

ECONOMIC AND LABOUR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS

Chapter

3

Urban Poverty in Canada

A STATISTICAL PROFILE

Along with other industrialized nations, Canada experienced profound economic changes in the last quarter of the 20th century. Fueled primarily by globalization, technological improvements and international trade patterns, economic restructuring swept through Canadian institutions. Although these changes have provided many Canadians with economic benefits, the changes have hindered others in the labour market and have contributed to high levels of unemployment and labour market polarization. Because earnings are a major source of income for most families and individuals, the nature of a worker's relationship with the labour market has obvious implications for their overall income adequacy. Today's employment patterns are resulting in big winners and big losers in the earnings game.

This chapter discusses economic changes associated with the increased marginalization in the labour market of segments of the Canadian population. To the degree that this marginalization hinders certain groups from earning an adequate market income, it can contribute to higher poverty rates. The first section discusses general changes in Canada's labour market that are causing difficulties for some people.

The second part of the chapter explores the employment characteristics of the working-age urban poor (those between 15 and 64 years of age). In addition to comparing their annual employment

activities and occupational skill levels with their poverty status, this section also explores the relationship between education levels and poverty. These data demonstrate strong linkages between education, employment and poverty.

Canada's Changing Labour Market

Many Canadians feel economically insecure in today's labour market. A 1999 poll conducted by Ekos Research for the Canadian Council on Social Development revealed that 30 per cent of respondents believed they were likely to lose their job over the next few years. Furthermore, 40 per cent of respondents were not confident that they could find equivalent employment within six months if they lost their current job. These findings reflect an atmosphere of economic uncertainty in the country that has begun to shift only in the last year or two.¹ The economic changes discussed in this section suggest reasons why so many Canadians felt vulnerable to, or experienced, economic hardship.

Structural changes have caused increased polarization in industries, occupations, wages and employment opportunities. As well, certain segments of the working-age population cannot find employment, or they are not participating in the labour force. Coffey and Shearmur indicate that the labour market is threatening to become more

dichotomous as the jobs available increasingly fit into two categories: " 'good jobs' – those that are full time, well remunerated and satisfying positions – and 'bad jobs' – those that involve unstable, poorly paid and devalorizing employment opportunities."²

ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING TRENDS

The process of globalization is characterized by increasing interdependence among countries, companies and people. As the worldwide movement of people, goods, information and capital has become easier, business and trade have expanded rapidly. Notable economic trends linked to globalization include the international exposure of domestic markets through:

- trade liberalization initiatives such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the former General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT);
- the capacity of companies to engage in industrial production in any number of countries.

Technological advancements have also contributed to major changes in the Canadian economy. Computers

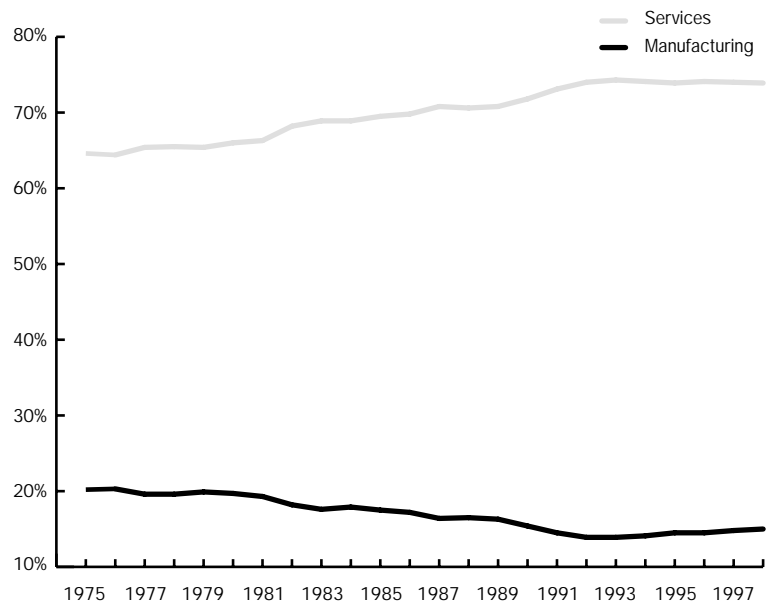
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are now widely used in the workplace, transforming the skill set needed for many types of jobs. Technology has improved productivity in goods-producing industries and created a market for new service industries. Furthermore, industrialized economies are increasingly seen as knowledge-based economies, where knowledge is a prerequisite for growth.

The change in the relative share of manufacturing and service jobs is one trend often attributed to globalization and technology. Increased competition from imported products and productivity gains from technological improvements have led many employers to rationalize their production processes by displacing workers. Between 1976 and 1998, the proportion of manufacturing jobs declined from 20.1 per cent of all jobs to 14.6 per cent, as shown in Figure 3.1. On the other hand, the service sector is the largest industrial sector in Canada, and it experienced the greatest growth over the same time period, with the proportion of service jobs increasing from 63.1 per cent of all jobs to 71.1 per cent.

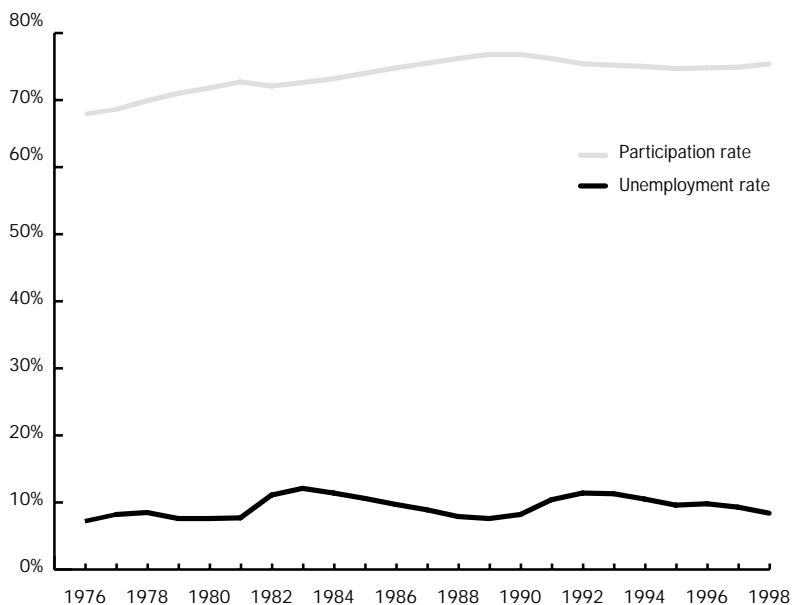
Another indicator of economic change in Canada is the depth of its recessions, the last two of which bottomed out in 1982-1983 and 1990-1992. In particular, the latter recession has been described as the worst in Canadian history since the Great Depression of the 1930s. As shown in Figure 3.2, unemployment rates have risen in step with the two recessions but they have also remained stubbornly high in post-recession periods. As well, the labour force participation rate – the proportion of the working-age population that is either employed or looking for employment – increased steadily until 1990, at which point it began to decline. These figures show that the economic recovery from the 1990-

FIGURE 3.1
PROPORTION OF MANUFACTURING AND SERVICE INDUSTRY JOBS,
EMPLOYED POPULATION AGED 15 AND OLDER, CANADA, 1976-1998



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey, 1976 to 1998.

