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POVERTY BY GEOGRAPHY:

URBAN POVERTY IN CANADA, 2000

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This series of on-line documents and resources is designed to be both user- and planet-friendly. It includes fact sheets, poverty data tables, in-depth reports, and summary documents. All UPP materials are available at <http://www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2007/upp/>.



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INTRODUCTION



The recession of the early 1990s cast a long shadow. The growth in the number of poor people across Canada was noteworthy. Canada entered the decade with an already high rate of poverty of 16.2%. This rate rose to 19.7% in 1995 and then fell back to 16.2% in 2000, spurred by economic and employment growth in the late 1990s. Although the economic engine was operating full-steam ahead by the end of the decade, Canada made no progress in reducing its comparatively high level of poverty during the 1990s. Indeed, the poverty gap widened and, in absolute terms, the number of poor Canadians increased by 10.1%, from 4.3 million to 4.7 million. Today, many Canadians continue to struggle on low incomes, on the margins of the economic prosperity that others have enjoyed over the past several years. In terms of the fight against poverty, the 1990s was a lost decade.

The impact of the 1991-1992 recession and its anaemic recovery are still evident in communities across Canada today. The outward signs of high levels of persistent poverty appear in the numbers of homeless families living in shelters and on the streets,¹ the 100% increase in the use of food banks since 1989² and the reports of local service agencies warning that their clients are falling further behind.³ These are some of the most visible signs of the growing income gap in Canada – one of the most significant challenges facing Canadian society today.

Nowhere are these changes felt more keenly than in Canadian cities. As Canada's population has become increasingly urbanized, the number of poor households

living in urban areas has grown as well. Today, chronic levels of poverty, polarized job opportunities, low wages, and unaffordable and inadequate housing in large cities create a fundamental challenge to the future of Canada and the quality of life of Canadians. Although stark disparities remain between rural or remote communities and urban centres, the experience of deprivation in cities – especially Canada's largest cities – is now significant.⁴

It is within cities and urban regions that the character of tomorrow's Canada is being shaped. The concentration of population within cities is likely to continue. Recent research suggests that as much as 80% of economic and population growth will occur in five broadly defined urban regions: Greater Toronto, Vancouver and the Lower Mainland, Greater Montréal, Ottawa-Gatineau and the Calgary-Edmonton Corridor.⁵ Thus, how cities function is vital to Canada's economic and social well-being. If our large cities succeed, the country can prosper; if they fail, the consequences will be felt everywhere.

The impact of size and place on the experience of poverty is not surprising in a country as diverse as Canada, made up of varied regional economies and communities. Aggregate figures tend to mask the various dimensions of the experience of poverty in Canada. This is true of poverty at the national and subnational levels. Even the character of urban poverty varies from province to province, from urban area to urban area and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, as this study reveals.

In this report, we explore one of the most fundamental issues facing cities, that of urban poverty. Specifically, this analysis provides an overview of poverty rates at the level of large urban areas and of large cities, based on data gathered during the 2001 Census. These comparisons show the range of poverty rates among census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and among census subdivisions (CSDs) within these geographies. As well, we examine differences in poverty rates between central cities and their surrounding areas.

Studying poverty at the city or regional level shows only part of the picture. Examining incomes at the neighbourhood level is also important in understanding the nature of urban poverty. To this end, we identify the number and location of high poverty neighbourhoods in Canada's large urban areas, the number of residents living in these areas and the extent to which poor residents in a given CMA live in these neighbourhoods.

Our main sources of data are custom tabulations of the 2001 Census of Canada results; income data from the 2001 Census refer to pre-tax income in 2000. We compare urban areas using the following geographic units for persons living in private households: large urban areas (CMAs), large cities (CSDs) and neighbourhoods (census tracts, or CTs).⁶ We also refer to custom geographic units such as non-CMAs, which include urban and rural areas that exist outside the CMAs.⁷ Although this report focuses mainly on the larger levels of geography (those found in CMAs), almost one-third of the Canadian population live in urban and rural areas that are not captured by the concept of the CMA.⁸ Making comparisons with areas outside CMAs allows us to gauge what is happening to poverty in other smaller urban areas and in rural communities.

DEFINING LOW INCOME

For the purposes of this Urban Poverty Project, poverty is defined using Statistics Canada's pre-tax Low Income Cut-off (LICO). In basic terms, the LICO is set by averaging the amount that a family or an individual spends on food, clothing and shelter; thresholds are set based on what an average household spends on food, clothing and shelter as a proportion of the household income. Statistics Canada calculates LICOs for seven sizes of family – from unattached individuals to families of seven or more persons – and for five community sizes – from rural areas to urban areas with a population of more than 500,000. If the income of an individual or family falls below the threshold for the relevant community and family size, that individual or family is considered to be living in "straitened circumstances."⁹ Unlike other income surveys, the Census does not provide data on post-tax (or disposable) incomes.¹⁰

POVERTY DATA TABLES

Poverty Data Tables have been prepared as an integral component of the CCSD's Urban Poverty Project 2007 and a companion resource to the series of reports detailing different aspects of urban poverty in Canada in 2000.

This collection of 106 one-page reference tables is organized by geographic level, presenting information for Canada, the 10 provinces, 27 Census Metropolitan Areas, 22 Census Divisions, and 46 Census Subdivisions.

Each data table provides place-specific poverty statistics (rates, numbers, distributions) by household type, age, sex, education, and employment activity. These same statistics are also separated out for four vulnerable populations: recent immigrants, visible minorities, Aboriginals, and persons with disabilities.

Income data are provided for poor and non-poor working-age families, including data on average incomes and income deficiency for poor families.

The poverty data tables will be useful to researchers, policy-makers and analysts, community-based organizations, and the general public.

They are available at www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2007/UPP/poverty_data_tables.

CENSUS GEOGRAPHIES

Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) – Large Urban Area

A CMA is defined as “a very large urban area (known as the urban core), together with adjacent urban and rural areas (known as urban and rural fringes) that have a high degree of social and economic integration with the urban core.” A CMA has one or more urban core populations of at least 100,000, based on the previous Census. Overall, there were 27 CMAs in 2001.

Census Subdivision (CSD) – Large City

CSD is the general term for a provincially defined municipality such as a city, town, village, township or Indian reserve. This report focuses primarily on large CSDs as the unit of analysis to compare urban poverty, those with populations over 100,000, *located within* CMAs. If there is no CSD with a population greater than 100,000 within a CMA, the largest CSD within the CMA is included. CSDs that overlap the historic core of a CMA also are included in the study group. These selection criteria isolate 46 municipalities within Canadian CMAs in 2001.

Core or Central City: We use the term “core city,” or “central city,” to describe the historic anchor city (CSD) of each metropolitan region. The use of “core” in this instance is *not* equivalent to Statistics Canada’s concept of an “urban core,” which can include both large and small municipalities and rural areas.

Suburban City: We use the term “suburban city” to designate other large cities (CSDs) within CMAs. These cities may or may not be adjacent to the core or central city, but they are large population centres that are linked via commerce and employment to communities across the metropolitan area.

Census Tract (CT) – Neighbourhood Within a Large Urban Area

CTs are “small geographic units representing urban or rural neighbourhood-like communities created in census metropolitan areas.” The population of CTs ranges from a minimum of 2,500 to a maximum of 8,000. They are defined to closely resemble what most would think of as a neighbourhood.

Remainder of the CMA

This report also refers to areas within CMAs that are outside the 46 CSDs mentioned above. These communities or areas are part of larger urban areas but are outside the large cities (also referred to as the *urban and rural fringe*).

Non-CMA

Non-CMAs include urban and rural areas that exist outside the CMAs. Almost one-third of Canadians live in urban and rural areas that are not captured within the boundaries of established CMAs.

OVERVIEW OF URBAN POVERTY IN 2000



At the national level, no progress was made in the fight against poverty in the 1990s. One in six Canadians lived in poverty in 1990, and one in six lived in poverty in 2000. At the same time, however, important shifts occurred in the patterns of urban poverty across Canada.

In 2000, 65.2% of the Canadian population lived in CMAs. Not only did these large urban areas contain the majority of the population, they also contained the majority of the poor. Seven of 10 (70.6%) of all those who were poor in Canada resided in these large urban areas.

The story goes beyond one about the concentration of the poor in urban Canada. Residents of large CMAs were more likely to be economically vulnerable than residents living in non-CMAs (that is, in rural areas and small towns and communities not within large urban regions). The rate of poverty among residents of large urban areas was 17.5% in 2000, as compared with a rate of 13.7% among residents in non-CMAs. Indeed, the poverty rate in large urban areas was higher than the overall average for Canada (16.2%).

Within large urban areas, the poor were concentrated in the large cities (CSDs). Of all Canadians living in CMAs in

2000, 72.0% (13,676,735 people) lived in large central and suburban cities. An even larger proportion of the poor in large urban areas lived in these large cities as well: 79.6% (2,651,400 people). In Canada as a whole, 47.0% of all Canadians and 56.2% of all poor Canadians lived in large cities.

The aggregate low income rate for Canada's large cities (CSDs) was 19.4% in 2000. Large cities experienced the highest rate of low income compared with all other geographies included in this study. By contrast, the poverty rate among residents in the remainder of the CMAs (rural and urban areas just outside the largest cities) was 12.8% – even lower than the poverty rate of 13.7% in the non-CMAs.

These data track the economic fortunes of millions of people. In the 27 largest urban areas (CMAs), the absolute *number* of poor was 3,331,685 in 2000, while 1,388,805 people lived in poverty in the areas outside the CMAs. Further, among poor residents of large urban areas in 2000, 2,651,400 people lived in large cities, while another 680,285 poor people lived in adjacent urban and rural areas (remainder of the CMAs).

FIGURE 1
POVERTY RATES AND NUMBERS, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE CMAs, CANADA, 2000

	Total	Poor	Poverty rate (%)
Canada	29,105,705	4,720,490	16.2
CMAs (n = 27)	18,987,645	3,331,685	17.5
Large cities (n = 46)	13,676,735	2,651,400	19.4
Remainder of CMAs	5,310,910	680,285	12.8
Non-CMAs	10,118,060	1,388,805	13.7

Note: Individuals in the Yukon, NWT and Nunavut are excluded from these low income statistics, as are those living on Indian reserves and those in collective dwellings.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

URBAN POVERTY IN THE PROVINCES



In most provinces, the poverty rates in 2000 were higher in CMAs than in other urban or rural areas outside of CMAs. Overall, the rate of low income among residents of large urban areas was 17.5% in 2000. Outside of CMAs, in urban communities of 5,000 or more,¹¹ the poverty rate was 14.9%, and in rural communities, it was 12.6%. However, there were several exceptions to this trend. In Newfoundland, for example, the rural

communities outside of the CMA of St. John's experienced a higher poverty rate (19.7%) than the CMA, followed by the urban areas outside of the CMA (19.0%). The poverty rates of the urban non-CMAs were higher than the rates of CMAs in the provinces of Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan as well. In all of these provinces, the majority of residents – and the majority of poor residents – lived outside of large urban areas.

