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1996

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Statistics Canada
Demography Division

Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada

1996

Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger
with the collaboration of Gordon Smith

Jean Dumas
Editor-in-Chief

Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada

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Symbols

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

The last data analysed in this report were those available at time of writing.

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To the Reader

With this issue, the ***Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*** ceases to be published each fall and will instead be published **during the winter of the following year**. This change has been made because the schedule for the release of vital-statistics data has been advanced, and this short delay consequently permits the reader to benefit from the analysis of data more recent by a year.

The Editor in Chief

Preface

In this annual report, Statistics Canada once again takes stock of the Canadian population using the most recent data. Behaviours which are slowly transforming the size and structure of the population are analysed. Regional differences are examined, and the nation's evolution is compared to that of other major industrialized countries.

Each year, analysts treat in depth a subject which has aroused special interest. This year, they have turned their attention to a phenomenon which has been emerging over the last two decades: the common-law union. They have studied its general evolution, the principal factors associated with its increasing numbers and certain of its consequences, as well as its differing rate of diffusion through Canada's sub-populations. The analysis is based mainly on the results of the General Social Survey carried out by Statistics Canada in 1995.

Ivan P. FELLEGI

Chief Statistician of Canada

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Highlights

PART I

- On January 1, 1996, the population of Canada was estimated at 29,819,900, an increase of 1.34% from a year earlier.

- With fewer births and more deaths, the rate of natural increase in Canada has been setting record lows in recent years, and did so again in 1995. In 1975 it was 8.3 per 1,000; in 1995, it was 5.6. Nevertheless, thanks to substantial immigration, total growth attained 13.4 per 1,000, remaining at a level which has varied little over the last 20 years.

- Once again in 1995, Newfoundland was the only one among the provinces and territories to show negative growth (–6.9 per 1,000). Taking into account only the provinces, British Columbia once again had the highest growth with 26.1 per 1,000, well ahead of Ontario (16.3) and Alberta (15.2). Natural increase was lowest in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia (3.3 per 1,000), and Quebec with 4.7 experienced its lowest level of natural increase ever.

xxx

- All European countries have population growth rates markedly below Canada's. That for the European Economic Area (E.E.A.) as a whole was only 2.9 per 1,000, slightly less than the year before.

- Infant mortality continues to fall in Europe. While Canada had the lowest infant mortality rate in the world in 1989, it has now fallen behind all the countries of western Europe with the exception of Greece and Italy. In 1995, Finland held the world record with 3.9 per 1,000 live births. Canada's rate was 6.3.

- Most countries of eastern Europe and the Russian Federation continue to show unimpressive demographic indicators (negative natural increase, low life expectancy, lower total fertility rates than Canada's, high rates of abortion and infant mortality).

xxx

- The total first marriage rate rose in 1994 and 1995, breaking the downward trend which it had shown (with the exception of a brief rise in 1972) since the previous peak in 1967. The slow but steady increase in rates for delayed marriage should result in some recovery over the next few years.

- For Canada as a whole, the divorce rate has been almost unchanged for several years. Regional analysis shows that the probability of getting divorced

has for long been higher in provinces where net migration is normally positive while it is very much lower in the provinces which are losing population. While the probabilities of getting divorced between the ages of 15 and 55 are falling in most provinces, they are rising in Quebec, which is now in first place. In 1980, Quebec was sixth among provinces for its level of divorce.

xxx

- The total fertility rate in 1995 was practically unchanged, like the other demographic indexes. Quebec is no longer distinctive compared to the rest of Canada. For the last three years, Newfoundland has had the lowest rate. In 1995, it was 1.25 children per woman, the lowest ever reached by any province.

- The number of abortions, as reported to Statistics Canada, shows a slight upward trend. The data reveal in particular that the proportion of abortions which are not the first is increasing with time: in 1975, it was 11% while in 1995 it was 34%.

xxx

- Mortality rates continue to decline, although more and more slowly, as shown by estimated life expectancy at birth, whose growth is less each year. At the same time, rates of death from the major causes show obvious improvements. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact that those who benefit from these improvements are mostly older people, whose greater longevity has very little effect on life expectancy at birth.