FIGURE 3.2
PARTICIPATION RATE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (ANNUAL AVERAGES),
POPULATION AGED 15 TO 64, CANADA, 1976-1995



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey, 1976 to 1998.

1992 recession has been slow, but fairly steady.

LESS EMPLOYMENT FOR
LOW EARNERS

Changes in the Canadian economy have had profound effects on groups at the low end of the earnings spectrum. In a competitive job market, those with lower skills, less formal education and less employment experience typically earn less than others. In general, the occupational structure in Canada has become increasingly polarized, characterized by growth in high-skill, high-wage jobs at one end of the spectrum and low-skill, low-wage jobs at the other.³ While this pattern may suggest that there are more employment opportunities available for those Canadians with less human capital, it also suggests that the jobs available to them are increasingly of one kind only: those that pay poorly. It is safe to presume that many of these jobs are held by the working poor, that is, persons with full-time, full-year jobs whose incomes still fall below the poverty line.

One employment pattern that operates against low-skilled workers is the declining share of manufacturing jobs. Because this sector had many full-time, unionized, well-paying jobs accessible to workers with lower skills, this trend means fewer such jobs are available to those workers. Furthermore, the growth in the service industry has resulted in more non-unionized, low-wage, part-time, and low-skilled jobs. Although many of the best-paying jobs are in the service sector, almost three-quarters (72 per cent) of service workers in 1994 were in industries with weekly earnings below the average for all goods-producing industries.⁴

Overall, the skill levels of the Canadian labour force are rising. The growth in knowledge-based

occupations is also influencing the type and level of skills sought by employers. Between 1981 and 1991, occupations requiring high-level cognitive and communications skills increased, whereas occupations requiring high gross motor skills decreased. These changes may be contributing to the worsening employment situation of the least-educated and lowest-skilled workers.⁵

As well, non-standard employment has increased in Canada. Between 1989 and 1994, the rates for part-time employment, temporary employment, self-employment, and multiple jobholding all rose.⁶ Increases in part-time and temporary employment may reflect declining hours of employment for many in the labour force. The rise in self-employment and multiple jobholding can be seen as indicators of low wages. While not always the case, non-standard employment is usually characterized by less job security, lower pay and fewer fringe benefits. Non-standard employment patterns, already prevalent in the social services, retail trades and other consumer services by 1989, have since spread to other sectors such as goods-producing industries.

The marginal status of some workers is also reflected in the polarization of weekly hours employed and in the rise of involuntary part-time employment. Between 1976 and 1993, the share of jobs with standard hours (35 to 40 hours per week) declined, and the share of jobs with a greater or lesser number of hours of employment rose. Youth aged 15 to 24 were most likely to work fewer than standard hours. The proportion of youth-held jobs with less than 35-hour work weeks increased from 24 per cent in 1976 to 51 per cent by 1993.⁷ Related to this trend, the proportion of involuntary part-time workers also grew. The share of involuntary part-timers (i.e.,

those who would rather work full-time) rose from 11 per cent of all part-time workers in 1975 to 35 per cent by 1994.⁸ Furthermore, part-timers were more likely to be employed in non-permanent jobs, have irregular schedules, and be in low-skill occupations.⁹

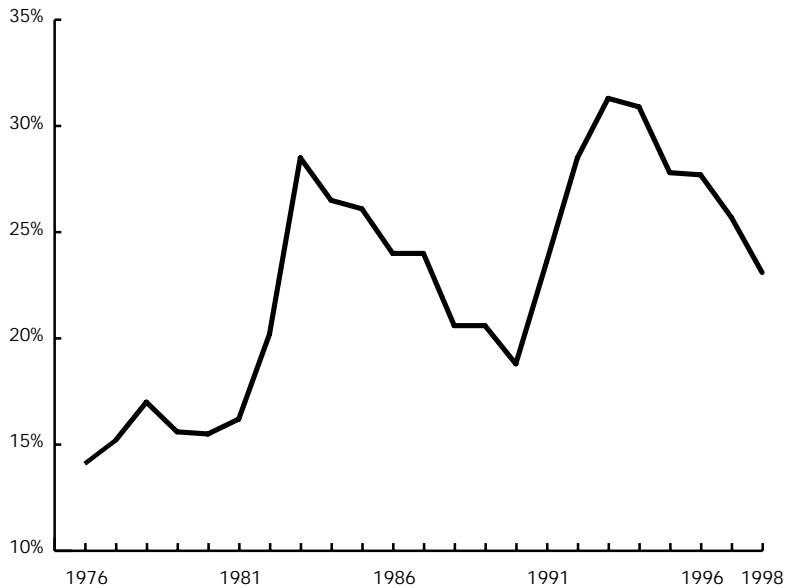
For those who cannot find work, the duration of unemployment in the early 1990s was longer than for unemployed workers in previous times. As shown in Figure 3.3, the proportion of the unemployed who were without employment for more than half a year rose from 14.1 per cent in 1976 to 23.1 per cent in 1998.

A growing proportion of working-age individuals do not even participate in the labour force. Post-1989 declines in the participation rate highlight the fact that many workers have been leaving the labour force. Non-participation in the labour force may be voluntary, involuntary, or a combination of both. It may be due to such things as family care responsibilities, school enrollment, a serious disability, the availability of other income sources, or discouragement about the possibility of finding a job. However, a growing number of working-age people who do not participate in the labour force fall into two specific age groups: those over age 55, and those under age 25. And while corporate restructuring has helped increase early retirement among some older members of the labour force, the perception that there is little demand for less-educated workers has prompted many young people to stay in school longer than their predecessors.¹⁰

EARNINGS INEQUALITIES

To some extent, earnings indicate success or failure in the labour market. And while measuring earnings inequalities does not

FIGURE 3.3
DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT GREATER THAN HALF A YEAR
(ANNUAL AVERAGES), POPULATION AGED 15 AND OLDER,
CANADA, 1976-1998



Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's *Labour Force Survey*, 1976 to 1998.

necessarily measure poverty, inequality is an indicator of disparity. The trends discussed earlier contribute to earnings inequalities among and within some groups. For all working-age persons, earnings inequalities were relatively stable through the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the overall picture masks offsetting trends experienced by different groups in the labour market.

Although men's earnings are still substantially higher than those of women, real earnings among low-skilled workers under age 35 – particularly men – have fallen dramatically. Conversely, women at all wage levels, higher-paid men, and older workers saw real gains in their earnings. Part of the reason for women's gains is due to their increased participation in the labour force. For example, women in part-

year or part-time jobs increased their hours in those jobs, resulting in higher annual earnings. Women's earnings gains were also related to their increased education levels, more employment experience, and their movement into male-dominated occupations.¹¹ As well, women of the baby-boom generation have benefited from a pool of good jobs in the health, education and social service sectors.¹²

Finnie suggests that market factors combined with institutional factors are the most likely causes of earnings inequalities. Structural changes in the economy have affected all groups to varying degrees, but the negative influences have been more heavily concentrated among younger and less-skilled workers due to such things as hiring and firing practices, two-tiered contracts, and patterns of unionization.