FIGURE 2
POVERTY RATES AND NUMBERS, CANADA AND PROVINCES, CMAs AND NON-CMA AREAS, 2000

Province				CMAs		
Province	Total	Poor	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poor	Poverty Rate (%)
Canada	29,105,705	4,720,490	16.2	18,987,630	3,331,700	17.5
Newfoundland	505,960	95,275	18.8	170,490	29,610	17.4
Prince Edward Island	132,550	16,735	12.6	n/a	n/a	n/a
Nova Scotia	886,885	147,015	16.6	354,420	55,085	15.5
New Brunswick	710,480	111,365	15.7	120,935	21,540	17.8
Québec	7,058,340	1,345,490	19.1	4,723,450	994,925	21.1
Ontario	11,202,555	1,611,505	14.4	8,292,835	1,284,555	15.5
Manitoba	1,035,785	180,970	17.5	656,690	126,025	19.2
Saskatchewan	912,115	144,435	15.8	411,090	69,250	16.8
Alberta	2,875,760	395,650	13.8	1,858,255	280,840	15.1
British Columbia	3,785,265	672,045	17.8	2,399,475	469,870	19.6

Notes: Individuals in the Yukon, NWT and Nunavut are excluded from these low income statistics, as are those living on Indian reserves and those in collective dwellings.

Urban areas outside CMAs include those areas that are not part of the CMA but have populations over 5,000.

They do include Census Agglomerations. Rural includes those areas with populations under 5,000 persons.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 1991, 1996 and 2001 Censuses, custom tabulations.

The average provincial poverty rate across large urban areas was highest in Quebec (21.1%), followed by British Columbia (19.6%) and Manitoba (19.2%). The lowest rate was in the CMAs in Alberta (15.1%). The highest provincial rate of poverty among urban areas outside CMAs was in Nova Scotia (20.1%), and the highest rural poverty rate was in Newfoundland (19.7%) – the province (along with Prince Edward Island) with the highest proportion of rural residents.

FIGURE 2 (CONTINUED)
POVERTY RATES AND NUMBERS, CANADA AND PROVINCES, CMAs AND NON-CMA AREAS, 2000

Non-CMAs					
Urban Population			Rural Population		
Total	Poor	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poor	Poverty Rate (%)
5,078,785	755,625	14.9	5,039,290	633,160	12.6
77,660	14,790	19.0	257,810	50,875	19.7
51,610	8,830	17.1	80,940	7,905	9.8
241,155	48,555	20.1	291,310	43,375	14.9
242,200	37,570	15.5	347,345	52,255	15.0
920,650	160,450	17.4	1,414,240	190,115	13.4
1,889,070	239,080	12.7	1,020,650	87,870	8.6
122,385	20,960	17.1	256,710	33,985	13.2
144,550	26,425	18.3	356,475	48,760	13.7
515,670	61,680	12.0	501,835	53,130	10.6
873,840	137,285	15.7	511,950	64,890	12.7

POVERTY IN LARGE URBAN AREAS



In seeking to understand the different patterns of urban poverty across Canada, two conclusions are immediately evident. The experience of poverty is intricately tied to *place* – local factors (such as the demographic composition of a population and the location of individual communities within the provincial, national and global economy) are important to the telling of the urban poverty story in Canada. Evidence also suggests that the size of a community may be a key factor as well.

Initial examination indicates an overall trend with respect to size: larger CMAs appear to have higher rates of poverty than do smaller CMAs. Looking at size further, however, discloses three distinct groups: CMAs with a population of 500,000 or more (the largest or large CMAs), those with a population below 500,000 but above 250,000 (medium-sized CMAs) and those with a population under 250,000 (the smallest or small CMAs).¹²

Overall, we find the highest rates of poverty among the largest CMAs. Those CMAs with populations of 500,000 or more had an aggregate poverty rate of 18.4% in 2000, as compared with 16.5% for the smaller CMAs and 13.2% among medium-sized CMAs. Six of 10 (57.8%) poor Canadians lived in the larger CMAs, as compared with the 6.9% and 5.9% of Canada's poor who lived in medium-sized and smaller CMAs, respectively.

Large CMAs: Over 2.7 million Canadians residing in CMAs with populations of 500,000 and greater were living below the poverty line in 2000. Four of 10 poor Canadians (40.8%) lived in Canada's three largest urban areas – Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto. Although the largest number of people with low incomes lived in Toronto (771,530), Montréal had the highest poverty rate (22.2%) and the next highest number of poor residents (749,320). Vancouver and Winnipeg had the second and third highest poverty rates, 20.8% and 19.2%, respectively.

URBAN POVERTY AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY

The largest CMAs (populations of 500,000 or more) tend to have the highest rates of poverty, and the medium-sized urban areas tend to have the lowest rates. Our analysis reveals a statistically positive relationship between population size and poverty rates among *medium-sized* and *large* CMAs: as the size of the population increases (after the 250,000 threshold), so does the poverty rate. However, the *rate* of increase slows down when the population is very large; this is indicative of a "curvilinear" relationship (as size increases, so does the poverty rate – but not at an even pace throughout).¹³ Although our analysis of the impact of size on poverty rates is only preliminary and experimental, it does suggest that there may be a population threshold, beyond which an increasing population size brings a greater likelihood of higher poverty rates; however, among highly populated urban areas, the impact of increasing size diminishes. This is not true among *small* urban areas (with populations below 250,000). For small CMAs, regression analysis examining the link between population size and incidence of poverty indicates that size does not have an appreciable impact on local rates of poverty.¹⁴ We have used this preliminary analysis to derive cut points for the 27 CMAs examined here.

FIGURE 3
POVERTY RATES AND NUMBERS FOR CMAs, BY SIZE OF CMA, 2000

	Population		Poverty Rate (%)
	Total	Poor	
Large CMAs (population 500,000+)	14,837,095	2,726,470	18.4
Calgary	938,435	132,060	14.1
Ottawa-Hull	1,046,670	156,815	15.0
Edmonton	919,820	148,780	16.2
Toronto	4,633,415	771,530	16.7
Hamilton	653,145	109,165	16.7
Québec	666,120	125,640	18.9
Winnipeg	656,690	126,025	19.2
Vancouver	1,955,015	407,135	20.8
Montréal	3,367,785	749,320	22.2
Medium-sized CMAs (population 250,000 to 499,999)	2,455,535	325,110	13.2
Oshawa	292,365	27,455	9.4
Kitchener	408,720	46,075	11.3
Windsor	304,195	40,180	13.2
St. Catharines-Niagara	369,190	48,765	13.2
Victoria	300,350	43,290	14.4
London	426,295	64,260	15.1
Halifax	354,420	55,085	15.5
Small CMAs (population 100,000 to 249,999)	1,695,000	280,120	16.5
Abbotsford	144,110	19,445	13.5
Thunder Bay	119,330	16,790	14.1
Greater Sudbury	153,190	22,900	14.9
Kingston	141,060	21,490	15.2
Regina	189,370	29,295	15.5
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	152,045	24,975	16.4
St. John's	170,490	29,610	17.4
Saint John	120,935	21,540	17.8
Saskatoon	221,720	39,955	18.0
Sherbrooke	149,255	27,660	18.5
Trois-Rivières	133,495	26,460	19.8

Notes: CMAs are listed from lowest to highest poverty rate in each grouping.

Individuals in the Yukon, NWT and Nunavut are excluded from these low income statistics, as are those living on Indian reserves and those in collective dwellings.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

Six of the nine largest CMAs experienced poverty rates above the national average of 16.2%, and four – Montréal, Vancouver, Winnipeg and Québec – experienced poverty rates above the average for the group. Calgary had the lowest poverty rate among the largest urban areas, fully 8.1 percentage points lower than the rate in Montréal.

Medium-sized CMAs: The overall poverty rates were generally lower among medium-sized CMAs than among small or large CMAs in 2000. Oshawa, the smallest of the medium-sized CMAs, registered the lowest proportion of its population living below the LICO in this group (9.4%). Both London (the largest medium-sized CMA) and Halifax (a mid-range medium-sized CMA) had higher rates of poverty than the other medium-sized CMAs in 2000.

FIGURE 4
POVERTY RATES FOR CANADA, THE PROVINCES, CMAs AND NON-CMAs, 2000

Canada & Provinces		CMAs		Non-CMAs
CANADA	16.2	All CMAs	17.5	13.7
Newfoundland	18.8	St. John's	17.4	19.6
Prince Edward Island	12.6	n/a		12.6
Nova Scotia	16.6	Halifax	15.5	17.3
New Brunswick	15.7	Saint John	17.8	15.2
Québec	19.1	Ottawa-Hull (QC part)	16.0	15.0
		Chicoutimi-Jonquière	16.4	
		Sherbrooke	18.5	
		Québec	18.9	
		Trois-Rivières	19.8	
		Montréal	22.2	
Ontario	14.4	Oshawa	9.4	11.2
		Kitchener	11.3	
		Windsor	13.2	
		St. Catharines-Niagara	13.2	
		Thunder Bay	14.1	
		Ottawa-Hull (ON part)	14.6	
		Greater Sudbury	14.9	
		London	15.1	
		Kingston	15.2	
		Hamilton	16.7	
Toronto	16.7			
Manitoba	17.5	Winnipeg	19.2	14.5
Saskatchewan	15.8	Regina	15.5	15.0
		Saskatoon	18.0	
Alberta	13.8	Calgary	14.1	11.3
		Edmonton	16.2	
British Columbia	17.8	Abbotsford	13.5	14.6
		Victoria	14.4	
		Vancouver	20.8	

Note: CMAs within each province are listed from lowest to highest poverty rates.

Individuals in the Yukon, NWT and Nunavut are excluded from these low income statistics, as are those living on Indian reserves and those in collective dwellings.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

Among the seven medium-sized CMAs, the average poverty rate was 13.2%. Three of seven CMAs had poverty rates above that average; none had a rate above the Canadian average. A total of 325,110 people lived with low incomes in medium-sized CMAs – fewer than the number of poor people in Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver.

