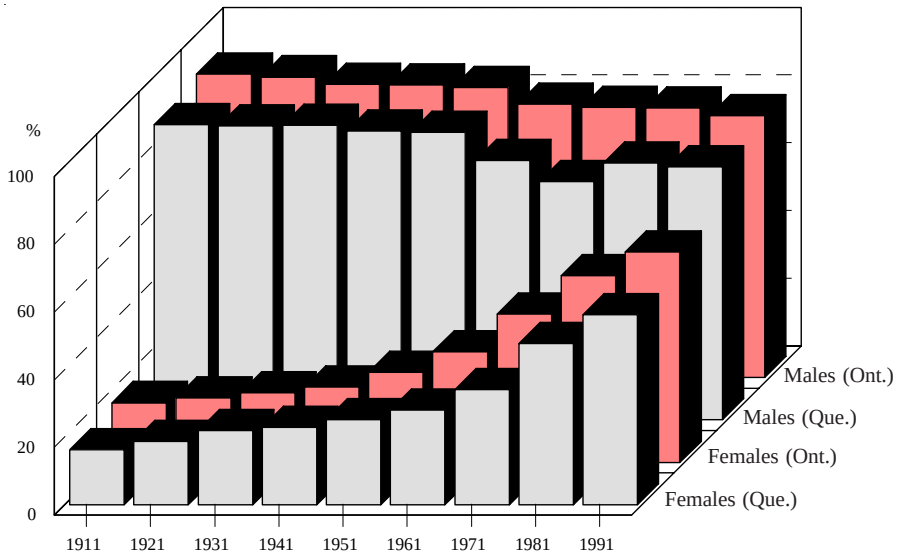
1971, 22.7% spoke English at home and only 9.3% French (Table 28), while in 1991, of 598,455, 19.9% used English, 2.7 percentage points less, while 11.5% spoke French at home. The difference between these two dates is 2.6 percentage points. In 1971 in Ontario, of the 1,249,490 allophones, 40.4% had chosen English and 0.3% French. In 1991, this group stood at close to 2 million (2,030,170), and 40.2% spoke English at home while 0.2% spoke French.

Table 28. Evolution of the Population with a Non-Official Language as Mother Tongue Who Speak One of the Two Official Languages, Quebec and Ontario, 1971 and 1991

	1971		1991	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
	Quebec			
Total of Allophones	371,330	...	598,455	...
Who Speak English	84,440	22.7	119,110	19.9
Who Speak French	34,580	9.3	69,090	11.5
	Ontario			
Total of Allophones	1,249,490	...	2,030,170	...
Who Speak English	504,880	40.4	816,620	40.2
Who Speak French	3,870	0.3	3,195	0.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, ***Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer***, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, ***Languages in Canada***, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

Figure 9. The Labour Force as a Percent of the Population Aged 15 and Over by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1911-1991



Source: Table A2.1.

The overall impression left by this analysis of language change in each province is the same: each of the two provinces is becoming more homogeneous in terms of language spoken, and this at the cost of accentuating the dissimilarity between their populations.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOUR FORCE[9]

When people are about to form families and have children, employment is an important factor in their decision. Migration is often related to job change or job search. In the long run, health and longevity are affected by material well-being, hence by people's success in the work world. It is therefore appropriate to include information about the labour force in an account of the demographic characteristics of a population viewed over a long time-horizon.

In Canada, women's participation in the paid workforce has been rising steadily since World War II, continuing a trend going back at least to the

[9] Includes the population aged 15 and over who are employed (employed persons) or who are seeking employment (unemployed persons).

second decade of the century, while men's has been declining slightly. What is true of Canada is also true of its two largest provinces: generally, women's participation has increased and men's has fallen (Figure 9). The measure used, the labour-force participation rate, is employment plus unemployment expressed as a percentage of the population of labour-force age (15 and over). These data come from decennial censuses, the only source which can give this long a time-frame.

