

Insights on Canadian Society

Living alone in Canada



by Jackie Tang, Nora Galbraith and Johnny Truong

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Living alone in Canada

by Jackie Tang, Nora Galbraith and Johnny Truong

Today, *Insights on Canadian Society* is releasing a study based on 2016 Census data to examine the characteristics of people living alone in Canada. In addition, this study also uses data from the 2017 General Social Survey on Family to analyze the family relationships and well-being of this particular population.



Overview of the study

This study uses the Census of Population and the 2017 General Social Survey on Family to examine the characteristics of the population living alone in Canada. The demographic, socioeconomic and housing characteristics of persons who live alone are examined, as well as their conjugal history, family relationships, and well-being indicators.

- The number of persons living alone in Canada has more than doubled over the last 35 years, from 1.7 million in 1981 to 4.0 million in 2016. Solo dwellers represented 14% of the population aged 15 and over living in private households in 2016, up from 9% in 1981.
- In recent decades, the number of persons living alone has grown fastest among adults aged 35 to 64. Reflecting this shift, persons living alone in 2016 were more likely to be male and separated or divorced than in the past.
- The socioeconomic and housing characteristics of the population that lives alone differ from those of the population that lives with others. For instance, persons living alone were more than twice as likely as persons living with others to live in a condominium in 2016.
- Despite living alone in their usual place of residence, solo dwellers may nonetheless have close connections with loved ones: in 2017, the majority of these individuals had at least one child, and one-third of those aged 20 to 34 were in a Living Apart Together (LAT) relationship with a partner.
- Most young adults who lived alone in 2017 intended to either form a union or have a child in the future, suggesting that they consider this lifestyle to be a temporary arrangement.

Introduction

The 2016 Census revealed that for the first time in recorded Canadian history, one-person households were the most common household type, overtaking households comprising couples with children.¹ Similar trends have been observed in other countries in recent years.² The increasing popularity of living alone has transformed many aspects of Canadian society, particularly the housing market—where there has been growing demand for smaller, individual living quarters—as well as the retail market, which has expanded the number of consumer goods and services targeted towards solo living.

Along with the increase in solo living, questions have been raised about the possible impacts of this living arrangement on the prevalence of social isolation and loneliness in society, particularly among the senior population. There is some evidence that individuals who live alone are generally more likely to report social isolation or loneliness than those who live with others.³ The baby boom generation is now transitioning into their senior years. It is possible that the forthcoming generation of seniors may be more at risk of experiencing social isolation since baby boomers have had fewer children on average than previous generations. They

have also experienced higher rates of union dissolution, which may impact their frequency of contact with their children.⁴

As the prevalence of living alone has grown over time, it is expected that the population with this type of arrangement has also become more varied. Individuals who live alone may have very different socioeconomic, housing and family characteristics, depending on their stage in life and whether this living arrangement has come about by choice or by circumstance.⁵ As the household represents one of the main decision-making units in society,⁶ trends in the characteristics of persons who live alone may play an increasingly important role in shaping Canada's society, culture and economy in the coming years.

Building on previous analyses of Canada's solo-dwelling population,⁷ this study examines two broad questions: "What are the characteristics of persons who live alone in Canada?" and "How has this population evolved over time?" Data from the Canadian Census of Population and the 2017 General Social Survey (GSS) on Family are used to examine the population living alone in private households. Using census data, the paper first looks at changes in the size and demographic composition of the population living alone over time. The next section compares the socioeconomic and housing situations of persons who live alone with those of persons who live with others. Finally, in an effort to better understand the varied experiences of living alone, data from the 2017 GSS are used to examine the conjugal, fertility and well-being characteristics of individuals with this living arrangement and their intentions for the future. For

more information on the design of the study, see the section on [Data sources, methods and definitions](#).

Living alone grew rapidly in prevalence over the 20th century

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the average size of households in Canada has decreased, from 5.0 persons in 1901⁸ to 2.4 persons in 2016. Along with smaller households, the proportion of and one-person households grew rapidly, from 7% in 1951 to 28% in 2016, the highest level on record. How did this happen?

In the first few decades after Confederation, Canadian households tended to be relatively large and flexible in terms of membership, often including multiple generations of a family, distant relatives, foster children, servants, labourers, boarders and lodgers.⁹ Gradually, a nuclearization of households occurred, whereby census families became more likely to live by themselves.¹⁰ At the same time, persons not in census families increasingly chose to live on their own.¹¹

Following the Second World War, the period from the start of the 1950s to the end of the 1970s saw the most rapid increases in solo living. Part of this increase was simply due to shifts in the structure of Canada's population: the large baby boom generation began entering young adulthood when living alone first became possible. In addition, greater improvements in female life expectancy relative to males during this period led to growth in the number of senior women living alone following the death of their spouse. However, most of the rise in the popularity of living alone during

this era can be attributed to changing attitudes and preferences.¹² Societal shifts such as the introduction of no-fault divorce;¹³ the emergence of a new interim period between leaving the childhood home and beginning a family; urbanization and the associated rapid growth in the number of high-rise apartments;¹⁴ technological developments within the home;¹⁵ and the expansion of social welfare and public housing programs permitted more persons to live alone if they so desired.¹⁶

By the mid-1980s, the newfound ability and growing preference to live alone were well ingrained in Canadian society. Many researchers of the phenomenon at the time debated whether the growing trend in one-person households would end once the youngest baby boomers entered adulthood.¹⁷ However, as will be described in the sections below, there has been a continued growth in the prevalence of living alone in the decades that followed.

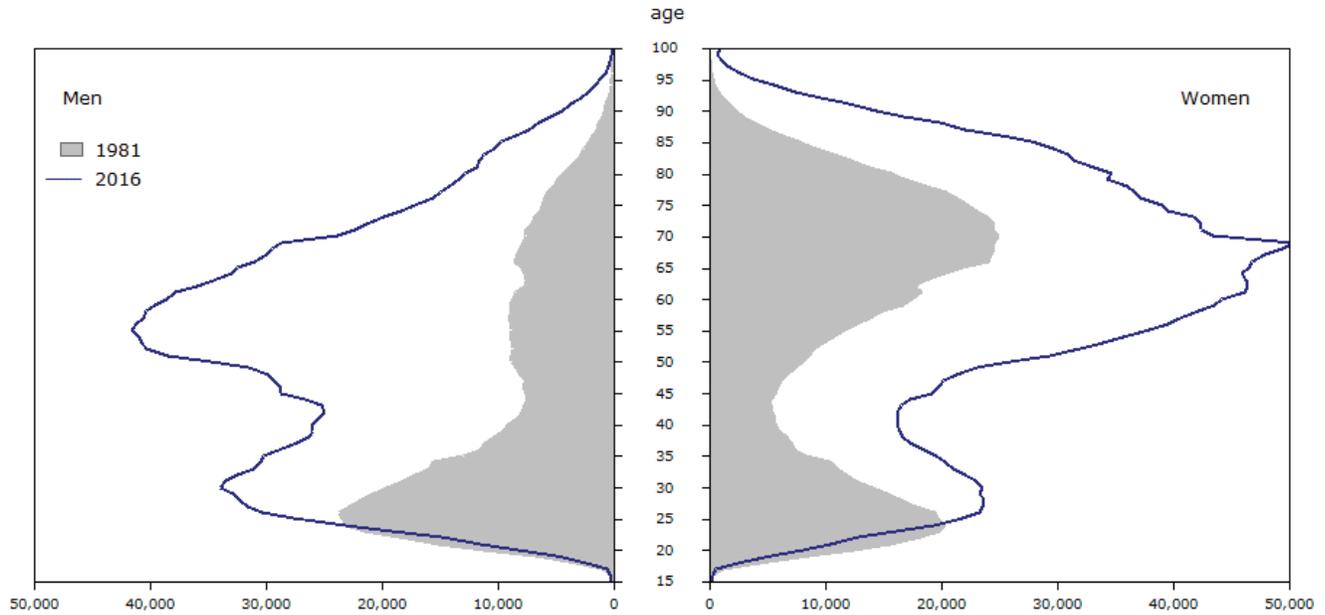
Relatively more men and separated or divorced persons living alone today

The number of persons living alone in Canada more than doubled over the last 35 years, from 1.7 million in 1981 to 4.0 million in 2016. Over the same period, the share of the population aged 15 and over that lived alone in private households increased from 9% to 14%. This growth occurred in all regions of the country, but particularly in Quebec (see the section titled [Quebec: The living alone capital of Canada](#)).