Small CMAs: The aggregate poverty rate for smaller CMAs in 2000 (16.5%) was higher than for medium-sized CMAs but lower than for large CMAs. Of the 11 smaller CMAs, five had poverty rates above that average; six also had rates above the Canadian average. In total, these smaller CMAs were home to 280,120 persons living below the poverty line.

Looking at the medium-sized and smaller CMAs, we generally see the lowest poverty rates among the CMAs in Ontario and the highest in Quebec and the Atlantic region. Ranked by their poverty rates, six of the bottom eight were from these last two regions. Oshawa had the lowest poverty rate, at 9.4%, which was 10.4 percentage points below the highest rate of the group, found in Trois-Rivières (19.8%).

POVERTY IN LARGE CITIES



Examining our data at the CMA level only provides a view of large urban areas as a whole. A complex story also was happening within these large urban areas, where poverty was not evenly spread. To illustrate the importance of how the population and economic infrastructure were configured within these large urban areas, this section examines CSDs. We focus on cities within CMAs that had a population of 100,000 or more or that were the central or historic city of the metropolitan area.

Figure 5 presents poverty rates for selected large cities in 2000, revealing the tremendous variation in rates. For example, Montréal recorded the highest poverty rate (34.0%), followed by Québec (30.6%) and Trois-Rivières (27.2%). Unlike findings from the 1996 Census, where four of the five cities with the highest poverty rates were found in the province of Quebec, the 2001 Census results showed two cities in British Columbia in the bottom five. Consistent with previous years, Oakville had the lowest

FIGURE 5
POVERTY RATES AND NUMBERS FOR SELECT CSDs, 2000

	Population		Poverty Rate (%)
	Total	Poor	
Oakville	143,520	11,195	7.8
Burlington	149,605	12,110	8.1
Vaughan	181,470	14,880	8.2
Cambridge	108,825	10,960	10.1
Brampton	323,860	35,045	10.8
Saanich	101,975	11,920	11.7
Richmond Hill	131,385	16,580	12.6
Markham	207,700	26,235	12.6
Mississauga	609,790	77,160	12.7
Abbotsford	113,335	14,850	13.1
Kitchener	187,790	25,020	13.3
Oshawa	137,210	18,470	13.5
Niagara Falls	77,565	11,165	14.4
Calgary	868,810	129,100	14.9
Greater Sudbury	153,190	22,900	14.9
Ottawa	760,525	113,835	15.0
Thunder Bay	106,990	16,155	15.1

(table continues on next page)

FIGURE 5 (CONTINUED)
POVERTY RATES AND NUMBERS FOR SELECT CSDs, 2000

	Population		Poverty Rate (%)
	Total	Poor	
Halifax	354,420	55,090	15.5
St. Catharines	126,620	19,585	15.5
Laval	338,220	54,190	16.0
Gatineau	102,150	16,360	16.0
Regina	175,080	28,650	16.4
Windsor	205,210	34,535	16.8
London	332,240	55,785	16.8
Chicoutimi	58,400	9,955	17.0
Kingston	109,475	18,755	17.1
Jonquière	53,960	9,735	18.0
Surrey	345,065	62,990	18.3
Saskatoon	193,170	38,030	19.7
Hamilton	482,670	95,605	19.8
Edmonton	654,880	131,215	20.0
Winnipeg	606,495	123,040	20.3
Coquitlam	111,330	23,810	21.4
St. John's	97,335	21,270	21.9
Toronto	2,446,700	552,525	22.6
Hull	64,910	14,990	23.1
Richmond	163,250	38,945	23.9
Victoria	70,920	17,395	24.5
Saint John	68,125	16,680	24.5
Sherbrooke	72,615	18,285	25.2
Longueuil	126,430	31,855	25.2
Burnaby	190,665	50,250	26.4
Vancouver	538,095	145,355	27.0
Trois-Rivières	44,295	12,065	27.2
Québec	164,555	50,310	30.6
Montréal	1,012,375	344,105	34.0
All CSDs	13,673,200	2,658,940	19.4

Note: CSDs are listed from lowest to highest poverty rates.

Individuals in the Yukon, NWT and Nunavut are excluded from these low income statistics, as are those living on Indian reserves and those in collective dwellings.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

poverty rate in 2000, at 7.8%. Cities in southern Ontario, in general, had the lowest poverty rates across the country.

As stated earlier, CMAs are made up of one or more adjacent municipalities situated around a major urban core. These adjacent areas have a high degree of social and economic integration with the urban core; however, they do not all face the same economic and social problems. Poverty rates in cities within the same CMA often vary, and this is not always a function of size. While the poverty rates of cities located in larger CMAs tend to be higher than those of cities in medium-sized or small CMAs,¹⁵ there is a large range of poverty rates among CSDs, including those of similar size.

Despite this wide range, just over half of the large cities examined had poverty rates within five percentage points of the aggregate for the group (19.4%). Over one-third of these large cities recorded poverty rates that were higher than the group average.

Further, looking at the group of Canada's largest CMAs – Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver – we see tremendous variation among the CSDs located within each of these CMAs. Oakville, Vaughan, Brampton, Richmond Hill, Markham and Mississauga all had much lower rates of poverty than the City of Toronto in 2000. There was an 18.0 percentage point spread in the poverty rates between the cities of Montréal and Laval. The spread in poverty rates among the large cities located in the Greater Vancouver Regional District was smaller than the spread in the Toronto or Montréal regions. However, this situation appeared after a decade where the poverty rates in Coquitlam, Richmond and Burnaby increased and the spread in poverty rates closed substantially between these three cities and the anchor city of Vancouver.

PATTERNS OF POVERTY IN LARGE URBAN AREAS



Just as there are pronounced differences in poverty levels within CMAs between the large cities (CSDs) and the communities in the urban and rural fringe (remainder of the CMA), there are also differences between the central or core CSDs and other large suburban cities (CSDs).¹⁶

FIGURE 6
POVERTY DISTRIBUTION AND RATES, CENTRAL CITIES AND SUBURBAN AREAS, 2000

	Distribution of population		Poverty rate (%)
	Total (%)	Poor (%)	
CMAs	100.0	100.0	17.5
Central or core cities	54.4	65.0	20.9
Suburban areas	45.6	35.0	13.5
Large cities (CSDs)	17.6	14.8	14.8
Remainder of CMA	28.0	20.2	12.7

Note: Remainder of CMA refers to areas outside of large cities but still within the boundaries of the CMA.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

Figure 6 shows poverty rates for the CMAs, central (or core) cities and suburban areas within CMAs. The majority of the population in CMAs lived in the core cities (54.4%) rather than in suburban areas (45.6%). The concentration of the poor in central cities was even more pronounced – almost two-thirds (65.0%) lived in these cities. Further, the rate of poverty was higher in central cities than in the surrounding communities within the CMAs: residents of central cities experienced an aggregate poverty rate of 20.9%, while those in suburban areas had a poverty rate of 13.5%. In turn, the larger cities (CSDs) in the remainder of the CMAs recorded higher aggregate poverty rates (14.8%) than did the adjacent smaller communities and rural areas (12.7%).

Figure 7 provides greater detail regarding the poverty rates of the central cities, suburban large cities and the remainder of the CMAs. In almost all instances, the central cities had higher poverty rates than those for their corresponding CMAs.¹⁷ In some cases, the differences were considerable. For example, the poverty rate in the core city of Québec was 11.7 percentage points higher than that of the CMA of Québec.

The variation of poverty rates within larger CMAs was also substantial, as noted above. The central city of Toronto had a poverty rate of 22.6%, as compared with 16.7% for the CMA of Toronto – a difference of 5.6 percentage points. By contrast, Oakville, also within the CMA of Toronto, had a poverty rate of 7.8% – half the poverty rate of the CMA and one-third of the poverty rate of the core city of Toronto. The remainder of the CMA (outside of the cities) of Toronto had a poverty rate of 6.4%.

These dynamics may be starting to change. Population growth in the suburban areas outside of central cities outstripped the growth of central cities between 1996 and 2001; the population of central cities increased by 4.3% while the surrounding suburban areas grew by 8.5%, spurred by factors such as job growth.¹⁸ The

growth in the poor population in the remainder of the CMAs was also higher than within the central cities. These data suggest that we may be seeing the beginning of the “suburbanization” of poverty in Canada.¹⁹ It will be interesting to examine this trend when the 2006 Canadian Census data become available.

FIGURE 7

POVERTY RATES FOR CMAs, CSDs AND REMAINDER OF CMAs, 2000

CMAs		CSDs (Large cities within CMAs)		Remainder of CMAs	
	Pov. Rate (%)		Pov. Rate (%)		Pov. Rate (%)
All CMAs	17.5	All CSDs	19.4	All remainder of CMAs	12.7
St. John's	17.4	St. John's (c)	21.9	Remainder of CMA	11.4
Halifax	15.5	Halifax (c)	15.5		n/a
Saint John	17.8	Saint John (c)	24.5	Remainder of CMA	9.2
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	16.4	Chicoutimi (c)	17.0	Remainder of CMA	13.3
		Jonquière (c)	18.0		
Québec	18.9	Québec (c)	30.6	Remainder of CMA	15.0
Sherbrooke	18.5	Sherbrooke (c)	25.2	Remainder of CMA	12.2
Trois-Rivières	19.8	Trois-Rivières (c)	27.2	Remainder of CMA	16.1
Montréal	22.2	Laval	16.0	Remainder of CMA	16.9
		Longueuil	25.2		
		Montréal (c)	34.0		
Ottawa-Hull	15.0	Ottawa (c)	15.0	Remainder of CMA	9.8
		Gatineau	16.0		
		Hull (c)	23.1		
Kingston	15.2	Kingston (c)	17.1	Remainder of CMA	8.7
Oshawa	9.4	Oshawa (c)	13.5	Remainder of CMA	5.8
Toronto	16.7	Oakville	7.8	Remainder of CMA	6.4
		Vaughan	8.2		
		Brampton	10.8		
		Markham	12.6		
		Richmond Hill	12.6		
		Mississauga	12.7		
		Toronto (c)	22.6		
Hamilton	16.7	Burlington	8.1	Remainder of CMA	6.9
		Hamilton (c)	19.8		
St. Catharines-Niagara	13.2	Niagara Falls (c)	14.4	Remainder of CMA	10.9
		St. Catharines (c)	15.5		
Kitchener	11.3	Cambridge	10.1	Remainder of CMA	9.0
		Kitchener (c)	13.3		
London	15.1	London (c)	16.8	Remainder of CMA	9.0

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FIGURE 7 (CONTINUED)

POVERTY RATES FOR CMAs, CSDs AND REMAINDER OF CMAs, 2000

CMAs		CSDs (Large cities within CMAs)		Remainder of CMAs	
	Pov. Rate (%)		Pov. Rate (%)		Pov. Rate (%)
Windsor	13.2	Windsor (c)	16.8	Remainder of CMA	5.7
Greater Sudbury	14.9	Sudbury (c)	14.9		n/a
Thunder Bay	14.1	Thunder Bay (c)	15.1	Remainder of CMA	5.1
Winnipeg	19.2	Winnipeg (c)	20.3	Remainder of CMA	5.9
Regina	15.5	Regina (c)	16.4	Remainder of CMA	4.5
Saskatoon	18.0	Saskatoon (c)	19.7	Remainder of CMA	6.7
Calgary	14.1	Calgary (c)	14.9	Remainder of CMA	4.3
Edmonton	16.2	Edmonton (c)	20.0	Remainder of CMA	6.6
Abbotsford	13.5	Abbotsford (c)	13.1	Remainder of CMA	14.9
Vancouver	20.8	Surrey	18.3	Remainder of CMA	14.1
		Coquitlam	21.4		
		Richmond	23.9		
		Burnaby	26.4		
		Vancouver (c)	27.0		
Victoria	14.4	Saanich	11.7	Remainder of CMA	11.3
		Victoria (c)	24.5		

Notes: (c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA.

n/a (not applicable).

