

This chapter answers the question, “How do poverty levels in different urban areas compare?” Just as provincial figures can hide rural/urban differences, the geographic level of detail at which urban poverty in Canada is examined is important in revealing differences within and between cities. For example, two metropolitan areas in the same province may have vastly different poverty rates. Similarly, rates for a single metropolitan area can mask pockets of poverty within that metropolitan area. Comparisons of urban poverty rates demonstrate that the likelihood of being in poverty has much to do with where one lives.

While poverty in urban areas can be explored in a number of different ways, several key comparisons are useful.<sup>1</sup>

→ One series of comparisons uses geographic units called *census metropolitan areas (CMAs)*.<sup>2</sup> Based on commuting patterns of the local labour force, these units are statistically defined to reflect a large urban core and the adjacent communities that are well integrated economically and socially. Poverty rates in CMAs are compared to rates in other CMAs, Canada, the provinces, and large cities within CMA boundaries.<sup>3</sup> As well, comparisons between 1990 and 1995 CMA poverty rates, and large-city poverty rates, show changes in poverty over time.

→ Another series of comparisons uses the boundaries of *municipal regions (census divisions or CDs)* as the central unit of comparison. These geographic units are administratively defined, and they represent the delivery area for a range of services, including social assistance in many localities. Poverty rates in CDs are compared to rates in other CDs, Canada, the provinces, and large cities within CD boundaries. Poverty rate differences in central and peripheral urban areas can be highlighted in both these CMA and CD sets of comparisons.

→ Finally, *neighbourhoods (census tracts or CTs)* with high poverty rates among families are identified and discussed. This section reviews whether the number of high-poverty neighbourhoods grew between 1980 and 1995, and whether more poor families lived in these neighbourhoods. It also shows the metropolitan areas that are home to these high-poverty neighbourhoods.

### Poverty in Urban Areas, 1990-1995

Through the first half of the 1990s, the number of Canadians living in poverty increased at a rapid rate. Indeed, growth in the poor population far outpaced that of the overall population. Moreover, the growth in the number of persons living in poverty was particularly evident in

CMAs, where a disproportionate number of poor persons now live.

Table 1.1 shows poverty rates for Canada, within and outside CMAs, in 1990 and 1995. As well, the table shows poverty rates within and outside large cities in CMAs. Approximately 4.3 million persons – or one in six Canadians – lived in households with incomes below the LICO in 1990. That year, two-thirds (66.6 per cent) of the poor population in Canada lived in metropolitan areas, and just over half (51.0 per cent) lived in large cities within those metropolitan areas.

Between 1990 and 1995, Canada's total population increased by 6.1 per cent, whereas its poor population increased by 28.6 per cent. In 1995, approximately 5.5 million persons – almost one in five individuals – were poor in Canada. Although the total population in CMAs increased by 6.9 per cent between 1990 and 1995, the poor population grew at an even faster rate over that five-year period, increasing by 33.8 per cent. As a result of this faster growth of the poor population in metropolitan areas, proportionally more of Canada's poor lived in these areas in 1995 than in 1990. In 1995, 63.2 per cent of the overall population of Canada lived in CMAs, whereas 69.3 per cent

TABLE 1.1  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE CMAs, 1990-1995

	1990			1995			1990 to 1995 per cent growth	
	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)	Total population	Poor population
CANADA	26,396,000	4,289,000	16.2	28,011,000	5,514,000	19.7	6.1	28.6
CMAs	16,551,000	2,855,000	17.2	17,700,000	3,819,000	21.6	6.9	33.8
Large cities	11,448,000	2,186,000	19.1	12,147,000	2,972,000	24.5	6.1	36.0
Remainder of CMA	5,103,000	670,000	13.1	5,552,000	847,000	15.3	8.8	26.5
Outside CMAs	9,845,000	1,434,000	14.6	10,312,000	1,695,000	16.4	4.7	18.2

Note: CMAs include the CA of Cape Breton. Large cities within CMAs include CSDs with populations 100,000 and historic central CSDs with populations under 100,000.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1991 and 1996 Censuses, custom tabulations and Catalogue No. 95-313.

of all poor people in the country lived in those areas.

The growth in poor populations in CMAs between 1990 and 1995 was greatest in the large cities within CMAs. In these cities, the poor population grew by 36.0 per cent. By 1995, poor residents in large cities in CMAs constituted 53.9 per cent of the poor population in Canada.

Overall, these data show that the growth in Canada's poor population significantly outstripped the growth in the overall population in a relatively short time period, particularly in large cities in CMAs. As well, poverty is primarily an urban phenomenon –

a poor person is more likely to live in a CMA than elsewhere.

### Poverty in Provinces

In most provinces, poverty rates were higher in metropolitan areas than in other urban or rural areas in 1995 (see Table 1.2). Nationally, the poverty rate was highest in CMAs (21.6 per cent), followed by the rate in urban areas outside CMAs (17.2 per cent) and in rural areas (15.7 per cent). This pattern is similar for most provinces, except in Newfoundland and Saskatchewan where rural poverty rates were higher than those in urban areas. Within CMAs in each province, the poverty

rate was highest in Québec (25.8 per cent). For urban areas outside CMAs, the poverty rate was highest in Saskatchewan (20.6 per cent), and the rural poverty rate was highest in Newfoundland (23.6 per cent).

### Poverty in Metropolitan Areas, 1990-1995

Based on the assumption that the cost of living is higher in larger cities, Statistics Canada's LICOs are adjusted for the size of a community. The CMAs in this research are examined by applying two series of LICOs: one set for metropolitan areas with populations of 500,000 and greater (large CMAs), and another set for metropolitan areas

TABLE 1.2  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES FOR CANADA AND PROVINCES, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE CMAs, 1995

	CMAs			Outside CMAs					
	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)	Total population	Urban poor population	Poverty rate (%)	Rural Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
CANADA	17,700,000	3,819,000	21.6	5,127,000	879,000	17.2	5,184,000	816,000	15.7
Newfoundland	171,000	33,000	19.5	103,000	19,000	18.7	270,000	64,000	23.6
Prince Edward Island	0	0	0	51,000	10,000	20.3	80,000	10,000	12.0
Nova Scotia	441,000	87,000	19.6	172,000	32,000	18.4	276,000	49,000	17.7
New Brunswick	124,000	25,000	20.0	229,000	43,000	18.8	368,000	69,000	18.8
Québec	4,609,000	1,189,000	25.8	925,000	189,000	20.4	1,439,000	253,000	17.6
Ontario	7,539,000	1,449,000	19.2	1,784,000	275,000	15.4	1,239,000	144,000	11.6
Manitoba	654,000	151,000	23.0	122,000	23,000	19.1	260,000	40,000	15.2
Saskatchewan	406,000	80,000	19.6	147,000	30,000	20.6	377,000	60,000	16.0
Alberta	1,659,000	341,000	20.6	472,000	71,000	15.1	482,000	69,000	14.4
British Columbia	2,097,000	464,000	22.2	1,122,000	186,000	16.6	392,000	58,000*	14.8

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

TABLE 1.3  
POOR POPULATIONS AND  
POVERTY RATES FOR CMAs,  
BY CMA SIZE, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
All CMAs, 500,000 +	13,868,400	3,149,100	22.7
Montréal	3,270,700	892,900	27.3
Vancouver	1,802,400	419,200	23.3
Winnipeg	654,200	150,600	23.0
Québec	657,700	149,800	22.8
Edmonton	847,600	180,500	21.3
Toronto	4,215,000	890,700	21.1
Calgary	811,500	160,500	19.8
Hamilton	616,000	117,100	19.0
Ottawa-Hull	993,400	187,800	18.9
All CMAs, less than 500,000	3,718,400	641,700	17.3
Cape Breton	113,000	28,200	25.0
Trois-Rivières	136,200	31,900	23.4
Sherbrooke	142,600	32,400	22.8
Saskatoon	215,400	46,100	21.4
Chicoutimi- Jonquière	157,700	32,600	20.7
Saint John	123,600	24,800	20.0
St. John's	171,300	33,400	19.5
Halifax	327,600	58,300	17.8
Regina	190,600	33,500	17.6
London	392,700	68,100	17.3
Sudbury	158,200	27,300	17.3
St. Catharines- Niagara	366,000	58,800	16.1
Windsor	275,200	43,300	15.7
Victoria	294,400	45,200	15.4
Kitchener	378,400	55,300	14.6
Thunder Bay	123,000	17,800	14.5
Oshawa	265,500	32,800	12.4

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

with populations under 500,000 (smaller CMAs).<sup>4</sup> As such, data for the CMAs in this section are presented according to these two categories.

As shown in Table 1.3, over 3.1 million individuals living in CMAs with populations of 500,000 and greater were living below the poverty line in 1995. Seven of the nine largest CMAs had poverty rates above the national average.

Some highlights from the table are presented here.

- ➔ Among poor persons in large CMAs, 69.9 per cent lived in the CMAs of Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto.
- ➔ The CMA of Montréal had 892,900 poor persons, the highest number in any CMA.
- ➔ Toronto CMA had the next highest number of poor residents, at 890,700 persons.
- ➔ Montréal had the highest poverty rate among large CMAs (27.3 per cent), followed by Vancouver and Winnipeg (23.3 per cent and 23.0 per cent, respectively).
- ➔ With a poverty rate of 18.9 per cent, Ottawa-Hull had the lowest

poverty rate of the large CMAs – 8.4 percentage points lower than that of Montréal.