- The increase in male deaths from AIDS, which has been slowing since 1989, fell to 1% in 1994. However, the increase in female deaths, although small in numbers (49), was larger in percentage terms.

xxx

- Alzheimer's disease is spreading very rapidly. It accounted in 1995 for more deaths than AIDS. While the number of deaths due to Alzheimer's disease among women is double that for men, the difference is due mostly to the larger elderly female population and only slightly to higher rates of the disease among women.

xxx

- Male life expectancy at age 50 increased by 3.28 years between 1971 and 1993, but the increase in mortality due to cancer caused the loss of a quarter of a year. Of the gain of 3.04 years, 85% was due to lower mortality from cardio- and cerebrovascular diseases. The net gain in life expectancy among women of the same age, which was only 2.88 years, would have

equalled that of the men if deaths due to cancer of the respiratory system had not increased as much as they did. This cause alone resulted in the loss of half a year of life.

xxx

- The number of landed immigrants, in slow decline since 1993, continued its fall in 1995. Lower immigration from certain countries accounted for most of this decline; for example, fewer than 3,000 immigrants arrived from Poland, from which around 16,000 immigrants a year were coming toward the end of the 1980s. Also, Hong Kong furnished 9,000 fewer immigrants in 1995 than in the previous year.

- The provinces to which immigrants go have remained the same, mainly Ontario and British Columbia. Once again in 1995, Quebec reduced its arrivals. Differences among those three provinces are most marked in terms of the distribution of arrivals by immigrant class. While this distribution is pretty much proportional for Ontario, which always receives the largest part of the total, considerable differences appear between Quebec and British Columbia. Quebec received 21% of refugees and British Columbia received 7%. On the other hand, Quebec received 11% of business-class immigrants and British Columbia received 38%.

xxx

- Internal migratory movements showed no important deviations from the pattern observed in recent years. Because of uncertainties in the provisional data, the only points highlighted are Alberta's balance, which went from negative to positive, and Ontario's loss of 10,000 persons in its exchanges with British Columbia.

xxx

- Since the beginning of the century, changes in the birth rate, in mortality and in migratory flows have been responsible for swings from aging of the population to rejuvenation and back again in different parts of the country. Aging levels were high in the west from 1921 until the end of World War II, as were generally rates of aging. During this period, the eastern part of the country never experienced any marked change in aging of the population. The baby boom slowed the rate of aging sharply in most provinces and even rejuvenated a few, but population aging resumed after this episode. In the west, rates of aging have not yet returned to pre-War levels, while they have surpassed them in the east.

- What is new is the speed of aging, which is certain to increase in the near future and carry aging to unprecedented levels. Most at risk are the Atlantic provinces.

- By 1921 the Quebec population had not aged much and the baby boom had little effect on it, but since the 1960s aging has speeded up considerably so that, in terms of rate of aging, Quebec is now second only to Saskatchewan.

PART II

- In 1981, only one couple in sixteen was in a common-law union; in 1995, this was true of one couple in seven. While the legally married population still represents 54% of Canada's population aged 15 and over, between 1981 and 1995 the number of Canadians living in a common-law union went from some 700,000 persons to nearly two million.

- Living as a common-law couple has spread more rapidly in Quebec than elsewhere in the country. In 1995, one couple in four in Quebec was living in a common-law union, while this ratio was only one in ten in the rest of Canada. Manitoba and Saskatchewan had the smallest proportion with only one couple in fourteen.

- Young people are more likely to live as a couple without getting married: in Quebec among those under 30, two-thirds of couples are common-law. Between 1990 and 1994, four first unions were entered into in this province as common-law unions compared to only one first marriage. Elsewhere in Canada, first unions were equally divided between common-law unions and marriages.

- In each cohort, the likelihood of being in a common-law union increases with time. For example, in the Quebec group of cohorts born between 1951 and 1955, the proportion in a common-law union increased from 10% in the 1981 census, when they were aged 25 to 29, to 12% in the 1986 census, when they were 30 to 34, to 14% in the 1991 census, when they were 35 to 39, and finally, according to the 1995 General Social Survey, to 18% when they were 40 to 44. In this group of cohorts, the proportion living in a common-law union thus increased by 8 percentage points in less than 15 years.

- More than six million Canadians have lived in at least one common-law union. This is more than a quarter (26%) of the population aged 15 and over.

- Almost half of the 1961-65 Canadian cohort has lived in a common-law union. This proportion reached almost 65% in Quebec and 40% in the rest of the country.

- More than three-quarters of Canadians who have lived in a common-law union have been in only one. About a fifth have lived in two and less than a twentieth in three or more.

- A little over a quarter of common-law unions represented merely a brief stage before the partners married: 11% married in less than a year and 16% in two to three years. But half (51%) of common-law unions were still in existence at the end of three years, and of these almost a third had resulted in children.

- Common-law unions have undergone important changes over time, and people who now choose to live together without getting married show less and less inclination to legalize their union. From the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s, the proportion of first unions which began as common-law unions and led to marriage in less than three years fell by half, from 38% of all first unions to 18%.

- For an increasing number of Canadians, marriage no longer appears necessary as a prelude to family formation. Over the period 1977-1979, around 20,000 persons a year entered a common-law union and went on to have a child within three years without legalizing their union. At the beginning of the 1990s, more than 52,000 Canadians a year behaved in the same way. The common-law union appears less and less to be a trial marriage and more and more a substitute for marriage.