Education Levels and Poverty

Higher education is one of the more important factors associated with success in the labour market and higher incomes. As the labour market increasingly demands high-skilled workers, and the general population becomes better educated, those with relatively low levels of education are finding the labour market less and less accommodating. Of course, this trend has implications for their ability to stay out of poverty.

Table 3.1 presents an overview of the urban population aged 15 and older, by their poverty status and education level in 1995. Among the 9.8 million individuals in cities, 35.6 per cent had a degree or certificate from a university, college or technical institute (i.e., had a post-secondary certificate); 23.4 per cent had graduated from high school (i.e., had a secondary certificate only); and 41.0 per cent had less than a secondary certificate.

Education levels among the poor population were noticeably different from those in the total city population. Among the poor population, 24.4 per cent had a post-secondary certificate; 23.2 per cent had graduated from high school; and 52.4 per cent had not completed high school. The table shows that persons with a post-secondary certificate accounted for a much smaller share of the poor population than of the total population. In contrast, persons with less than a high school education were over-represented among the poor population. High school graduates accounted for equal shares of the poor and total populations.¹³

Table 3.1 also shows the average poverty rate among the all-city population aged 15 and older by education level. Overall, the poverty

TABLE 3.1
POPULATION AGED 15 AND OLDER BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND POVERTY STATUS, SHOWING NUMBER, PROPORTION IN TOTAL POPULATION AND POVERTY RATE, AGGREGATE OF CITIES, 1995

	Number		Proportion of population		Poverty rate (%)
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	
Total population	9,822,000	2,278,500	100.0	100.0	23.2
Post-secondary certificate	3,496,300	555,400	35.6	24.4	15.9
High school graduate (secondary certificate)	2,296,100	529,200	23.4	23.2	23.0
Less than high school (less than secondary certificate)	4,029,600	1,193,800	41.0	52.4	29.6

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

rate for this group was 23.2 per cent. Individuals with a post-secondary education had a lower-than-average poverty rate of 15.9 per cent, while those with less than high school had a higher-than-average poverty rate of 29.6 per cent. In other words, persons with less than a high school education were almost twice as likely to be in poverty as persons with a post-secondary education. The poverty rate among high school graduates was in line with the average for the population as a whole.

Table 3.2 presents city poverty rates among populations aged 15 and older with less than a high school education. As with other population characteristics, people with similar education levels in different cities had remarkably varied poverty rates. Residents of Montréal who did not graduate from high school were most likely to be poor – almost half (47.9 per cent) lived in poverty in 1995. In eight of the 47 cities listed (including Montréal), one in three people with less than a high school education was poor.

Table 3.2 also shows the total number and the number of poor individuals with less than a high school education in each city, as well as the proportion

they represented in each city's total and poor populations. The table also compares poverty rates among individuals with a post-secondary education to those who did not finish high school. People with less than a high school education accounted for large shares of most city populations, from 30.6 per cent of the population in Oakville, to 58.7 per cent of the population in Cape Breton. Not surprisingly, these people accounted for an even larger proportion of the poor populations in all cities. At the low end of the scale in Nepean, persons with less than a high school education accounted for 41.1 per cent of the poor population; at the high end of the scale in Cape Breton, they accounted for 72.7 per cent of the poor population in that city.

In every city examined, individuals with less than a high school education were more likely to be poor than were those with a post-secondary certificate. In fact, the poverty rate among those with less than a high school education was more than twice the rate of those with post-secondary education in 21 of the 47 cities. However, it seems that having a post-secondary education is no guarantee against poverty. At least six per cent of post-secondary graduates in every city

were living in poverty, and in six cities the rate was over 20 per cent. Furthermore, poverty rates for those who didn't graduate from high school were lower in some cities than the rates for post-secondary graduates in other cities. For example, an adult with less than a high school education in Mississauga was less likely to be living below the poverty line in 1995 than a post-secondary graduate in Edmonton.

The share of the population with less than a high school education within a city's poor population seems to be only loosely linked to their poverty rate. For example, high school non-graduates accounted for 43.0 per cent of the poor population in Ottawa – one of the lowest shares in any of the cities. However, Ottawa was among the 10 cities with the highest poverty rates among this population. On the flip side, Cape Breton had a relatively high proportion of high school non-graduates in its poor population, but had a middle-of-the-road poverty rate for this population relative to other cities. This relationship is explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that education level does indeed have a relationship with poverty rates. In every city, a person with a lower education was more likely to be poor than was a person with a higher education. Despite this difference, notable proportions of people with a post-secondary certificate were poor in these communities. As such, a lack of education cannot be viewed as the sole cause of poverty, nor can more education be seen as the only solution to poverty.

Employment and Poverty

In general, the less employment that a potential income earner has, the worse off they are economically.

TABLE 3.2
POPULATION AGED 15 AND OLDER WITH LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, BY POVERTY STATUS AND CITY,
SHOWING NUMBER, PROPORTION IN CITY POPULATION AND POVERTY RATE, 1995