Among the 17 smaller CMAs, the following data can be seen:

- ➔ The combined poor population in the smaller CMAs was less than the poor population in either Montréal or Toronto. Altogether, these smaller CMAs were home to 641,700 persons living below the poverty line.
- ➔ Generally, poverty rates among the smaller CMAs were higher in Atlantic Canada and Québec than in the rest of the country. Ranked

TABLE 1.4  
POVERTY RATES AND RELATIVE RANK FOR CMAs, BY CMA SIZE, 1990-1995

	1990		1995		Changes 1990 to 1995	
	Rank	Poverty rate (%)	Rank	Poverty rate (%)	Rank	% point
<b>CMAs with populations 500,000 and over</b>		18		22.7		4.7
Montréal	1	22.2	1	27.3	0	5.1
Vancouver	5	17.9	2	23.3	3	5.4
Winnipeg	2	20.7	3	23.0	-1	2.3
Québec	4	18.7	4	22.8	0	4.1
Edmonton	3	19.4	5	21.3	-2	1.9
Toronto	8	15.0	6	21.1	2	6.1
Calgary	6	17.7	7	19.8	-1	2.1
Hamilton	7	15.5	8	19.0	-1	3.5
Ottawa-Hull	9	14.6	9	18.9	0	4.3
<b>CMAs with populations less than 500,000</b>		14.4		17.3		2.9
Cape Breton	1	20.7	1	25.0	0	4.3
Trois-Rivières	2	20.3	2	23.4	0	3.1
Sherbrooke	3	19.9	3	22.8	0	2.9
Saskatoon	4	18.9	4	21.4	0	2.5
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	7	15.9	5	20.7	2	4.8
Saint John	5	17.3	6	20.0	-1	2.7
St. John's	6	16.3	7	19.5	-1	3.2
Halifax	10	14.1	8	17.8	2	3.7
Regina	8	15.9	9	17.6	-1	1.7
London	11	13.6	10	17.3	1	3.7
Sudbury	12	13.5	11	17.3	1	3.8
St. Catharines-Niagara	14	12.8	12	16.1	2	3.3
Windsor	9	14.6	13	15.7	-4	1.1
Victoria	13	13.5	14	15.4	-1	1.9
Kitchener	16	11.7	15	14.6	1	2.9
Thunder Bay	15	12.1	16	14.5	-1	2.4
Oshawa	17	9.2	17	12.4	0	3.2

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1991 and 1996 Censuses, custom tabulations.

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by their poverty rates, seven of the top eight smaller CMAs were in these two regions.

- ➔ One of every four persons in Cape Breton was poor (25.0 per cent), which had the highest incidence among these areas.
- ➔ Oshawa, with a poverty rate of 12.4 per cent, had the lowest rate among these areas – less than half the rate of Cape Breton.

CMAs, ranked by their 1995 poverty rates. The poverty rate grew more in the large metropolitan areas than in the country as a whole. While the incidence of poverty increased by 3.5 percentage points nationally over this five-year period, it increased by 4.7 percentage points in the large CMAs (with 500,000+ population), compared to a 2.9 percentage point increase in the smaller CMAs (under 500,000 population).

Table 1.4 shows the growth in poverty rates between 1990 and 1995 for the larger and smaller

Among all CMAs, the three largest (Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver) experienced the greatest increase in

their poverty rates – over five percentage points in each city. Vancouver had the greatest increase in its rate relative to the other large CMAs. Between 1990 and 1995, it rose three places in a ranking of the large CMAs by their poverty rates.

The poverty rates in most CMAs were higher than the rates in their respective provinces. As shown in Table 1.5, 16.4 per cent of the Canadian population outside of CMAs (including rural and non-metropolitan urban areas) were living in poverty, compared to 21.6 per cent living in poverty within CMAs in 1995. This situation is to be expected: rural areas have experienced lower poverty rates than large cities for almost one decade.<sup>5</sup> However, the magnitude of the difference between poverty rates in CMAs and non-CMAs within the same province is sometimes striking. For example, the poverty rate in Montréal is almost nine percentage points higher than the rate in non-CMA Québec. In contrast, a handful of metropolitan areas – including the CMAs of St. John's, Halifax, Oshawa and Victoria – have lower poverty rates than the non-CMA areas in their respective provinces.

TABLE 1.5  
POVERTY RATES FOR CANADA, PROVINCES, CMAs AND OUTSIDE CMAs, 1995

Canada and Provinces		CMAs		Outside CMAs	
CANADA	19.7	All CMAs	21.6	All outside CMAs	16.4
Newfoundland	21.4	St. John's	19.5	Outside CMAs	22.2
Prince Edward Island	15.2			Outside CMAs	15.2
Nova Scotia	18.8	Cape Breton	25.0	Outside CMAs	18.0
		Halifax	17.8		
New Brunswick	19.0	Saint John	20.0	Outside CMAs	18.8
Québec	23.4	Montréal	27.3	Outside CMAs	18.7
		Trois-Rivières	23.4		
		Québec	22.8		
		Sherbrooke	22.8		
		Chicoutimi-Jonquière	20.7		
		Ottawa-Hull (QC part)	20.3		
Ontario	17.7	Toronto	21.1	Outside CMAs	13.9
		Hamilton	19.0		
		Ottawa-Hull (ON part)	18.4		
		London	17.3		
		Sudbury	17.3		
		St. Catharines-Niagara	16.1		
		Windsor	15.7		
		Kitchener	14.6		
		Thunder Bay	14.5		
		Oshawa	12.4		
Manitoba	20.6	Winnipeg	23.0	Outside CMAs	16.4
Saskatchewan	18.3	Saskatoon	21.4	Outside CMAs	17.3
		Regina	17.6		
Alberta	18.4	Edmonton	21.3	Outside CMAs	14.7
		Calgary	19.8		
British Columbia	19.6	Vancouver	23.3	Outside CMAs	16.1
		Victoria	15.4		

Note: Ottawa-Hull is the only CMA that crosses provincial boundaries. It is shown as two separate CMAs here in order to compare it to provincial poverty rates.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

Taken together, CMAs reflect part of what has been referred to as the "Canadian urban system."<sup>6</sup> Bourne and Flowers define the urban system as:

"... the sum of the nation's urban fabric. ... the set of cities in a given region or country that share certain attributes and are bound together by formal and informal linkages, by flows of people, goods and ideas, as well as by social norms and values, and that, as a result and in varying degrees, function as an integrated system."

These authors characterize the core and periphery areas within Canada's

urban system in an effort to establish the relative position of various urban areas within that system. They define the urban system core as having three distinct nodes: "the southern Ontario/southwestern Québec (or Windsor-to-Montréal) corridor; southwestern BC (Victoria to the Okanagan); and central Alberta." They admit that although these definitions are subjective and arbitrary, they are "simply intended to reflect the continuing shift of the country's population and economic activity from the eastern provinces and much of Ontario and Québec to the west, and notably to the urban areas of Alberta and BC."<sup>7</sup> One assumes that these core areas have economic advantages in relation to other urban areas due to their size and location within the system. Also, it can be assumed that CMAs with larger populations are often more economically prosperous than smaller ones because they are more likely to act as regional economic or service centres.

However, being located in a core area or having a relatively large population did not guarantee that a CMA had a low poverty rate. For example, Montréal and Toronto had the highest CMA poverty rates in Québec and Ontario, despite being the largest and most economically influential CMAs in these provinces and in the Windsor-to-Montréal corridor. On the other hand, the CMA of Thunder Bay is outside the Windsor-to-Montréal corridor, yet it had a lower poverty rate than most of the CMAs within the corridor. In Atlantic Canada, Halifax is the largest CMA and it had the lowest poverty rate among the metropolitan areas in that region. In contrast, Winnipeg had both the largest population and the highest CMA poverty rate in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. There was little difference between the poverty rates of Edmonton and

Calgary, both of which are located within the central Alberta core area. However, there were substantial differences between the poverty rates in the CMAs of Victoria and Vancouver, both of which are located within the Victoria-Okanagan corridor. These data suggest that there is little obvious relationship between a CMA's core/periphery status or population size and its respective poverty rate. In other words, poverty rate variations among CMAs cannot be explained by these factors alone.

### Poverty in Metropolitan Cities, 1990-1995

Due to the sheer population size of many CMAs, it is useful to break down these areas into smaller units for analysis. This section examines large cities in CMAs, known as municipalities or census subdivisions (CSDs).

Large cities are included in the analysis if they are located within a metropolitan area, and if they have a population of more than 100,000 or historically they are a central city of that metropolitan area. For example, Gloucester is included because it is part of the Ottawa-Hull CMA and has a population of over 100,000. Hull is also included in the Ottawa-Hull CMA, despite having a population of less than 100,000 because it is historically a central city in that area. In the following chapters, CSDs are the primary geographic units of analysis.

Although large cities are not always consistently defined (they are established by provincial statutes), they are similar in many ways. They are the largest and generally the most densely populated components of any metropolitan area. At the same time, they are small enough to be meaningful to their residents and to allow differences in local

TABLE 1.6  
POOR POPULATIONS AND  
POVERTY RATES FOR CITIES,  
BY CMA SIZE, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
Within CMAs, population 500,000 +			
	9,645,900	2,468,900	25.6
Montréal	988,300	407,300	41.2
Québec	163,000	56,500	34.7
Vancouver	506,200	156,800	31.0
Longueuil	126,300	38,200	30.3
Hull	61,000	17,800	29.2
Ottawa	314,400	88,900	28.3
Burnaby	176,100	48,900	27.8
Toronto	2,350,200	649,500	27.6
Hamilton	317,400	87,500	27.6
Edmonton	606,700	158,000	26.0
Richmond	148,000	38,400	26.0
Winnipeg	606,800	147,400	24.3
Coquitlam	100,200	22,300	22.3
Laval	325,800	69,900	21.4
Surrey	301,700	64,500	21.4
Calgary	760,200	156,400	20.6
Gatineau	100,000	19,500	19.5
Richmond Hill	101,400	17,800	17.5
Mississauga	541,600	88,900	16.4
Markham	172,400	25,100	14.6
Nepean	113,900	16,000	14.1
Gloucester	102,400	14,000	13.6
Brampton	266,700	36,400	13.6
Vaughan	132,100	15,900	12.1
Burlington	135,800	14,100	10.4
Oakville	127,400	12,600	9.9
Within CMAs, population less than 500,000			
	2,501,600	503,300	20.1
Trois-Rivières	46,400	14,300	30.8
Sherbrooke	73,300	21,800	29.7
Saint John	70,800	19,100	27.0
Victoria	70,500	17,700	25.1
Cape Breton	113,000	28,200	25.0
Halifax	110,700	27,100	24.5
Jonquière	55,800	13,100	23.5
St. John's	99,800	23,400	23.4
Saskatoon	190,600	43,500	22.8
Chicoutimi	61,500	13,300	21.6
Sudbury	90,400	19,200	21.2
Windsor	194,600	38,200	19.6
London	321,300	60,400	18.8
Regina	177,600	32,500	18.3
Niagara Falls	76,100	13,900	18.2
St. Catharines	128,400	22,900	17.8
Kitchener	176,000	29,500	16.8
Oshawa	132,600	21,600	16.3
Thunder Bay	111,800	17,100	15.3
Cambridge	100,200	13,700	13.7
Saanich	100,100	12,900	12.9

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

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populations and economies within the larger area to be captured.