The remainder of the CMA in Greater Sudbury and the Regional Municipality of Halifax include Indian reserves. Information on Indian reserves was not included in our data set.

Remainder of CMA refers to areas outside of large cities but still within the boundaries of the CMA.

CSDs within each CMA are listed from lowest to highest poverty rates.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

POVERTY IN URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS

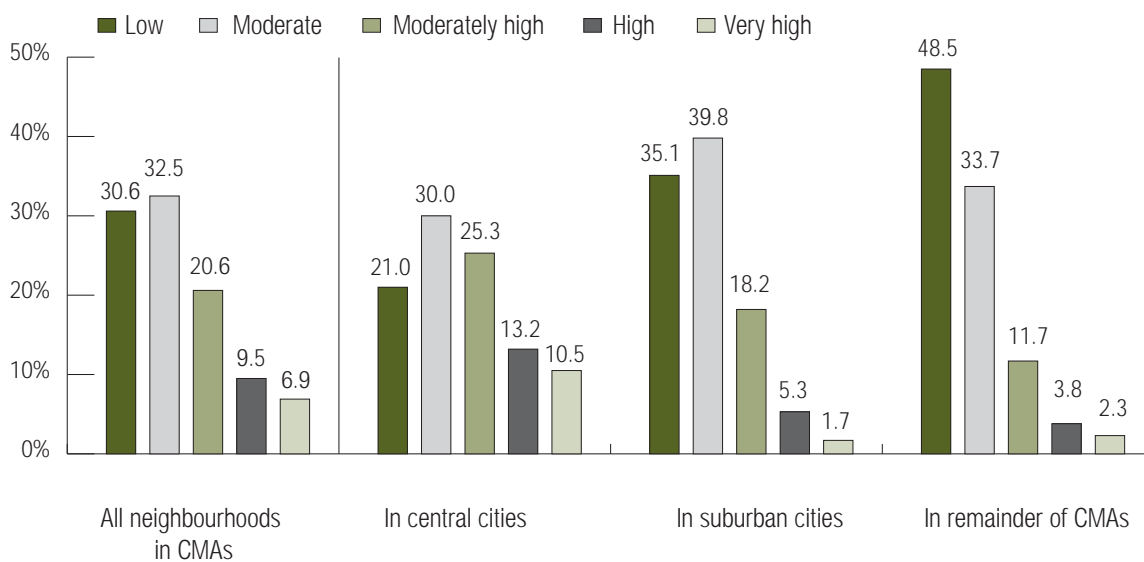


The focus on neighbourhood poverty has been fairly recent in Canada. Not so in the United States, where the spatially concentrated patterns of urban poverty emerged in the 1970s and 1980s.^{20,21,22,23,24} American researchers have shown that a host of negative consequences flow from

high concentrations of poverty in urban centres – both for the low income residents in these neighbourhoods and the broader community – including high levels of welfare reliance, delayed child development, low educational attainment, persistent unemployment and family dysfunction.

High Poverty Neighbourhoods: For this study, we adopted a 40% threshold to classify “very high” poverty neighbourhoods: if 40% or more of the population in a particular neighbourhood (census tract) were living below the Low Income Cut-off for that area, we defined it as a *very high poverty neighbourhood*.^{39,40}

FIGURE 8
DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS IN CMAs, BY POVERTY LEVELS, 2000



Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

Canadian research on neighbourhood poverty has been limited in comparison with American research; however, it points in a similar direction.^{25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34} As in the United States, studies in Canada have identified a long-term trend towards the urbanization of poverty, accompanied by a greater concentration of poor households within large urban areas, economic marginalization and increased social isolation. These studies have also shown the variation among cities: some are more significantly affected by inequality and income polarization than others.

Researchers point out that Canadian neighbourhoods do not yet exhibit the same range of problems as chronically poor American neighbourhoods.³⁵ Further, they show that the pattern of economic segregation is not static; for example, many CTs that were poor in 1971 were not poor in 1991 due to factors such as gentrification and urban redevelopment in central cities, the dispersion of social housing and the dynamic character of the residential housing market.^{36,37} Thus far, Canada seems to have avoided the entrenched problems that characterize many large urban areas in the United States. At the same time, the concentration of poverty within cities remains a significant challenge.

DISTRIBUTION OF POOR NEIGHBOURHOODS

Figure 8 presents a neighbourhood poverty profile across CMAs, showing neighbourhoods in central cities, large suburban cities and the communities and areas beyond the boundaries of large cities within each CMA.³⁸ Each neighbourhood (CT) is divided into one of five categories according to its rate of poverty in 2000. Among all the urban neighbourhoods, slightly less than one-third (30.6%) recorded poverty rates between 0.0% and 9.9%, and closer to one-third (32.5%) recorded rates between 10.0% and 19.9%. One in five neighbourhoods (20.6%) had “moderately high” poverty rates (between 20.0% and 29.9%), while another one in 10 (9.5%) had “high” poverty rates (between 30.0% and 39.9%). Another 6.9% of neighbourhoods had “very high” poverty rates (40% or more).

As we have seen, central or core cities have higher rates of poverty than adjacent communities in the remainder of the CMA. Central cities also are more likely to have more high poverty neighbourhoods. Roughly half of all neighbourhoods in central cities (1,213 of 2,474 CTs) had poverty rates above 20% in 2000, as compared with one-quarter of the neighbourhoods in suburban cities and one in six neighbourhoods in other communities in the CMA. Further, one in 10 neighbourhoods in Canada’s central cities had “very high” poverty rates, as compared with one in 50 neighbourhoods in suburban areas. By contrast, over three-quarters

of the neighbourhoods in communities outside of central cities had low or moderate poverty rates (under 20%) compared with half of the neighbourhoods in central cities.

Figure 9 provides further information on the total number of CTs with poverty rates of 40% or above and the proportion of these “very high” poverty CTs in each CMA. In 2000, neighbourhoods with very high poverty rates made up a considerable proportion of the total CTs in Saint John, Montréal, Québec and Trois-Rivières. Saint John had the highest proportion of very high poverty neighbourhoods relative to the number of CTs in its area, at 18.2% (8 of 44 CTs). In the CMA of Montréal, 129 of 844 CTs (15.3%) had poverty rates in excess of 40%; Québec and Trois-Rivières followed closely, at 14.0% and 13.9%, respectively. At the other end of the scale, several CMAs did not have any very high poverty neighbourhoods, including Kitchener, Abbotsford, Calgary, St. Catharines-Niagara and Oshawa.

There was a similar pattern of distribution of “very high” poverty neighbourhoods at the city level. (See Figure A-1 for more information on the distribution of neighbourhoods by level of poverty for select cities; Figure A-2 provides a graphic representation of those same data.) One-third of the neighbourhoods in Québec, Montréal and Trois-Rivières had very high rates of poverty in 2000, well above the 6.9% average for all large cities. Over half of all neighbourhoods in 13 of the 46 large cities included in this study had poverty rates over 20%: Montréal, Québec, Hull, Trois-Rivières, Burnaby, Vancouver, Victoria, Sherbrooke, Saint John, Richmond, Longueuil, Saskatoon and Toronto.

At the same time, over half of the large cities fell below the city aggregate of 30.6% with respect to the percentage of neighbourhoods that were considered “low poverty” neighbourhoods (poverty rate below 10%). In some cities, the scarcity of “low poverty” neighbourhoods was stark. For example, less than 10% of the neighbourhoods in the following cities were “low poverty” neighbourhoods: Richmond, Victoria, Vancouver, Burnaby (where there were no low poverty neighbourhoods at all), Sherbrooke, Hull, Saint John, Trois-Rivières, Montréal, and Québec. Further, some cities such as Richmond had both fewer “low poverty” neighbourhoods than average *and* fewer “very high” poverty neighbourhoods than average – suggesting poor residents lived in neighbourhoods across the city. In contrast, others such as Regina and Kingston had both more “low poverty” neighbourhoods than average *and* more “very high” poverty neighbourhoods than average, suggesting a fairly high degree of income polarization.

FIGURE 9
NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF VERY HIGH POVERTY CENSUS TRACTS, BY CMA, 2000

	Census Tracts (CTs)		Proportion of very high poverty tracts by total in CMA (%)
	Total CTs	Very High Poverty CTs	
Kitchener	90	0	0.0
Abbotsford	33	0	0.0
Calgary	193	0	0.0
St. Catharines-Niagara	91	0	0.0
Oshawa	68	0	0.0
Victoria	68	1	1.5
London	100	2	2.0
Edmonton	198	4	2.0
St. John's	45	1	2.2
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	36	1	2.8
Thunder Bay	33	1	3.0
Vancouver	385	13	3.4
Halifax	85	3	3.5
Toronto	921	38	4.1
Windsor	66	3	4.5
Greater Sudbury	41	2	4.9
Saskatoon	50	3	6.0
Ottawa-Hull	233	14	6.0
Sherbrooke	39	3	7.7
Hamilton	170	15	8.8
Regina	50	5	10.0
Kingston	39	4	10.3
Winnipeg	162	17	10.5
Trois-Rivières	36	5	13.9
Québec	164	23	14.0
Montréal	844	129	15.3
Saint John	44	8	18.2
All CMAs	4,284	295	6.9

Note: Very high poverty census tracts refer to those with a poverty rate of 40% or more.