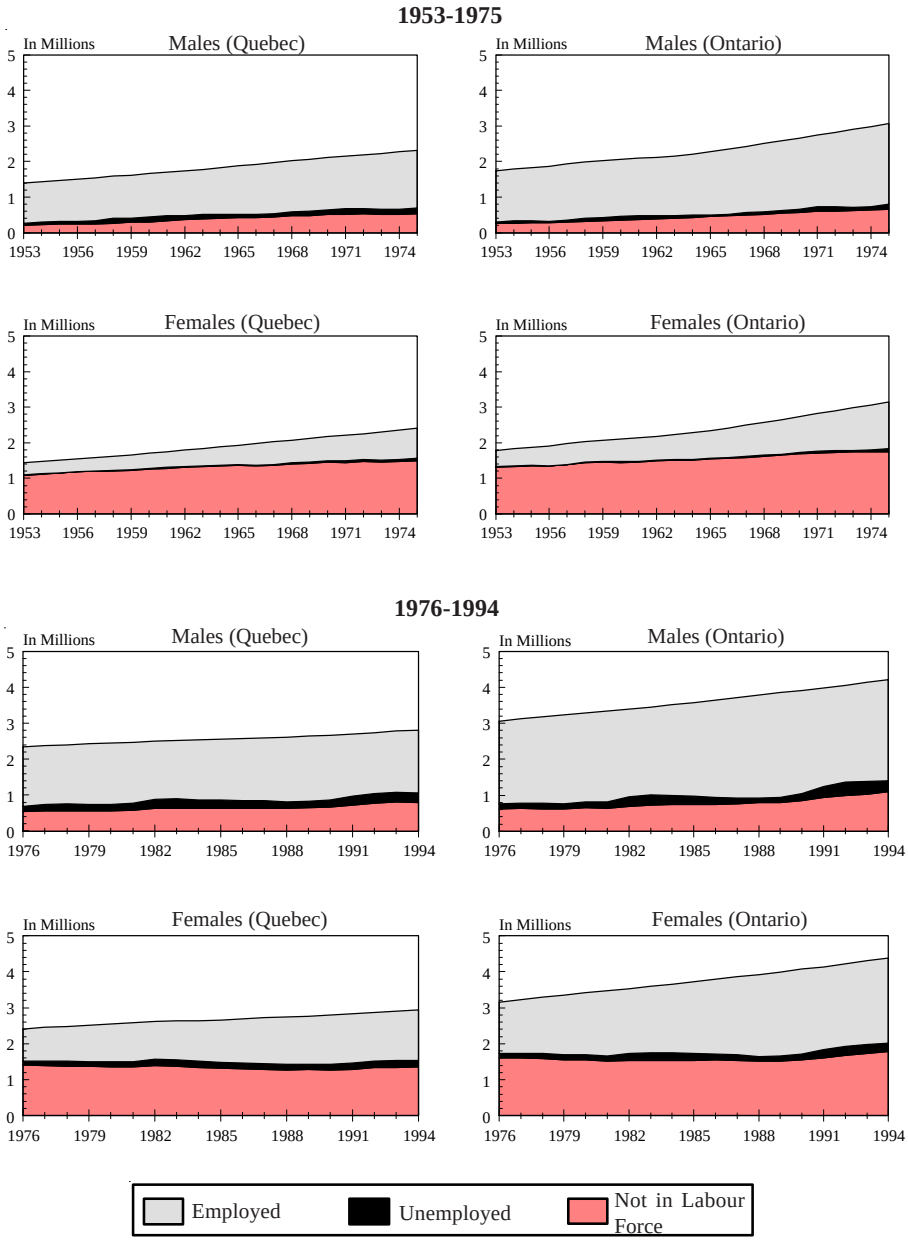
Since Quebec and Ontario have similar economies, it is not surprising that the labour-force participation of their populations is alike. There is, however, a difference, visible in Figure 9. Although the labour-force participation of women and men in Quebec in the first half of the century is very like that in Ontario (the maximum difference for men is 2.3 percentage points, in 1911, and for women, 1.4 percentage points, in 1921), the two provinces diverge markedly in the second half: the participation of Quebec men and women in the paid workforce is lower than that of their fellows in Ontario (after 1951, at least 2.7 percentage points lower for men and 4.7 percentage points lower for women). It can be seen that the strong increase in women's participation gets off to a distinctly slower start in Quebec than Ontario. In the latter, it began in 1971, but it is not evident in Quebec until 1981.

Data from Statistics Canada's monthly Labour Force Survey[10] permit a more detailed look at the changes taking place over the period. Census labour-force concepts do not correspond exactly to Labour Force Survey concepts, so observations are not identical. The census measures labour-force participation for a week just before the census, while the Labour Force Survey data used here are annual averages. It should also be noted that the Labour Force Survey underwent a revision in 1976, so that data before 1976 are not directly comparable to subsequent data. In the following discussion, Labour Force Survey data for 1953 to 1975, when used, will always be presented separately from later ones.

The employment/population ratio is the ratio of the number of people of labour-force age who are employed to the total population of labour-force age. In the case of sub-populations, for example, women aged 25 to 44, both the employed and the population by which they are divided are restricted to members of the sub-population. The unemployment rate is the ratio of the unemployed to the labour force (the total number employed and unemployed) expressed as a percentage. The unemployed are those of labour-force age who, during the reference week, were without work, had actively looked for work in the past four weeks and were available for work, or who had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had either been on layoff or had a new job starting in four weeks or less, and were available for work.

[10] A sample survey of households, designed to represent all persons in the population 15 years of age or over, with the exception of persons living in the Territories, on Indian reserves, full-time members of the armed forces, and people living in institutions.

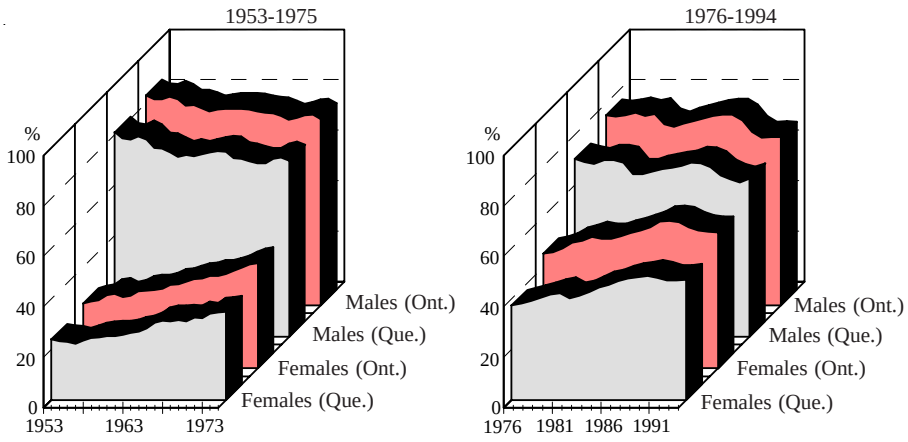
Figure 10. The Labour-Force Status of Men and Women Aged 15 and Over, Quebec and Ontario, 1953-1975 and 1976-1994



Note: Because of methodological changes, Labour Force Survey data for 1976 and after are not directly comparable to earlier data. Aged 14 and Over for the 1953-1975 period.