Overall, poverty rates in these cities were wide-ranging. The cities with the highest rates were generally found in Quebec, and the cities with the lowest rates were usually found in Southern Ontario.

Table 1.6 shows the 1995 poverty data for the cities examined, organized by the population size of the CMAs in which these cities are located. On average, cities located in large CMAs (with populations of 500,000 or more)

had a poverty rate of 25.6 per cent. In comparison, cities in smaller CMAs (with under 500,000 in population) had a lower average poverty rate of 20.1 per cent – a difference of 5.5 percentage points.

Figure 1.1 reveals the wide range of poverty rates for individual cities in large metropolitan areas. Among the 26 cities in large CMAs, Montréal tops the list with a poverty rate of 41.2 per cent – 6.5 percentage points higher than the city with the next highest rate, Québec City. At the other end of the scale, Oakville

had the lowest poverty rate (at 9.9 per cent), less than one-quarter that of Montréal's rate. Despite this wide range, half of the cities shown had poverty rates within five percentage points of the average (25.6 per cent).

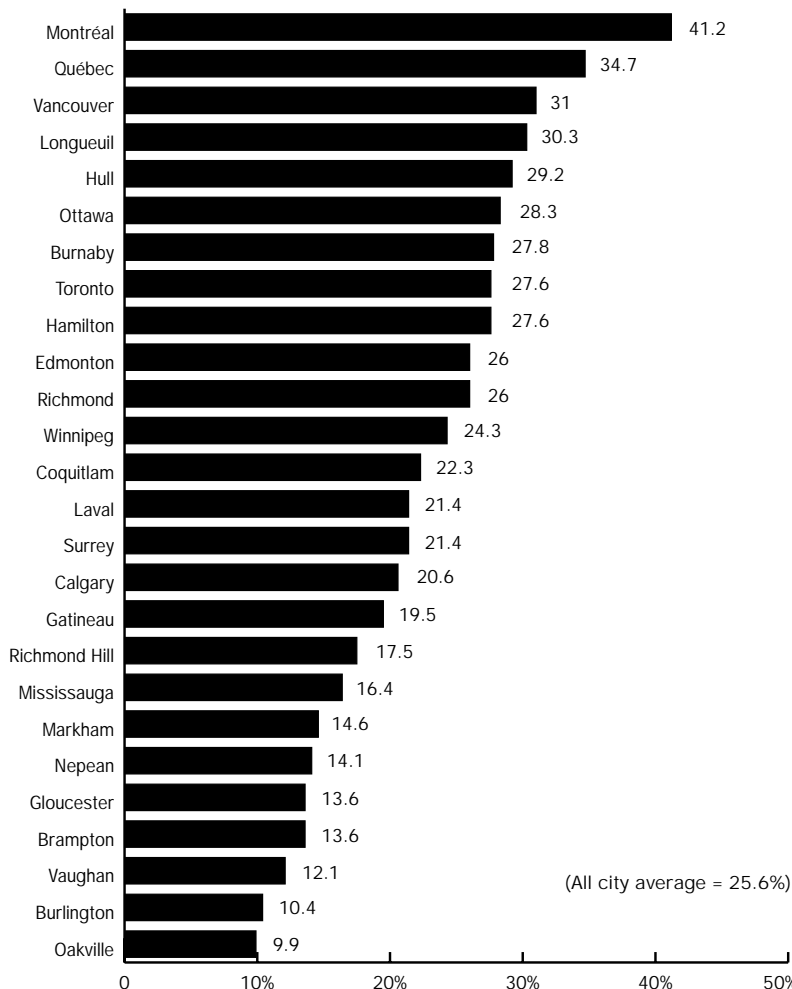
An extensive range of city poverty rates in smaller CMAs was also apparent, as shown in Figure 1.2. Among the 21 cities in smaller CMAs, Trois-Rivières had the highest poverty rate at 30.8 per cent. This was one-third higher than the average for the cities listed (20.1 per cent). At 16.3 per cent, Oshawa's poverty rate was just over half that of Trois-Rivières. As with the cities in larger CMAs, most of the cities in the smaller CMAs had poverty rates within five percentage points of the average.

Between 1990 and 1995, poverty rates rose in every city examined, and the rates usually grew faster in cities in large CMAs than in cities in smaller CMAs. Although the growth of poverty in each city varied substantially, cities with the highest and lowest poverty rates in 1990 generally retained their relative positions in 1995.

Table 1.7 illustrates the 1990 and 1995 poverty rates for each city, their poverty ranking, and changes in their rate and rank over this time period. As shown, increases in poverty rates in the cities ranged from 1.2 to 10.8 percentage points. In 1990, Montréal was the only city on the list with a poverty rate above 30 per cent. By 1995, Montréal, Québec, Vancouver, Trois-Rivières and Longueuil all had poverty rates above 30 per cent. In addition, the number of cities with poverty rates of 20 per cent and above rose from 16 to 27 over that period.

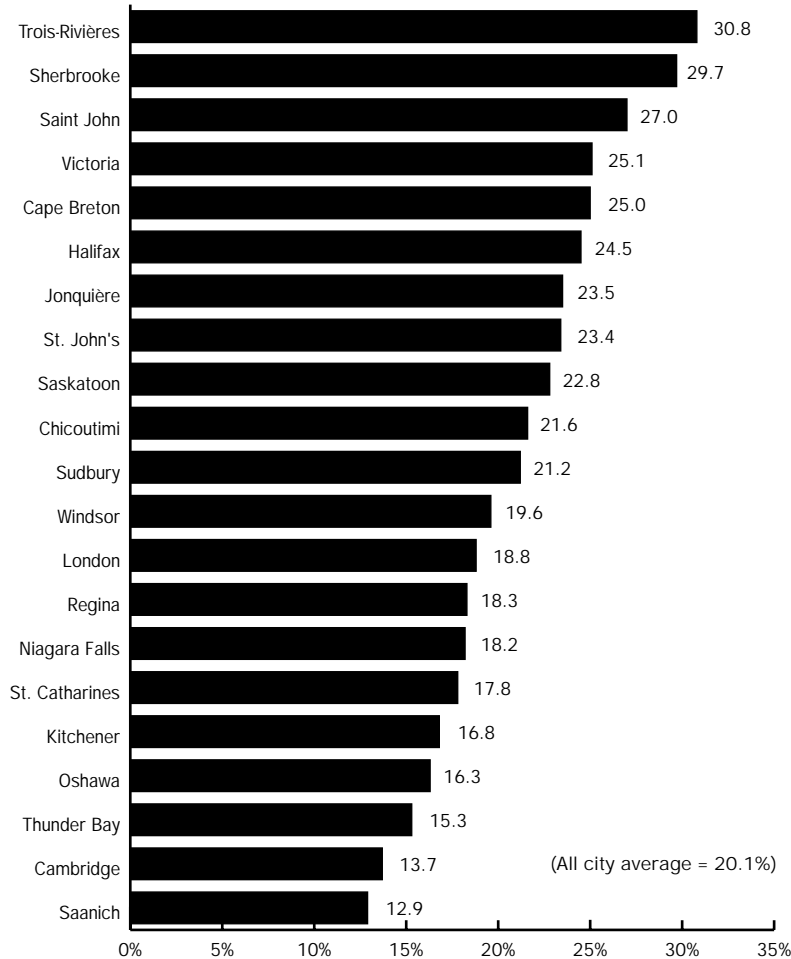
Among cities in large CMAs, the average poverty rate increased by

FIGURE 1.1  
POVERTY RATES FOR CITIES IN LARGE CMAs, CANADA, 1995



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

FIGURE 1.2  
POVERTY RATES FOR CITIES IN SMALLER CMAs, CANADA, 1995



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

5.9 percentage points between 1990 and 1995. However, individual cities had increases ranging from three percentage points (Edmonton, Winnipeg, Calgary, Burlington and Oakville) to over nine percentage points (Burnaby and Richmond) over the same time period. The cities of Burnaby, Richmond, Coquitlam and Markham all rose four places in rank.

Among cities in smaller CMAs, the average poverty rate grew by 3.2 percentage points over the five-year period – just over half the average for cities in large CMAs. Poverty rate

increases in individual cities ranged from less than two percentage points (Victoria, Windsor and Cambridge) to greater than five percentage points (Saint John and Jonquière).

Despite drastic increases in poverty rates in some cities, those with the highest poverty rates in 1990 generally retained their ranking on the relative poverty scale in 1995. Among cities in large CMAs, the five cities with the highest 1990 poverty rates maintained their ranking in 1995. Among cities in smaller metropolitan areas, four out of the

top five cities had the highest rates in 1990 and 1995.