CMAs are listed from lowest to highest proportion of very high poverty census tracts.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

RATE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY

One of the distinctive features of urban poverty in the United States has been the large concentration of poor residents living in high poverty neighbourhoods. By contrast, neighbourhoods in Canada have tended to have more mixed income profiles. Although poor residents are more likely than non-poor residents to live in poor neighbourhoods, on the whole, we do not see that same level of concentration.

Across all large urban areas (CMAs) in 2000, almost two-thirds (65.6%) of the residents – 12,437,620 people – lived in neighbourhoods that had rates of poverty of less than 20%. By contrast, one in 20 (5.4%), just over 1 million people, lived in “very high” poverty neighbourhoods.

Residents living in central cities were more likely to live in very high poverty neighbourhoods (with poverty rates over 40%) than were those living in suburban cities or other communities adjacent to large cities within CMAs. And predictably, within CMAs, residents living outside of large urban cities were more likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods, as was shown in Figure 8.

Overall, eight CMAs exceeded the aggregate neighbourhood poverty rate for all CMAs (5.5%) in 2000. Montréal stood out by having the highest proportion of

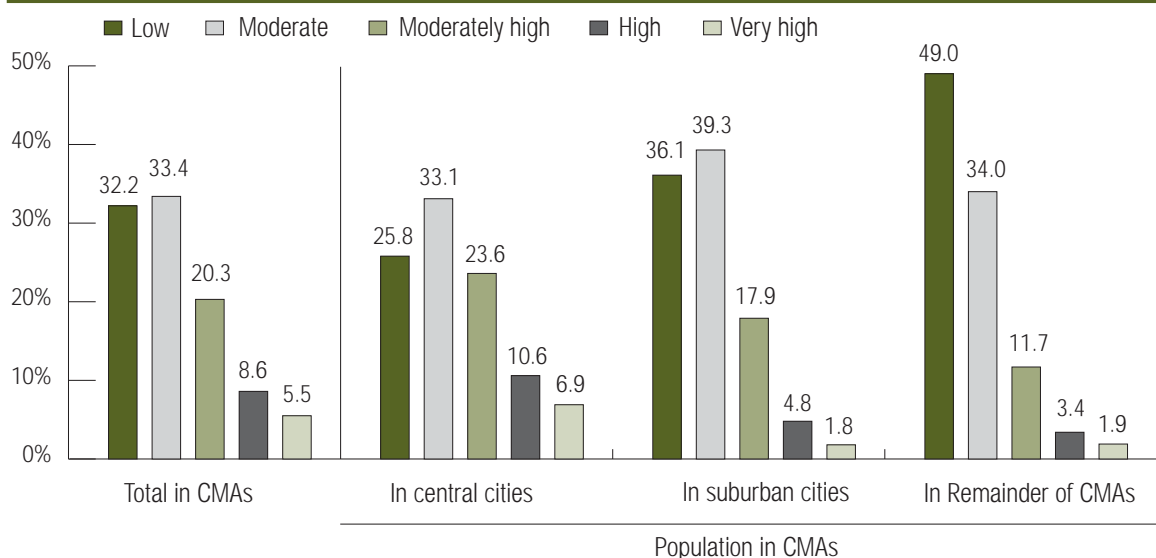
Neighbourhood Poverty Rate: The proportion of residents living in “very high” poverty neighbourhoods has been referred to as the *neighbourhood poverty rate*. The rate is determined by calculating the proportion of a census metropolitan area’s total population residing in very high poverty neighbourhoods (as defined above), whether they are living below the Low Income Cut-off or not. The neighbourhood poverty rate is more a measure of the citizens’ economic surroundings than of the citizens’ own particular economic circumstances.

its population (12.4%) living in high poverty neighbourhoods – approximately one in eight residents. Saint John’s neighbourhood poverty rate of 10.7% was almost double the aggregate CMA rate.

Of the 46 large cities (CSDs) in this study, 15 had rates of neighbourhood poverty above the 2000 aggregate for all CSDs of 5.5% (see Figure A-3 for more information on the neighbourhood poverty rates for selected large cities). In 12 large cities, a majority of residents lived in neighbourhoods with poverty rates above 20%: Montréal, Québec, Trois-Rivières, Hull, Burnaby, Longueuil, Sherbrooke, Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria, St. John’s and Richmond.⁴¹

FIGURE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY LEVELS, 2000



Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada’s 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

By contrast, in several large cities in southern Ontario and western Canada, fewer residents lived in high poverty neighbourhoods. Indeed, in over one-third of the large cities (17 of 46), more than 75% of the residents lived in neighbourhoods with poverty rates below 20%. In Vaughan and Richmond Hill, there were no neighbourhoods with poverty levels above 20%.

CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY

The concentration of poverty refers to the proportion of poor individuals (those below the LICOs) who reside in “very high” poverty neighbourhoods. In Canada, as in the United States, the long-term trend towards the urbanization of poverty, accompanied by a greater concentration of poor households within large urban areas, economic marginalization and social isolation, has been linked to a host of negative consequences for residents and communities. The pattern of concentration, however, does vary between cities.

Those CMAs with very high neighbourhood poverty rates had relatively high concentrations of poverty as well. On average, 14.9% of poor residents living in CMAs lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods in 2000.

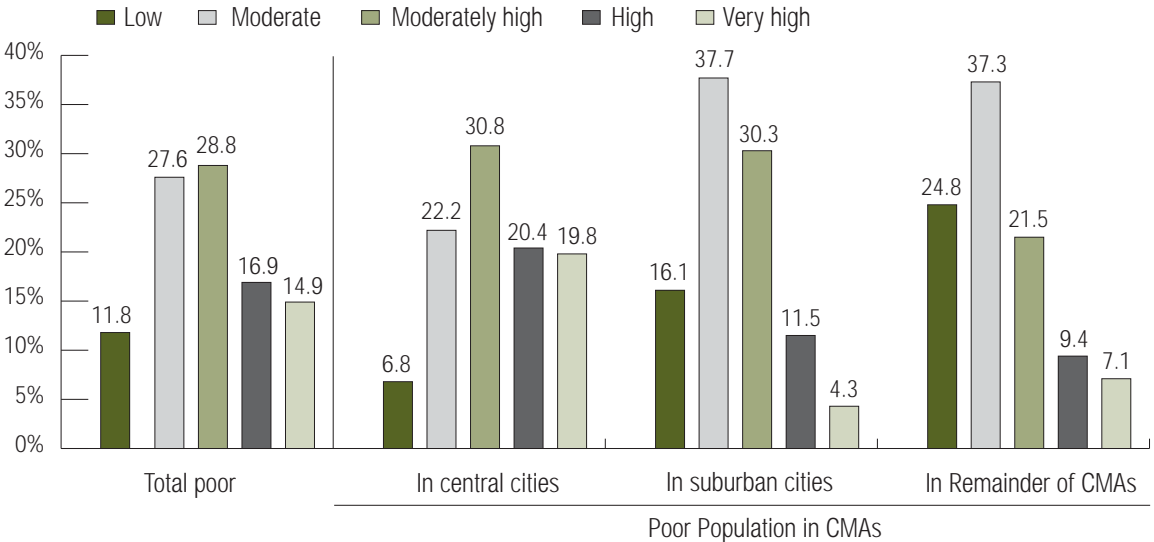
Poor residents in central cities (19.8%) were more likely to live in very high poverty neighbourhoods than were

Neighbourhood Concentration of the Poor: This term is defined as the proportion of poor people in a census metropolitan area who live in “very high” poverty neighbourhoods. This proportion is determined by considering all residents living below the Low Income Cut-off (LICO) and living in a very high poverty neighbourhood as a proportion of all those living below the LICO in all neighbourhoods combined. It is a measure of the concentration of the poor in very high poverty neighbourhoods (as defined above).⁴²

poor residents in the remainder of the CMAs (7.1%) or those in suburban cities (4.3%) in 2000. Overall, 71.0% of the poor population in central cities lived in neighbourhoods where the rate of poverty was higher than 20%. Outside of central cities, poor people lived mainly in neighbourhoods with moderate or low poverty rates. Of the almost 500,000 poor people living in large suburban cities in CMAs, over half lived in neighbourhoods with rates of poverty below 20%. An even larger percentage of poor residents living outside of large cities in adjacent urban and rural communities lived in low or moderate poverty neighbourhoods.

The concentration of poverty was evident at the city level, but the pattern of concentration varied widely. In one-third

FIGURE 11
DISTRIBUTION OF POOR BY NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY LEVELS, 2000



Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada’s 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

of the cities (15 of 46), the proportion of poor residents living in neighbourhoods with poverty rates of 40% or more exceeded the aggregate rate for all CSDs. At the other end of the spectrum, poor residents in several cities were more likely to live in low or moderate poverty neighbourhoods. Not surprisingly, these cities were more likely to be suburban cities, with relatively low overall rates of poverty (see Figure A-4 for more information about the concentration of poverty in select large cities).

These data demonstrate that, in most CMAs and CSDs, the majority of both poor and non-poor residents lived outside of high poverty neighbourhoods. That said, significant pockets of concentrated poverty in Canada continued to exist in 2000, notably in Kingston, Saint John, Montréal, Québec, Hull, Trois-Rivières, and Winnipeg. Improvements in the last half of the 1990s need to be evaluated against the longer-term trend towards greater concentration of the poor in poor neighbourhoods over the past decades.

The size of the CMA does not appear to influence the proportion of the CMA's population who live in high poverty CTs. While medium-sized CMAs clearly have lower rates of poverty and levels of neighbourhood poverty, both large and small CMAs are represented among those with higher levels. Location is important, however, since central cities have higher levels of concentration than do suburban communities.

How poverty is measured will affect which cities appear to have high or low concentrations of poverty. For example, the new Market Basket Measure (MBM) of low income produces a poverty rate for Canada that is comparable to the one reported in this study, derived from the LICO, but the regional distribution is quite different. The MBM accounts directly for differences between various urban areas in the cost of shelter, whereas the LICO accounts for variations in spending on necessities in municipalities of different sizes. For example, in 2000, the poverty rate for Canada using the MBM was 13.1%, similar to the rate using the pre-tax LICO (14.7%). In the province of Quebec, however, the respective poverty rates from the two measures were quite different: 11.9% and 17.5%. One would expect, then, that if this analysis of neighbourhood poverty were conducted using the MBM, the neighbourhoods in Quebec cities would have lower poverty rates and would appear to have less concentration of the poor in poor neighbourhoods.