Sources: Tables A2.2 and A2.3.

Figure 11. The Employment / Population Ratio by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1953-1975 and 1976-1994



Note: 1976-1994 Labour Force Survey data are not directly comparable to 1953-1975 data.
Sources: Tables A2.2 and A2.3.

The Ontario labour force, like the Ontario population, has grown more rapidly than Quebec's since the 1950s. Figure 10, which shows the composition of the labour force, indicates that the Quebec labour force is more affected by unemployment than the Ontario labour force. Between 1953 and 1975, the difference between the male unemployment rates for Quebec and Ontario ranges from a low of 1.9 percentage points in 1953 to highs of 4.5 percentage points in 1963 and 1969. In this period, the difference for women is less, ranging between a low of 0.7 percentage points in 1962 and 1966 and a high of 2.5 percentage points in 1972. In the 1976-1994 period, the experience of men and women has converged: the low for men is a difference of 1.6 percentage points, in 1992, and for women it is a difference of 2 percentage points, in 1976. The highs are 4.7 percentage points for men, in 1987, and 4.5 percentage points for women, in 1988.

The employment/population ratios of Quebec and Ontario are affected in the same way by economic cycles (Figure 11), although the Quebec ratio remains uniformly lower than Ontario's.[11] At the same time, this uniformity masks important differences between age groups on the one hand and between full-time and part-time (fewer than 30 hours a week) workers on the other.

Between 1976 and 1994, the employment/population ratios for young men in Quebec and Ontario converged. Table 29 shows that, in the age group

[11]Although the most recent recession (1991-1992) affected Ontario much more than Quebec.

Table 29. The Employment / Population Ratio, by Age Group and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1994

Year and Province	Age Group			
	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
	Males			
1976				
Quebec	53.5	89.2	79.7	13.5
Ontario	60.6	93.1	86.1	17.4
1994				
Quebec	50.0	79.2	67.2	6.8
Ontario	52.7	84.4	72.9	11.6
	Females			
1976				
Quebec	46.7	44.8	30.8	4.0
Ontario	54.1	54.7	43.9	4.7
1994				
Quebec	46.9	66.5	45.7	2.0
Ontario	53.1	71.8	56.1	4.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

15-24, the difference fell from 7.1 percentage points to 2.7 percentage points. For older men, the ratio fell in all age groups in both provinces without converging. Among women under 25 in Quebec and Ontario the gap hardly narrowed, although it did for women aged 25 to 64. In the age group 25-44, the gap decreased from 9.9 percentage points to 5.3 percentage points.

Between 1976 and 1994, the proportion of the employed working full time fell in all age groups and in both sexes in Quebec and Ontario (Table 30). The drop was substantial for those aged 15 to 24, e.g., from 85% to 52% for women in Quebec, and slight in other cases, e.g., from 98% to 95% for Quebec men aged 45 and over. The sharp drop among young people can be attributed to increasing school attendance. There is also the frequently observed pattern that men more often work full time than women. However, there are marked differences between Ontario and Quebec, differences which underwent change between 1976 and 1994. ***In 1976, among young adults, employed Quebec men, and even more women, were more likely to work full time than their fellows in Ontario (85% versus 72% in the case of women). The difference was still evident in 1994, although it was smaller***. At ages of 45 or over, in 1976, employed Ontario women worked full time less often than Quebec women (78% versus 85%), while there was little difference for men. By 1994, the differences had become small. Thus, some at least of the greater employment of Ontario women in all age groups was due to part-time employment.

Table 30. Percent of the Employed Who Work Full Time, by Age Group and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1994

Year	Sex and Province			
	Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	15-24			
1976	88.1	79.1	85.1	72.3
1994	63.0	56.7	52.1	48.4
	25-44			
1976	99.3	99.2	86.7	81.6
1994	96.1	96.2	83.2	80.4
	45 +			
1976	97.9	97.2	84.5	77.7
1994	95.1	94.1	78.7	75.9

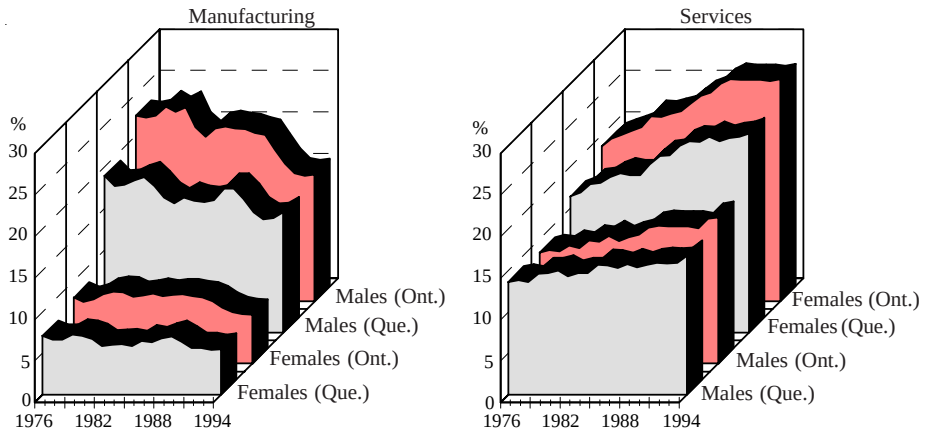
Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

The industries in which people worked in Quebec and Ontario were about the same in 1976 to 1994. In both provinces there was considerable change over the period, basically toward more employment in the service sector, but the differences between them are minimal (see Figure 12).