### Centralization of Metropolitan Poverty

Within a metropolis, a number of factors influence where an individual or family chooses to live. Some of these factors are related to income, such as shelter affordability, proximity to employment, quality of public services, local history and culture, property taxes, and transportation infrastructure. Because areas within CMAs have different combinations of these factors, the organization of urban populations is linked in some way to household incomes.<sup>8</sup>

Communities which are economically, socially or geographically connected to central cities are often referred to as "suburbs." Suburbs play, and will continue to play, an increasingly important role in metropolitan areas. In reviewing the literature on the interpretations and explanations of the suburban process, Bourne makes the following conclusion:

"The suburbs, at least in North America, now dominate the metropolitan landscape, indeed the entire urban system, measured on most scales of consumption (population and income), production (employment) and political power. ...The central city, although still dominant in certain high-order business services, information functions and cultural facilities is now but one of many centres or realms in the new metropolis. In many metropolitan areas, it is often not even the largest."

Bourne predicts an even greater growth of suburban development in the future, given the momentum of past trends.

TABLE 1.7  
POVERTY RATES AND RELATIVE RANK FOR CITIES, BY CMA SIZE, 1990-1995

	1990		1995		Changes 1990 to 1995	
	Rank	Poverty rate (%)	Rank	Poverty rate (%)	Rank	% point
Within CMAs with populations 500,000 or higher		19.7		25.6		5.9
Montréal	1	33.3	1	41.2	0	7.9
Québec	2	29.3	2	34.7	0	5.4
Vancouver	3	24.8	3	31.0	0	6.2
Longueuil	4	24.3	4	30.3	0	6.0
Hull	5	23.9	5	29.2	0	5.4
Ottawa	9	21.1	6	28.3	3	7.2
Burnaby	11	18.5	7	27.8	4	9.3
Toronto	10	19.1	8	27.6	2	8.5
Hamilton	7	21.5	9	27.6	-2	6.1
Edmonton	6	22.8	10	26.0	-4	3.2
Richmond	15	15.2	11	26.0	4	10.8
Winnipeg	8	21.1	12	24.3	-4	3.2
Coquitlam	17	14.0	13	22.3	4	8.3
Laval	13	16.1	14	21.4	-1	5.4
Surrey	14	15.7	15	21.4	-1	5.7
Calgary	12	17.8	16	20.6	-4	2.7
Gatineau	16	14.5	17	19.5	-1	5.0
Richmond Hill	21	8.6	18	17.5	3	8.9
Mississauga	18	10.9	19	16.4	-1	5.5
Markham	24	7.5	20	14.6	4	7.1
Nepean	20	8.7	21	14.1	-1	5.4
Gloucester	19	10.0	22	13.6	-3	3.6
Brampton	22	8.5	23	13.6	-1	5.2
Vaughan	25	7.4	24	12.1	1	4.7
Burlington	23	7.9	25	10.4	-2	2.5
Oakville	26	6.7	26	9.9	0	3.2
Within CMAs with populations less than 500,000		16.9		20.1		3.2
Trois-Rivières	1	27.7	1	30.8	0	3.1
Sherbrooke	2	26.3	2	29.7	0	3.4
Saint John	4	21.9	3	27.0	1	5.1
Victoria	3	23.5	4	25.1	-1	1.6
Cape Breton	6	20.7	5	25.0	1	4.3
Halifax	8	19.6	6	24.5	2	4.9
Jonquière	10	17.7	7	23.5	3	5.7
St. John's	5	20.7	8	23.4	-3	2.7
Saskatoon	7	20.0	9	22.8	-2	2.8
Chicoutimi	11	16.9	10	21.6	1	4.7
Sudbury	12	16.5	11	21.2	1	4.8
Windsor	9	18.4	12	19.6	-3	1.2
London	14	15.2	13	18.8	1	3.6
Regina	13	16.4	14	18.3	-1	2.0
Niagara Falls	15	15.0	15	18.2	0	3.2
St. Catharines	16	14.0	16	17.8	0	3.9
Kitchener	17	13.0	17	16.8	0	3.7
Oshawa	19	12.2	18	16.3	1	4.1
Thunder Bay	18	12.9	19	15.3	-1	2.4
Cambridge	20	11.9	20	13.7	0	1.8
Saanich	21	10.6	21	12.9	0	2.3

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1991 and 1996 Censuses, custom tabulations.

Table 1.8 shows poverty data for CMAs, central cities and suburban areas within the CMAs. Central cities often contain both the largest amount of economic activity and the highest concentrations of poverty in a CMA. The table categorizes large cities within CMAs into central areas and suburban municipalities in order to clarify relative differences in poverty rates between these types of cities. The "remainder of CMA" category refers to those areas in any given CMA outside of the large cities (central and suburban) but still within the metropolitan area.

A slight majority of the CMA population lived in central cities (50.7 per cent) compared to suburban areas in 1995. However, the poor CMA population was over-represented in the central cities – almost two-thirds (62.9 per cent) lived in these cities. On average, 26.8 per cent of central city residents lived below the poverty line in 1995. In contrast, 16.2 per cent of suburban residents lived in poverty – 10.6 percentage points lower than the average central city rate. Within suburban areas, those in large cities were more likely to be poor than those in other areas.

TABLE 1.8  
POPULATION BY CENTRAL CITY STATUS, SHOWING PROPORTION OF TOTAL AND POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATE, 1995

CMAs	Proportion of population		Poverty rate (%)
	Total	Poor	
	100.0	100.0	21.6
Central cities	50.7	62.9	26.8
Suburban areas	49.3	37.1	16.2
Suburban large cities	17.9	14.9	17.9
Remainder of CMA	31.4	22.2	15.3

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

These data demonstrate that within most metropolitan areas, poor people were more likely to live in central cities than in other areas.

Table 1.9 shows poverty rates for each CMA and its component geographies. As well, central cities are designated in this table. The magnitude of differences in poverty rates within some CMAs was relatively high. For example, the city of Toronto had a poverty rate of 27.6 per cent – 6.5 percentage points higher than the Toronto CMA as a whole. However, the city of Oakville had a poverty rate of 9.9 per cent – less than half that of the CMA average. One of the most obvious differences between these cities is their location relative to the centre of the CMA – Oakville is an outer area of the Toronto CMA, whereas the city of Toronto is in the centre of the CMA. Similar to the pattern in other CMAs, poor populations in the Toronto CMA were substantially more likely to live in central rather than suburban areas.

Although not all the large cities had poverty rates higher than the average for their CMA, the central cities did. As well, these cities had the highest poverty rates of all large cities in every CMA. For example, the city of Montréal had the highest poverty rate among the three large cities (Montréal, Laval and Longueuil) in the Montréal metropolitan area. Similarly, the city of Hamilton had a higher poverty rate than Burlington, the other large city in the Hamilton CMA.

Central cities had higher poverty rates than suburban communities, despite a number of trends in central cities that would appear to mitigate poverty. According to Bourne, these trends include extensive redevelopment for luxury condominiums and rental housing, rapid employment growth in

TABLE 1.9  
POVERTY RATES FOR CMAs, LARGE CITIES AND REMAINDER OF CMAs, 1995

CMAs	Poverty rate (%)	Large cities in CMAs	Poverty rate (%)	Remainder of CMAs	Poverty rate (%)
All CMAs	21.6	All large cities	24.6	All remainder of CMAs	15.3
St. John's	19.5	St. John's (c)	23.4	Remainder of CMA	14.0
Halifax	17.8	Halifax (c)	24.5	Remainder of CMA	14.4
Cape Breton	25.0	Cape Breton (c)	25.0		
Saint John	20.0	Saint John (c)	27.0	Remainder of CMA	10.7
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	20.7	Jonquiere (c)	23.5	Remainder of CMA	15.5
		Chicoutimi (c)	21.6		
Québec	22.8	Québec (c)	34.7	Remainder of CMA	18.9
Sherbrooke	22.8	Sherbrooke (c)	29.7	Remainder of CMA	15.4
Trois-Rivières	23.4	Trois-Rivières (c)	30.8	Remainder of CMA	19.6
Montréal	27.3	Montréal (c)	41.2	Remainder of CMA	20.6
		Longueuil	30.3		
		Laval	21.4		
Ottawa-Hull	18.9	Hull (c)	29.2	Remainder of CMA	10.4
		Ottawa (c)	28.3		
		Gatineau	19.5		
		Nepean	14.1		
		Gloucester	13.6		
Oshawa	12.4	Oshawa (c)	16.3	Remainder of CMA	8.4
Toronto	21.1	Toronto (c)	27.6	Remainder of CMA	8.5
		Richmond Hill	17.5		
		Mississauga	16.4		
		Markham	14.6		
		Brampton	13.6		
		Vaughan	12.1		
		Oakville	9.9		
Hamilton	19.0	Hamilton (c)	27.6	Remainder of CMA	9.5
		Burlington	10.4		
St. Catharines-Niagara	16.1	Niagara Falls (c)	18.2	Remainder of CMA	13.7
		St. Catharines (c)	17.8		
Kitchener	14.6	Kitchener (c)	16.8	Remainder of CMA	11.8
		Cambridge	13.7		
London	17.3	London (c)	18.8	Remainder of CMA	10.8
Windsor	15.7	Windsor (c)	19.6	Remainder of CMA	6.4
Sudbury	17.3	Sudbury (c)	21.2	Remainder of CMA	12.0
Thunder Bay	14.5	Thunder Bay (c)	15.3	Remainder of CMA	6.1
Winnipeg	23.0	Winnipeg (c)	24.3	Remainder of CMA	6.7
Regina	17.6	Regina (c)	18.3	Remainder of CMA	7.1
Saskatoon	21.4	Saskatoon (c)	22.8	Remainder of CMA	10.6
Calgary	19.8	Calgary (c)	20.6	Remainder of CMA	8.1
Edmonton	21.3	Edmonton (c)	26.0	Remainder of CMA	9.3
Vancouver	23.3	Vancouver (c)	31.0	Remainder of CMA	15.5
		Burnaby	27.8		
		Richmond	26.0		
		Coquitlam	22.3		
		Surrey	21.4		
Victoria	15.4	Victoria (c)	25.1	Remainder of CMA	11.9
		Saanich	12.9		

Note: (c) denotes central city. In the "Large cities in CMAs" column, Toronto refers to the amalgamated city of Toronto, which includes the former communities of Toronto, York, North York, East York, Scarborough and Etobicoke.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

## Chapter 1: Poverty by Geography

high-end and business-related services and occupations, three decades of inner-city gentrification, the redistributive role of regional governments, and considerable public infrastructure and housing investments.