	Less than high school		Proportion of city population with less than high school		Poverty rate (%)		
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Less than high school	Post- secondary	Difference
ALL CITIES	4,029,600	1,193,800	41.0	52.4	29.6	15.9	13.7
Montréal	345,600	165,700	41.4	50.3	47.9	30.1	17.8
Québec	57,500	26,000	40.8	53.5	45.2	24.8	20.4
Hull	20,100	8,300	39.6	57.6	41.2	17.3	23.8
Longueuil	45,900	18,000	44.3	60.7	39.2	15.3	24.0
Trois-Rivières	17,200	6,700	43.3	55.7	39.1	20.0	19.1
Vancouver	158,300	60,600	36.4	46.1	38.2	22.0	16.2
Ottawa	81,200	29,300	31.0	43.0	36.1	17.0	19.1
Sherbrooke	25,300	9,000	41.0	50.4	35.5	22.0	13.5
Saint John	27,900	9,100	48.4	63.6	32.6	14.4	18.2
Toronto	781,600	253,200	40.6	51.4	32.4	17.5	14.9
Hamilton	128,100	40,600	50.1	61.8	31.7	16.4	15.3
Burnaby	57,300	17,900	38.9	45.3	31.3	21.7	9.6
Edmonton	218,700	66,300	45.5	56.4	30.3	16.2	14.2
Jonquière	20,800	6,300	45.8	58.6	30.1	13.4	16.7
Winnipeg	225,300	67,400	46.5	61.1	29.9	13.8	16.1
St. John's	34,800	10,300	42.6	57.2	29.7	12.6	17.1
Chicoutimi	21,300	6,300	42.8	57.6	29.6	14.1	15.5
Richmond	44,300	13,100	36.9	43.7	29.5	19.3	10.2
Halifax	33,200	9,800	35.2	44.7	29.4	16.5	12.9
Laval	106,900	31,100	40.9	58.0	29.1	11.0	18.1
Victoria	22,400	6,500	35.9	43.2	29.0	17.2	11.8
Gatineau	32,900	9,400	42.7	64.6	28.4	8.7	19.7
Cape Breton	53,200	14,900	58.7	72.7	28.0	11.9	16.1
Coquitlam	29,400	7,800	37.2	46.6	26.6	16.6	10.0
Calgary	236,900	59,800	39.6	50.7	25.3	13.4	11.9
Surrey	105,600	26,400	45.4	57.8	25.0	13.8	11.3
Saskatoon	64,100	16,000	43.3	51.3	24.9	14.7	10.2
Sudbury	34,700	8,600	46.6	58.9	24.7	11.3	13.4
Windsor	68,300	15,300	43.4	53.8	22.4	12.1	10.2
London	96,300	21,400	37.7	48.4	22.2	11.8	10.4
Regina	61,600	13,400	44.5	57.7	21.7	9.3	12.4
Richmond Hill	28,400	6,000	36.0	44.5	21.0	11.4	9.6
St. Catharines	47,400	9,800	45.5	56.8	20.6	10.7	9.9
Niagara Falls	29,400	6,000	47.9	59.5	20.4	10.7	9.6
Mississauga	154,900	30,300	36.8	47.9	19.6	10.6	8.9
Oshawa	50,100	9,800	48.5	64.7	19.5	7.9	11.6
Nepean	24,100	4,600	26.9	41.1	19.1	8.1	11.0
Markham	44,400	8,400	32.5	43.8	18.9	9.4	9.5
Thunder Bay	42,900	8,000	47.6	63.6	18.7	8.2	10.5
Kitchener	64,600	12,000	46.7	57.0	18.5	9.9	8.6
Gloucester	23,600	4,200	29.8	44.9	17.7	7.7	10.0
Cambridge	38,100	6,400	49.7	65.6	16.8	6.6	10.2
Brampton	85,500	13,600	42.1	54.0	15.9	8.2	7.8
Burlington	37,100	5,700	34.1	53.6	15.4	5.6	9.8
Vaughan	42,900	6,300	42.3	53.1	14.8	7.7	7.1
Saanich	29,100	4,200	35.2	41.9	14.5	8.2	6.3
Oakville	30,200	4,300	30.6	45.4	14.3	6.5	7.8

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

However, the relationship between employment and poverty is sometimes complex. Individuals and families can often compensate for a lack of

earnings with additional income earners, extended family supports, asset liquidation, government transfers, or by other means.

Poverty assessments are based on household incomes and take family size into account. Therefore, an examination of individual-level

employment activity reveals only part of the picture. In some cases, a family earner may be fully employed, but have many dependants. In other cases, many family members may be earners, but they may have part-time or temporary employment. In both situations, all the family members may be poor, even though their individual employment activities are quite different.

Nonetheless, an examination of poverty among individuals according to their employment status is a useful exercise. While an individual's lack of employment does not always result in poverty, data in this section clearly demonstrate a relationship between these factors. To explore the relationship, this report uses two labour force indicators: annual employment activity and occupational skill level.

ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITY

The association between employment and poverty becomes clearer when poverty among working-age individuals is compared with their annual employment activity. The employment activity variable used here is based on an individual's annual weeks of employment and whether their employment was mostly full-time or part-time during the year prior to the Census¹⁴ – the same time period for which poverty status is assigned. This report identifies four categories:

- ➔ full-year, full-time employment (i.e., fully employed);
- ➔ full-year, part-time employment;
- ➔ part-year employment, full- or part-time;
- ➔ no annual employment.

Full-year employment is defined as 49 to 52 weeks of employment; part-year employment is from one to 48 weeks of employment. Full-time

employment is defined as 30 hours per week of employment for most weeks of the year; part-time employment is one to 29 hours per week of employment. A week of employment is defined as any employment during the week.

The typical working-age person in cities was more likely to be fully employed, whereas the average poor person was more likely to have been without employment all year, as shown in Table 3.3. In the cities examined, 40.2 per cent of individuals had a full-time, full-year job in 1995 – three times the proportion among poor individuals (13.2 per cent). As well, 24.4 per cent of persons had no employment that year – less than half the proportion among poor persons (49.2 per cent).

Interestingly, the proportions of individuals with part-year or part-time jobs differed little between the total and poor populations. Only slightly more of the poor population was employed part-year (33.0 per cent) compared to the total population in this employment category (29.7 per cent). Also, the share of poor people with full-year, part-time employment (4.7 per cent) was only slightly lower than the share among the total population (5.7 per cent). These

distributions imply that individuals with similar amounts of employment activity may have had earnings that varied greatly. For example, a computer consultant with occasional lapses between contracts may earn sufficient wages to keep themselves out of poverty, but a retail clerk working their way through university may not have enough hours or wages to do the same.

Not surprisingly, the more employment an individual has, the less likely they will live in poverty. However, poverty was present among individuals in all categories of employment activity. As shown in Table 3.3, persons in the working-age population who had no employment were the most likely to be living in poverty (46.2 per cent). However, 7.5 per cent of workers with a full-time, full-year job – the working poor – also lived in poverty. These figures suggest that employment is not the only solution to poverty. Even a whole year of full-time employment cannot guarantee an adequate income.

Table 3.4 looks at the amount of paid work carried out in the labour market in each city listed. It shows the proportion of the total and poor working-age populations with no

TABLE 3.3
WORKING-AGE POPULATION BY ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITY AND POVERTY STATUS, SHOWING NUMBER, PROPORTION IN TOTAL POPULATION AND POVERTY RATE, AGGREGATE OF CITIES, 1995

	Number		Proportion of population		Poverty rate (%)
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	
Total	8,419,900	1,928,500	100.0	100.0	22.9
Full-year full-time job	3,382,100	253,900	40.2	13.2	7.5
Full-year part-time job	482,200	90,400	5.7	4.7	18.7
Part-year, full- or part-time job	2,504,500	635,700	29.7	33.0	25.4
No annual employment	2,050,700	948,100	24.4	49.2	46.2

Note: Full-year job refers to the equivalent of 49 to 52 annual weeks of employment; part-year job refers to 1 to 48 annual weeks of employment; no annual employment refers to no annual weeks of paid work. A person with a full-year full-time job is also referred to as "fully employed."