A measure may be calculated which illustrates the relative importance of employment in selected industries: the percent of the population of labour-force age employed in the industry. This is shown for men and women in Quebec and Ontario in Figure 12 for the two industries where there is some difference between the provinces over the 1976-1994 period. In both Quebec and Ontario, the proportion in manufacturing employment fell, particularly for men, and the proportion in service industries rose, particularly for women. But, among men, this relative decline in manufacturing employment was more rapid in Ontario, so that the proportion employed in manufacturing converged on the Quebec proportion (the difference between them fell from 3.4 percentage points in 1976 to 0.8 percentage points in 1994). In service industries, on the other hand, there was a slight tendency for the proportion of Ontario men to increase faster than that of Quebec men (the former rose from 13.4% to 17.6%, the latter from 13.6% to 16.7%). Ontario women maintained their lead over Quebec women in the proportion employed in this industry throughout the period.

The employment status of people according to marital and family status has demographic consequences. The Labour Force Survey distinguishes three marital statuses: married, including people in consensual unions, single, and other. It distinguishes five family statuses: heads of family, spouses, single children, other relatives, and unattached individuals. The most significant

Figure 12. Percent of the Population in Labour-Force Ages in Selected Industries by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994



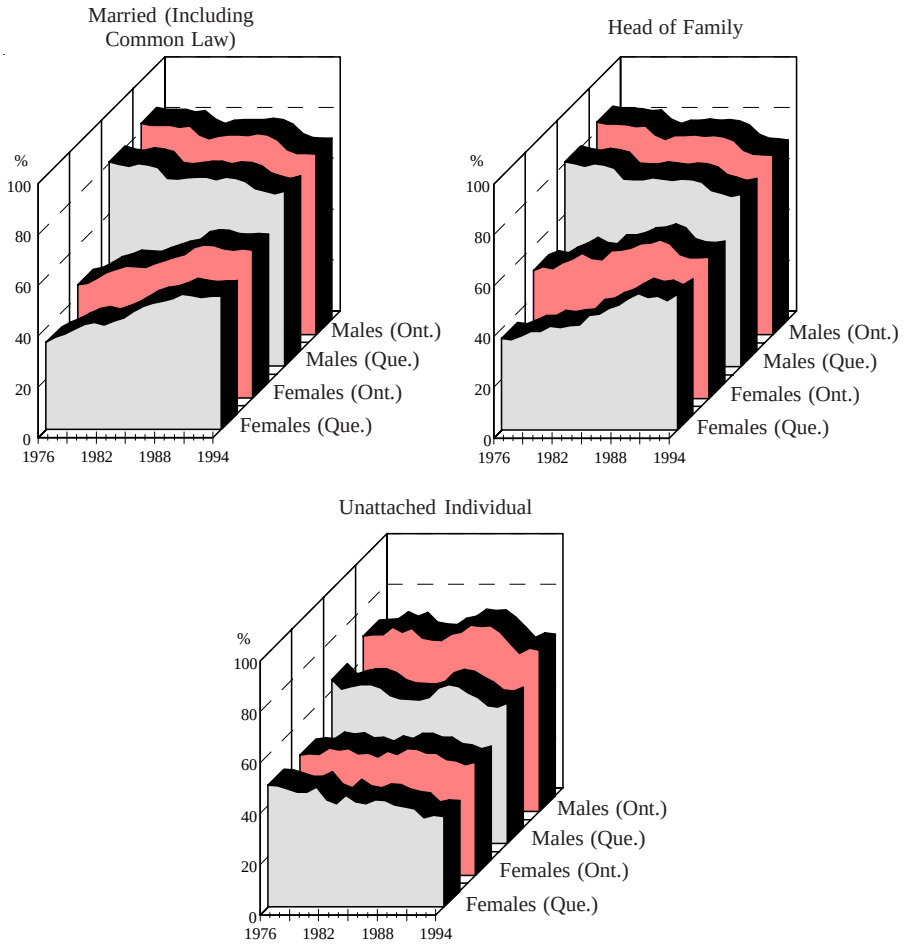
Source: Table A2.4.

data are shown in Figure 13 for the period 1976 to 1994. In each case, the employment/population ratio for Quebec is below that for Ontario. The difference is greater for women than for men among the married and, at least before 1990, heads of families. The discrepancy for men of either status is never as much as 5 percentage points while, with the exception noted, it is never less than 5 percentage points for women. The opposite is true of unattached individuals: with a few exceptions, the difference is greater for men.

The data for unattached women show an anomaly: the employment/population ratio for Quebec women, which was almost equal to that of Ontario women in 1976, 48% compared to 47% for the latter, actually fell subsequently, to 36% by 1994, while that of Ontario women remained almost constant. The opposite tendency was evident for female heads of families: the employment of Quebec women, 14 percentage points below that of Ontario women in 1976, had almost closed the gap by 1994 (53% for Quebec women, 56% for Ontario women).

Employment in Ontario and Quebec shows the marked similarities one would expect in two provinces whose economies are closely related and marked by a high level of industrialization. At the same time, there are distinct differences, of which the most notable are the lower participation in employment of Quebec men and even more of Quebec women, counterbalanced in some degree by more full-time work among those women in Quebec who are employed.