The age and sex composition of the population living alone has also changed considerably over the last several decades (Chart 1). In 1981, over three times as many senior women (aged 65 and over)

Living alone in Canada

Chart 1
Number of persons living alone by age and sex, 1981 and 2016

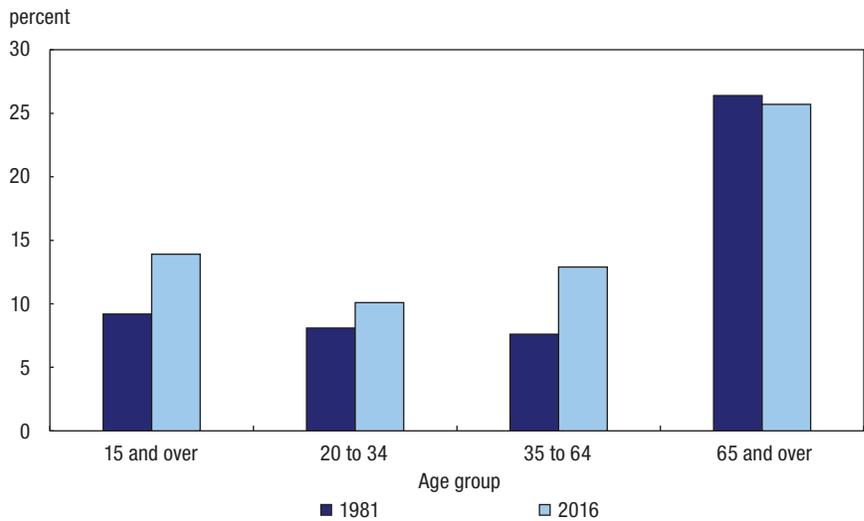


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 and 2016.

as senior men were living alone; solo-dwelling women aged 35 to 64 also outnumbered their male counterparts. In the decades that followed, the number of men who were living alone grew at a faster rate than their female counterparts, particularly those aged 35 and over. By 2016, more men aged 35 to 64 were living alone than women living alone in the same age group, and the gender gap in the senior solo-dwelling population declined to a ratio of 2.2 senior women living alone for every senior man living alone.

While the number of persons living alone has grown across all age groups over time, the numbers increased most rapidly in middle adulthood (Chart 2). Among persons aged 35 to 64, the proportion that lived alone

Chart 2
Proportion of the population that is living alone, by age group, 1981 and 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 and 2016.

rose from 8% in 1981 to 13% in 2016. This increase reflects the fact that the population living alone at these ages grew much faster than the population living with others over this period (Chart 3).

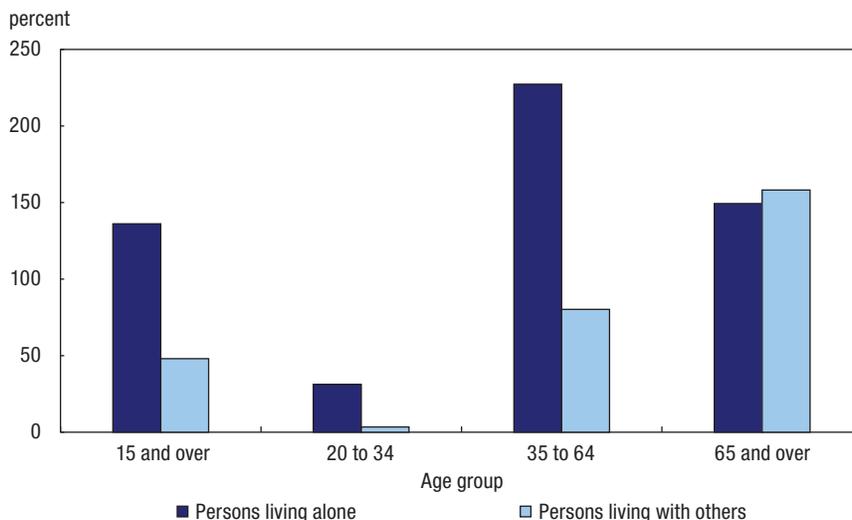
In contrast, the share of seniors that lived alone decreased slightly over the same period, as the number of seniors that lived with others grew relatively faster. Despite the growing popularity of living alone at younger ages over time, this lifestyle remains most prevalent within the senior population: more than one-quarter (26%) of them lived alone in 2016.

The age patterns of living alone have evolved differently for men and women

Between 1981 and 2016, the share of the population aged 25 to 64 that lived alone increased for both women and men, but growth was faster among men (Chart 4). The share of senior women aged 65 and over that lived alone decreased over the period for all but the very oldest ages, whereas the share of senior men that lived alone generally increased.

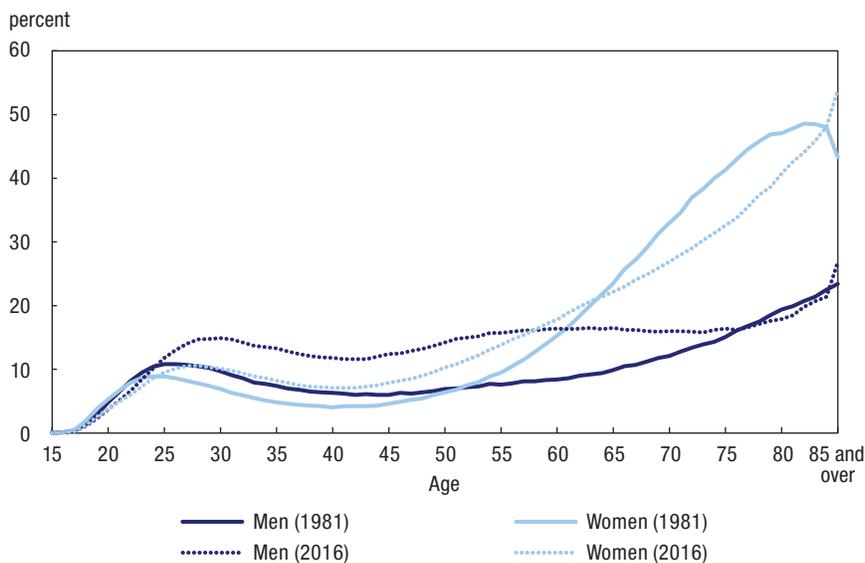
These developments reflect two key societal trends that occurred over the 35-year period. The relatively large increase in the prevalence of living alone among men in recent decades relates in part to the increasing rates of union dissolution that occurred during this period. While co-parenting following a separation or divorce is on the rise, children remain more likely to hold primary residence with their mother.¹⁸ As a result, post-separation or divorce, fathers are more likely to live alone at least for a period of time. The decrease in the share of senior women living alone relates largely to accelerated improvements in male

Chart 3
Growth in the number of persons living alone and the number of persons living with others, by age group, 1981 to 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 and 2016.

Chart 4
Proportion of the population that is living alone by age and sex, 1981 and 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 and 2016.

life expectancy in recent decades, which have resulted in relatively fewer senior women living alone as widows.¹⁹ For men, however,

improvements in life expectancy have also increased the prevalence of living alone at older ages. As a result, the gap in the prevalence

of living alone between the sexes has narrowed for seniors in recent years: in 2016, men accounted for 32% of seniors living alone, up from 23% in 1981.

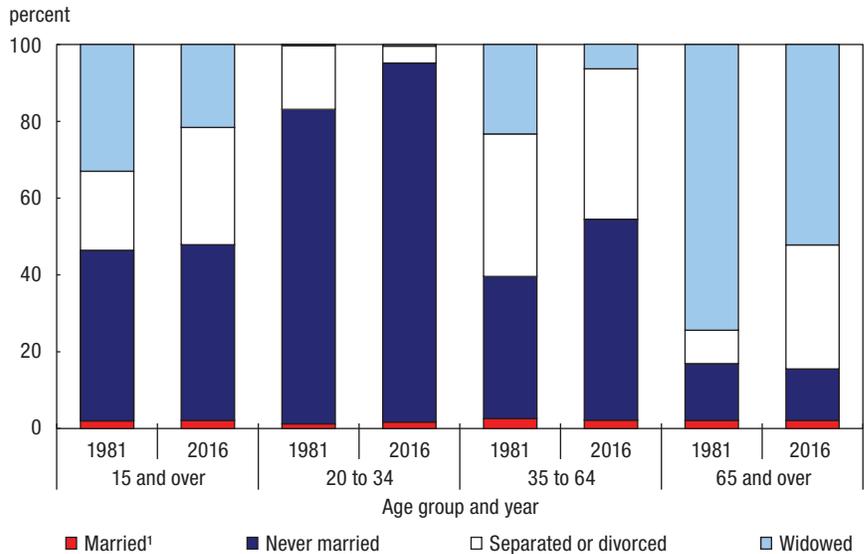
The trends in improving male life expectancy and rising union dissolution rates have changed the marital status profile of the population living alone. Between 1981 and 2016, the share of solo dwellers who were widowed decreased from 33% to 22%, while the share of those who were separated or divorced increased from 21% to 31%. The growth in separated or divorced solo dwellers was largest within the senior population: between 1981 and 2016, the share of seniors living alone that were separated or divorced more than tripled, from 9% to 32% (Chart 5).