SUMMARY



In this analysis, we have examined poverty rates in 2000 for Canada, the provinces, CMAs, large central and suburban cities, and neighbourhoods. There are several key findings:

- Poverty in Canada remained primarily an urban problem – a disproportionate number of poor people lived in CMAs in 2000. Some 65.2% of the Canadian population lived in the 27 CMAs examined here, whereas 70.6% of the poor population lived in these urban areas.
- Larger CMAs (those with populations of 500,000 and over) experienced higher poverty rates and contained a larger proportion of all those who were poor. CMAs with populations over 500,000 had an average poverty rate of 18.4%, as compared with 13.2% for medium-sized CMAs and 16.5% for smaller CMAs. Additionally, 57.8% of all poor Canadians lived in the larger CMAs, whereas 12.8% of the poor lived in medium-sized and smaller CMAs.
- CMAs varied in their poverty rates. Among the largest CMAs, Montréal had the highest poverty rate, at 22.2%, while the lowest poverty rate (14.1%) appeared in Calgary. Among medium-sized and smaller CMAs, Trois-Rivières had the highest poverty rate (19.8%), and Oshawa had the lowest rate (9.4%).
- Most areas outside CMAs (small urban areas and rural areas) experienced poverty rates well below those of the CMAs. Some 13.7% of all Canadians living outside CMAs in urban and rural communities were living in poverty, compared with 17.5% of those living in CMAs.
- Cities showed variations in their poverty rates within CMAs. Among the 46 CSDs in this study, Montréal had the highest poverty rate, at 34.0% – roughly four times that of the lowest poverty rate (7.8%), in Oakville.
- Within CMAs, not only did the central cities contain a larger proportion of the overall population (54.4% versus 45.6% for suburban areas), but they also contained a disproportionate share of the poor in CMAs (almost two-thirds, or 65.0%, versus the 35.0% share living in the suburbs). The rate of poverty was also higher in the central cities compared with the suburbs; residents of central cities experienced an overall poverty rate of 20.9%, while residents in suburban areas had a poverty rate of 13.5%.
- Most of the “very high” poverty CTs in Canada were found in the CMA of Montréal (43.7% of all very high poverty CTs), followed by the CMA of Toronto (12.9%). Seven per cent of the neighbourhoods in CMAs had very high poverty rates of 40% or more. These very high poverty CTs made up a considerable proportion of the total CTs in Saint John, Montréal, Québec and Trois-Rivières.
- Approximately 5.5% of the population living in CMAs – over 1 million people – lived in high poverty neighbourhoods. Those CMAs with high neighbourhood poverty rates also had relatively high concentrations of poverty. More than one in five poor persons lived in high poverty neighbourhoods in the CMAs of Kingston, Montréal, Saint John, Winnipeg, Québec, Regina and Hamilton.

APPENDICES

FIGURE A-1
DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS BY POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

Neighbourhoods	Poverty Categories				
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high
All Neighbourhoods in CMAs	30.6	32.5	20.6	9.5	6.9
In central cities	21.0	30.0	25.3	13.2	10.5
In suburban cities	35.1	39.8	18.2	5.3	1.7
In remainder of CMAs	48.5	33.7	11.7	3.8	2.3
Vaughan	67.9	32.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Richmond Hill	40.9	59.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Burlington	65.7	31.4	2.9	0.0	0.0
Oakville	71.0	25.8	3.2	0.0	0.0
Markham	36.8	55.3	7.9	0.0	0.0
Saanich	47.8	43.5	8.7	0.0	0.0
Cambridge	44.0	44.0	12.0	0.0	0.0
Mississauga	43.0	40.4	16.7	0.0	0.0
Brampton	55.6	37.0	5.6	1.9	0.0
Kitchener (c)	31.7	48.8	17.1	2.4	0.0
Abbotsford (c)	37.5	41.7	16.7	4.2	0.0
Calgary (c)	33.1	41.4	21.0	4.4	0.0
Niagara Falls (c)	33.3	33.3	27.8	5.6	0.0
St. Catharines (c)	32.3	45.2	16.1	6.5	0.0
Oshawa (c)	50.0	23.3	16.7	10.0	0.0
Coquitlam	10.5	42.1	31.6	15.8	0.0
Jonquière (c)	16.7	50.0	8.3	25.0	0.0
Richmond	3.2	32.3	38.7	25.8	0.0
Laval	22.5	49.3	21.1	5.6	1.4
London (c)	23.8	45.0	20.0	8.8	2.5
Surrey	18.4	44.7	28.9	5.3	2.6
Edmonton (c)	12.9	42.2	28.6	13.6	2.7
St. John's (c)	19.4	35.5	22.6	19.4	3.2
Thunder Bay (c)	33.3	36.7	13.3	13.3	3.3
Halifax (c)	38.8	27.1	23.5	7.1	3.5
Gatineau	29.2	33.3	25.0	8.3	4.2
Greater Sudbury (c)	34.1	41.5	12.2	7.3	4.9
Victoria (c)	5.9	23.5	52.9	11.8	5.9
Ottawa (c)	50.3	23.1	14.2	6.5	5.9
Chicoutimi (c)	18.8	56.3	18.8	0.0	6.3
Windsor (c)	29.8	34.0	23.4	6.4	6.4

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FIGURE A-1 (CONTINUED)

DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS BY POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

Neighbourhoods	Poverty Categories				
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high
Vancouver (c)	1.0	25.7	44.8	21.9	6.7
Saskatoon (c)	19.0	28.6	33.3	11.9	7.1
Toronto (c)	16.2	32.4	30.1	14.1	7.3
Longueuil	10.0	26.7	30.0	23.3	10.0
Burnaby	0.0	26.3	47.4	15.8	10.5
Regina (c)	36.2	25.5	21.3	6.4	10.6
Hamilton (c)	23.1	33.8	21.5	10.0	11.5
Winnipeg (c)	24.3	29.6	23.0	11.2	11.8
Kingston (c)	41.4	20.7	17.2	6.9	13.8
Sherbrooke (c)	4.8	28.6	23.8	28.6	14.3
Hull (c)	7.1	14.3	42.9	14.3	21.4
Saint John (c)	3.2	32.3	19.4	19.4	25.8
Trois-Rivières (c)	6.3	18.8	37.5	6.3	31.3
Montréal (c)	0.9	10.8	28.8	26.9	32.6
Québec (c)	9.6	11.5	23.1	19.2	36.5

Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%;

High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Cities are listed from lowest to highest proportion of very high poverty neighbourhoods.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

FIGURE A-2
GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS BY POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

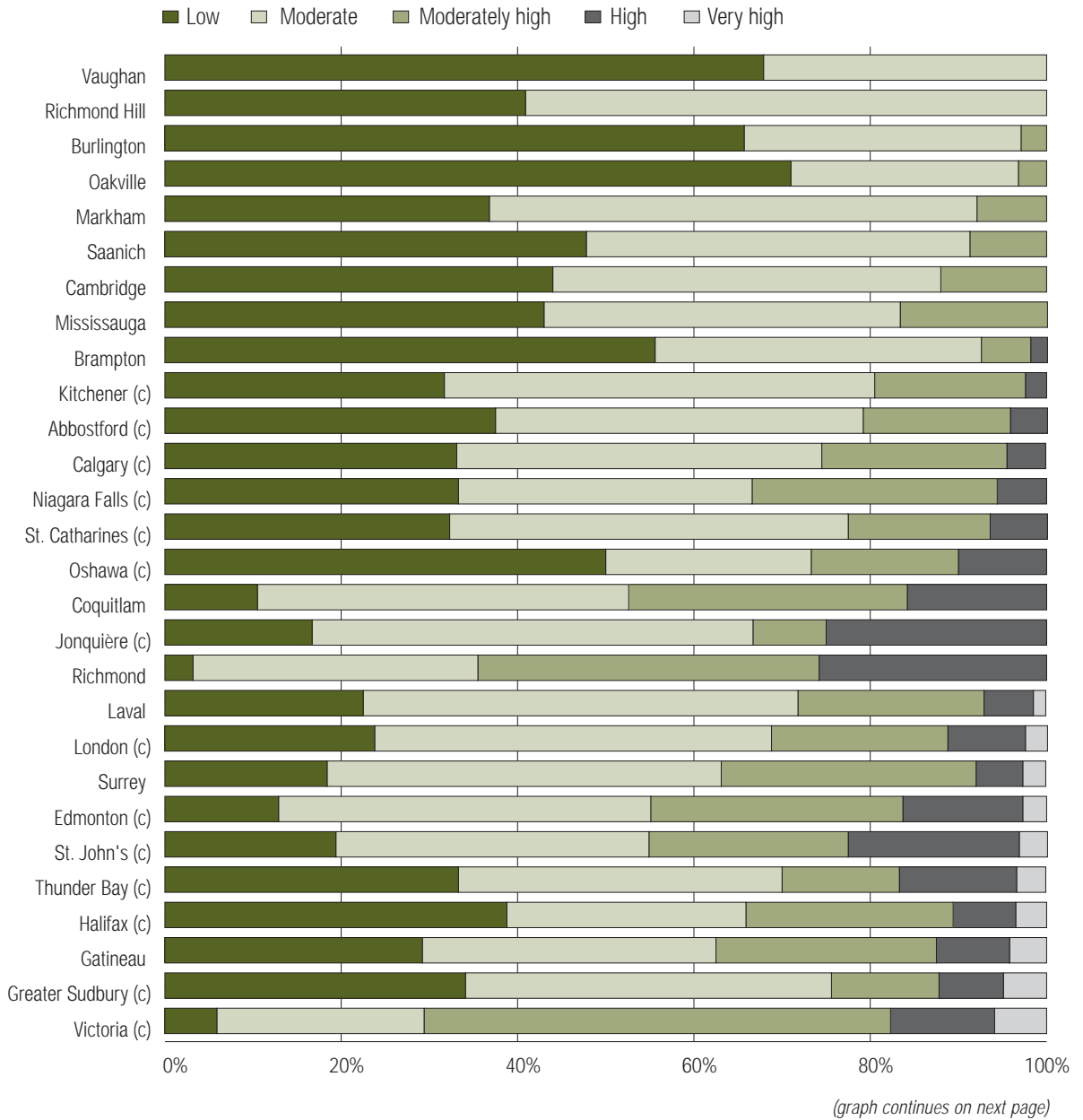
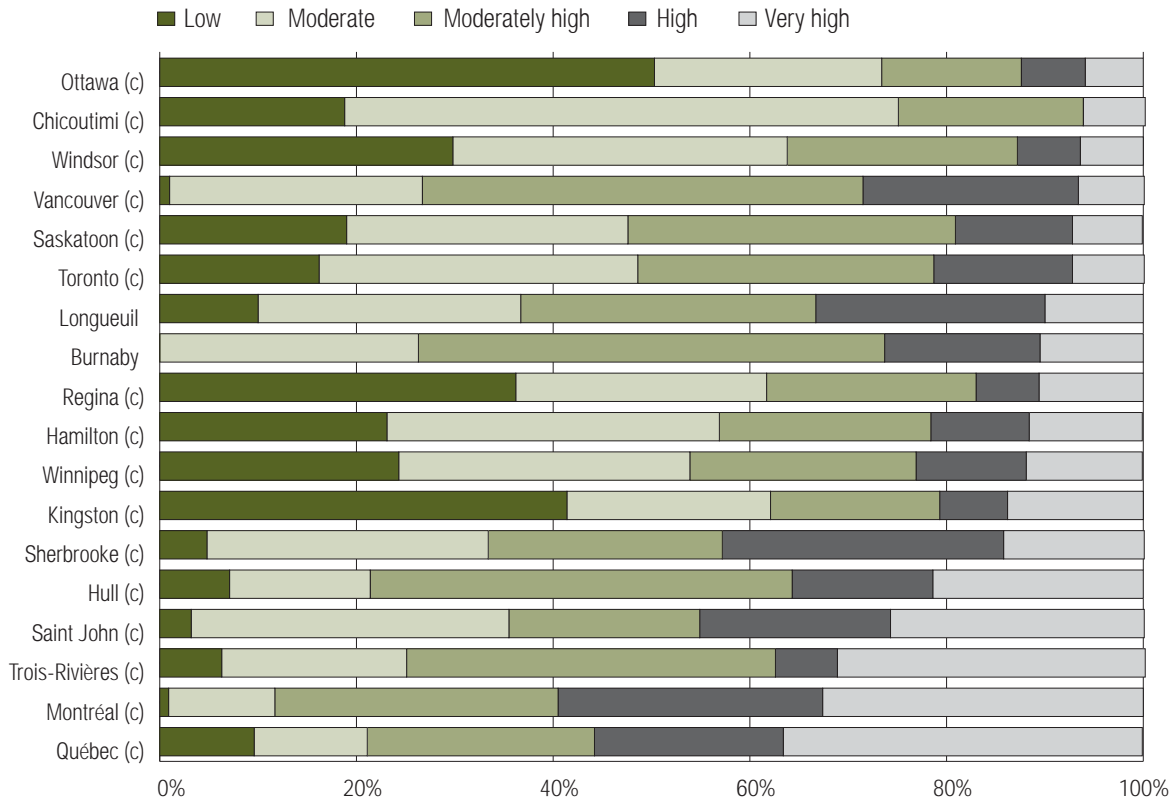