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

TABLE 3.4
WORKING-AGE POPULATION BY POVERTY STATUS, ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT
ACTIVITY AND CITY, SHOWING PROPORTION IN CITY POPULATION AND
POVERTY RATE, 1995

	Proportion with no annual employment		Proportion with full-time full-year jobs		Poverty rate (%)	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	No annual employment	Full-time full-year
ALL CITIES	24.4	49.2	40.2	13.2	46.2	7.5
Montréal	32.4	54.4	32.7	11.2	65.8	13.4
Québec	29.8	52.8	34.6	10.8	59.5	10.5
Hull	26.3	54.4	40.1	11.1	56.3	7.5
Vancouver	25.0	46.8	35.8	12.0	55.9	10.0
Longueuil	29.3	57.8	37.2	11.3	54.3	8.3
Ottawa	23.8	47.4	40.9	10.3	54.1	6.9
Sherbrooke	28.3	51.4	30.9	8.5	53.3	8.1
Victoria	18.6	38.0	38.4	10.4	53.1	7.1
Burnaby	25.9	51.7	37.0	10.9	53.0	7.8
Trois-Rivières	33.9	58.5	29.2	6.4	52.3	6.6
Toronto	27.0	53.4	40.2	13.4	50.1	8.5
Richmond	26.3	53.2	37.6	11.9	49.7	7.7
Hamilton	28.0	55.2	37.8	11.3	49.2	7.4
Saint John	28.7	54.0	35.8	10.7	47.9	7.6
Halifax	21.9	41.1	40.8	12.0	46.2	7.2
Coquitlam	22.4	49.6	41.6	12.3	45.5	6.1
St. John's	29.8	59.3	36.7	8.2	45.3	5.1
Saskatoon	19.4	40.1	40.7	12.3	45.0	6.6
Edmonton	20.3	37.0	40.3	16.0	44.6	9.7
Winnipeg	20.4	41.9	43.5	17.5	44.4	8.7
Cape Breton	39.3	70.9	24.4	5.2	41.8	5.0
Surrey	23.2	48.4	38.4	12.8	40.9	6.5
Sudbury	27.8	55.4	35.4	8.1	40.0	4.6
Jonquière	36.6	62.3	30.6	7.3	39.6	5.6
Gatineau	24.1	53.1	42.9	13.6	39.3	5.7
London	21.6	46.3	41.9	11.1	38.8	4.8
Richmond Hill	24.0	55.2	44.6	15.8	38.6	6.0
Regina	18.8	42.6	44.0	12.8	38.5	5.0
Laval	25.6	50.9	40.7	16.1	38.2	7.6
Chicoutimi	32.5	59.0	32.9	8.6	37.7	5.4
Windsor	25.3	52.0	39.1	11.6	37.4	5.4
Kitchener	20.1	47.3	44.0	12.7	36.6	4.5
St. Catharines	23.9	50.9	38.3	11.7	36.4	5.2
Niagara Falls	23.3	50.6	36.9	9.9	36.1	4.5
Calgary	16.9	31.1	44.2	19.1	35.6	8.4
Cambridge	19.8	51.7	46.2	14.3	32.9	3.9
Mississauga	21.2	47.5	45.9	16.7	32.8	5.3
Oshawa	25.4	56.3	42.1	11.3	32.4	3.9
Thunder Bay	21.4	48.6	39.1	10.5	30.9	3.7
Nepean	18.7	45.1	47.6	14.0	30.9	3.8
Markham	23.9	52.1	42.9	14.5	30.6	4.7
Gloucester	20.1	49.7	46.9	15.8	28.6	3.9
Brampton	19.2	42.7	47.4	19.8	26.4	5.0
Saanich	19.0	37.8	40.1	12.9	26.2	4.2
Vaughan	21.8	48.3	44.4	18.5	25.1	4.7
Oakville	16.5	37.4	49.1	20.7	20.2	3.8
Burlington	15.6	36.3	49.3	19.1	19.5	3.2

Note: Cities are ordered by their poverty rate among working-age persons with no annual employment activity.

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

annual employment and with full-time, full-year employment. As well, it shows the poverty rates for each of these populations in each city. Cities are ordered according to the poverty rate among those with no annual employment (column 5). For cities that had a relatively large proportion of their working-age population with no employment during the year, it might indicate that the working-age population had a low interest in employment or that the local labour market did not provide sufficient jobs for them. For cities with a large proportion of fully employed individuals, it might suggest that the working-age population had a high interest in employment and that the local labour market provided a good supply of full-time, full-year jobs. Furthermore, because an individual's level of employment is an important predictor of their risk of poverty, city-wide employment characteristics such as these are important indicators for city poverty rates. (This association is addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5.)

Notable differences in the local labour markets are evident in the proportions of people who were fully employed and those who had no employment in each city. Cape Breton, Jonquière, Trois-Rivières, Chicoutimi and Montréal had the highest proportions of individuals with no annual employment and among the lowest proportions of individuals who were fully employed. Furthermore, in Cape Breton, Jonquière and Trois-Rivières, the proportions of those with no employment were higher than the proportions of those who were fully employed. These data suggest that in these cities, and in others like them, the amount of employment activity was lower than average, and as a result, earnings were likely lower. At the other end of the scale, Burlington, Oakville, Brampton and Nepean had among the lowest proportions of

persons with no annual employment and among the highest proportions of persons who were fully employed. These data suggest that as a result of the higher levels of employment activity in these cities, earnings were probably higher than average. Of course, not all cities had either high or low amounts of employment activity. In Ottawa, for example, the proportions of fully employed individuals and individuals not employed were close to the average for all cities.

These data also indicate that a particular level of employment activity among a population did not necessarily translate into the same poverty rate for that group in all cities. As shown in the fifth column of Table 3.4, individuals with no annual employment in cities at the top of the list were far more likely to be poor than individuals with no annual employment living in cities at the bottom of the list. For this group, poverty rates ranged from a high of 65.8 per cent in Montréal to a low of 19.5 per cent in Burlington. As shown in the table's sixth column, persons who were fully employed in cities at the top of the list were far more likely to be working poor than were those in cities at the bottom of the list. Among this group, poverty rates ranged from a high of 13.4 per cent in Montréal to a low of 3.2 in Burlington.

Variations in poverty rates among cities that had similar proportions of individuals with similar levels of employment activity suggest diversity in the local conditions, such as differences in wages. These data suggest that in some cities, fewer full-time, full-year jobs paid enough to keep people above the poverty line than similar jobs in other cities. Wage differences are a result of a number of factors, including the local industrial mix, the occupational profile of the workforce, labour market demands, unionization rates, and minimum-wage

legislation. For example, some cities may have higher-than-average proportions of unionized, goods-producing jobs which typically pay higher wages than most service industry jobs. Other cities may be bedroom communities for a larger proportion of high-salaried professionals; in such cities, higher housing costs would deter many poor families from living there. And some cities may have more non-unionized, low-paying jobs in provinces with relatively low minimum wages. In such cities, one would expect many fully employed residents to have relatively poorer wages.

Comparisons of the proportions of individuals with no annual employment in different cities also reflect diversity in local conditions. In some cities, people who had no annual employment were highly likely to live in poverty, but in other cities, many people did not seem to need employment to stay out of poverty. Such variations may be due, in part, to the predominant types of households in those cities, such as a high proportion of couples in which the earnings of one spouse were sufficient to support the household. In that situation, a stay-at-home spouse would appear to have no annual employment in these data.¹⁵ In cities with high levels of poverty among individuals with no annual employment, a large proportion may have been unemployed (i.e., they looked for

employment but did not find any during the year), or they may have been discouraged workers (i.e., they could not find employment and had stopped looking).