Reflecting differences in life expectancy between the sexes and the fact that women tend to marry men older than them, the predominant marital status of seniors who live alone differs by sex. Across all age groups in 2016, male solo dwellers were more likely than their female counterparts to never have married. Widowhood was the most common marital status among senior women who lived alone in 2016 (60%), while being separated or divorced was most common for senior men who lived alone (41%).²⁰

Young adults who are solo dwellers have relatively high education and labour force participation rates

The socioeconomic profiles of the population living alone and the population living with others²¹ differ depending on whether they are measured through education, labour force participation or housing affordability indicators. Within the population that lives alone there

Chart 5
Distribution of the population living alone by legal marital status and age group, 1981 and 2016



1. In census data, persons reported as married who do not live with their married spouse in the same private household or collective dwelling are treated as married for marital status, but not for family characteristics. For information about how household membership is defined in the census, refer to the definition of "usual place of residence" in the 2016 Census Dictionary.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 and 2016.

are also clear differences in the socioeconomic situation of younger versus older adults, reflecting the diversity of the daily realities and experiences of persons with this living arrangement.

Like the general population, the population living alone has become more educated over time. However, solo dwellers demonstrate different patterns in terms of educational attainment than persons who live with others. Young adults who lived alone in 2016 were more likely to have either college or university qualifications than their counterparts in the same age group who lived with others. This was particularly the case for young females aged 25 to 34,²² among whom 77% of solo dwellers had a college or university certificate or diploma compared with 67% of those who lived with

others. In contrast, the opposite situation occurs at older ages, when persons who lived alone were less likely to have a college or university certificate or diploma than those who lived with others, regardless of sex.²³ Similar patterns were found for labour force activity: young adults living alone had higher labour force participation rates²⁴ in 2016 than their counterparts in the same age group who lived with others, while the opposite was true for older adults (Chart 6).

Young adults who pursue higher education are generally more likely to have their first child at relatively older ages,²⁵ perhaps increasing the likelihood that they will live alone compared with those with lower educational attainment. In contrast, older solo dwellers may be more likely than younger adults

to arrive at their living situation as a result of the death of a spouse or unforeseen circumstances such as the dissolution of a union.

Close to one half of young adults living alone had monthly shelter costs considered not affordable

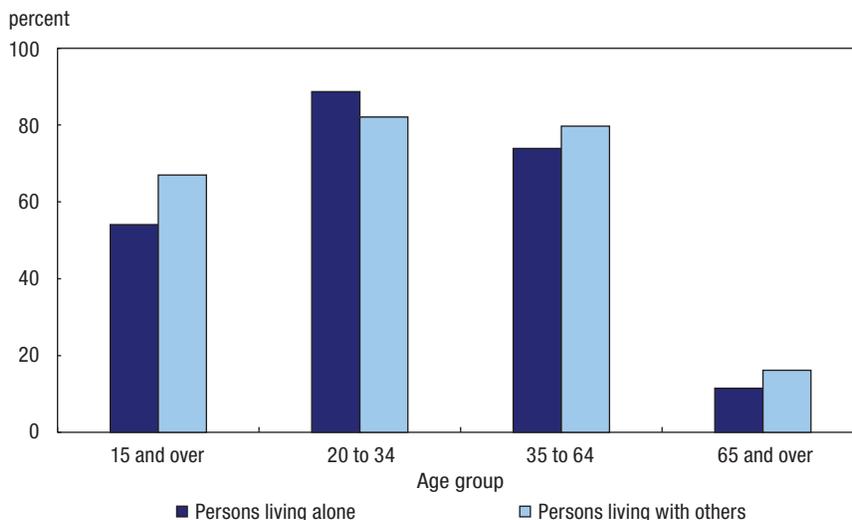
Individuals who live by themselves must manage expenses such as housing, utilities, food and entertainment on a single income in most cases, while those living in a household with others can take advantage of economies of scale in managing these expenses.²⁶ Managing shelter costs may be more of a financial strain for those who live alone than for those who live with others.

The proportion of one-person households with monthly shelter costs²⁷ considered not affordable (meaning 30% or more of average monthly household income) in 2016 was more than double the proportion among other household types (41% versus 17%). Shelter costs were particularly expensive for young adults who lived alone in 2016: close to one-half (48%) of solo dwellers aged 20 to 34 had shelter costs that were considered unaffordable. This pattern may relate in part to the fact that young adults living alone were more likely than their older counterparts to live in urban areas where housing costs tend to be higher.

Among persons living alone in 2016, 1 in 5 resided in a condominium

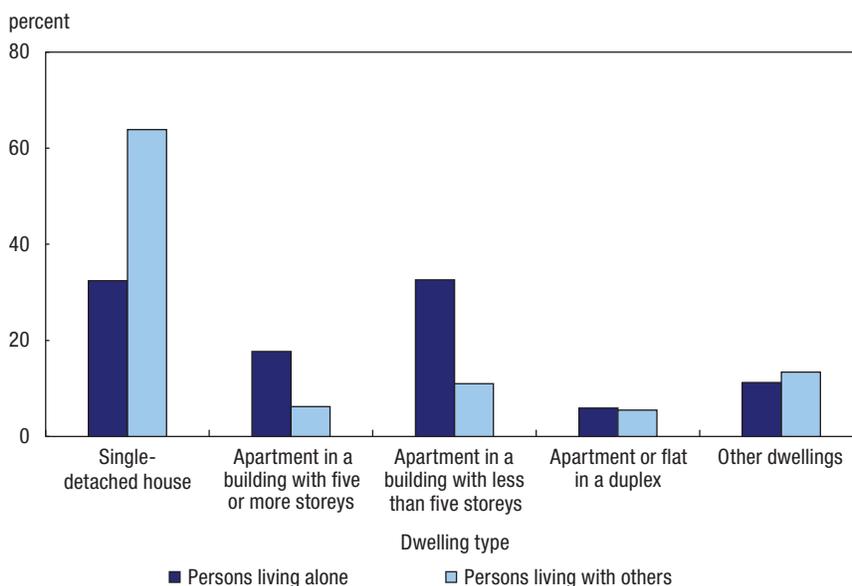
Persons who live alone demonstrate different housing needs and preferences than persons who live with others. Although single-detached houses were the most

Chart 6
Labour force participation rate, persons living alone and persons living with others, by age group, 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

Chart 7
Proportion of the population aged 15 and over living in selected dwelling types, persons living alone and persons living with others, 2016



Note: "Other dwellings" refer to semi-detached houses, row houses, other single-attached houses and movable dwellings.