Figure 13. The Employment / Population Ratio of Men and Women for Selected Marital Statuses, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994



Source: Table A2.5.

Detailed studies would be required to explain these differences, but it is possible to put forward two hypotheses, based on data in Table 31. First, because employment is created by investment, lower employment in Quebec may reflect less investment. In fact, in the period from 1976 to 1994, business and government annual fixed-capital investment in Quebec per person of labour-force age was never more than 96% of that in Ontario, and was sometimes as low as 76%. Second, if employment income in Quebec is lower

Table 31. Investment in Fixed Capital per Person Aged 15 or Over, and Employment Income per Employed Person, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Annual Investment per Person of Labour-Force Age		Annual Employment Income per Employed Person	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	Current Dollars			
1976	2,236	2,426	12,114	13,423
1977	2,394	2,543	13,252	14,423
1978	2,423	2,643	14,259	15,010
1979	2,645	2,872	15,419	15,959
1980	2,871	3,148	16,961	17,265
1981	3,048	3,738	18,581	18,602
1982	2,849	3,496	20,564	20,701
1983	3,072	3,674	21,223	22,424
1984	3,494	3,985	22,672	23,868
1985	3,868	4,553	23,457	25,100
1986	4,249	5,418	24,555	26,422
1987	5,046	6,368	26,070	28,112
1988	5,478	7,196	27,390	30,060
1989	5,905	7,785	28,758	31,891
1990	5,827	6,856	30,198	32,771
1991	5,272	6,243	31,443	34,591
1992	5,032	5,664	32,686	35,385
1993	4,891	5,210	33,353	35,451
1994	5,110	5,542	33,278	35,921

Note: Fixed-capital investment is government plus business. Employment income is salary plus farm plus unincorporated-business income.

Sources: Statistics Canada, National Accounts and Environment Division, ***Provincial Economic Accounts***, Catalogue No. 13-213, 1976-87 for 1976-80, Tables 2 and 16, 1981-94, Tables 2 and 18, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

than in Ontario, one would expect fewer people to be drawn into the workforce. In fact, annual employment income in Quebec per employed person was consistently below that in Ontario, usually by more than $1,000.

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Examination of the Ontario and Quebec populations shows that behaviour persists in the main demographic areas, although the trend is to converge. What is most interesting, then, is to trace the development of each of the populations, since they form the cultural foundations of these two societies, which, although they display similarities, are still quite different.

Looking at mortality, it seems clear that, at the turn of the century, Ontario had a head start on Quebec. Male and female life expectancies in Ontario were higher and, more important, infant mortality was lower. In the space of three-quarters of a century, Quebec has made impressive progress, to the point where the differences as the end of the 20th century approaches are minimal and, in some years, Quebec has the better indices of the two.

In the area of fertility, the decline in Quebec, which started from a higher level, was much greater but also more regular from one cohort to another. In Ontario, the post-War baby boom was certainly due to an increase in fertility, at least in part, but this was not the case in Quebec, where the great increase in births was practically all due to the major change in the timing of fertility in cohorts which, one after another, had nevertheless fewer and fewer children.

Quebec women have always included more childless women than in Ontario; however, in the past those women who were fertile had much larger families than their Ontario counterparts. The intensity of fertile behaviour is now in fact reversed. To a greater extent in Quebec than in Ontario, cohorts are not sure of replacing themselves. One perennial factor should be mentioned as a distinctive trait, and this is the fact that both marriage and first child come later in Quebec than in Ontario. This remains true even with the new forms of conjugal and family life: common-law unions and births outside marriage.

For various reasons, most of them economic, Ontario has always attracted many more international immigrants and internal migrants than Quebec, which has traditionally served more or less as a population reservoir from which Ontario drew, and still draws, workers. For immigrants from Europe, Montreal acted as an entry port for industrial Ontario, even before the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Chronic negative migratory balances, a weak power of attraction and a low capacity of retention give Quebec an image that is almost the negative of that of Ontario. But this situation has had two consequences: the greater uniformity of the Quebec population from the point of view of origins, while Ontario has become more cosmopolitan, and the decrease in Quebec's share of the Canadian population compared to Ontario, since the number of births, which had to some extent offset the important flow of immigrants into Ontario, decreased with the decline in fertility. ***Population projections around 1940, which predicted Quebec would be the most populous province by the 1970s, have been replaced in 1995 by new projections suggesting that in 2016 the population of Quebec will represent less than 60% of that of Ontario***.

Population movements in the recent past have been selective in terms of language. In the last few years, many Ontario Francophones have adopted English as their language of communication in the home. French has made

advances in Quebec as the language spoken at home, while English and the number of Anglophones have regressed. These demographic and demolinguistic changes have meant that both provinces are becoming increasingly uniform in terms of spoken language. This in no way contradicts the fact that today each language group is more familiar with the language of the other.

The domestic life of the residents of each province often differ significantly. In their reluctance to adopt less conventional forms of conjugal life and their tendency to follow the classical patterns of family life, people in Ontario appear much more traditional than people in Quebec and more respectful of their formal cultural heritage.

Comparisons between the two populations and their development thus show how they are converging toward similarity in basic demographic behaviour (fertility, mortality, and even nuptiality), a trend which seems destined to continue, along with a more socio-demographic differentiation (ethnic composition, migration flows and perhaps domestic life). It seems quite likely that the demographic differences between the two populations will persist in these areas in the years to come.