- At the beginning of the decade, only 12% of common-law unions entered into in Quebec were legalized within three years, while two-thirds were still in existence at the end of three years in their original form.

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- For Canada as a whole, the total fertility rate of married women would be almost twice that of a woman who passed the whole of her fertile period in a common-law union, 2.87 children per woman as opposed to 1.44 for the 1985-1994 period, and 2.52 children per woman rather than 1.20 for the 1975-1984 period.

- There is little difference between the total fertility rates of married women in Quebec and in the rest of the country, but a substantial difference when the rates for women in common-law unions are involved. Over the period 1975-84, common-law unions were 60% more fertile in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (1.51 children per woman compared to 0.93). For the 1985-1994 period, the gap has narrowed but common-law unions are still more fertile in Quebec (1.58 children per woman in Quebec and 1.30 children per woman in the rest of the country).

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- Over the course of some 30 years, the likelihood of entering a first union by a common-law union has increased tenfold while that of doing so by marriage is only a fifth of what it was.

- Women born in the 1970s are one-third more likely than those born in the 1960s to enter a common-law union as their first union but, more strikingly, are less than half as likely to choose marriage as a first union.

- The probability of having a common-law union as a first union can be observed to be inversely related to religious practice, according to the 1995 General Social Survey. Women answering that they had not attended any religious service in the 52 weeks preceding the survey were three times more likely to enter a common-law union as first union compared to those who had attended religious services at least once a week.

- The separation or divorce of parents influences the subsequent conjugal behaviour of their children. Those who experienced the separation of their parents before age 15 show a propensity to enter a common-law union as a first union which is 77% higher than that shown by women who have not experienced such an event as a child.

- Compared to high-school graduates, women who have had at least some university education show a smaller probability of marrying as a first union.

Part I

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DEMOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

On January 1, 1996, the population of Canada was estimated at 29,819,900. The total increase of 397,600 people during 1995 brought the population very close to the 30-million mark, which was reached during the summer of 1996 (Table 1A). ***Fertility hit an all-time low in 1995***, with 378,000 births for a rate of 12.8 per 1,000. A rapidly aging population continued to boost the death rate, which was up again at 7.1 per 1,000 (Table 1B). ***The result was a very small rate of natural increase, the lowest ever observed (5.7 per 1,000). This is lower than that of the United States (6.6 per 1,000) and much lower than the rate of growth by flow (7.8 per 1,000)***. In other words, immigrants seeking permanent-resident status, temporary immigrants and returning Canadians together played a greater role in population growth in 1995, even after subtracting emigrants, than did the excess of births over deaths. However, the combination of the two factors resulted in growth of 1.34%, higher than in the previous two years. Note that the net rate of international migration, which is the algebraic sum of the immigration and emigration rates, has continued to decline since the high of 1993 and is now 5.6 per 1,000. Without temporary immigrants and returning Canadians, the population would have grown by only 1.13%.

As in 1994, ***Newfoundland was the only province with negative total growth in 1995 (-6.9 per 1,000)***. Growth is also always low in the Atlantic provinces, particularly in New Brunswick, whose growth rate rose slightly to 3.4 per 1,000 in 1995, after declining steadily since 1990. All the components of growth conspire to create this situation in the region: fertility is declining, international migration is negligible, interprovincial migration is generally negative and, since most of those leaving are young people, the birth rate is dropping and the death rate is rising. The logical consequence is slowing growth. The Atlantic provinces had the lowest rates of natural increase in Canada (3.3 per 1,000 in Newfoundland, 4.5 in Prince Edward Island, 3.3 in Nova Scotia and 3.4 in New Brunswick) (Table A1 in the Appendix).

The demographic situation in Manitoba and Saskatchewan is similar. These two agricultural provinces have not been attracting internal or international migrants for many years; in fact, their population has a strong tendency to leave. They differ from the Atlantic provinces in their rate of natural increase, which is higher because of their somewhat higher birth rate.