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVELS

The growing polarization in the labour market contributes to an increased proportion of both high-skilled and low-skilled jobs, thus eroding the supply of jobs in between. *High-skilled occupations* are more likely to be marketable, have better remuneration, and be associated with higher job satisfaction than are low-skilled jobs. *Low-skilled occupations* are more likely to pay minimum wages, which are insufficient to keep many workers' families out of poverty. For example, a two-person family living in a large Ontario city would need a total of 80 weeks of minimum-wage employment per year to stay above the poverty line.¹⁶

This section explores the poverty risk faced by individuals at different occupational skill levels for the working-age population (aged 15 and older) who were employed at some time during the 18-month period prior to Census day (hereafter referred to as the *workforce*). Skill categories used here are based on a combination of factors, including the education, training or skill level required to enter

TABLE 3.5
OCCUPATIONS BY SKILL LEVEL

High-skilled (skill level IV)	Includes senior managers, middle & other managers, professionals.
High-skilled (skill level III)	Includes semi-professionals & technicians, supervisors, foremen/women, administrative & senior clerical, sales & service, skilled crafts & trades.
Moderate-skilled (skill level II)	Includes clerical workers, sales & service, semi-skilled manual workers.
Low-skilled (skill level I)	Includes sales & service, other manual workers

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Dictionary, Cat. No. 92-301E

the job, and the kinds of activities performed in the occupation.¹⁷ For the purposes of this study, skill level I is considered to be a low-skilled occupation, and skill levels III and IV are considered to be high-skilled occupations. See Table 3.5 for the occupation categories at each skill level.

Not surprisingly, the higher a person's skill level, the lower risk of poverty they faced. As shown in the third and fourth columns of Table 3.6, 51.8 per cent of the *total* workforce had high-skilled occupations, but this was the case for only 36.9 per cent of the *poor* workforce. At the other end of the scale, only 13.1 per cent of the total workforce had low-skilled occupations, but 22.0 per cent of the poor workforce had such occupations. The last column of the table shows that the poverty rate among low-skilled workers (25.9 per cent) was more than double the rate among high-skilled workers (11.0 per cent). This is not surprising, given the fact that low-skilled jobs typically pay less than high-skilled work.

The proportion of the workforce at each occupational skill level differed among the cities, reflecting the unique characteristics of each local economy. Table 3.7 shows the proportions of low-skilled workers and high-skilled workers in each city by their poverty status. Cities are ranked by their poverty rates for low-skilled workers in that city (column 5). As shown in the first column, the highest proportions of low-skilled workers were in Niagara Falls, Cape Breton, Hamilton and Saint John. Low-skilled workers accounted for the smallest proportions of the workforces in Richmond Hill, Markham, Oakville and Nepean. The third column shows that Nepean, Richmond Hill, Oakville and Ottawa had the highest proportions of high-skilled workers, and Cambridge, Windsor, Oshawa and Niagara Falls

TABLE 3.6
WORKFORCE BY SELECTED SKILL LEVEL AND POVERTY STATUS, SHOWING NUMBER, PROPORTION IN TOTAL POPULATION AND POVERTY RATE, AGGREGATE OF CITIES, 1995

	Number		Proportion of population		Poverty rate (%)
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	
Total	6,109,700	946,600	100.0	100.0	15.5
High-skill (skill levels III & IV)	3,163,900	349,300	51.8	36.9	11.0
Moderate-skill (skill level II)	2,144,200	389,200	35.1	41.1	18.2
Low-skill (skill level I)	801,400	208,000	13.1	22.0	25.9

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

had the lowest proportions of high-skilled occupations. In all cities, the proportion of high-skilled jobs accounted for at least 42 per cent of all the occupations, which is substantially higher than the proportion of low-skilled jobs in every city.

These data give some indication of the types of jobs in different cities. A relatively large share of high-skilled occupations in a given city suggests that a large proportion of the workforce was well paid, whereas a relatively large share of low-skilled occupations in a city suggests that much of the local workforce had low wages. The cities with larger shares of low-skilled jobs could be expected to have many working-poor individuals.

As was the case with annual work activity, poverty rates among workers in the same occupation levels varied by city. The fifth column in Table 3.7 shows poverty rates among individuals in low-skilled occupations. For example, 39.9 per cent of individuals with low-skilled jobs in Montréal were poor, compared to only 10.7 per cent of workers at the same skill level in Vaughan. Other cities with high poverty rates among low-skilled workers included Ottawa, Québec, Victoria and Sherbrooke. The table also shows that in nine cities, poverty rates among low-skilled workers exceeded 30 per cent, and in eight

cities, the poverty rates for this group were less than half that rate.

Although high-skilled workers were at less risk of living in poverty, their poverty rates still varied considerably in different cities. For example, 19.7 per cent of high-skilled workers in Montréal were poor, compared to only 4.5 per cent of such workers in Gloucester and Burlington. Vancouver, Québec, Burnaby and Sherbrooke also had relatively high poverty rates among their high-skilled workers.

Differences in poverty rates among workers with similar skill levels are likely due to a number of factors, including differences in the industrial mix of the cities. Occupational data allow for important comparisons between people with similar skill levels, but the data do not take into account the different industries in which the people work. For example, a janitor for a school board may earn a much greater income than would a seasonal agricultural worker, although both jobs are at a similar skill level. Among high-skilled occupations, a manager of a retail outlet and a manager of a stock brokerage firm would have very different salary ranges. Salaries, hours of employment and job demand are other labour market factors that exert varying effects on the same-skilled workers in different cities. The unique labour market in each city is

TABLE 3.7
WORKFORCE BY SELECTED SKILL LEVEL, POVERTY STATUS AND CITY,
SHOWING PROPORTION IN CITY POPULATION AND POVERTY RATE, 1995