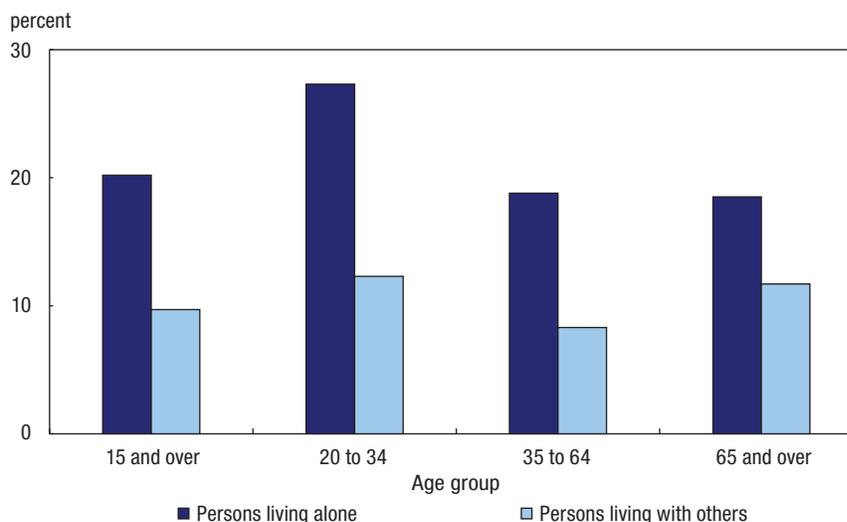
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

common dwelling type in Canada, persons who live alone were more likely to live in apartment buildings of various configurations (Chart 7). As with other characteristics of the population that lives alone, the prominent dwelling type varied by age: seniors who lived alone were more likely to live in a single-detached house (39%) than their counterparts aged 20 to 34 (18%). This likely relates to the fact that many older adults who lived alone were widowed and still occupied the home they once shared with their spouse.²⁸

Persons who live alone had a lower rate of home ownership²⁹ than other households in 2016. This difference may reflect greater financial difficulty in accessing home ownership when living solo. Alternatively, this pattern may be a matter of preference: for some individuals who enjoy the greater freedom associated with living alone, renting may be more attractive to them because it is more flexible. That said, home ownership rates for the population that lives alone have increased over time—from 32% in 1981 to 50% in 2016—and this growth has been faster than that of other primary household maintainers (from 70% in 1981 to 75% in 2016). Home ownership grew fastest among female solo dwellers aged 20 to 34, whose rates more than tripled between 1981 (8%) and 2016 (27%), an increase that may relate to the growth of higher educational attainment and labour force participation of young women over this period.

The general increase in home ownership over the past 35 years among persons living alone could be linked to the rise in the supply of condominiums³⁰ over the period. Condominiums tend to be more

Chart 8
Proportion of persons living alone and persons living with others who live in a condominium, by age group, 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

economical and offer smaller living quarters than other forms of home ownership, possibly making them more accessible and appealing to individuals who live alone. Among those solo dwellers who owned their homes in 2016, 28% owned condominiums, more than triple the share in 1981 (7%). Overall, one-fifth (20%) of persons living alone resided in a condominium in 2016 whether they owned or rented it, and this housing type was most popular among young adults (Chart 8).

The census data above show that the characteristics of the population living alone have evolved considerably over the last few decades. Over the same period, families have also become more varied, flexible and complex. The growing prevalence of common-law unions means that legal marital status cannot fully capture the conjugal history of individuals

who are currently living alone. The growth in shared parenting following a union dissolution and living apart together (LAT) relationships³¹, among other trends, have resulted in more individuals alternating their time between two or more residences. As a result of these changes, it is expected that a considerable share of persons who live alone may have close family relationships with people they may live or spend time with on a regular basis (for example, young children or non-coresiding partners). These important social connections undoubtedly impact their day-to-day lives even though they usually³² live alone. In addition, as the onset of many milestones such as forming a union or having a child have become increasingly delayed, young adults living alone may be more likely than other solo dwellers to consider living alone a temporary situation.

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In the remainder of this article, data from the 2017 General Social Survey on Family are used to examine the conjugal, fertility and parenting characteristics of the population aged 20 and over that lives alone.

Most persons who live alone have previously partnered and have at least one child

According to the 2017 GSS, the majority (72%) of persons aged 20 and over that were living alone had previously lived as part of a married or common-law couple (Table 1). In other words, most individuals living alone in 2017 had not always lived alone. As might be expected, younger solo dwellers aged 20 to 34 were less likely to have ever been part of a couple (35%) than their older counterparts (90% of those aged 65 and over).

Regardless of age, men who lived alone were significantly less likely than their female counterparts to have ever been part of a couple.

Male solo dwellers aged 35 and over were also generally less likely than female solo dwellers in the same age group to have been the birth, step or adoptive parent of at least one child, suggesting they may be at greater risk of social isolation as a result of having fewer connections with close kin (see the section titled [Alone, but not necessarily lonely: The relationship between living alone and well-being](#)). Overall, however, most persons living alone in 2017 had parented at least one child (55%). As with conjugal history, seniors living alone were much more likely to have parented at least one child (83%) than younger adult solo dwellers (5%).

Following the dissolution of a union involving young children, it can be challenging for individuals who do not share primary residence with their children to renegotiate time-sharing arrangements, general decision making and financial expenditures, among other important parenting tasks.³³ Relatively few young adults

and seniors living alone have a dependent child (aged 18 or under) from a previous relationship, but this situation is more common among middle-aged solo dwellers. According to the 2017 GSS, close to one-half (46%) of persons aged 35 to 64 who lived alone had experienced a separation or divorce within the last 20 years. Of these, about 1 in 5 (or 93,460) solo dwellers had at least one dependent child from a previous union. Most (59%) of these individuals indicated that their child lived with them for some period of time in the last 12 months (Chart 9).³⁴ Living with a child, even if only on a periodic basis, is likely to impact the decisions and consumption patterns of solo dwellers regarding housing, furniture, entertainment, food and other daily essentials.

Aside from sharing a home periodically, there are other ways of maintaining involvement and contact with a child following a separation or divorce. Among solo dwellers aged 35 to 64 with

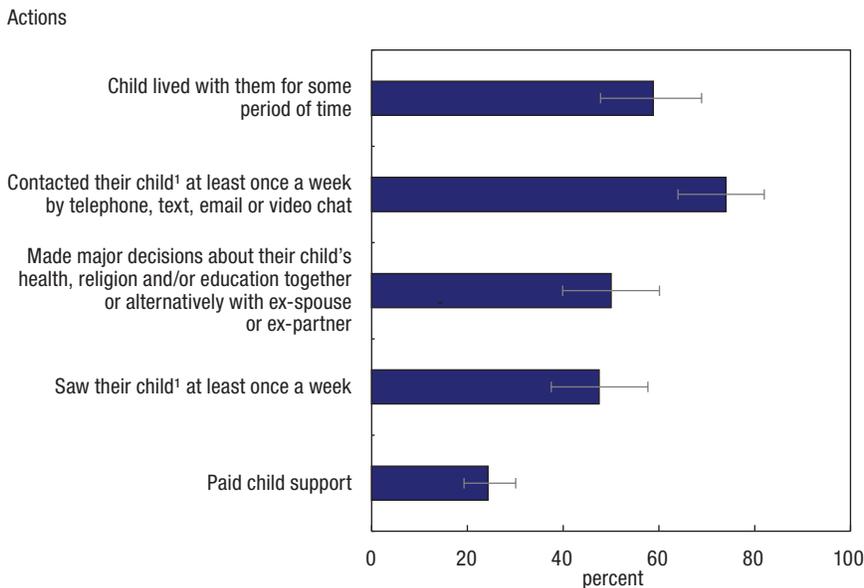
Table 1
Selected conjugal and fertility characteristics of the population living alone, by age group and sex, 2017

	Age group											
	20 and over			20 to 34			35 to 64			65 and over		
	Proportion	95% confidence interval		Proportion	95% confidence interval		Proportion	95% confidence interval		Proportion	95% confidence interval	
From		To	From		To	From		To	From		To	
percent												
Has been in a union (married or common law)												
Both sexes	72.2	70.8	73.5	34.7	31.1	38.6	69.4	67.1	71.5	90.0	88.7	91.2
Men	62.5	60.1	64.7	29.8	25.3	34.7	64.7	61.5	67.7	84.8	81.5	87.5
Women	79.7 [†]	78.1	81.3	41.4 [†]	35.4	47.6	74.8 [†]	71.9	77.5	92.1 [†]	90.6	93.3
Has separated or divorced in the last 20 years												
Both sexes	29.9	28.6	31.3	30.1	26.6	33.9	46.4	44.1	48.8	13.2	11.9	14.7
Men	34.8	32.7	37.0	25.6	21.4	30.4	46.1	43.0	49.3	20.6	17.6	23.9
Women	26.1 [†]	24.5	27.8	36.1 [†]	30.2	42.4	46.8	43.6	50.1	10.3 [†]	8.9	12.0
Has at least one child												
Both sexes	54.6	53.1	56.1	4.7	3.2	6.7	46.4	44.1	48.7	82.9	81.2	84.5
Men	43.1	40.7	45.4	6.3	4.2	9.5	41.9	38.8	45.0	75.3	71.5	78.7
Women	63.6 [†]	61.7	65.6	2.5 [†]	1.1	4.9	51.7 [†]	48.2	55.2	85.9 [†]	84.0	87.7

[†] percentage for women is significantly different from the corresponding value for men ($p < 0.05$)

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Family, 2017.