In the rest of Canada, ***British Columbia was once again first in total growth***, except for the Yukon, where a small population can produce impressive rates with changes in limited numbers, as occurred in 1995 when a change of 1,200 people produced a growth rate of 39.9 per 1,000. Natural increase in British Columbia was the second lowest in the west (5.4 per 1,000) because of a birth rate that was significantly lower than the other provinces in that region; however, growth through net migration was once again the highest of

Table 1A. Statement of Population Change, Canada, 1973-1996

Year	Population as of January 1	Total Growth (1)	Births (2)	Deaths (3)	Natural Increase (4) = (2) - (3)	Inter-national Immigrants [1] (5)	Returning Canadians (6)	Inter-national Emigrants [2] (7)	Net			Residual [4]
									Statistical International Migration [3] (8) = (5) - (7)	Non-permanent Residents (9)	Growth by Flow (10) = (6) + (9) + (8)	
	(in thousands)											
1973	22,414.5	303.7	343.4	164.0	179.3	184.2	37.8	78.5	105.7	7.9	151.4	-27.1
1974	22,718.2	326.3	345.6	166.8	178.9	218.5	36.0	78.0	140.4	-2.0	174.5	-27.1
1975	23,044.4	326.6	359.3	167.2	192.1	187.9	36.4	70.7	117.2	7.9	161.5	-27.1
1976	23,371.0	289.7	360.0	167.0	193.0	149.4	36.1	64.4	85.1	-3.0	118.2	-21.5
1977	23,660.7	261.0	362.2	167.5	194.7	114.9	32.3	61.4	53.5	-2.0	83.8	-17.5
1978	23,921.7	224.4	358.4	168.2	190.2	86.3	31.8	63.5	22.8	-3.0	51.7	-17.5
1979	24,146.1	275.9	366.1	168.2	197.9	112.1	30.3	54.7	57.3	7.9	95.5	-17.5
1980	24,422.1	322.1	370.7	171.5	199.2	143.1	27.6	45.2	97.9	14.9	140.4	-17.5
1981	24,744.2	317.7	371.3	171.0	200.3	128.6	25.4	50.1	78.6	30.3	134.3	-16.9
1982	25,061.8	268.5	373.1	174.4	198.7	121.1	28.3	59.4	61.7	-3.7	86.4	-16.6
1983	25,330.3	244.4	373.7	174.5	199.2	89.2	26.8	58.6	30.6	4.4	61.7	-16.6
1984	25,574.7	243.6	377.0	175.7	201.3	88.2	26.2	55.2	33.0	-0.3	58.8	-16.6
1985	25,818.3	246.3	375.7	181.3	194.4	84.3	27.3	54.2	30.1	11.0	68.4	-16.6
1986	26,064.5	297.1	372.9	184.2	188.7	99.2	25.4	49.1	50.1	46.5	122.1	-13.6
1987	26,361.7	346.1	369.7	185.0	184.8	152.1	24.2	44.3	107.8	40.9	172.9	-11.5
1988	26,707.8	428.9	376.8	190.0	186.8	161.9	21.5	38.7	123.2	108.9	253.6	-11.5
1989	27,136.7	429.9	392.7	191.0	201.7	192.0	21.1	40.7	151.3	67.4	239.7	-11.5
1990	27,566.6	385.1	405.5	192.0	213.5	214.2	19.4	39.6	174.6	-11.0	183.1	-11.5
1991	27,951.6	366.0	402.5	195.6	207.0	230.8	22.7	48.0	182.8	-41.6	163.9	-4.8
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	423.0	398.6	196.5	202.1	252.8	22.9	44.6	208.3	-10.2	220.9	...
1993 (PR)	28,740.7	367.2	388.4	204.9	183.5	255.7	22.3	44.5	211.3	-49.9	183.8	...
1994 (PR)	29,107.9	314.4	385.1	207.1	178.0	223.9	22.6	45.4	178.6	-64.6	136.5	...
1995 (PR)	29,422.4	397.6	378.0	210.5	167.5	212.2	22.4	46.4	165.7	42.0	230.2	...
1996 (PR)	29,819.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

See notes at the end of Table 1B.

Table 1B. Main Rates of the Demographic Accounts, Canada, 1973-1996

Year	Population as of January 1 (in thousands)	Total Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rate of Natural Increase	Net Rate of International Migration [1, 2]	Rate of Growth by Flow [5]
		(per 1,000)					
1973	22,414.5	13.46	15.22	7.27	7.95	4.68	5.51
1974	22,718.2	14.26	15.11	7.29	7.82	6.14	6.44
1975	23,044.4	14.07	15.48	7.20	8.28	5.05	5.79
1976	23,371.0	12.32	15.31	7.10	8.21	3.62	4.11
1977	23,660.7	10.97	15.22	7.04	8.18	2.25	2.79
1978	23,921.7	9.34	14.91	7.00	7.92	0.95	1.42
1979	24,146.1	11.36	15.07	6.93	8.15	2.36	3.21
1980	24,422.1	13.10	15.08	6.98	8.10	3.98	5.00
1981	24,744.2	12.76	14.91	6.87	8.04	3.15	4.71
1982	25,061.8	10.66	14.81	6.92	7.88	2.45	2.77
1983	25,330.3	9.60	14.68	6.86	7.83	1.20	1.77
1984	25,574.7	9.48	14.67	6.84	7.83	1.28	1.65
1985	25,818.3	9.49	14.48	6.99	7.49	1.16	2.00
1986	26,064.5	11.34	14.23	7.03	7.20	1.91	4.14
1987	26,361.7	13.05	13.93	6.97	6.96	4.06	6.08
1988	26,707.8	15.93	14.00	7.06	6.94	4.58	8.99
1989	27,136.7	15.72	14.36	6.98	7.37	5.53	8.34
1990	27,566.6	13.87	14.61	6.92	7.69	6.29	6.18
1991	27,951.6	13.01	14.31	6.95	7.36	6.50	5.65
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	14.83	13.97	6.89	7.08	7.30	7.74
1993 (PR)	28,740.7	12.70	13.43	7.08	6.34	7.30	6.35
1994 (PR)	29,107.9	10.74	13.16	7.08	6.08	6.10	4.66
1995 (PR)	29,422.4	13.42	12.76	7.11	5.65	5.60	7.77
1996 (PR)	29,819.9	...	...	...	...	...	...