Appendices

Table A2.1. The Labour-Force Participation Rate for the Population Aged 15 and Over by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1911-1991

Year	Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1911	87.3	89.6	16.2	17.6
1921	86.9	88.8	18.7	19.1
1931	87.1	86.7	21.9	20.6
1941	85.4	86.4	22.9	22.3
1951	85.0	85.6	25.0	26.5
1961	76.7	80.7	27.9	32.6
1971	70.4	79.8	33.9	43.7
1981	75.8	79.7	47.5	55.2
1991	74.7	77.4	56.0	62.1

Note: Gainfully occupied, 1911-1941, labour force, 1951-1991. 1941 includes persons on active service.

Sources: Statistics Canada, ***1971 Census of Canada***, III, Part 1, Table 1; ***1981 Census of Canada***, Catalogue No. 92-915, Table 1; ***1991 Census of Canada***, Catalogue No. 93-324, Table 1.

Table A2.2. The Labour-Force Status of the Population Aged 14 and Over, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1953-1975

Year	Labour-Force Status, Sex and Province											
	Employed				Unemployed				Not in the Labour Force			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	(in thousands)											
1953	1,134	1,452	346	456	50	35	9	5	216	258	1,088	1,320
1954	1,126	1,459	344	485	79	67	12	11	227	265	1,120	1,330
1955	1,146	1,490	347	503	85	55	13	11	236	283	1,148	1,353
1956	1,192	1,543	343	553	70	44	10	7	239	280	1,186	1,346
1957	1,207	1,580	370	582	90	64	11	12	249	294	1,202	1,379
1958	1,184	1,571	397	570	134	103	20	19	269	312	1,209	1,437
1959	1,207	1,603	414	596	121	87	17	16	293	333	1,233	1,457
1960	1,209	1,607	430	642	143	107	22	21	306	345	1,253	1,448
1961	1,210	1,608	442	662	146	109	22	22	341	374	1,284	1,463
1962	1,252	1,641	461	676	121	84	18	21	364	396	1,313	1,486
1963	1,273	1,678	489	704	121	73	21	20	387	406	1,327	1,500
1964	1,318	1,718	510	756	105	62	18	20	402	428	1,354	1,503
1965	1,366	1,768	546	780	90	49	20	18	416	453	1,362	1,543
1966	1,412	1,820	604	830	81	49	19	20	428	474	1,354	1,563
1967	1,444	1,864	636	881	92	65	24	25	438	500	1,370	1,589
1968	1,436	1,910	646	920	118	74	27	31	473	520	1,405	1,626
1969	1,460	1,965	672	972	123	67	35	28	488	550	1,421	1,648
1970	1,467	1,994	678	1,002	140	95	42	39	507	572	1,454	1,692
1971	1,474	2,021	722	1,058	153	117	45	52	520	609	1,447	1,713
1972	1,497	2,100	728	1,119	148	111	53	50	536	613	1,476	1,733
1973	1,566	2,179	787	1,188	135	91	54	50	523	627	1,458	1,740
1974	1,613	2,257	814	1,262	137	95	54	56	519	633	1,484	1,747
1975	1,621	2,268	840	1,313	166	145	74	84	534	659	1,491	1,751

Sources: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division, ***The Labour Force***, Catalogue No. 71-001, December 1975, Tables 38 and 39, and calculations by the author.

Table A2.3. The Labour-Force Status of the Population Aged 15 and Over, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Labour-Force Status, Sex and Province											
	Employed				Unemployed				Not in the Labour Force			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	(in thousands)											
1976	1,650	2,307	903	1,438	146	126	98	122	548	628	1,412	1,600
1977	1,645	2,336	937	1,487	176	148	121	140	556	638	1,393	1,603
1978	1,647	2,396	976	1,567	189	158	134	151	564	629	1,372	1,580
1979	1,697	2,466	1,016	1,670	164	148	126	141	565	625	1,374	1,550
1980	1,715	2,472	1,066	1,732	178	165	128	144	561	655	1,358	1,546
1981	1,708	2,529	1,095	1,809	187	162	140	143	582	644	1,348	1,523
1982	1,605	2,436	1,052	1,807	257	264	170	195	635	692	1,385	1,530
1983	1,617	2,437	1,083	1,841	264	287	177	211	633	728	1,365	1,541
1984	1,659	2,531	1,130	1,912	238	242	173	201	635	743	1,341	1,543
1985	1,692	2,613	1,187	1,995	228	218	162	186	633	749	1,317	1,539
1986	1,724	2,702	1,224	2,069	207	194	159	168	643	751	1,307	1,549
1987	1,755	2,789	1,279	2,162	199	161	151	160	641	767	1,286	1,538
1988	1,805	2,857	1,315	2,279	177	137	148	135	633	790	1,277	1,520
1989	1,814	2,905	1,343	2,336	181	145	143	135	644	796	1,283	1,534
1990	1,796	2,866	1,376	2,360	204	193	155	158	669	852	1,268	1,556
1991	1,730	2,736	1,369	2,307	248	310	174	228	726	934	1,289	1,610
1992	1,709	2,700	1,358	2,300	267	366	184	244	769	994	1,328	1,680
1993	1,704	2,759	1,376	2,330	276	347	190	256	803	1,033	1,343	1,722
1994	1,757	2,800	1,399	2,360	260	309	179	238	796	1,096	1,362	1,785