However, a number of factors also appear to contribute to the centralization of metropolitan poverty.

- For example, one might expect that poverty rates would be higher in central cities compared to surrounding areas, given the values held by many Canadian parents. Families raising or planning to raise children often relocate to areas that they believe are better suited for their kids. Many parents are attracted to suburbs because the suburbs are perceived to be stable and secure environments for childrearing, with good child-oriented services. As Drieger states:

“While the suburbs ... have their problems, the suburbs are a more stable place to raise a family, especially one with small children. Schools, parks, recreation centers, and homes are relatively new and attractive. Younger, better educated professional families with good incomes are sources for community leadership and creative social networking and friendships.”

This view influences the residential preferences of numerous middle- and upper-income families. However, residence in an area deemed desirable for childrearing often requires ownership of a single-

family detached home, the dominant housing type in most suburban neighbourhoods. Given the cost of home ownership, residence in these areas is often prohibitive for poor families.

- Another likely reason for substantially divergent poverty rates between central cities and suburban communities is the different types of households in these areas. In the absence of childrearing concerns, single people are not usually drawn to the outlying metropolitan areas. They are more likely than families with children to live in central cities. As discussed in later chapters, couple families are less likely than unattached individuals to be poor. As a result, the higher proportion of single people in central cities and the higher proportion of two-parent families in suburban communities likely contributes to the greater differentials in poverty rates between these areas.
  - The fact that support services used by poor households are often more readily available in central areas may be another contributing factor to the high poverty rates in central cities. One argument suggests that these services act like a magnet to draw those in need of services. Another perspective argues that central areas are the only places where those in need can actually receive services. In other words, people who require services must move to the central areas because such supports are limited in the outlying areas.
- Of course, these perspectives raise many questions about equity in the provision of regional services. In any case, service

needs in central cities and suburban areas appear to be different, and there is little doubt that many people who use services in the central cities have come from other communities. For example, *Taking Responsibility for Homelessness: An Action Plan for Toronto* noted that nearly half of all the people using hostels in that city came from elsewhere. To some extent, the availability of support services in an area has some connection to the level of poverty in that area. However, this is not to suggest that reducing the range and availability of services would alleviate poverty in any community. In addition to the immorality of such a strategy, there is little evidence to suggest that such a course of action would achieve the desired ends.

### Poverty in Municipal Regions

Many regional governments in Canada deliver services that can have a tangible impact on the lives of those vulnerable to poverty. Regional governments draw their legislative powers from provincial governments to provide a variety of municipal services that can include water, sewage, roads, public transit, garbage collection, snow removal, economic development, public health, housing, social assistance (welfare) and other support services. The types of services they deliver depend on the history of the region as well as the relationship between provincial and municipal responsibilities in that province. For example, regional governments deliver welfare programs in Ontario but not in British Columbia. Through the provision of municipal services, regional governments also play a role in

preventing the decline of inner cities. As Bourne notes:

“... the ability of metropolitan-wide governments, and the provinces, to redistribute revenue among local jurisdictions, and to equalize the level of public expenditures and the quality of social services (e.g. schools) through revenue-sharing, have perhaps been the most critical factors to date in preventing the rapid decline typical of many inner cities in more politically fragmented US metropolitan areas. The revenue base, and the practice of revenue-sharing, if not the very existence of these regional governments, however, are also under threat through fiscal constraints at the local level and the reduction in transfer payments from senior levels of government.”

The boundaries of these municipal regions are represented by census divisions (CDs) in Statistics Canada's data. The following section focuses on 1995 poverty rates in municipal regions that overlap metropolitan areas (CMAs), and the large cities within them in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario and British Columbia.<sup>9</sup> Regions are grouped by province due to the unique legislative context in each province.

NOVA SCOTIA

Although the poverty rate in Halifax County was lower than in the rest of the province and lower than the Canadian average, that was not the case for Cape Breton County. As shown in Table 1.10, Halifax County experienced a poverty rate of 17.1 per cent in 1995. The poverty rate for the city of Halifax was substantially higher at 24.5 per cent.<sup>10</sup> As the largest community in Halifax County, the city of Halifax

TABLE 1.10  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES FOR MUNICIPAL REGIONS AND LARGE CITIES IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
NOVA SCOTIA	888,600	167,000	18.8
Halifax County	337,900	59,900	17.7
Halifax	110,700	27,100	24.5
Cape Breton County	113,000	28,200	25.0
Cape Breton RGM	113,000	28,200	25.0

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

accounted for one-third (32.8 per cent) of the county's population, but 45.2 per cent of its poor population. In other words, the poor were over-represented in the city's population.

In Cape Breton County, 25.0 per cent of the population lived below the poverty line in 1995. The poverty rate for this county was similar to the rate for the Regional Municipality of Cape Breton (25.0 per cent) and the city of Halifax (24.5 per cent).<sup>11</sup>

NEW BRUNSWICK

In Saint John County, more than one-quarter (25.8 per cent) of the population lived below the poverty line in 1995. Table 1.11 shows the total and poor populations and the poverty rates for various geographies in New Brunswick. The poverty rate for the city of Saint John (27.0 per

cent) was slightly higher than that for the county, but 91.2 per cent of all county residents and 95.5 per cent of poor residents lived in the city of Saint John. The city of Moncton had a lower poverty rate (22.4 per cent) than both the city and county of Saint John. As with other municipal regions, the poor population in the county was concentrated in the city.

QUÉBEC

Three of the five municipal regions examined in Québec had poverty rates higher than the provincial average in 1995. This proportion is remarkable, given that Québec already had the highest average poverty rate among the provinces. Poverty data for Québec regions are shown in Table 1.12. The Communauté-urbaine-de-Montréal (CUM) had the greatest poverty rate

TABLE 1.11  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES FOR MUNICIPAL REGIONS AND LARGE CITIES IN NEW BRUNSWICK, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
NEW BRUNSWICK	721,000	137,300	19.0
Saint John County	77,600	20,000	25.8
Saint John	70,800	19,100	27.0
Moncton CA	111,300	19,200	17.3
Moncton	58,300	13,100	22.4

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

TABLE 1.12  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES FOR MUNICIPAL REGIONS AND  
LARGE CITIES IN QUÉBEC, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
QUÉBEC	6,973,200	1,630,900	23.4
Communauté-urbaine-de-Québec	493,100	123,600	25.1
Québec (ville de)	163,000	56,500	34.7
Le Fjord-du-Saguenay	169,500	35,100	20.7
Jonquière	55,800	13,100	23.5
Chicoutimi	61,500	13,300	21.6
Sherbrooke	127,900	30,400	23.8
Sherbrooke (ville de)	73,300	21,800	29.7
Communauté-urbaine-de-Montréal	1,736,500	604,300	34.8
Montréal (ville de)	988,300	407,300	41.2
Communauté-urbaine-de-l'Outaouais	214,900	46,000	21.4
Hull	61,000	17,800	29.2
Gatineau	100,000	19,500	19.5

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

among all the municipal regions examined in this report – 34.8 per cent of its population lived in poverty. As well, the poverty rate for the CUM was 15.1 percentage points above the national average. The city of Montréal, which accounted for over half (56.9 per cent) of the population of the CUM, had an even higher poverty rate of 41.2 per cent. In fact, 67.4 per cent of the poor population on the island of Montréal (on which the boundaries of the CUM are based) lived in the city of Montréal. In stark contrast, just off the island, in Laval, the poverty rate of 21.4 per cent was less than two-thirds what it was in the CUM and just over half what it was in the city of Montréal, as was shown in Table 1.9.

Of the Québec regions examined, the Communauté-urbaine-de-Québec (CUQ) had the second highest poverty rate (25.1 per cent) in the province. Québec City (the central city within the CUQ) had a poverty rate of 34.7 per cent. Québec City's population accounted for one-third (33.0 per cent) of the total CUQ population, but 45.7

per cent of its poor population. The region of Sherbrooke had a poverty rate of 23.8 per cent, and the rate for the city of Sherbrooke was 29.7 per cent. While 57.3 per cent of the region's total population resided in the city of Sherbrooke, 71.7 per cent of the poor population lived there.

In 1995, Le Fjord-du-Saguenay had the lowest incidence of poverty (20.7 per cent) among the regions examined in Québec. The cities of Jonquière and Chicoutimi (the central cities located within the Le Fjord-du-Saguenay) had slightly higher poverty rates than the regional rate, at 23.5 per cent and 21.6 per cent respectively. Together, the populations in Chicoutimi and Jonquière accounted for 69.2 per cent of all Le Fjord-du-Saguenay residents and 75.2 per cent of its poor residents.

Within the Communauté-urbaine-de-l'Outaouais, Hull had a substantially higher poverty rate than that of Gatineau. Although they are neighbouring communities, Hull's poverty rate of 29.2 per cent was 9.7 percentage points higher than

Gatineau's rate of 19.5 per cent. In all Québec regions, central cities within their boundaries had higher poverty rates than the rates for the regions as a whole.

#### ONTARIO

Ontario is the most populous and urbanized province in Canada. Of the 13 Ontario municipal regions containing large cities that are examined here, only three had poverty rates in 1995 that were higher than the provincial average of 17.7 per cent: the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton (RMOC); Toronto (the former Metro Toronto); and Hamilton-Wentworth.<sup>12</sup> Table 1.13 shows poverty rates for the Ontario municipal regions and the large cities within them, as well as their total and poor populations.