	Proportion of population with low-skills		Proportion of population with high-skills		Poverty rate (%)	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Low-skills	High-skills
ALL CITIES	13.1	22.0	51.8	36.9	25.9	11.0
Montréal	14.0	21.1	51.6	38.4	39.9	19.7
Ottawa	11.5	22.1	60.4	40.3	36.4	12.6
Québec	13.0	21.3	54.3	39.8	35.8	16.0
Victoria	12.6	21.5	54.1	37.6	33.6	13.7
Sherbrooke	14.5	25.0	53.0	38.7	33.1	14.0
Halifax	12.0	21.8	55.7	36.5	32.7	11.8
Vancouver	13.0	19.6	54.7	41.6	32.3	16.3
Edmonton	14.0	23.0	50.8	35.5	31.8	13.5
Trois-Rivières	14.3	24.2	53.2	36.2	31.0	12.5
Hull	14.0	24.8	57.8	38.4	29.7	11.1
Calgary	12.4	22.5	53.8	36.8	29.3	11.1
Toronto	12.9	21.7	51.8	36.6	28.0	11.7
Saskatoon	13.9	23.8	52.0	36.5	27.3	11.2
Longueuil	13.8	22.6	51.6	33.4	27.2	10.7
Winnipeg	13.1	22.5	48.3	32.2	27.1	10.6
Burnaby	12.4	19.2	52.5	43.0	26.7	14.2
Saint John	17.2	26.5	47.9	32.6	25.2	11.2
Hamilton	17.8	27.3	45.3	31.9	24.1	11.0
Sudbury	15.2	28.0	52.7	28.0	23.0	6.6
Richmond	11.3	16.6	52.6	43.3	22.8	12.8
St. John's	13.4	24.3	54.9	34.3	22.3	7.7
Surrey	15.4	25.1	47.5	34.3	22.0	9.8
Laval	11.6	19.8	53.2	39.1	21.8	9.4
Regina	13.5	24.8	52.1	34.5	21.7	7.8
Jonquière	15.3	24.1	54.2	40.3	21.3	10.1
Gatineau	13.1	23.9	53.1	35.5	20.5	7.5
London	13.8	23.2	50.2	33.6	20.5	8.1
Coquitlam	10.4	15.8	54.1	44.7	20.2	11.0
Chicoutimi	13.4	21.1	54.7	40.2	19.3	8.9
Windsor	16.5	26.9	43.5	32.6	19.0	8.7
Cape Breton	18.6	31.5	48.5	30.9	18.6	7.0
Nepean	9.5	19.7	61.5	40.3	18.5	5.8
Niagara Falls	18.9	30.4	44.1	31.7	17.8	7.9
Gloucester	10.1	23.1	58.2	34.1	17.5	4.5
St. Catherines	15.3	23.5	47.3	32.5	17.3	7.7
Mississauga	11.6	19.8	49.8	36.0	17.3	7.3
Saanich	13.0	22.4	55.5	37.0	17.1	6.6
Kitchener	15.4	25.3	44.3	30.4	17.0	7.1
Oshawa	14.7	26.9	43.5	31.6	15.9	6.3
Thunder Bay	15.2	26.3	51.1	35.6	14.8	6.0
Richmond Hill	8.6	12.8	61.1	46.8	14.7	7.5
Brampton	12.8	21.5	44.4	30.9	14.6	6.1
Oakville	9.1	18.2	60.7	40.0	14.1	4.6
Cambridge	14.6	25.3	42.7	27.8	13.5	5.1
Markham	8.6	12.9	58.6	46.4	13.3	7.0
Burlington	10.3	20.2	56.4	38.9	12.9	4.5
Vaughan	10.2	14.3	57.4	50.2	10.7	6.7

Note: Cities are ordered by their poverty rate among low-skilled occupations.

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

one factor that determines how poverty rates vary for workers with the same skill levels.

Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the strong associations between education and poverty, employment activity and poverty, and occupational skill levels and poverty. A number of conclusions about poverty in Canadian cities can be drawn from these data.

- ➔ The more education an individual had, the less likely they were to live in poverty. On average, the poverty rate among persons with a post-secondary degree or certificate was 15.9 per cent. The rate among persons with less than a high school certificate was almost double that, at 29.6 per cent.
- ➔ In general, the poverty rate decreased with increased employment. Among individuals with no employment, 46.2 per cent were poor. Among those with full-time, full-year employment, 7.5 per cent were poor. However, these figures also indicate that even full-employment was not enough to keep some individuals out of poverty, and conversely, that not all individuals without employment were poor.
- ➔ The higher the occupational skill level, the less likely an individual was to be poor. On average, 25.9 per cent of low-skilled workers were poor, compared to 11.0 per cent of high-skilled workers. These figures show that not all low-skilled workers were poor, nor were all high-skilled workers immune to poverty.
- ➔ The proportion of the adult population at each education level differed among the cities, as

did the proportion of individuals by their employment activity and the proportion of the workforce at each occupational skill level. These indicators reflect the unique characteristics of each local labour force and economy.

- Populations with similar employment activity levels in different cities did not necessarily experience similar poverty rates. This was also true for the populations with similar educational achievements and those with similar occupational skill levels. For example, an individual with no annual employment in Saint John was more than twice as likely to be poor as an individual with no employment in Oakville.
- Poverty rates among cities varied widely, although most rates were close to the average for all cities.

The following tables summarize the variations among different groups in city populations and their local poverty rates. The first three columns of Table 3.8 show the highest, average and lowest proportions of the city populations with less than a high school education, among working-age individuals with no annual employment, and among the workforce in low-skilled occupations. These figures demonstrate

that some cities had relatively large proportions of individuals with less than a high school education, and other cities had much smaller proportions. As well, the proportions of those with no annual employment and those in low-skilled jobs also show wide dispersions.

The next three columns in Table 3.8 refer to proportions of the same groups in the poor population. Again, the proportions with less than a high school education, with no annual employment, and in low-skilled occupations were higher among the poor population than among the total population. In addition, the range in these proportions was wider. For example, the proportion of poor individuals with no annual employment ranged from 31.1 per cent in Calgary to 70.9 per cent in Cape Breton. Cape Breton also recorded the highest proportion of poor individuals with less than a high school education (72.7 per cent) and those in low-skilled occupations (31.5 per cent).

The last three columns of Table 3.8 show the highest, average and lowest poverty rates among these same groups. For example, the poverty rate for persons with less than a high school education ranged from 47.9 per cent in Montréal to 14.3 per cent

in Oakville. Among those with no annual employment, 65.8 per cent in Montréal were poor, compared to 19.5 per cent in Burlington. Also, low-skilled workers in Montréal were substantially more likely to live in poverty than those in Vaughan. These wide variations in poverty rates suggest that poverty had much to do with the local labour market conditions and with the person's status in the labour market.

Table 3.9 provides summary statistics on poverty rates for the total population and selected labour market groups in each city, allowing for easy comparisons among cities and groups. Each local poverty rate is identified as being a high-, mid- or low-range rate, similar to those shown in the Summary section of *Chapter 2*. To establish the ranges, a few simple calculations were made. First, a mean rate for the group was established based on the incidence of poverty among that population in all cities. Next, the cut-off for each range was established by calculating plus and minus 25 per cent of the mean rate. High-range rates (H) fell above plus 25 per cent of the mean, mid-range poverty rates (M) were equal to or fell within plus or minus 25 per cent of the mean, and low-range rates (L) fell below minus 25 per cent of the

TABLE 3.8
SUMMARY FIGURES FOR SELECTED GROUPS IN CITIES, 1995: DISPERSION OF PROPORTIONS AND RATES

	Proportion of group in city population			Proportion of group in poor population			Poverty rate (%)		
	High	Average	Low	High	Average	Low	High	Average	Low
Persons (aged 15 and older) with less than high school	58.7 Cape Breton	41.0	26.9 Nepean	72.7 Cape Breton	52.4	41.1 Nepean	47.9 Montréal	29.6	14.3 Oakville
No annual employment (persons aged 15 to 64)	39.3 Cape Breton	24.4	15.6 Burlington	70.9 Cape Breton	49.2	31.1 Calgary	65.8 Montréal	46.2	19.5 Burlington
Low-skill (workforce aged 15 to 64)	18.9 Niagara Falls	13.1	8.6 Richmond Hill	31.5 Cape Breton	22.0	12.8 Richmond Hill	39.9 Montréal	25.9	10.7 Vaughan