Note: Because of methodological changes, Labour Force Survey data for 1976 and after are not directly comparable to earlier data.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

Table A2.4. Percent of the Population Aged 15 and Over in Selected Industries by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Industry, Sex and Province															
	Manufacturing				Utilities[1]				Trade				Service			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1976	18.9	22.3	7.1	7.9	7.7	7.3	1.7	1.8	12.1	11.8	6.0	8.4	13.6	13.4	16.4	18.7
1977	17.7	22.2	6.6	7.4	7.2	7.2	1.6	1.8	12.2	11.7	6.3	8.4	13.8	13.7	16.8	19.6
1978	17.8	22.4	6.6	7.8	7.9	7.3	1.7	1.9	11.6	12.1	6.3	8.7	13.6	13.5	17.9	20.1
1979	18.3	23.5	7.2	8.4	8.4	7.2	1.8	2.1	11.8	11.9	6.7	9.5	14.6	14.2	18.0	20.5
1980	18.7	22.8	7.1	8.6	7.9	7.4	1.7	2.1	11.7	11.2	7.1	9.3	14.6	13.9	18.7	21.0
1981	17.7	23.4	6.7	8.6	7.6	7.1	1.8	2.2	12.0	11.3	7.1	9.3	14.9	14.8	19.2	22.3
1982	16.2	21.0	5.9	8.0	7.2	6.7	1.8	2.2	11.2	11.8	6.7	9.0	14.3	14.6	19.0	22.2
1983	15.6	19.8	6.0	8.2	6.8	6.5	1.8	2.2	11.4	11.3	7.0	8.9	14.6	15.4	19.0	22.6
1984	16.3	20.9	6.0	8.4	6.6	6.5	1.5	2.2	11.7	11.9	7.4	9.2	14.7	14.7	20.2	22.9
1985	15.8	21.1	5.9	8.2	7.0	6.8	1.8	2.1	11.9	12.1	7.6	9.9	15.6	15.2	21.2	23.8
1986	15.7	20.8	6.5	8.3	6.6	6.9	2.1	2.3	12.8	12.6	7.5	9.6	15.6	15.5	21.4	24.8
1987	16.0	20.8	6.3	8.3	6.9	6.6	2.1	2.3	12.3	12.3	8.0	10.2	15.3	16.4	22.5	25.2
1988	17.3	20.3	6.8	8.1	7.1	6.4	1.9	2.6	12.1	12.8	8.0	10.6	15.7	16.6	23.0	26.1
1989	17.3	20.0	7.1	8.0	6.7	7.2	2.0	2.8	12.7	12.2	8.2	10.0	15.4	16.5	22.9	26.7
1990	16.1	18.3	6.4	7.5	6.5	6.9	2.2	2.4	12.7	12.2	8.2	10.4	15.7	16.5	23.6	26.7
1991	14.5	16.6	5.6	6.7	6.1	6.3	2.0	2.4	11.8	11.5	8.5	9.8	15.9	16.6	23.1	26.6
1992	13.7	15.4	5.6	6.2	6.3	6.3	2.0	2.2	11.8	11.4	7.8	9.2	15.8	16.3	23.4	26.7
1993	13.8	15.1	5.4	6.0	6.2	5.9	2.1	2.3	10.5	11.4	7.5	9.1	15.9	17.5	23.5	26.6
1994	14.5	15.3	5.5	5.9	6.1	6.0	1.8	2.4	11.1	11.6	8.0	9.1	16.7	17.6	24.0	26.7

[1] Includes transportation and communications.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Table A2.5. The Employment / Population Ratio by Sex and Selected Marital and Family Statuses, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Marital or Family Status, Sex and Province											
	Married (Including Common Law)				Head of Family				Unattached Individual			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1976	80.5	83.2	34.3	44.5	80.7	83.6	36.2	50.4	64.6	69.1	47.9	47.3
1977	79.4	82.5	36.3	45.2	79.7	82.9	35.6	51.9	60.6	69.5	47.8	47.9
1978	78.8	82.4	37.8	47.2	78.8	82.9	37.2	51.0	61.7	69.7	46.4	47.6
1979	79.8	82.4	39.7	49.4	79.7	82.7	38.9	53.4	62.5	72.5	45.3	50.1
1980	79.3	81.5	41.5	50.6	79.2	81.9	38.9	54.9	62.5	70.6	45.2	49.3
1981	78.2	82.0	42.2	52.0	78.1	82.2	40.9	57.2	61.1	72.1	47.1	49.8
1982	73.9	78.6	41.2	51.7	73.9	78.7	40.4	55.1	58.3	68.4	42.3	47.7
1983	73.6	77.0	42.6	51.5	73.6	77.0	41.2	54.5	57.0	67.7	40.6	48.0
1984	74.1	78.2	44.0	53.0	73.6	78.3	41.5	58.1	56.7	67.3	43.9	46.6
1985	74.5	78.5	46.4	54.2	74.2	78.3	45.1	58.2	56.4	69.8	41.4	48.7
1986	74.5	78.5	48.6	55.4	73.8	78.6	45.6	59.2	57.5	70.7	40.7	47.5
1987	73.5	78.4	49.8	56.4	73.3	78.1	47.9	60.8	61.1	73.3	42.2	49.7
1988	74.4	79.0	50.5	59.3	73.9	78.5	49.1	61.2	62.4	72.8	42.0	49.6
1989	73.9	78.5	51.5	60.1	73.5	77.9	51.6	62.3	61.6	73.1	40.2	48.0
1990	72.7	76.7	53.3	59.9	72.4	76.4	53.6	60.8	59.2	70.5	39.3	48.1
1991	70.0	72.9	52.7	58.6	69.3	72.7	52.2	56.6	57.3	66.3	38.7	45.6
1992	68.8	71.3	52.1	58.2	68.2	71.2	52.8	55.3	54.1	62.4	35.1	45.1
1993	67.8	71.2	52.5	58.6	67.1	70.8	50.9	55.2	53.7	64.2	36.0	43.5
1994	68.8	71.1	52.5	58.2	67.8	70.5	53.4	55.6	55.2	63.5	35.7	44.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