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

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

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

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

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

(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

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

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

any province (20.6 per 1,000). Ontario's growth rate in 1995 contrasts with the rates of the previous two years because of net total international migration, which is on the rise again after four slow years. With a rate of 16.3 per 1,000, Ontario was in second place, followed by Alberta. Ontario traditionally exchanges population with British Columbia. International immigration was down slightly in British Columbia this year, and the rate of natural increase was, as noted, particularly low, 5.4 per 1,000—the lowest in recent decades.

The growth rate in Quebec was about half the Canadian rate, thereby contributing to the decline in the national average. As always, growth in Quebec was due mainly (63%) to natural increase, which has been falling since 1990 as it has been across the country. The Quebec rate of 4.7 per 1,000 was the lowest ever recorded by the province. Moreover, the birth rate has never been as low (11.9 per 1,000), nor has the death rate been as high (7.2 per 1,000) at least since the mid-1950s (Summary Table).

In summary, there were no truly unexpected changes in 1995. The east grew more slowly and the west more quickly, particularly British Columbia. And ***British Columbia was no longer, as it used to be, the province with the oldest population: Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island have for some years now had larger proportions aged 65 and over, and Nova Scotia equals it***.

For several years now, Statistics Canada has produced estimates of the stock of non-permanent residents, given that they have rights during their stay in Canada. The annual change in the number of non-permanent residents, calculated by subtracting the number of refugee claimants and persons with valid work or student visas, as well as their dependants, on January 1 of a given year from the number on January 1 in the following year, is used when net migration is calculated in order to improve estimates of the total resident population.

CANADA AND THE WORLD

Europe

Since there were no changes in the map of western Europe in 1995, it is easy to compare one year to the next. Overall, population growth in the 15 countries was down slightly in 1995 at 1,086,700, compared to 1,115,000 in 1994. This figure includes natural increase and net migration. The low increase had an effect on the growth rate, which dropped from 3.1 to 2.9 per 1,000. Most countries contributed to the phenomenon; Italy and Portugal played a notable role, but were surpassed by Sweden, where the rate fell from 8.1 per 1,000 to 2.4, and, to a lesser extent, Austria (3.1 per 1,000 to 1.9). Nevertheless, the rate increased in five countries, in particular Denmark, up from 3.7 per 1,000 to 6.8, and Germany, up from 2.5 per 1,000 to 3.8 (Table 2).

In western Europe as a whole (E.C.), the reduced growth from 1994 to 1995 is due to a drop in natural increase that was not offset by net migration. Natural increase was down by 79,300 and net migration was up only 21,500 from the previous year.

With the exception of France, natural increase declined in all countries, with some countries meriting particular mention. In Italy, there were 20,700 more deaths than births in 1994, and 32,100 more in 1995. In Spain, where there had been positive growth of 29,300 in 1994, the figure was down to 13,200 in 1995. In almost all countries except Germany, the number of deaths was up, while the number of births was either the same or lower. France is the only country where births were up noticeably (an increase of about 18,000 over the 711,000 of the previous year).

As noted above, net migration in western Europe as a whole was up only slightly (by 2.8%) from 1994, but in a few countries the change from one year to the next was significant. Belgium went from a positive balance of 18,400 to only 2,800. In Italy, where there was positive migration of 150,800, the figure dropped to 94,000, and Sweden went from 50,900 to 11,700. In Germany, on the other hand, net migration increased by 106,300. The “closed door” policies that had been promised are clearly being implemented. For now, an effect of uninspiring economic conditions is an increase in unemployment, which is slowing immigration across the board. And yet, just a few years ago, people were still predicting that the aging of the population would lead to a call for labour from the neighbouring developing countries and so somewhat relieve the South-North pressures in that part of the world.