At 19.0 per cent, RMOC's poverty rate masked significant variations among the poverty rates of the large cities within its boundaries. For example, the city of Ottawa had a poverty rate of 28.3 per cent, while the adjacent cities of Nepean and Gloucester had poverty rates of 14.1 per cent and 13.6 per cent respectively – less than half the rate for the city of Ottawa. Together, residents of these three cities accounted for three-quarters (75.0 per cent) of the region's total population and nine-tenths (88.5 per cent) of its poor population. The RMOC's overall poverty rate was slightly lower than the rate for the Communauté-urbaine-de-l'Outaouais (21.4 per cent), located across the Ottawa River on the Québec side.

Toronto had both the largest overall population and the highest incidence of poverty (27.6 per cent) among the Ontario regions examined. As in most other regions, the poverty rate for Toronto masks wide variations among the rates for areas within its

TABLE 1.13  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES FOR MUNICIPAL REGIONS AND  
LARGE CITIES IN ONTARIO, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
ONTARIO	10,562,600	1,869,000	17.7
Ottawa-Carleton Regional Municipality	707,700	134,300	19.0
Ottawa	314,400	88,900	28.3
Nepean	113,900	16,000	14.1
Gloucester	102,400	14,000	13.6
Durham Regional Municipality	454,000	50,500	11.1
Oshawa	132,600	21,600	16.3
York Regional Municipality	587,700	76,100	12.9
Richmond Hill	101,400	17,800	17.5
Markham	172,400	25,100	14.6
Vaughan	132,100	15,900	12.1
Toronto (formerly Metro Toronto)	2,350,200	649,500	27.6
York	145,500	46,300	31.9
Toronto	636,700	184,400	29.0
North York	583,300	163,600	28.0
Scarborough	553,400	151,400	27.4
East York	106,600	28,400	26.6
Etobicoke	324,700	75,400	23.2
Peel Regional Municipality	847,900	127,100	15.0
Mississauga	541,600	88,900	16.4
Brampton	266,700	36,400	13.6
Halton Regional Municipality	336,300	31,300	9.3
Burlington	135,800	14,100	10.4
Oakville	127,400	12,600	9.9
Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	461,000	101,200	21.9
Hamilton	317,400	87,500	27.6
Niagara Regional Municipality	396,600	61,700	15.6
Niagara Falls	76,100	13,900	18.2
St. Catharines	128,400	22,900	17.8
Waterloo Regional Municipality	400,700	57,300	14.3
Kitchener	176,000	29,500	16.8
Cambridge	100,200	13,700	13.7
Middlesex County	384,200	65,800	17.1
London	321,300	60,400	18.8
Essex County	345,700	50,200	14.5
Windsor	194,600	38,200	19.6
Sudbury Regional Municipality	162,000	27,900	17.2
Sudbury	90,400	19,200	21.2
Thunder Bay District	153,300	20,700	13.5
Thunder Bay	111,800	17,100	15.3

Note: Large cities in the CD of Toronto (formerly Metro Toronto) are no longer provincially recognized as separate communities. In 1997, they were combined to form the city of Toronto, which has the same boundaries as the former Metro Toronto Regional Municipality.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

boundaries.<sup>13</sup> All of the areas within Toronto had higher poverty rates than the Ontario average, ranging from 23.2 per cent in the former municipality of Etobicoke, to 31.9 per cent in the former municipality of York.

The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) includes the municipal regions of Durham, York, Peel, Halton and Toronto. Together, these regions form a contiguous landmass in southern Ontario that is home to 43.3 per cent of the province's population.

Durham Regional Municipality and its biggest city, Oshawa, had poverty rates of 11.1 per cent and 16.3 per cent respectively. Oshawa residents accounted for 29.2 per cent of Durham region's total population, but 42.8 per cent of its poor population.

With a poverty rate of 12.9 per cent, the York Regional Municipality had a rate less than half that of Toronto's rate. Poverty rates also differed substantially among the large cities within the York Region: Richmond Hill had a rate of 17.5 per cent and Vaughan, 12.1 per cent. Along with Markham, residents of these three cities accounted for just over two-thirds (69.1 per cent) of the total population in York Region, but over three-quarters (77.3 per cent) of the poor population.

The poverty rate for Peel Regional Municipality was 15.0 per cent, higher than the rates in the other GTA regions except Toronto. The poverty rates in Mississauga (16.4 per cent) and Brampton (13.6 per cent), two large cities within the Peel Region, were relatively close. Together, these two cities contained 95.3 per cent of the region's total population and 98.6 per cent of its poor population.

## Chapter 1: Poverty by Geography

Halton Region had a poverty rate of 9.3 per cent, lower than all the other municipal regions examined in this report. Halton Region contains the large cities of Burlington and Oakville, and these cities had poverty rates of 10.4 per cent and 9.9 per cent respectively. Residents of these cities accounted for 78.3 per cent of the region's population and 85.3 per cent of its poor population.

Considering that Durham, York, Peel, Halton and Toronto are neighbouring regions, differences in the poverty rates between Toronto and the other regions are striking. In an area defined by these five municipal regions, these data point to a significant concentration of poverty in Toronto.

In Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality, 21.9 per cent of residents lived below the poverty line. This region had the second-highest poverty rate (after Toronto) among the Ontario municipal regions examined. The poverty rate in Hamilton-Wentworth was more than double that of Halton Region, its immediate neighbour to the east. The city of Hamilton, the largest city in the region, had a poverty rate of 27.6 per cent. Although 68.8 per cent of the region's total population lived in the city of Hamilton, 86.5 per cent of the poor population lived there.

The poverty rate in the Niagara Regional Municipality was 15.6 per cent. Within the Niagara Region, the poverty rate in the city of Niagara Falls was 18.2 per cent and the rate in St. Catharines was 17.8 per cent.

The poverty rate in the Regional Municipality of Waterloo was 14.3 per cent, a lower rate than the nearby regions of Toronto, Hamilton-Wentworth and Middlesex County. Kitchener, one of two large cities in the Region of Waterloo, had a poverty rate of

16.8 per cent. Cambridge, the other city in the region with a population of over 100,000, had a poverty rate of 13.7 per cent. Combined, the residents of these two cities accounted for over two-thirds (68.9 per cent) of the region's total population, but three-quarters (75.4 per cent) of its poor population.

Middlesex County's poverty rate of 17.1 per cent was lower than its neighbouring region to the east, Hamilton-Wentworth, but higher than its western neighbour, Essex County. The city of London accounted for 83.6 per cent of the total population of Middlesex County and 91.8 per cent of its poor population. London's poverty rate was 18.8 per cent.

Essex County had a poverty rate of 14.5 per cent, but its largest city, Windsor, had a notably higher poverty rate of 19.6 per cent. Although 56.3 per cent of the residents of Essex County lived in Windsor, 76.1 per cent of its poor population lived there.

The Sudbury Regional District had a poverty rate of 17.2 per cent, higher than nine of the other Ontario regions examined in this report. The city of Sudbury had a poverty rate of 21.2 per cent, and its residents accounted for 55.8 per cent of the region's population but 68.8 per cent of its poor population.

Thunder Bay District, with a poverty rate of 13.5 per cent, had the fourth lowest poverty rate among the Ontario municipal regions examined. The city of Thunder Bay, the largest community in the district, had a poverty rate of 15.3 per cent. The city of Thunder Bay accounted for 72.9 per cent of the district's population, but 82.6 per cent of its poor persons.

As in other provinces, central cities in all Ontario municipal regions had

higher poverty rates than the regions as a whole. As well, poor populations were over-represented in these cities. Poverty rates varied considerably among regions and among cities within the same region. The fact that municipal regions are adjacent, or that cities are located in the same region, was no indication of comparable poverty rates.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA

This section of the report examines two British Columbia municipal regions: the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) and the Capital Regional District (CRD).<sup>14</sup> The GVRD had a poverty rate of 23.3 per cent, while the CRD's rate was significantly lower at 15.4 per cent. Poverty data for these districts are presented in Table 1.14.

The poverty rate for the GVRD masked substantial differences in poverty rates among the various municipalities within the region. Among the large GVRD cities examined, the central city of Vancouver had the highest poverty rate at 31.0 per cent. In contrast, Surrey had the lowest poverty rate at 21.4 per cent. Together, the large cities in the district accounted for 68.4 per cent of the total GVRD population, but 78.9 per cent of its poor population.

Although the CRD poverty rate was lower than the GVRD and provincial rates, the regional average also hid substantial differences within the district. For example, the city of Victoria had a poverty rate of 25.1 per cent while the neighbouring city of Saanich had a poverty rate of 12.9 per cent. Together, Victoria and Saanich accounted for 55.4 per cent of the district's total population and 64.3 per cent of its poor population.

Poverty rates within regional districts in British Columbia followed a pattern similar to those of municipal regions elsewhere. In BC, central cities in both the GVRD and CRD had higher poverty rates than did other large cities.

### High-poverty Neighbourhoods, 1980-1995

Concentrations of poverty in urban neighbourhoods are associated with a variety of indicators of social distress, such as sporadic employment patterns, low educational levels, more single-parent families, prolonged reliance on welfare programs, and high crime levels. Many researchers have noted that residents of these neighbourhoods in both Canada and the United States are confronted with a variety of structural processes that work to their disadvantage.<sup>15</sup> In his landmark work on poverty in the U.S., *The Truly Disadvantaged*, William J. Wilson attributes differences in the experiences of poor families who live in inner cities compared to poor families living elsewhere in the U.S. to "concentration effects." Wilson suggests that within many U.S. inner cities, middle- and working-class families acted as "social buffers" for low-income families. However, the

decline of the manufacturing sector in the Northeast and Midwest resulted in heavy job losses, particularly among African-American inner-city workers. As well, the movement of working-class families from inner cities to the suburbs throughout the 1970s and early 1980s left behind a population of disadvantaged persons. Wilson states that in these neighbourhoods, most families experience periods of long-term joblessness which result in:

"... a social isolation that excludes [residents] from the job network system that permeates other neighbourhoods and that is so important in learning about or being recommended for jobs that become available in various parts of the city. And as the prospects for employment diminish, other alternatives such as welfare and the underground economy are not only increasingly relied on, they come to be seen as a way of life."