Chart 9
Actions taken in the last 12 months, population aged 35 to 64 who were living alone, and had separated or divorced in the last 20 years, with at least one dependent child in 2017



1. When the child was not staying in the respondent's household.
 Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Family, 2017.

a dependent child, a large majority (74%) indicated that they contacted their child at least once a week when their child was not living with them, whether by telephone, text, email or video chat. In addition, close to one-half indicated that they (a) shared in the decision-making processes regarding their dependent child's health, religion and/or education (50%); or (b) saw their child at least once a week when their child was not living with them (48%). Separated or divorced solo dwellers may also contribute financially to their child's upbringing: close to one-quarter (24%) of middle-aged separated or divorced individuals with a dependent child paid child support in 2017.

One-third of young adult solo dwellers were in a living apart together (LAT) relationship

Persons living alone may be in a couple relationship with someone who resides elsewhere. In the GSS, individuals who are neither married nor living common law but who are in a couple relationship with someone living in another dwelling at the time of the survey are considered to be in a living apart together (LAT) relationship. According to the 2017 GSS, 17% of solo dwellers aged 20 and over were in a LAT relationship (Table 2). Having a life partner is likely to impact the routines of individuals who usually reside alone—particularly their commuting and consumption behaviours (for example, if they visit their partner throughout the year).

LAT relationships are more prevalent among young adults,³⁵ and this is also true for the population living alone. Among solo dwellers who were neither married nor living common law, 1 in 3 (33%) of those aged 20 to 34 were in a LAT couple, compared with 20% of those aged 35 to 64 and 6% of seniors. While LAT relationships were equally popular among young adults of both sexes, at older ages male solo dwellers were significantly more likely to be in a LAT relationship than their female counterparts. For instance, among senior solo dwellers, men were three times more likely to be in a LAT relationship than women (12% versus 4%).

Most young adults do not intend to continue living alone

While living alone has grown in popularity among young adults in recent years, most young solo dwellers appear to consider their living arrangement temporary. When asked about their future intentions, most individuals aged 20 to 34 who were living alone and not in a couple relationship in 2017 stated that they were open to living in a common-law union in the future (72%) or that they intended to (re)marry in the future (60%) (Table 3). In addition, most young adults living alone stated that they intended to have a child (or another child) (67%)³⁶ some day.³⁷

Repartnering—whether after the death of a spouse or partner or following the dissolution of a union—is on the rise among seniors, but rates remain fairly low.³⁸ As noted earlier, most senior solo dwellers have lived as part of a couple in the past. This may explain, to some extent, why seniors living alone were less likely than their younger adult counterparts to have the intention to form a union (whether

Table 2
Proportion of the population living alone that is in a living apart together (LAT) relationship¹, by age group and sex, 2017

	Age group											
	20 and over			20 to 34			35 to 64			65 and over		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	Proportion	From	To									
percent												
In a (LAT) relationship												
Both sexes	16.5	15.4	17.7	33.4	29.4	37.5	20.2	18.2	22.1	6.2	5.2	7.3
Men	22.5	20.5	24.7	33.8	28.6	39.4	23.1	20.2	26.2	12.1	9.7	15.1
Women	11.9 [†]	10.6	13.4	32.8	27.0	39.2	16.8 [†]	14.1	19.5	3.9 [†]	3.0	4.9

[†] percentage for women is significantly different from the corresponding value for men ($p < 0.05$)

1. Excludes respondents who were married or in a common-law relationship.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Family, 2017.

Table 3
Intention to form a union among the population living alone,¹ by age group and sex, 2017

	Age group											
	20 and over			20 to 34			35 to 64			65 and over		
	95% Confidence interval			95% Confidence interval			95% Confidence interval			95% Confidence interval		
	Proportion	From	To									
percent												
Intend to marry or remarry												
Both sexes	15.8	14.6	17.2	59.7	54.5	64.7	17.5	15.5	19.8	1.9	1.4	2.7
Men	23.6	21.2	26.1	57.9	51.3	64.2	21.4	18.2	24.9	4.3	2.5	6.7
Women	10.8 [†]	9.4	12.4	62.1	53.5	70.0	13.4 [†]	11.0	16.2	1.2 [†]	0.7	1.9
Think they could live in a common-law relationship												
Both sexes	33.6	32.0	35.3	72.0	66.8	76.4	46.5	43.8	49.1	11.8	10.5	13.3
Men	48.0	45.3	50.8	72.9	66.0	78.5	53.9	50.1	57.7	22.9	19.3	26.8
Women	23.8 [†]	22.0	25.7	70.7	62.7	77.6	38.5 [†]	35.2	42.0	7.9 [†]	6.6	9.4

[†] percentage for women is significantly different from the corresponding value for men ($p < 0.05$)

1. Includes respondents who were not married, not living in a common-law relationship and not in a living apart together relationship at the time of the survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Family, 2017.

through marriage or a common-law relationship) in the future. That said, an increasing number of seniors are choosing to form common-law unions when they repartner.³⁹ Reflecting this pattern, seniors living alone were six times as likely to state that they might live in a common-law union in the future (12%) as they were to state that they intended to (re)marry in the future (2%). Among senior solo dwellers, men were significantly more likely than women to intend to form a union in the future.

Conclusion

As the number of persons living alone in Canada has grown over time, the characteristics of this population have become more diverse. In recent decades, living alone has grown in popularity in young and middle adulthood, among men of all ages, and for both sexes following a separation or divorce. With these shifts, pathways to living alone and future intentions have also become more varied. For some individuals, living alone is seen as a

transitional situation before forming a family. For others, it has become a more enduring lifestyle that was not necessarily planned or desired, but that occurred as a result of circumstances. Other individuals may see living alone as a preferred way of life. Despite living alone, many individuals have close ties with loved ones, such as children from a previous relationship or partners they do not live with. The day-to-day realities and challenges of living alone vary depending on an individual's history and their stage of life.

While there are many contrasting experiences among those who live alone, this study found that solo dwellers also share many common experiences. Regardless of age or sex, persons who live alone are less likely to own their home and are more likely to live in a condominium than persons who live with others. Solo dwellers are also more likely to experience financial strains, like unaffordable shelter costs, than persons who can reap the economies of scale associated with living with others. As living alone comes to represent the situation of an increasingly large segment of the Canadian population, housing demands and affordability issues associated with this lifestyle may grow in importance within society.

Will living alone continue to be the predominant household type in the future? While the pace of growth of one-person households has slowed in recent decades,⁴⁰

there is no strong indication that this living arrangement will decrease in prevalence in the coming years, either in Canada⁴¹ or in other industrialized countries.⁴² As Canada experiences peak population aging over the next two decades,⁴³ the share of the population that lives alone is likely to continue to increase simply due to the fact that living alone is more predominant among seniors. Furthermore, the age of social media has greatly facilitated this lifestyle, allowing most individuals to communicate easily with the outside world despite living alone.

That said, several societal trends could slow the growth in living alone in the future. As male life expectancy converges with that of females, more seniors may be able to continue living with their spouse or partner until increasingly older ages. As explored in this study, this trend has already led to a substantial decrease in the share of senior women living

alone over the last several decades. Moreover, as the characteristics of the senior population become more ethnoculturally diverse,⁴⁴ alternative arrangements, like living with relatives in a multigenerational household, may grow in popularity. Across all ages, rising housing costs in the country's urban centres could lead to growth in the popularity of living with roommates as an alternative to living alone out of financial necessity. Overall, however, it is reasonable to expect that, in the coming years, Canadian society will increasingly be shaped around the diverse needs and preferences of individuals who live alone.

Jackie Tang is an analyst, Nora Galbraith is a senior analyst and Johnny Truong is a data production and dissemination officer with the Demography Division at Statistics Canada.

Data sources, methods and definitions

Data sources

Data used in this article are derived from the Census of Population (1981 to 2016) and the 2017 General Social Survey (Cycle 31).

Further information on the census can be found in the [Guide to the Census of Population, 2016](#), Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-304-X.