FIGURE A-2 (CONTINUED)

GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS BY POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000



Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more. Cities are listed from lowest to highest proportion of very high poverty neighbourhoods. (c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

FIGURE A-3

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

Population	Poverty Categories				
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high
Total population in CMAs	32.2%	33.4%	20.3%	8.6%	5.5%
In central cities	25.8%	33.1%	23.6%	10.6%	6.9%
In suburban cities	36.1%	39.3%	17.9%	4.8%	1.8%
In remainder of CMAs	49.0%	34.0%	11.7%	3.4%	1.9%
Vaughan	79.3	20.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Richmond Hill	36.0	64.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Burlington	71.3	25.9	2.8	0.0	0.0
Oakville	72.8	23.9	3.3	0.0	0.0
Cambridge	50.5	41.2	8.3	0.0	0.0
Markham	30.0	60.8	9.3	0.0	0.0
Saanich	42.9	46.6	10.5	0.0	0.0
Mississauga	43.2	39.8	17.0	0.0	0.0
Kitchener (c)	39.2	41.6	18.4	0.7	0.0
Brampton	58.8	34.8	4.4	2.1	0.0
Niagara Falls (c)	34.6	36.4	26.7	2.3	0.0
Abbotsford (c)	31.6	51.4	12.9	4.0	0.0
Calgary (c)	35.6	41.6	18.1	4.8	0.0
St. Catharines (c)	27.3	48.2	17.3	7.2	0.0
Oshawa (c)	51.5	23.4	14.4	10.8	0.0
Jonquière (c)	19.3	59.6	6.6	14.5	0.0
Coquitlam	13.2	44.5	26.9	15.4	0.0
Richmond	4.7	39.5	36.6	19.2	0.0
Thunder Bay (c)	36.2	39.3	13.5	10.3	0.7
Laval	22.1	49.5	21.3	6.1	1.0
London (c)	25.5	45.3	19.0	8.3	1.9
Halifax (c)	41.9	27.0	22.0	6.5	2.5
Edmonton (c)	15.8	42.2	26.6	12.6	2.8
Gatineau	30.5	39.0	23.1	4.4	3.0
Surrey	17.9	43.7	28.8	6.4	3.3
St. John's (c)	10.7	36.2	30.6	19.0	3.4
Greater Sudbury (c)	34.7	45.7	10.3	5.2	4.2
Chicoutimi (c)	20.0	59.9	15.4	0.0	4.8
Victoria (c)	5.0	28.0	49.3	12.7	5.0
Ottawa (c)	48.0	23.8	15.9	7.0	5.3
Saskatoon (c)	19.7	30.8	34.4	9.7	5.4

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FIGURE A-3 (CONTINUED)

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

Population	Poverty Categories				
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high
Vancouver (c)	2.5	24.5	44.7	21.9	6.5
Windsor (c)	37.4	30.4	20.0	4.4	7.8
Regina (c)	42.9	20.2	20.7	8.3	7.9
Toronto (c)	13.8	31.0	32.2	14.8	8.2
Sherbrooke (c)	8.0	37.8	16.6	28.3	9.4
Hamilton (c)	26.5	32.6	20.1	10.8	10.0
Winnipeg (c)	26.2	32.8	20.7	10.0	10.3
Longueuil	10.7	23.7	31.0	23.7	10.9
Burnaby	0.0	25.8	49.6	13.4	11.2
Kingston (c)	45.6	19.9	18.6	3.2	12.8
Hull (c)	11.3	27.0	39.7	8.1	13.8
Saint John (c)	5.4	45.0	18.9	11.6	19.0
Trois-Rivières (c)	6.0	22.0	43.5	4.4	24.1
Québec (c)	13.1	15.6	27.3	16.8	27.3
Montréal (c)	0.6	11.0	30.5	26.8	31.1

Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Cities are listed from lowest to highest proportion of the population in very high poverty neighbourhoods.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

FIGURE A-4

DISTRIBUTION OF POOR POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

Poor population	Poverty Categories				
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high
Total population in CMAs	11.8	27.6	28.8	16.9	14.9
In central cities	6.8	22.2	30.8	20.4	19.8
In suburban cities	16.1	37.7	30.3	11.5	4.3
In remainder of CMAs	24.8	37.3	21.5	9.4	7.1
Vaughan	67.7	32.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Richmond Hill	21.5	78.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Burlington	49.8	42.5	7.6	0.0	0.0
Oakville	46.8	42.4	10.8	0.0	0.0
Markham	16.4	68.1	15.5	0.0	0.0
Saanich	27.1	56.4	16.4	0.0	0.0
Cambridge	30.0	52.4	17.5	0.0	0.0
Mississauga	24.5	44.7	30.8	0.0	0.0
Kitchener (c)	18.1	49.2	31.0	1.7	0.0
Abbotsford (c)	25.3	41.8	30.5	2.4	0.0
Niagara Falls (c)	17.2	34.7	43.2	5.0	0.0
Brampton	38.4	46.1	9.0	6.5	0.0
Calgary (c)	14.5	41.7	34.6	9.3	0.0
St. Catharines (c)	12.8	43.5	28.4	15.4	0.0
Coquitlam	2.6	30.7	45.9	20.8	0.0
Jonquière (c)	9.7	55.0	7.7	27.6	0.0
Oshawa (c)	25.7	21.9	24.6	27.8	0.0
Richmond	0.1	19.1	44.0	36.8	0.0
Thunder Bay (c)	16.5	37.9	21.2	21.9	2.5
Laval	9.9	41.9	32.5	12.9	2.9
London (c)	8.6	42.7	28.1	15.9	4.6
Surrey	4.8	38.0	39.8	11.7	5.6
St. John's (c)	3.1	25.2	32.2	32.7	6.8
Edmonton (c)	5.5	31.3	33.0	22.8	7.4
Gatineau	11.5	34.3	37.6	9.2	7.5
Halifax (c)	18.5	24.1	35.1	14.3	7.9
Victoria (c)	1.1	14.1	57.1	17.8	10.0
Vancouver (c)	0.2	14.4	45.3	28.5	11.7
Greater Sudbury (c)	15.9	43.7	16.9	11.7	11.9
Saskatoon (c)	6.4	23.8	39.2	17.3	13.3

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FIGURE A-4 (CONTINUED)

DISTRIBUTION OF POOR POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY LEVELS, SELECT CITIES, 2000

Poor population	Poverty Categories				
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high
Chicoutimi (c)	9.2	54.4	23.0	0.0	13.4
Ottawa (c)	16.9	23.2	27.3	16.6	16.0
Sherbrooke (c)	2.9	23.7	17.3	39.6	16.5
Toronto (c)	4.4	21.7	34.4	22.4	17.1
Burnaby	0.0	12.6	51.7	17.8	18.0
Longueuil	2.9	14.3	31.3	32.9	18.6
Windsor (c)	14.4	26.4	29.8	9.0	20.4
Regina (c)	14.3	27.3	23.7	10.9	23.8
Hamilton (c)	7.9	24.1	25.1	18.6	24.3
Winnipeg (c)	7.9	21.6	27.7	17.7	25.2
Hull (c)	4.3	14.1	41.3	13.1	27.1
Kingston (c)	15.4	17.4	27.3	6.3	33.6
Saint John (c)	1.5	26.0	20.0	17.1	35.4
Trois-Rivières (c)	1.2	11.0	41.5	5.0	41.4
Montréal (c)	0.1	5.1	22.4	27.4	45.0
Québec (c)	3.3	7.6	22.6	19.9	46.6

Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Cities are listed from lowest to highest proportion of poor in very high poverty neighbourhoods.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