Furthermore, Wilson suggests that the lack of employed families in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is linked to more births out of wedlock, children's low educational achievement, and higher crime rates. As social exclusion shapes the

environments of both adults and children, the children who grow up in these disadvantaged areas are at a greater risk of experiencing similar environments in their adult years.

Many authors suggest that concentrations of urban poverty in Canada are also indicators of increased social isolation and economic marginalization.<sup>16</sup> Bourne states that income inequalities within a given city are more than just social and economic inequalities; in fact, they can also be seen as geographical inequalities which are:

"... enhanced through the selective occupancy of housing, the changing social, ethnic and demographic landscapes of cities, and by the manipulation of urban living spaces, through such policies and practices as zoning, neighbourhood preservation and social housing policies, all of which operate at varying spatial scales. The effects of these processes and practices are further magnified in terms of differential access to public goods and services."

Neighbourhoods with high poverty rates increase the likelihood that residents will suffer disadvantages stemming from their place of residence, which may compound other human capital disadvantages. For example, a young man with a low education living in a high-poverty neighbourhood may face difficulties finding work because he is less likely to have marketable skills and to hear about job opportunities through informal networks. Of course, not all residents of high-poverty neighbourhoods are poor. However, whether or not they are poor, they all have to share a common environment with others who are dealing with poverty and its effects.

TABLE 1.14  
POOR POPULATIONS AND POVERTY RATES FOR MUNICIPAL REGIONS AND LARGE CITIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1995

	Total population	Poor population	Poverty rate (%)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	3,611,000	708,200	19.6
Greater Vancouver Regional District	1,802,400	419,200	23.3
Vancouver	506,200	156,800	31.0
Burnaby	176,100	48,900	27.8
Richmond	148,000	38,400	26.0
Coquitlam	100,200	22,300	22.3
Surrey	301,700	64,500	21.4
Capital Regional District	307,800	47,600	15.4
Victoria	70,500	17,700	25.1
Saanich	100,100	12,900	12.9

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

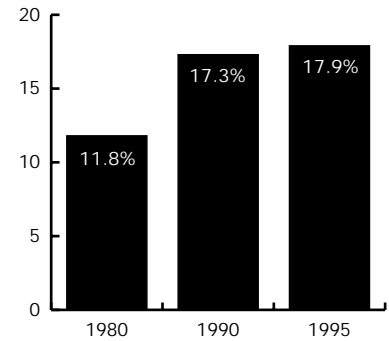
# Chapter 1: Poverty by Geography

In research on distressed neighbourhoods in Canada, Hatfield calculated the incidence of poverty among resident families for every census tract (or neighbourhood) in each CMA.<sup>17</sup> He defined "high-poverty" census tracts as those with family poverty rates double the national average that year. In 1980, he found a total of 334 of these high-poverty census tracts that were home to 11.8 per cent of all poor families in Canada. By 1990, the number of high-poverty census tracts had grown to 507, and the proportion of poor Canadian families living there had increased to 17.3 per cent. In other words, poor families became more concentrated in high-poverty neighbourhoods over

the 10-year period. As shown in Figure 1.3, these trends increased steadily through to 1995. By this author's calculations, the number of high-poverty census tracts increased over the five-year period from 1990 to 1995 to 548, with 17.9 per cent of Canada's poor families living in those neighbourhoods.<sup>18</sup>

The first two columns in Table 1.15 show the number of census tracts and high-poverty tracts in each CMA, and the next two columns express these tracts as a distribution across all CMAs. As the two largest metropolitan areas in Canada, Toronto and Montréal had the most census tracts within their boundaries (just over 20 per cent of all tracts in

FIGURE 1.3  
PROPORTION OF POOR ECONOMIC FAMILIES RESIDING IN HIGH-POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, ALL CMAs, CANADA, 1980, 1990 AND 1995



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations and Hatfield (1998).

TABLE 1.15  
NUMBER AND INCIDENCE OF HIGH-POVERTY CENSUS TRACTS FOR CMAs,  
AND DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH-POVERTY TRACTS BY CMA, 1995

	Number of tracts		Distribution of tracts by CMA		Proportion of high-poverty tracts by total tracts in CMA (%)
	Total	High-poverty	Total	High-poverty	
All CMAs	3,721	548	100.0%	100.0%	14.7%
Montréal	755	228	20.3	41.6	30.2
Saint John	43	11	1.2	2.0	25.6
Sherbrooke	32	7	0.9	1.3	21.9
Québec	151	30	4.1	5.5	19.9
Winnipeg	157	30	4.2	5.5	19.1
Trois-Rivières	33	6	0.9	1.1	18.2
St. John's	41	6	1.1	1.1	14.6
Ottawa-Hull	213	28	5.7	5.1	13.1
Hamilton	160	21	4.3	3.8	13.1
Toronto	777	101	20.9	18.4	13.0
Saskatoon	49	6	1.3	1.1	12.2
Sudbury	37	4	1.0	0.7	10.8
Edmonton	184	19	4.9	3.5	10.3
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	35	3	0.9	0.5	8.6
Regina	49	4	1.3	0.7	8.2
Windsor	58	4	1.6	0.7	6.9
Vancouver	297	20	8.0	3.6	6.7
Halifax	75	5	2.0	0.9	6.7
Calgary	153	8	4.1	1.5	5.2
Thunder Bay	31	1	0.8	0.2	3.2
Oshawa	76	2	2.0	0.4	2.6
London	87	2	2.3	0.4	2.3
Victoria	65	1	1.7	0.2	1.5
St. Catharines-Niagara	83	1	2.2	0.2	1.2
Kitchener	80	0	2.1	0.0	0.0

Note: High-poverty census tracts refer to those tracts with an economic family poverty rate equal to or greater than 32.6 per cent. This cut-off is twice the national economic family poverty rate.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations.

each). However, Montréal was home to the largest proportion of all high-poverty census tracts – 41.6 per cent of all high-poverty tracts were located there. In contrast, only 18.4 per cent of all high-poverty census tracts fell within Toronto's boundaries. Vancouver, the city with the third-largest proportion of census tracts (8.0 per cent), was home to only 3.6 per cent of all high-poverty tracts. In fact, Vancouver had fewer high-poverty tracts than did Québec, Winnipeg, Ottawa-Hull, and Hamilton, all of which were smaller CMAs than Vancouver.

The last column of Table 1.15 shows the number of high-poverty tracts expressed as a percentage of the total number of census tracts in each CMA. On average, 14.7 per cent of all census tracts were high-poverty tracts, but this proportion exceeded 20 per cent in the CMAs of Montréal, Saint John and Sherbrooke. At the other end of the scale, less than five per cent of tracts in the CMAs of Thunder Bay, Oshawa, London, Victoria, St. Catharines-Niagara and Kitchener were high-poverty tracts. Kitchener had no high-poverty tracts in 1980, 1990 or 1995.

TABLE 1.16  
NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY RATES FOR CMAs, 1980, 1990 AND 1995

	Neighbourhood poverty rates (%)			Difference 1980 to 1995 (%)
	1980	1990	1995	
Montréal	14.0	20.4	20.5	6.5
Saint John	13.1	15.1	14.5	1.4
Toronto	4.7	7.9	14.2	9.5
Winnipeg	9.0	15.7	14.1	5.1
Sherbrooke	27.5	18.7	13.8	-13.7
St. John's	10.9	11.6	12.3	1.4
Québec	9.0	11.2	11.3	2.3
Hamilton	8.1	7.9	10.8	2.7
Ottawa-Hull	10.0	8.4	10.4	0.4
Saskatoon	0.9	13.0	9.6	8.7
Trois-Rivières	22.4	9.9	8.6	-13.8
Edmonton	1.6	12.8	7.9	6.3
Sudbury	7.8	5.2	7.4	-0.4
Regina	8.7	6.8	7.0	-1.7
Vancouver	2.5	6.1	6.4	3.9
Halifax	10.1	5.7	5.9	-4.2
Windsor	13.3	12.7	5.5	-7.8
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	17.3	7.7	4.6	-12.7
Calgary	2.2	8.9	3.5	1.3
Oshawa	3.2	0.5	2.5	-0.7
London	5.9	0.9	1.5	-4.4
Victoria	0.0	1.2	1.2	1.2
Thunder Bay	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.5
St. Catharines-Niagara	5.0	0.6	0.5	-4.5
Kitchener	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Note: Neighbourhood poverty rate refers to the percentage of all economic families in a CMA that reside in high-poverty census tracts.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations and Hatfield (1998).

Drawing on Jargowsky's study of concentrated poverty in the U.S., Hatfield introduces two concepts to the issue in Canada: 1) the neighbourhood poverty rate, and 2) the concentration of the poor. The *neighbourhood poverty rate* refers to the percentage of a metropolitan area's total population that resides in high-poverty census tracts. The *concentration of the poor* refers to the percentage of a metropolitan area's poor population that resides in high-poverty census tracts. Using 1981 and 1991 census data, Hatfield adapts these concepts to reflect the percentages of families rather than percentages of populations living in poverty. Table 1.16 shows the neighbourhood poverty rate and Table 1.17 shows the concentration of poor families in each of Canada's

25 CMAs for the years 1980, 1990 and 1995.

In the CMAs with the five highest neighbourhood poverty rates in 1995, more than 13 per cent of resident families lived in high-poverty tracts. In Montréal, one in five families (20.5 per cent) lived in a high-poverty tract. The presence of Saint John and Sherbrooke among the top five CMAs on the list suggests that the size of a community is not strongly linked with neighbourhood poverty rates. Over the 15-year period from 1980 to 1995, neighbourhood poverty rates in some CMAs shifted substantially. The rate increased by 9.5 percentage points in Toronto and by 8.7 percentage points in Saskatoon. In contrast, it decreased by more

than 12 percentage points in Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières and Chicoutimi-Jonquière.