The General Social Survey (GSS) is a voluntary cross-sectional survey whose target population consists of non-institutionalized persons aged 15 and over living in the 10 Canadian provinces. The GSS is collected every year on different themes. The family cycle is generally collected every five years. The overall survey response rate was 52.4%, yielding a sample of 20,602 respondents. This article focuses on the population aged 20 and over, which is represented by a sample of 19,902 respondents. See the [2017 General Social Survey on Family \(Cycle 31\)](#) for additional information.

Methods

To ensure the confidentiality of responses collected for the Census of Population, a random rounding process is used to alter the values reported in individual cells. As a result, when these data are summed or grouped, the total value may not match the sum of the individual values since the total and subtotals are independently rounded. Similarly, percentage distributions, which are calculated on rounded data, may not necessarily add up to 100%.

To account for the complex sampling design of the GSS, all analyses were weighted using person weights. All of the proportions were evaluated in terms of sampling variance using the replicate weights (standard bootstrap weights) generated by Statistics Canada. The 95% confidence intervals were derived in the SUDAAN PROC CROSSTAB, either using the logit transformation method or, for estimated proportions of 5% and less, using the method for computing small proportion confidence intervals. The confidence intervals are published in tables, as is an indicator signifying when differences are significant with a p -value < 0.05 . These indicators are based on testing of the individual hypotheses in SUDAAN PROC DESCRIPT.

With regard to the proportions presented in this article that were derived from the GSS data, proportions were calculated using a denominator that includes all cases of item non-response for the characteristic of interest. Cases of item non-response represented no more than 5% of the unweighted count for the characteristic of interest. Proportions required an unweighted denominator count of at least 15 in order to be released.

Definitions

Unless otherwise stated, statistics in this article derived from the census are restricted to the population aged 15 and over living in private households. Since the population aged 15 to 19 that lives alone is very small, analysis of trends by age group in this article focus on the population aged 20 and over. Similarly, statistics in this article derived from the GSS are restricted to the non-institutionalized population aged 20 and over living in the 10 provinces.

Living arrangements can be examined from the individual, family or household perspective. The number of one-person households is equal to the number of persons living alone.

The census definition of living alone is based on the concepts of usual place of residence and household living arrangements. Each individual is counted as residing at one and only one dwelling and in one household. Part-time living situations are not captured. As a result, many persons categorized as living alone in the census may have family members or other persons staying with them for part of the year. The census takes a snapshot of living arrangements on census day; it does not capture how long an individual has been living alone or whether it is a temporary situation for the individual.

Similar rules regarding usual place of residence are applied in the General Social Survey (GSS) to categorize individuals as living alone. However, using information collected in the GSS on conjugal and parenting history, time spent with children and future intentions in terms of childbearing or union formation, it is possible to gather a more detailed picture of the situation of persons categorized as living alone.

Quebec: The living alone capital of Canada

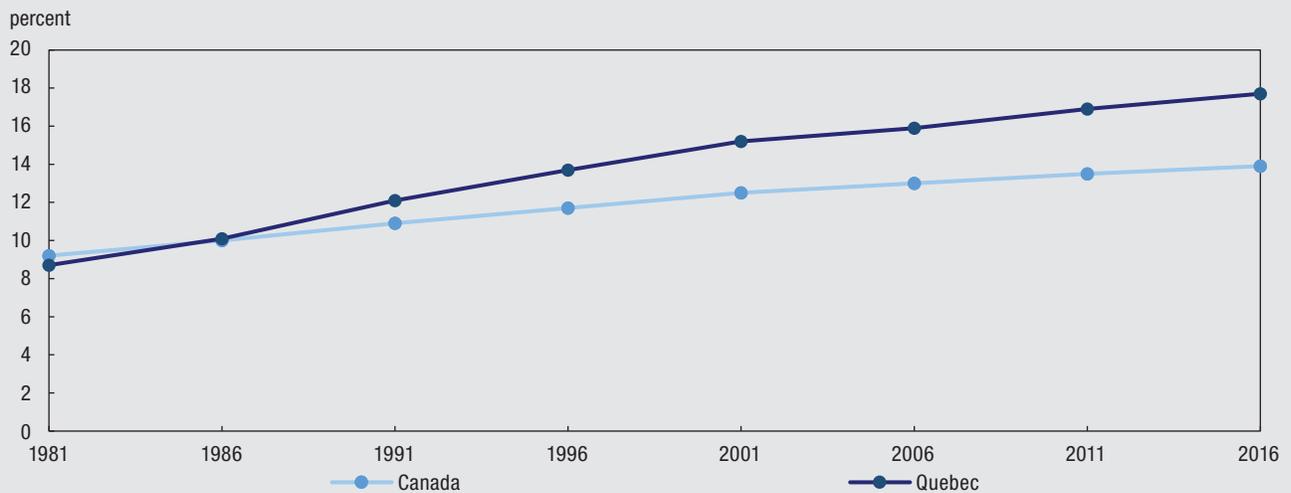
In Quebec, 18% of the population aged 15 and over lived alone in 2016, the highest share for all provinces and territories. Moreover, among them, Quebec has experienced the highest growth in the prevalence of living alone since 1981, moving from below the national average to increasingly above it by 2016 (Chart 10).

An examination of Canada's subprovincial areas reveals a similar pattern. Among Canada's census metropolitan areas (CMAs), three in Quebec had the highest proportions of solo living: Trois-Rivières (21%), Sherbrooke (20%) and Québec (20%).

The greater prevalence of living alone in Quebec cannot be attributed solely to its older age structure. In fact, the prevalence of living alone at the oldest ages (85 and over) is relatively low in Quebec: the rates of living in collective dwellings such as retirement homes and assisted living facilities are considerably higher in the province than elsewhere in Canada.⁴⁵

Generally, certain economic and social conditions must be present for living alone to become a prevalent lifestyle within a society.⁴⁶ It has been argued that many of the sociocultural and economic developments that occurred in Quebec beginning in the 20th century, referred to as the Quiet Revolution, included an evolution towards a more individualistic orientation that may have led to more persons living alone by choice.⁴⁷ Furthermore, shelter costs are relatively low in Quebec's CMAs,⁴⁸ which could facilitate solo living among those who choose this option. The province of Quebec also has a tax credit for persons who live alone under certain conditions,⁴⁹ which may assist the solo lifestyle to some extent.

Chart 10
Proportion of the population aged 15 and over that is living alone, Canada and Quebec, 1981 to 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1981 to 2016.

Alone, but not necessarily lonely: The relationship between living alone and well-being

Social connections play an important role in an individual's life satisfaction and health.⁵⁰ There is some evidence that individuals who live alone are generally more likely to report social isolation or loneliness than those who live with others.⁵¹ Results from the 2017 General Social Survey indicate that persons living alone reported lower levels of self-rated health, mental health and satisfaction with life overall compared with persons living with others, regardless of sex or age group (Table 4).

However, living alone should not be assumed to cause loneliness or social isolation since the relationships between these phenomena are complex. Other correlated characteristics such as age, marital status, economic situation and cultural setting may play a more instrumental role in an individual's well-being than their specific living arrangement.⁵²

Although living alone may be a lonely experience at times for some individuals, isolation can nonetheless be lessened or avoided by maintaining close contact with friends, family and neighbours.⁵³ Results from the GSS do not support the view that female widows are unhappy: among all solo dwellers, senior women were the most likely to report high levels of life satisfaction in 2017 (72%), significantly more than their male counterparts in the same age group (62%). This echoes previous Canadian findings⁵⁴ suggesting that many senior women who live alone may avoid social isolation by actively participating in their community and engaging with others on a regular basis. Since seniors who have strong social connections are less likely to require health services, the World Health Organization has advocated for social participation and connectedness as key tools for improving the physical health of seniors.⁵⁵

Table 4
Indicators of subjective well-being, by sex, age group and living arrangement, 2017