Table A2.6. Life Expectancy at Birth, Quebec and Ontario, by Sex, 1926-1993

Year	Quebec		Ontario	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1926	53.05	54.45	60.13	62.38
1931	56.17	57.72	61.21	63.81
1936	58.17	60.29	63.00	65.62
1941	60.36	63.17	64.56	68.40
1946	62.97	66.12	66.17	70.18
1951	64.53	68.70	66.85	71.88
1956	66.20	71.07	67.83	73.53
1961	67.36	72.88	68.33	74.45
1966	67.80	73.96	68.68	75.55
1971	68.30	75.24	69.60	76.79
1976	69.04	76.76	70.59	77.85
1981	71.03	78.76	72.25	79.07
1986	72.20	79.69	73.80	80.02
1991	73.77	80.92	75.00	80.94
1992	73.97	80.98	75.14	80.98
1993	74.19	81.12	75.32	81.15

Sources: Statistics Canada, Nagnur, Dhruva, ***Longevity and Historical Life Tables 1921-1981***, Catalogue No. 89-506 and, from 1986 to 1993, calculations by the author.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Glossary[1]

Census year: A neologism patterned after «fiscal year». In Canada, it refers to the 12-month period between June 1 of one year to May 31 of the following year. It can equally designate the year during which a census is held.

Cohort: A group of individuals or couples who experience the same event during a specified period.

Cohort, fictitious: An artificial cohort created from portions of actual cohorts present at different successive ages in the same year.

Crude rate: Relates certain events to the size of the entire population. For example, the crude birth rate for Canada is the ratio of the number of births in Canada in a year to the size of the Canadian population at mid-year. Crude death rates and crude divorce rates are calculated in the same way.

Current index: An index constructed from measurements of demographic phenomena and based on the events reflecting those phenomena during a given period, usually a year. For example, life expectancy in 1981 is a current index in the sense that it indicates the average number of years a person would live if he or she experienced 1981 conditions throughout his or her life.

Dependency ratio: A ratio that denotes the dependency on the working population of some or all of the non-working population.

Endogamy: Marriage within a specific group.

Endogenous: Influences from inside the system.

Excess mortality: In differential mortality, the excess of one group's mortality rate over another's.

Exogamy: Marriage outside of a specific group.

Fertility: Relates the number of live births to the number of women, couples or, very rarely, men.

Infant mortality: Mortality of children less than a year old.

Intensity : Frequency of occurrence of an event among members of a given cohort.

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[1] For further information consult the following: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (1980). **Multilingual Demographic Dictionary**, Ordina Editions, Liège and Van de Walle, Étienne. **The Dictionary of Demography**, ed. Christopher Wilson. Oxford, England, New York, New York, United States of America.

Intercensal: The period between two censuses.

Life expectancy: A statistical measure derived from the life table that indicates the average years of life remaining for a person at a specified age, if the current age-specific mortality rates prevail for the remainder of that person's life.

Life table: A detailed description of the mortality of a population giving the probability of dying and various other statistics at each age.

Natural increase: A change in population size over a given period as a result of the difference between the numbers of births and deaths.

Neonatal mortality: Mortality in the first month after birth (part of infant mortality).

Net migration: Difference between immigration and emigration for a given area and period of time.

Parity: A term used in reference to a woman or a marriage to denote the number of births or deliveries by the woman or in the marriage. A two-parity woman is a woman who has given birth to a second-order child.

Population growth: A change, either positive or negative, in population size over a given period.

Population movement: Gradual change in population status over a given period attributable to the demographic events that occur during the period. Movement here is not a synonym for migration.

Post-neonatal mortality: Mortality between the ages of one month and one year.

Prevalence: Number of cases existing at one point in time.

Probability of dying: Probability of a survivor of exact age x dying before age $x+n$. Its notation is ${}_nq_x$.

Probability of survival: Probability of a survivor of exact age x surviving at least to age $x+n$. Its notation is ${}_np_x$ and it is the complement of the probability of dying $(1-{}_nq_x)$.

Proportion ever married: A measure of the prevalence of marriage in a generation or a fictitious cohort. It is usually equivalent to the proportion remaining single at an age such as 50 after which first marriages are rare.

Standardized Rates: Mathematical transformations designed to make it possible to compare different populations with respect to a variable, e.g., fertility or mortality, where the influence of another variable, e.g., age, is held constant.

Structure: Arrangement of a population by different demographic characteristics such as age, sex or marital status.

Tempo: Distribution ove rtime, within the cohort, of the demographic events corresponding to the investigated phenomenon.

Total Fertility Rate, Total Divorce Rate, etc.: A period measure obtained by the summation of the series of age-specific or duration-specific rates. It represents the behaviour of the members of the fictitious cohort.