The current low birth rate in Europe is generally due to low fertility, combined with the fact that the aging of the population is reducing the number of women of childbearing age. Note that in northern Europe, total fertility rates are still higher than the European average (Denmark, 1.80, Norway, 1.87, Finland, 1.81). These are the countries that had been expected to have continuing very low fertility, based on the low rates at the time this incorrect assumption was made. There can be no denying the surprise at the low rates in the Mediterranean countries (Italy and Spain, about 1.18, Greece and Portugal, about 1.41), which had previously been expected to have high fertility. It is likely that rates will rise again in the future, as they have in northern Europe, as younger cohorts, previously in no rush to procreate, reach the age at which they decide to have children. It bears remembering that, while changes in the childbearing tempo of successive cohorts do not explain all the changes in fertility rates over time, they have had a considerable effect. Note the situation in France, in particular, where rates, without fluctuating greatly, have been dropping for a very long time. With a total fertility rate of 1.70, it is nevertheless above the European average of 1.43.

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995

	Year	New-foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Birth Rate	1976	19.8	16.3	15.3	17.1	15.0	14.6
(per 1,000)	1981	17.6	15.3	14.1	14.8	14.5	13.8
	1986	14.0	15.0	13.9	13.5	12.6	14.1
	1991	12.4	14.4	13.1	12.7	13.7	14.5
	1992	11.9	14.0	12.8	12.5	13.4	14.2
	1993	11.0	13.2	12.4	12.0	12.8	13.7
	1994	10.9	12.8	11.9	11.8	12.4	13.4
	1995	10.2	12.9	11.4	11.3	11.9	13.2
Mortality Rate	1976	5.9	9.2	8.3	7.5	6.7	7.2
(per 1,000)	1981	5.6	8.0	8.1	7.3	6.5	7.1
	1986	6.1	8.7	8.1	7.5	7.0	7.2
	1991	6.5	9.1	7.9	7.3	6.9	7.0
	1992	6.5	8.5	8.2	7.5	6.8	6.9
	1993	6.7	8.6	8.1	7.7	7.1	7.0
	1994	7.0	8.3	8.3	7.8	7.0	7.1
	1995	6.8	8.4	8.2	7.8	7.2	7.1
Total Fertility Rate	1976	..	2.12	1.85	2.01	1.67	1.71
(number of children	1981	..	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57
per woman aged 15-49)	1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60
	1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66
	1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64
	1994	1.32	1.68	1.53	1.51	1.61	1.65
	1995 (P)	1.25	1.72	1.50	1.46	1.58	1.65
Total First Marriage	1976 M	751	877	740	766	631	752
Rate (per 1,000)	F	719	826	734	756	636	742
(males aged 17-49,	1981 M	648	697	682	655	542	687
females aged 15-49)	F	627	665	669	645	557	680
	1986 M	584	704	590	594	426	616
	F	576	737	628	622	439	653
	1991 M	597	717	568	574	377	606
	F	611	724	600	599	425	646
	1992 M	554	689	551	551	333	585
	F	573	702	582	580	376	628
	1993 M	532	703	533	527	323	553
	F	554	714	566	554	364	595
	1994 M	568	653	541	538	333	560
	F	597	688	574	555	373	598
Rate of Natural	1976	13.9	7.1	7.0	9.6	8.3	7.4
Increase (per 1,000)	1981	12.0	7.3	6.0	7.6	8.0	6.7
	1986	7.9	6.3	5.7	6.0	5.6	7.0
	1991 (PD)	5.8	5.3	5.2	5.4	6.8	7.5
	1992 (PD)	5.4	5.6	4.7	5.0	6.6	7.3
	1993 (PR)	4.3	4.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	6.7
	1994 (PR)	3.9	4.5	3.6	4.0	5.4	6.4
	1995 (PR)	3.3	4.5	3.3	3.4	4.7	6.1
Total Growth Rate	1976	7.0	9.3	6.9	11.8	8.1	10.9
(per 1,000)	1981	-1.1	2.0	4.1	0.2	6.5	10.9
	1986	-3.0	1.2	4.9	1.8	8.9	18.4
	1991 (PD)	4.2	1.2	6.7	5.9	10.0	14.1
	1992 (PD)	3.8	10.2	7.4	4.4	11.2	16.5
	1993 (PR)	-1.6	10.4	4.9	3.8	9.8	13.7
	1994 (PR)	-7.1	10.0	3.3	3.1	6.1	12.1
	1995 (PR)	-6.9	10.2	5.8	3.4	7.5	16.3

See notes at the end of this table.