	Age group											
	20 and over			20 to 34			35 to 64			65 and over		
	Proportion	95% confidence interval		Proportion	95% confidence interval		Proportion	95% confidence interval		Proportion	95% confidence interval	
From		To	From		To	From		To	From		To	
percent												
Both sexes												
Rating of health as very good or excellent												
Persons living alone	49.2 [†]	47.7	50.7	62.4	58.2	66.5	49.8 [†]	47.6	52.1	43.3	41.1	45.5
Persons living with others	57.8	56.8	58.8	66.1	63.9	68.3	58.2	56.8	59.5	43.2	41.3	45.2
Rating of mental health as very good or excellent												
Persons living alone	59.8 [†]	58.4	61.3	58.3 [†]	54.1	62.4	57.7 [†]	55.4	59.9	62.7	60.5	64.7
Persons living with others	64.9	63.9	65.9	64.9	62.7	67.1	65.5	64.1	66.9	62.9	60.9	64.9
High satisfaction with life overall¹												
Persons living alone	61.0 [†]	59.6	62.5	57.2 [†]	52.8	61.4	54.4 [†]	52.1	56.6	69.3 [†]	67.1	71.4
Persons living with others	72.0	71.0	73.0	67.6	65.4	69.6	72.8	71.4	74.1	76.8	74.8	78.6
Men												
Rating of health as very good or excellent												
Persons living alone	50.1 [†]	47.8	52.5	63.5	58.1	68.5	49.4 [†]	46.2	52.6	40.8	36.6	45.0
Persons living with others	57.7	56.3	59.1	67.4	64.2	70.4	57.8	55.8	59.7	43.2	40.4	46.0
Rating of mental health as very good or excellent												
Persons living alone	59.3 [†]	56.9	61.6	62.9	57.6	67.9	57.9 [†]	54.7	61.0	58.9	54.8	62.9
Persons living with others	66.4	65.0	67.8	67.7	64.6	70.8	67.2	65.3	69.0	62.2	59.3	65.0
High satisfaction with life overall¹												
Persons living alone	57.0 [†]	54.6	59.4	60.3	55.1	65.3	52.9 [†]	49.5	56.3	62.2 [†]	58.1	66.1
Persons living with others	71.7	70.2	73.1	66.4	63.3	69.4	73.1	71.1	75.0	75.8	73.1	78.4
Women												
Rating of health as very good or excellent												
Persons living alone	48.5 [†]	46.5	50.4	61.0	54.4	67.3	50.4 [†]	47.2	53.5	44.2	41.6	46.9
Persons living with others	57.9	56.5	59.3	64.9	61.8	67.8	58.6	56.8	60.4	43.2	40.4	46.2
Rating of mental health as very good or excellent												
Persons living alone	60.3 [†]	58.3	62.2	52.1 ^{††}	45.8	58.4	57.4 [†]	54.2	60.5	64.1 [†]	61.5	66.7
Persons living with others	63.4 [‡]	61.9	64.8	62.1 [†]	58.9	65.2	63.9 [†]	62.0	65.7	63.7	60.8	66.6
High satisfaction with life overall¹												
Persons living alone	64.2 ^{††}	62.2	66.1	53.0 [†]	46.4	59.4	56.0 [†]	52.8	59.2	72.1 ^{††}	69.4	74.6
Persons living with others	72.3	70.9	73.6	68.7	65.6	71.7	72.5	70.8	74.1	77.8	75.2	80.3

[†] percentage for those living alone is significantly different from the corresponding value for those living with others (p < 0.05)

[‡] percentage for women is significantly different from the corresponding value for men (p < 0.05)

1. High satisfaction refers to a rating of 8 to 10 on a scale from 0 for "very dissatisfied" to 10 for "very satisfied."

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Family, 2017.

Supplementary information

Table A1
Selected characteristics of the population aged 15 and over by age group and living arrangement, 2016

Selected characteristics	Age group and living arrangement							
	15 and over		20 to 34		35 to 64		65 and over	
	Persons living alone	Persons living with others	Persons living alone	Persons living with others	Persons living alone	Persons living with others	Persons living alone	Persons living with others
	number (thousands)							
Number	4,000	24,673	689	6,113	1,857	12,498	1,411	4,069
Marital status	percent							
Never married	45.8	35.9	93.5	72.2	52.3	18.5	13.4	3.4
Married	2.1	53.3	1.7	25.4	2.2	67.1	2.1	78.5
Separated or divorced	30.5	8.5	4.4	2.2	39.2	13.0	32.3	8.1
Widowed	21.6	2.4	0.4	0.1	6.4	1.4	52.2	10.0
Geography								
Living in rural areas	15.1	19.3	8.6	14.8	15.9	20.3	17.2	23.0
Living in urban areas	84.9	80.7	91.4	85.2	84.1	79.7	82.8	77.0
Education								
No certificate, diploma or degree	19.7	18.1	7.3	9.1	14.5	12.0	32.5	28.6
High school diploma	24.8	26.7	22.8	30.5	24.7	24.2	25.4	25.0
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	10.9	9.6	10.6	8.8	12.4	10.8	9.0	11.1
Either college or university qualification	44.7	45.6	59.4	51.6	48.4	52.9	33.0	35.2
Labour force participation rate	54.1	67.0	88.7	82.1	73.9	79.7	11.5	16.2
Housing								
Monthly shelter costs considered unaffordable ¹	40.9	17.4	47.8	24.5	39.0	17.0	39.7	12.4
Owns home ² – Total	49.9	74.8	31.7	48.4	50.4	78.7	58.5	85.4
Owns condominium (homeowners only)	27.5	9.4	42.8	14.5	26.4	7.8	24.8	11.5
Resides in condominium (regardless of tenure)	20.2	9.7	27.3	12.3	18.8	8.3	18.5	11.7

1. For this characteristic, "alone" refers to one-person households. "With others" refers to other household types with a primary household maintainer whose age falls within the respective age group.

2. A household is considered to own their dwelling if a member of the household owns the dwelling even if it is not fully paid for (for example, if there is a mortgage or some other claim on it).

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

Living alone in Canada

Table A2
Selected characteristics of men aged 15 and over by age group and living arrangement, 2016

Selected characteristics	Age group and living arrangement							
	15 and over		20 to 34		35 to 64		65 and over	
	Men living alone	Men living with others	Men living alone	Men living with others	Men living alone	Men living with others	Men living alone	Men living with others
	number (thousands)							
Number	1,839	12,152	392	3,005	993	6,019	445	2,106
Marital status	percent							
Never married	56.8	37.8	93.8	76.7	58.2	19.9	20.3	3.3
Married	2.5	54.0	1.8	21.7	2.5	68.6	3.2	84.5
Separated or divorced	30.4	7.1	4.0	1.5	36.3	10.8	41.4	7.9
Widowed	10.2	1.1	0.4	0.1	3.0	0.7	35.1	4.3
Geography								
Living in rural areas	18.1	19.7	10.8	14.9	18.8	20.6	23.1	24.0
Living in urban areas	81.9	80.3	89.2	85.1	81.2	79.4	76.9	76.0
Education								
No certificate, diploma or degree	18.8	19.1	9.3	10.7	17.0	13.2	30.9	26.1
High school diploma	24.8	26.6	26.3	34.0	25.6	23.6	21.2	21.4
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	15.7	13.3	14.1	12.0	16.2	15.0	16.1	16.0
Either college or university qualification	40.7	41.0	50.2	43.2	41.2	48.1	31.9	36.4
Labour force participation rate	63.9	70.4	88.6	85.4	75.8	85.1	16.2	20.6
Housing								
Monthly shelter costs considered unaffordable ¹	39.0	15.3	44.8	21.8	38.1	15.1	35.2	11.7
Owns home ² – Total	48.3	79.7	35.0	53.3	49.2	82.7	58.7	87.3
Owns condominium (homeowners only)	22.1	8.6	35.8	14.1	21.0	6.7	16.9	11.2
Resides in condominium (regardless of tenure)	17.4	9.5	25.2	12.0	15.9	8.0	13.6	11.5

1. For this characteristic, "alone" refers to one-person households. "With others" refers to other household types with a primary household maintainer whose age falls within the respective age group.

2. A household is considered to own their dwelling if a member of the household owns the dwelling even if it is not fully paid for (for example, if there is a mortgage or some other claim on it).