As displayed in Table 1.17, CMAs with relatively high neighbourhood poverty rates in 1995 also had relatively high concentrations of poor families. In 1995, more than three in 10 poor families lived in high-poverty neighbourhoods in the CMAs of Montréal, Saint John, Winnipeg, Sherbrooke and Toronto. At the other end of the scale, less than one in five poor families lived in high-poverty census tracts in 14 of the 25 CMAs. Between 1980 and 1995, the CMAs of Saskatoon, Edmonton and Toronto experienced substantial increases in the concentrations of poor families in high-poverty neighbourhoods. Conversely, the CMAs of Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières and Chicoutimi-Jonquière had opposite trends over the same period.

These data demonstrate that in most CMAs, a considerable proportion of both poor and non-poor families lived in high-poverty neighbourhoods, particularly in Montréal, Saint John, Winnipeg, Sherbrooke and Toronto. However, the data also show that in all CMAs, a majority of poor families lived in areas outside of these high-poverty neighbourhoods.

## Summary

This chapter has examined poverty rates for Canada, the provinces, CMAs, municipal regions, large central and suburban cities, and neighbourhoods. This overview highlights a few key lessons.

- ➔ Poverty in Canada is primarily an urban phenomenon – a disproportionate number of the poor live in metropolitan areas. In 1995, 63.2 per cent of the

TABLE 1.17  
CONCENTRATION OF POOR FAMILIES IN CMAs, 1980, 1990 AND 1995

	Concentration of poor families (%)			Difference 1980 to 1995 (%)
	1980	1990	1995	
Montréal	30.1	40.1	40.1	10.0
Saint John	29.1	35.7	36.4	7.3
Winnipeg	23.5	39.0	36.4	12.9
Sherbrooke	46.5	40.0	32.2	-14.3
Toronto	14.7	21.4	30.8	16.1
Ottawa-Hull	27.5	24.1	28.6	1.1
Hamilton	21.6	21.4	28.2	6.6
St. John's	23.8	27.7	26.8	3.0
Québec	20.8	26.6	25.5	4.7
Saskatoon	2.9	27.6	24.7	21.8
Regina	22.7	19.5	23.0	0.3
Edmonton	4.1	28.3	18.9	14.8
Sudbury	19.0	12.4	18.9	-0.1
Trois-Rivières	36.6	23.9	18.7	-17.9
Halifax	23.3	16.1	16.7	-6.6
Windsor	28.5	29.0	16.4	-12.1
Vancouver	7.2	15.5	13.3	6.1
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	28.4	16.7	10.2	-18.2
Oshawa	10.3	1.6	9.7	-0.6
Calgary	6.4	20.3	8.7	2.3
London	15.6	2.1	4.3	-11.3
Victoria	0.0	4.5	4.0	4.0
Thunder Bay	0.0	2.2	1.7	1.7
St. Catharines-Niagara	11.2	1.4	1.2	-10.0
Kitchener	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Note: Concentration of poor families refers to the percentage of poor economic families in a CMA that reside in high-poverty census tracts.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1996 Census, custom tabulations and Hatfield (1998).

overall population in Canada lived in CMAs, whereas 69.3 per cent of the poor population lived in these areas.

- ➔ Although metropolitan populations have grown significantly in Canada (by 6.9 per cent), the number of poor metropolitan residents grew at a much faster rate (33.8 per cent) between 1990 and 1995. However, the growth rate of the poor population in large CMAs (those with populations of 500,000 plus) was greater than

among the population in smaller CMAs (those with populations of less than 500,000).

- ➔ There were substantial variations in poverty rates among CMAs and cities in 1995. Among large CMAs, Montréal had the highest poverty rate at 27.3 per cent; Ottawa-Hull had the lowest rate at 18.9 per cent. Among smaller CMAs, Cape Breton had the highest poverty rate at 25.0 per cent; Oshawa had the lowest rate at 12.4 per cent.

- ➔ Cities within CMAs showed similar degrees of poverty rate variations. Within large CMAs, the poverty rate among cities ranged from 41.2 per cent in Montréal to 9.9 per cent in Oakville. Within smaller CMAs, the poverty rate among cities ranged from 30.8 per cent in Trois-Rivières to 16.3 per cent in Oshawa.

- ➔ Within all CMAs, central cities had substantially higher poverty rates than other areas, including suburban communities. On average, 26.8 per cent of central city residents were living below the poverty line, compared to 16.2 per cent of suburban residents. As well, poor people in municipal regions were more likely to live in central cities than in other areas in the region.

- ➔ The number of high-poverty neighbourhoods increased considerably between 1980 and 1995. Most of these neighbourhoods were in Montréal and Toronto, although they can be found in nearly all CMAs.

- ➔ As a result of the growth in the number of these high-poverty neighbourhoods, the proportion of both poor and non-poor families living in such areas has also increased. Neighbourhood concentrations of poor families were particularly evident in the CMAs of Montréal, Saint John, Winnipeg, Sherbrooke and Toronto. However, the vast majority of poor families in all CMAs resided in areas other than high-poverty neighbourhoods.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See *Appendix A3* for a discussion of various geographies used in this research.

<sup>2</sup> The terms "metropolitan area" and "CMA" are used interchangeably in this report. For the purposes of this report, all references to CMAs or metropolitan areas also include the census agglomeration of Cape Breton, unless otherwise noted.

- <sup>3</sup> Large cities refer to census subdivisions (CSDs) with populations of 100,000 or more, or CSDs that are historic central cities of metropolitan areas. In *Chapters 2 through 5*, they are referred to simply as cities.
- <sup>4</sup> See *Appendix A1.1* for the actual income cut-offs.
- <sup>5</sup> See Figure Intro.1, or *A Statistical Profile of Urban Poverty*, by Clarence Lochhead and Richard Shillington. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1996.
- <sup>6</sup> Although they define the urban system as including all urban areas with populations over 10,000 rather than simply CMAs, the concept is relevant to this discussion. In 1996, the sum of CMA populations accounted for 81 per cent of the urban system population of Canada.
- <sup>7</sup> Core CMAs include Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Windsor, London, Kitchener, Hamilton, St. Catharines-Niagara, Toronto, Oshawa, Ottawa-Hull, and Montréal. Periphery CMAs include Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg, Thunder Bay, Sudbury, Trois-Rivières, Sherbrooke, Québec, Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Saint John, Halifax, Cape Breton, and St. John's.
- <sup>8</sup> Bourne notes that central cities have lower average incomes than do suburban areas. Although he sees no significant correlation between the degree of this difference and either city size or region, he does note an inverse relationship with respect to population growth of the urban area. Areas with slow or no growth are more likely to see sharper differences between central city and suburban incomes, suggesting a gradual movement of people and income from central cities.
- <sup>9</sup> Only selected CDs are discussed in this research. To be selected, CDs had to overlap CMAs and contain large cities (CSDs over 100,000 in population). This analysis excluded CDs that overlapped smaller parts of the CMA, had relatively small populations, or were mostly non-urban in nature. As well, CDs in the provinces of Newfoundland, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta were excluded because they were constructed by Statistics Canada – in consultation with the provincial governments – solely for the purposes of “the dissemination of statistical information.” Consequently, these CDs did not represent regional governments. CDs that contained the cities of Trois-Rivières and Longueuil were excluded due to the lack of available data. CD poverty rates do not include data on Indian reserves within the municipal regions examined.
- <sup>10</sup> Since the 1996 Census, the city of Halifax no longer exists as a municipal entity. It has become part of a larger area called the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). The boundaries of Halifax County are similar to those of the HRM. As such, data shown for Halifax County in 1995 can be assumed to reflect the population within the current HRM boundaries.
- <sup>11</sup> Cape Breton County includes the Cape Breton Regional Municipality and the Indian reserves of Membertou 28B and Eskasoni 3. Data for these reserves are not included in the figures shown for Cape Breton County because the LICO statistics are not calculated for Indian reserves. As such, Cape Breton County and Cape Breton Regional Municipality appear to have the same populations in these tables. As a result, the poverty rates for these areas are identical.
- <sup>12</sup> Since the 1996 Census, the administrative boundaries of Toronto have changed. At the time of the 1996 Census, the Toronto Metropolitan Municipality was the regional municipality that encompassed the communities of Toronto, York, North York, Scarborough, East York, and Etobicoke. In 1997, the new city of Toronto was established. The new city boundaries are equivalent to what was the Toronto Metropolitan Municipality, and the communities within this area are no longer legislated as separate municipalities. Despite no longer being defined by the Province of Ontario as a regional government, Toronto is considered to be a regional municipality in this section due to its sheer size.
- <sup>13</sup> Although they are no longer legislated municipalities, the communities of York, North York, Scarborough, East York, Etobicoke, and the former city of Toronto are examined here as they existed in 1996.
- <sup>14</sup> The Greater Vancouver Regional District is geographically equivalent to the CMA of Vancouver.
- <sup>15</sup> See also Wilson, 1987; Massey, Gross and Eggers, 1991; Van Kempen, 1994; Hajnal, 1995; Jargowsky, 1996; Hatfield, 1997; MacLaughlan and Sawada, 1997; Bourne, 1997; Ley and Smith, 1997; Fong and Shibuya, 1998.
- <sup>16</sup> See Hajnal, 1995; Hatfield, 1997; MacLaughlan and Sawada, 1997; Ley and Smith, 1997; Fong and Shibuya, 1998.
- <sup>17</sup> The terms “census tract,” “CT” and “neighbourhood” are used here interchangeably. According to Statistics Canada, census tracts are “small geographic units representing urban or rural neighbourhoodlike communities created in census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations.” The population of census tracts ranges from a minimum of 2,500 to a maximum of 8,000. Due to the lack of available data, this analysis does not include census tracts for the CA of Cape Breton.

Families here refers to Statistics Canada's definition of economic families: a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common law or adoption.

- <sup>18</sup> Using a 1992 LICO base, the national family poverty rate in 1995 was 16.3 per cent. High-poverty census tracts were those with poverty rates of 32.6 per cent among resident families – double the national rate.