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995 - Continued

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch-ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Birth Rate	1976	16.2	17.1	17.6	14.1	19.9	26.6	15.3
(per 1,000)	1981	15.5	17.6	18.5	14.6	21.8	27.3	14.9
	1986	15.6	17.0	18.0	13.9	19.3	27.3	14.2
	1991	15.5	15.2	16.4	13.5	19.6	26.8	14.3
	1992	14.9	14.9	15.9	13.3	17.8	24.9	14.0
	1993	14.9	14.1	15.0	12.9	17.0	24.5	13.4
	1994	14.6	13.9	14.6	12.8	14.9	24.4	13.2
	1995	14.2	13.3	14.1	12.4	15.4	24.5	12.8
Mortality Rate	1976	8.0	8.4	6.2	7.4	5.5	4.8	7.1
(per 1,000)	1981	8.3	7.7	5.6	7.0	5.7	4.1	6.9
	1986	8.1	7.8	5.6	7.0	4.5	4.3	7.0
	1991	8.0	8.1	5.6	7.1	3.9	3.9	7.0
	1992	8.0	7.7	5.5	7.1	3.9	4.1	6.9
	1993	8.3	8.1	5.7	7.2	4.1	4.1	7.1
	1994	8.1	8.2	5.7	7.1	4.2	3.7	7.1
	1995	8.5	8.4	5.8	7.0	5.2	3.5	7.1
Total Fertility Rate	1976	1.98	2.25	1.98	1.64	1.94	3.00	1.76
(number of children	1981	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
per woman aged 15-49)	1986	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
	1991	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
	1993	1.94	1.96	1.79	1.61	1.90	2.66	1.66
	1994	1.94	1.96	1.80	1.62	1.73	2.72	1.66
	1995 (P)	1.92	1.90	1.77	1.60	1.84	2.78	1.64
Total First Marriage	1976 M	764	811	761	699	593	476	716
Rate (per 1,000)	F	745	784	765	706	630	556	712
(males aged 17-49,	1981 M	719	706	639	677	685	450	640
females aged 15-49)	F	709	694	684	689	710	469	647
	1986 M	611	582	561	575	473	342	552
	F	657	623	612	616	564	393	585
	1991 M	592	613	590	599	465	285	543
	F	647	651	635	651	514	308	588
	1992 M	601	609	588	605	532	272	523
	F	647	639	631	646	559	294	566
	1993 M	581	611	583	575	408	279	503
	F	627	641	621	612	469	308	544
	1994 M	583	632	598	575	452	302	512
	F	626	657	642	617	469	334	552
Rate of Natural	1976	8.2	8.7	11.4	6.7	14.4	21.9	8.2
Increase (per 1,000)	1981	7.1	9.9	12.9	7.6	16.0	23.2	8.0
	1986	7.4	9.2	12.4	6.9	14.8	23.0	7.2
	1991 (PD)	7.5	7.2	10.9	6.4	15.7	22.9	7.4
	1992 (PD)	6.8	7.2	10.3	6.2	13.8	20.8	7.1
	1993 (PR)	6.6	6.0	9.3	5.7	12.9	20.4	6.3
	1994 (PR)	6.5	5.7	8.9	5.7	10.7	20.7	6.1
	1995 (PR)	5.7	4.9	8.4	5.4	10.3	21.1	5.7
Total Growth Rate	1976	6.1	13.9	39.3	12.6	12.7	13.1	12.3
(per 1,000)	1981	7.5	11.5	39.1	23.0	-21.8	37.5	12.8
	1986	6.4	2.7	6.0	11.2	31.3	-1.8	11.3
	1991 (PD)	4.5	-1.0	16.9	24.8	39.1	29.1	13.0
	1992 (PD)	5.3	2.8	16.2	28.8	18.1	17.2	14.8
	1993 (PR)	5.4	3.0	12.6	27.0	-14.4	20.1	12.7
	1994 (PR)	5.0	3.1	11.1	25.6	7.2	17.6	10.7
	1995 (PR)	7.0	5.6	15.2	26.1	39.9	10.9	13.4

See notes at the end of this table.