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

TABLE 3.9
SUMMARY: POVERTY RATE RANGE LEVEL FOR ALL PERSONS AND
POPULATION GROUPS, BY CITY, 1995

	ALL PERSONS	Less than high school	No annual employment	Low-skill
Montréal	H	H	H	H
Québec	H	H	H	H
Sherbrooke	M	H	M	H
Ottawa	M	H	M	H
Victoria	M	H	M	H
Halifax	M	M	M	H
Vancouver	H	M	M	M
Trois-Rivières	H	H	M	M
Longueuil	M	M	M	M
Hull	M	M	M	M
Burnaby	M	M	M	M
Toronto	M	M	M	M
Hamilton	M	M	M	M
Saint John	M	M	M	M
Edmonton	M	M	M	M
Richmond	M	M	M	M
Winnipeg	M	M	M	M
St. John's	M	M	M	M
Jonquière	M	M	M	M
Saskatoon	M	M	M	M
Coquitlam	M	M	M	M
Laval	M	M	M	M
Surrey	M	M	M	M
Sudbury	M	M	M	M
Calgary	M	M	M	M
Gatineau	M	M	M	M
London	M	M	M	M
Regina	L	M	M	M
Cape Breton	M	M	M	L
Chicoutimi	M	M	M	L
Windsor	M	L	M	L
Niagara Falls	L	L	M	L
St. Catharines	L	L	M	L
Richmond Hill	L	L	M	L
Kitchener	L	L	M	L
Mississauga	L	L	L	L
Oshawa	L	L	L	L
Thunder Bay	L	L	L	L
Markham	L	L	L	L
Nepean	L	L	L	L
Cambridge	L	L	L	L
Gloucester	L	L	L	L
Brampton	L	L	L	L
Saanich	L	L	L	L
Vaughan	L	L	L	L
Burlington	L	L	L	L
Oakville	L	L	L	L

Note: Cities were divided into high (H), mid (M) and low (L) categories based on the poverty rate among population groups. The mid-range (M) rates were + or - 25% of the mean rate for the group in all cities. High-range (H) rates were anything above +25% of the mean rate; low-range (L) rates were anything below -25% of the mean rate.

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

mean. For example, the mean poverty rate for individuals with no annual employment was 46.2 per cent. As such, the mid-range rate for this employment level fell between 57.7 per cent and 34.6 per cent.

Column 1 shows that 26 of the 47 cities had poverty rates that fell within the mid-range. Another four cities had high-range poverty rates, and 17 cities had low-range poverty rates. Most cities' poverty rates were clustered around the mean.

Column 2 shows that within cities, most populations with less than a high school education had poverty rates close to the all-city average for this group. In 24 of the 47 cities, the poverty rate for this group fell in the mid-range.

Poverty rates for individuals with no annual employment varied less than city poverty rates and less than high school poverty rates. Column 3 shows that poverty rates among individuals with no annual employment fell in the mid-range in 33 of the 47 cities.

Poverty rates for the low-skilled workforce were the least likely to cluster near the mean rate for all cities. Among the low-skilled workforce, poverty rates fell in the mid-range in 22 of 47 cities.

In summary, poverty rates varied widely among the city populations and for specific groups within Canadian cities. However, for all these populations, most poverty rates fell in a mid-range. In other words, they were close to the mean rate, and as such, were fairly typical.

Endnotes

- ¹ Canadian Council on Social Development. *Personal Security Index 1999*. Ottawa: CCSD, 1999.
- ² The labour market is incredibly complex, and not all jobs fall into two categories. Many jobs fall somewhere between these extremes of “good” and “bad” jobs. As well, not all low-salaried jobs can be seen as inherently “bad” jobs. Many such jobs are rewarding and well-suited to the people employed in them, but they are simply not highly valued by the labour market. In other words, they may be “good” jobs in every sense, except for the salary paid. And if a salary was our only criteria for evaluating a job, our perspective would be very limited.
- ³ Banting, Keith G., Charles M. Beach, and Gordon Betcherman. “Polarization and Social Policy Reform: Evidence and Issues,” in *Labour Market Polarization and Social Policy Reform*, 1995.
- ⁴ Grenon, Lee. “Are service jobs low-paying?” in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, 1996.
- ⁵ Massé, Philippe; Richard Roy and Yves Gingras. *The Changing Skill Structure of Employment in Canada*, 1998. Gingras, Yves and Daniel Boothby. *Have the Labour Market Conditions of Low-Skilled Workers Worsened in Canada?*, 1998.
- ⁶ Krahn, Harvey. “Non-standard work on the rise,” in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Winter 1995.
- ⁷ Sunter, Deborah and René Morissette. “The hours people work,” in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Autumn 1994.
- ⁸ Noreau, Nathalie. “Involuntary part-timers,” in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Autumn 1994.
- ⁹ Schellenberg, Grant. *The Changing Nature of Part-time Work*, 1997.
- ¹⁰ Sunter, Deborah and Geoff Bowlby. “Labour force participation in the 1990s,” in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Autumn 1998.
- ¹¹ Finnie, Ross. “Stasis and Change: Trends in Individuals’ Earnings and Inequality in Canada, 1982-92” and Picot, Garnet. “What is Happening to Earnings Inequality in Canada in the 1990s?” in *Canadian Business Economics*, Fall 1997.
- ¹² Scott, Katherine and Clarence Lochhead. *Are Women Catching up in the Earnings Race?*, 1997.
- ¹³ Students enrolled in school full-time at the time of the Census were included in this analysis. This raises two considerations with respect to poverty. First, some persons in this analysis have yet to finish their intended schooling, particularly if they are young adults. Consequently, they will ultimately have higher levels of education than they had at the time of the Census. Second, full-time students are more likely to be poor simply because they have fewer hours available to be employed. Some researchers might choose to exclude these students from an analysis of poverty because they are deemed to be “temporarily poor.” However, they are included here because whether or not they will eventually escape poverty, they were living below the poverty line in 1995.
- ¹⁴ *Full-year or part-year employment* refers to whether all persons aged 15 to 64 (excluding residents of institutions) were employed for a full year (i.e., 49 to 52 weeks), a part year (i.e., 1 to 48 weeks), or had no employment (i.e., no weeks), in 1995. *Employment* refers to work for pay or work in self-employment at all jobs held, even if only for a few hours. *Weeks employed* include weeks of paid vacation, weeks on sick leave with pay, and all weeks in which training was paid for by the employer. *Full-time employment* refers to weeks that were mostly 30 hours or more of employment per week, and *part-time employment* refers to weeks that were mostly under 30 hours of employment per week.
- ¹⁵ Of course, these people might have worked, but it would have been unpaid work.
- ¹⁶ Calculations based on the 1998 Ontario minimum wage of \$6.85 per hour and a 40-hour work week. The 1998 LICO for a two-person family in a city over 500,000 in population was \$21,962.
- ¹⁷ Statistics Canada. 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File Individuals: Data Documentation, Service No. 48-039E. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994. Occupational skill levels, based on 1991 Standard Occupational Classifications (SOC), refer to the skill level involved in the kind of work persons were doing during the reference week, based on respondents’ description of their most important duties on the job. Data are presented for persons aged 15 to 64, excluding institutional residents. If the person in this age group did not have a job during the week prior to enumeration, these data relate to their job of longest duration since January 1, 1995. Classification by Human Resources Development Canada.