ENDNOTES



- ¹ See the Wellesley Institute's *Blueprint to End Homelessness in Toronto* (October 2006) for a recent analysis of homelessness in Canada and efforts to combat it. Available from: <http://wellesleyinstitute.com/theblueprint>. See also *Taking Responsibility for Homelessness: An Action Plan for Toronto*, by the Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force (City of Toronto, 1998). Available from: http://www.toronto.ca/pdf/homeless_action.pdf.
- ² Canadian Association of Foodbanks, *HungerCount 2006*. Available from: http://www.cafb-acba.ca/documents/HungerCount_2006_EN_WEB.pdf.
- ³ Toronto Community and Neighbourhood Services. *Cracks in the Foundation: Community Agency Survey 2003*. City of Toronto, February 2004. Available from: http://www.toronto.ca/divisions/pdf/cns_survey_report.pdf.
- ⁴ In this paper, we do not examine rural poverty. The experience of low income in rural areas comes with its own unique challenges that compound the stresses of living in poverty, such as limited access to transportation, health care, and other key supports and services that are more readily accessible in urban areas. These barriers constitute real and persistent challenges for the rural poor. Please see: Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. *Understanding Freefall: The Challenge of the Rural Poor*, Interim Report. December 2006.
- ⁵ Slack, Enid, Larry S. Bourne and Health Priston. *Large Cities under Stress: Challenges and Opportunities*. Report prepared for the External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2006.
- ⁶ For a more extensive discussion of the geographies used in the Census, see Statistics Canada's 2001 *Standard Geographical Classification (SGC), Volume I: The Classification and Volume II: Reference Maps* (Cat. 12-571-X and 12-572-X). Available from: <http://www.statcan.ca/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=12-571-X> and http://www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/IPS/display?cat_num=12-572-X. See also the Geography section of the 2001 Census Dictionary (Cat. 92-378-XIE). Available from: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/geotoc.htm>.
- ⁷ Areas outside the CMAs include all cities with a population of 5,000 or more (potentially up to 100,000 people) and rural areas with populations of fewer than 5,000 residents.
- ⁸ For example, the province of Prince Edward Island has no CMAs and is therefore not represented in any of the data in this report.
- ⁹ Statistics Canada. *2001 Census Dictionary (Reference Products: 2001 Census)* [online version]. Cat. 92-378-XIE. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2002. Available from: http://www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/IPS/display?cat_num=92-378-XIE.

- ¹⁰ Statistics Canada does not define its LICOs as poverty lines. However, many researchers, including those at the CCSD, believe that these cut-offs have provided a useful and reliable assessment of low income over time and, as such, serve as an important benchmark of relative income deprivation. For these reasons, we use the LICOs as income measures in this report.
- ¹¹ This figure includes census agglomerations.
- ¹² Only CMAs with populations over 100,000 are included in this study.
- ¹³ Using population size and poverty rates for 2000, for example, our regression analysis of CMAs over 250,000 indicates that population size (plus a “decay term” of population size squared) may explain a fair amount of the variance in poverty ($R^2 = 0.58$, for instance). A scatter plot shows that the relationship between size and poverty is not best defined as a purely linear function. We used numerous transformations in an effort to find the best fit (although all possibilities were not exhausted), and we found that using a quadratic equation seemed to provide the best model. Our purpose was purely experimental, designed to help us determine effective cut points to distinguish among small-, medium- and large-sized CMAs.
- ¹⁴ For example, using population size and poverty rates for 2000, our regression analysis indicates that, for CMAs with fewer than 250,000 residents, population size explains hardly any of the variance in poverty rates ($R^2 < 0.01$).
- ¹⁵ The average poverty rate of cities in the larger CMAs was higher than the average for the medium-sized and smaller CMAs. Cities located in the larger CMAs had an average poverty rate of 20.2%, as compared with 15.3% for cities in medium-sized CMAs and 18.9% for cities in smaller CMAs.
- ¹⁶ Please refer to the box on Census Geographies for definitions of these terms.
- ¹⁷ The exceptions in 2000 were Halifax, Ottawa, Sudbury and Abbotsford, which had poverty rates that were identical to those of their CMAs.
- ¹⁸ According to one study, although most jobs (62%) are still located in the central cities of the large urban areas, the rate of job creation has been higher in the suburbs. See: Heisz, Andrew, and Sébastien LaRochelle-Côté. *Trends and Conditions in Census Metropolitan Areas: Work and Commuting in Census Metropolitan Areas, 1996–2001*. Cat. 89-613-MIE, No. 007. Statistics Canada, 2005.
- ¹⁹ In a recent American study, Berube and Kneebone documented the growth of poverty rates in suburban neighbourhoods during the first half-decade of the 21st century. While the overall rate of poverty remained higher in large, central American cities than in the suburbs, Berube and Kneebone found that the suburbs had a greater rate of increase in the incidence of poverty. This, coupled with population growth in the suburbs, has resulted in a greater number of poor people living in the suburbs than in the large central cities for the first time as of 2005. See: Berube, Alan, and Elizabeth Kneebone. *Two Steps Back: City and Suburban Poverty Trends 1999-2005*. Living Cities Census Series. Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006.
- ²⁰ Kingsley, G. Thomas, and Kathryn L.S. Pettit. *Concentrated Poverty: A Change in Course*. Neighborhood Change in Urban America Series, No. 2. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, May 2003. Available from: <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=310790>.
- ²¹ Jargowsky, Paul. *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios and the American City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997.
- ²² Massey, Douglas, and Nancy Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

- 23 Wilson, William Julius. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- 24 Goetz, Edward. *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1993.
- 25 Broadway, Michael. "Differences in Inner-City Deprivation: An Analysis of Seven Cities." In *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1992, pp. 189-196.
- 26 Hanjnal, Zoltan. "The Nature of Concentrated Urban Poverty in Canada and the United States." In *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1995, pp. 497-528.
- 27 Hatfield, Michael. *Concentrations of Poverty and Distressed Neighbourhoods in Canada*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, 1997.
- 28 MacLachlan, Ian, and Ryo Sawada. "Measures of Income Inequality and Social Polarization in Canadian Metropolitan Areas." In *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1997, pp. 377-397.
- 29 Chekki, Dan. "Poverty Amidst Plenty: How Do Canadian Cities Cope With Rising Poverty?" In *Research in Community Sociology*, Vol. 9, 1999, pp. 141-152.
- 30 Lee, Kevin K. *Urban Poverty in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 2000.
- 31 Myles, John, Garnett Picot and Wendy Pyper. *Neighbourhood Inequality in Canadian Cities*. Cat. 11F0019MPE, No. 160. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2000.
- 32 Ley, David, and Heather Smith. "Relations Between Deprivation and Immigrant Groups in Large Canadian Cities." In *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2000, pp. 37-62.
- 33 Kazemipur, Abdolmohammad, and Shiva S. Halli. "Neighbourhood Poverty in Canadian Cities." In *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2002, pp. 369-381.
- 34 Canadian Council on Social Development and United Way of Greater Toronto. *Poverty by Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty, 1981-2001*. Toronto: United Way of Greater Toronto, 2004.
- 35 Ley, David, and Heather Smith. "Relations Between Deprivation and Immigrant Groups in Large Canadian Cities." In *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2000, pp. 37-62.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 Heisz, Andrew, and Logan McLeod. *Low-income in Census Metropolitan Areas, 1980-2000*. Cat. 89-613-MIE, No. 01. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2004.
- 38 Overall, there were 4,284 CTs in the CMAs examined in this study. This figure does not include CTs found in census agglomerations, CTs for which there was no information or those that did not meet Statistics Canada's guidelines for release.
- 39 There are examples of studies that have used other cut-offs, such as twice or greater than the national rate of poverty. (See: Hatfield, Michael. *Concentrations of Poverty and Distressed Neighbourhoods in Canada*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, 1997; and Lee, Kevin K. *Urban Poverty in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 2000.) However, we have chosen the 40% threshold in keeping with the bulk of existing research (Jargowsky, 1997; Jargowsky, 2003; Kingsley, et al, 2003). (See: Jargowsky, Paul. *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios and the American City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997; and Jargowsky, Paul A. *Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems: The Dramatic Decline of Concentrated Poverty in the 1990s*. Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy. Washington: The Brookings Institution, May 2003. Available from: <http://www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications/jargowskypoverty.pdf>; and Kingsley, G. Thomas, and Kathryn L.S. Pettit. *Concentrated Poverty: A Change in Course*. Neighborhood Change in Urban America Series, No. 2. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, May 2003. Available from: <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=310790>.)

- ⁴⁰ The 40% rate in the US is based on an actual dollar figure poverty line. This dollar amount is much lower than the LICOs in Canada. Neighbourhoods with 40% poverty rates in the US would be considered very poor in Canada.
- ⁴¹ Overall, 34.4% of residents in large urban areas lived in neighbourhoods with poverty rates in excess of 20%.
- ⁴² Although neighbourhood poverty rates and the neighbourhood concentration of the poor are highly correlated, they measure distinct aspects of neighbourhood poverty. A CMA with a very low overall poverty rate may have few "poor areas" and a low rate of neighbourhood poverty. But, the few people who are poor could be clustered in a high poverty neighbourhood, resulting in a high neighbourhood concentration of the poor.

The **Urban Poverty Project 2007** is a series of comprehensive analytical reports, resource tools, and data profiles which take a broad look at different aspects of urban poverty in Canada, using detailed data from Statistics Canada Censuses and other sources. Reports in the UPP series examine the economic security of Canadians in the largest metropolitan areas. Some reports pay special attention to the status of certain population groups that are particularly vulnerable to poverty, while others examine the concentration of poverty in urban neighbourhoods.

This series of on-line documents and resources is designed to be both user- and planet-friendly.

It includes fact sheets, poverty data tables, in-depth reports, and summary documents.
All UPP materials are available at <http://www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2007/upp/>.

Reports and products developed under the Urban Poverty Project 2007 include:

- *Community Profiles: National Edition*;
- *A Lost Decade*, an historical analysis of urban poverty from 1990 to 2000;
- Detailed analyses of different dimensions of urban poverty in 2000, presented in the following reports:
 - *Poverty by Geography*;
 - *Dimensions of Income Among Poor Households*;
 - *Employment and Education*;
 - *Populations Vulnerable to Poverty*;
 - *Age, Gender and Family*;
 - *Neighbourhood Poverty*;
- An on-line database containing demographic profiles of 111 communities across Canada;
- Another database of over 100 poverty data tables, organized by levels of geography;
- A summary report on the Urban Poverty Project 2007.



The Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) is Canada's oldest non-profit research group. The Council measures, monitors and reports on issues of social and economic security and well-being. A national, membership-based organization, the CCSD facilitates forums to encourage innovative and pro-active sharing, discussion and debate.

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