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

Living alone in Canada

Table A3
Selected characteristics of women aged 15 and over by age group and living arrangement, 2016

Selected characteristics	Age group and living arrangement							
	15 and over		20 to 34		35 to 64		65 and over	
	Women living alone	Women living with others	Women living alone	Women living with others	Women living alone	Women living with others	Women living alone	Women living with others
	number (thousands)							
Number	2,131	12,521	293	3,108	864	6,479	966	1,963
Marital status	percent							
Never married	36.2	34.0	93.1	67.9	45.4	17.1	10.3	3.6
Married	1.7	52.6	1.6	29.0	1.9	65.8	1.6	72.0
Separated or divorced	30.6	9.8	4.9	2.9	42.5	15.0	28.1	8.3
Widowed	31.4	3.7	0.3	0.2	10.2	2.1	60.1	16.1
Geography								
Living in rural areas	12.5	18.9	5.6	14.7	12.6	20.0	14.5	22.0
Living in urban areas	87.5	81.1	94.4	85.3	87.4	80.0	85.5	78.0
Education								
No certificate, diploma or degree	20.5	17.0	4.5	7.6	11.6	10.9	33.3	31.2
High school diploma	24.8	26.9	18.1	27.1	23.7	24.8	27.4	28.9
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	6.7	6.0	5.8	5.7	8.1	6.9	5.8	5.9
Either college or university qualification	48.0	50.1	71.5	59.6	56.7	57.4	33.6	34.0
Labour force participation rate	45.8	63.6	88.9	78.8	71.7	74.8	9.4	11.5
Housing								
Monthly shelter costs considered unaffordable ¹	42.6	21.6	51.6	27.5	40.0	21.9	41.8	14.8
Owns home ² – Total	51.3	65.6	27.3	42.7	51.9	71.2	58.4	79.3
Owns condominium (homeowners only)	31.9	11.3	54.7	15.1	32.2	10.1	28.4	12.7
Resides in condominium (regardless of tenure)	22.6	9.9	30.1	12.6	22.0	8.5	20.8	11.9

1. For this characteristic, "alone" refers to one-person households. "With others" refers to other household types with a primary household maintainer whose age falls within the respective age group.

2. A household is considered to own their dwelling if a member of the household owns the dwelling even if it is not fully paid for (for example, if there is a mortgage or some other claim on it).

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

Notes

1. See Statistics Canada 2017.
2. For example, one-person households were the most prevalent household type in 2011 in several Nordic countries (such as Finland, Estonia and Norway), as well as in Germany (OECD, 2011a). In Japan, one-person households are the fastest-growing household type (Gordon, 2012).
3. See De Jong Gierveld et al. (2012); Ramage-Morin (2016).
4. See Lye et al. (1995).
5. See Klinenberg (2012).
6. See Wargon (1979).
7. See Harrison (1981); Statistics Canada (1984).
8. See Milan (2017).
9. See Pelletier et al. (1938); Gauthier (1971).
10. For more information on trends in Canadian families during the 20th century, see Milan (2000); Milan and Bohnert (2012); and Bohnert et al. (2014).
11. See Wargon (1976 and 1979).
12. Harrison (1981) performed a decomposition of the change in the number of persons living alone in Canada from 1961 to 1976. He concluded that changes in the size and age composition of the total population only explained about one-quarter of the increase in one-person households over this period.
13. The *Divorce Act* of 1968 permitted divorce after three years of separation. This legislation may have encouraged one spouse to live alone for a period of time before the impending divorce and contributed, to some extent, to increases in the number of divorces overall.
14. There was also widespread conversion of shared-use accommodations into separate, individual living quarters during this period (Miron 1980; Harrison 1981).
15. Miron (1980) notes that the arrival of appliances such as microwave ovens, dishwashers and frost-free refrigerators facilitated living alone.
16. See Wargon (1976); Miron (1980); Harrison (1981); Statistics Canada (1984); Crompton (1994).
17. This notion is discussed in both Miron (1980) and Statistics Canada (1984).
18. See Sinha (2014a).
19. See Milan et al. (2012).
20. See tables A1, A2 and A3 in the [Supplementary information](#) section for more information on marital status and other selected characteristics of the population living alone by age group and sex.
21. “Living with others” includes persons living in one-census family households without additional persons, persons living in other census family households (including multigenerational households) and persons living in non-census family households with two or more persons. In total, 81% of the population aged 15 and over that lived with others in 2016 were part of a one-census-family household without additional persons. The socioeconomic characteristics of persons living with others are diverse, but not the focus of this article.
22. For consistency purposes, the proportions relating to educational attainment found in tables A1, A2 and A3 are presented for the population aged 20 to 34. However, since postsecondary educational studies typically finish between the ages of 20 and 24 at the earliest, statistics on educational attainment in the main text of this article are presented for the population aged 25 and over, based on the practice applied in other census analytical products.
23. Note that, within the senior population, the population living alone has an older age profile than the population living with others. Specifically, 32% of seniors living alone were aged 80 or over compared with 18% of seniors living with others. This age impact could partly account for differences in educational attainment and labour force participation between seniors living alone and seniors living with others.
24. The participation rate for a particular group (such as age, sex, marital status and geographic area) is the total labour force for that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that group. The participation rate is based on the labour force the week of Sunday, May 1 to Saturday, May 7, 2016, and expressed as a percentage of the population aged 15 and over.
25. See Ni Bhrolchain and Beaujouan (2012); Livingston (2015); Bui and Cain Miller (2018).
26. As stated in Murphy et al. (2012, page 35): “... the way low income is measured implies that, other things being equal, low-income statistics for people living alone would be higher than those for people living with others, because they do not enjoy economies of scale in consumption as much as others.”

27. For the purposes of this study, shelter costs include mortgage payments; rent; the cost of electricity, heat, water and other municipal services; property taxes; and condominiums fees.
28. See Bess (1999).
29. A household is considered to own their dwelling if a member of the household owns the dwelling even if it is not fully paid for (for example, if there is a mortgage or some other claim on it).
30. This is in reference to whether the private dwelling is part of a condominium development. A condominium is a residential complex in which dwellings are owned individually while land and common elements are held in joint ownership with others.
31. Living Apart Together (LAT) refers to people who are in a couple relationship with someone who resides elsewhere.
32. As discussed in the section on [Data sources, methods and definitions](#), the definition of living alone in the census and the GSS is based on the concepts of usual place of residence and household living arrangements.
33. See Sinha (2014a); Strohschein (2017).
34. This proportion represents the sum of all non-skip responses to the following question: "In the past 12 months, where has your child usually lived?" other than "Only with your [ex-spouse/ex-partner]."
35. See Turcotte (2013).
36. At a 95% confidence interval of 63% to 72%.
37. With some exceptions, only women aged 49 and under were asked the question on fertility intentions. As a result, this characteristic is not included in Table 3. Information on the fertility intentions of the population living alone aged 35 to 49 is available upon request.
38. See Milan et al. (2014).
39. See Milan et al. (2014).
40. The proportion of all private households that were one-person households increased 0.6 percentage points from 2011 (27.6%) to 2016 (28.2%). In comparison, this proportion increased by 3.5 percentage points between 1976 (16.8%) and 1981 (20.3%).
41. According to recent projections by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (2016), one-person households are expected to continue to be the most common household type in 2036.
42. According to OECD projections by household and family structure (OECD, 2011b), the number of one-person households is expected to increase in all OECD countries from today through to 2025, mostly as a result of population aging, with the largest increases projected for Australia, Korea, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.
43. According to Statistics Canada's most recent population projections (Bohnert et al., 2015), the proportion of the population aged 65 and over as well as the senior dependency ratio will grow at an accelerated pace between 2018 and 2030 (the year the youngest baby boomers turn 65).
44. According to projections of the immigration and diversity of the Canadian population by Morency et al. (2017), the senior population in 2036 is projected to be more ethnoculturally diverse than in 2011, whether measured through place of birth, language, visible minority status or religion.
45. See Binette Charbonneau (2018).
46. See Delbès et al. (2006).
47. See Beaucher (2018).
48. For example, while one-half (51%) of persons living alone in the Toronto CMA (in Ontario) in 2016 had monthly shelter costs that were considered not affordable, this was the case for 42% of persons living alone in the Montréal CMA, and for just over one-third of those in the Québec (35%), Saguenay (35%) and Trois-Rivières (36%) CMAs.
49. According to Revenu Québec (2018), the 2017 tax credit could be claimed by persons who maintained and ordinarily resided in a dwelling in which they had lived alone or only with one or more persons under the age of 18.
50. See Sinha (2014b); Bushnik (2016).
51. See de Jong Gierveld et al. (2012); Ramage-Morin (2016).
52. See National Seniors Council (2017); Smith and Victor (2018).
53. See Bess (1999).
54. See Ramage-Morin (2016).
55. See World Health Organization (2002).

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