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995 - Continued

	Year		Newfoundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1976		6.5	11.2	9.7	8.9	7.6	8.8
	1981		7.6	12.1	10.9	10.0	8.7	9.9
	1986		8.7	12.6	11.8	11.0	9.8	10.7
	1991 (PD)		9.6	13.1	12.4	11.9	11.0	11.5
	1992 (PD)		9.7	13.1	12.5	12.1	11.2	11.6
	1993 (PR)		9.9	13.1	12.6	12.2	11.4	11.8
	1994 (PR)		10.1	13.0	12.7	12.3	11.7	12.0
	1995 (PR)		10.3	12.9	12.7	12.5	11.9	12.1
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %)[1]	1976		88.6	85.1	75.1	77.7	62.9	65.6
	1981		77.9	75.8	66.9	69.3	55.8	58.7
	1986		67.9	68.4	60.9	62.2	52.0	54.9
	1991 (PD)		59.6	67.1	58.9	59.6	53.4	55.5
	1992 (PD)		58.0	66.4	58.6	58.8	53.8	55.7
	1993 (PR)		56.4	65.4	58.0	58.0	53.9	55.9
	1994 (PR)		55.0	64.7	57.6	57.3	54.1	56.3
	1995 (PR)		54.1	63.6	57.2	56.7	54.1	56.6
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986	M	72.9	72.8	72.5	72.7	72.2	73.8
		F	79.2	...[2]	79.5	80.1	79.7	80.0
	1991	M	73.7	73.2	73.7	74.2	73.8	75.0
		F	79.5	...[2]	80.3	80.9	80.9	80.9
	1993	M	74.0	74.4	74.1	74.5	74.3	75.3
		F	80.0	...[2]	80.5	80.7	81.2	81.1
	1994	M (P)	73.9	...[2]	74.3	74.7	74.4	75.5
		F (P)	80.0	...[2]	80.5	80.7	81.2	81.1
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1976		14.6	14.4	13.8	13.2	13.5	12.3
	1981		9.7	13.2	11.5	10.9	8.5	8.8
	1986		8.0	6.7	8.4	8.3	7.1	7.2
	1991		7.8	6.9	5.7	6.1	5.9	6.3
	1992		7.1	1.6	6.0	6.3	5.4	5.9
	1993		7.8	9.1	7.1	7.2	5.7	6.2
	1994		8.2	6.4	6.0	5.3	5.7	6.0
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44)[3]	1976		3.3	2.2	6.7	2.5	4.6	13.8
	1981		2.6	0.2	8.4	2.6	5.5	14.3
	1986		1.9	..	8.1	1.9	7.4	11.7
	1991		2.9	..	8.2	3.2	8.7	12.4
	1992		3.0	..	8.6	3.5	9.4	11.9
	1993		3.2	..	8.9	3.5	9.9	11.9
	1994		3.2	..	8.5	3.3	10.3	11.6

See notes at the end of this table.

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995 - Concluded

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch-ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Population Aged 65 +	1976	10.4	11.0	7.4	9.7	2.9	2.7	8.6
as a Percentage of	1981	11.8	11.9	7.2	10.6	3.2	3.0	9.6
the Total Population	1986	12.4	12.6	7.9	11.9	3.7	3.0	10.5
on July 1	1991 (PD)	13.3	14.0	8.9	12.6	3.9	2.7	11.4
	1992 (PD)	13.4	14.2	9.1	12.7	3.9	2.7	11.6
	1993 (PR)	13.4	14.3	9.3	12.7	4.1	2.7	11.7
	1994 (PR)	13.5	14.4	9.5	12.7	4.4	2.8	11.9
	1995 (PR)	13.6	14.5	9.7	12.7	4.6	2.9	12.0
Total Age	1976	72.7	79.3	69.1	65.0	60.5	86.9	67.2
Dependency Ratio	1981	67.6	73.1	57.3	58.4	53.3	77.4	59.7
(in %)[1]	1986	63.8	70.5	56.0	57.2	50.0	68.4	56.1
	1991 (PD)	65.3	73.5	57.7	57.6	47.6	66.7	56.7
	1992 (PD)	65.3	73.5	57.9	57.3	48.3	67.4	56.8
	1993 (PR)	65.0	73.3	57.9	56.9	47.8	67.1	56.8
	1994 (PR)	64.9	73.2	57.9	56.7	48.6	66.9	56.9
	1995 (PR)	64.9	73.0	57.8	56.4	48.9	66.5	56.9
Life Expectancy	1986 M	73.3	73.8	73.7	74.4	...	...	73.3
at Birth (in years)	F	80.0	80.5	80.2	80.8	...	...	80.0
	1991 M	74.6	75.3	75.1	75.2	...	...	74.6
	F	80.7	81.5	81.2	81.4	...	...	81.0
	1993 M	74.7	75.5	75.5	75.5	...	...	75.0
	F	80.9	81.8	81.4	81.5	...	...	81.2
	1994 M (P)	74.9	75.3	75.6	75.8	...	...	75.1
	F (P)	80.9	81.8	81.4	81.5	...	...	81.2
Infant Mortality Rate	1976	15.6	14.3	14.2	13.8	22.3	34.7	13.5
(per 1,000)	1981	11.9	11.8	10.6	10.2	14.9	21.5	9.6
	1986	9.2	9.0	9.0	8.5	24.8	18.6	7.9
	1991	6.4	8.2	6.7	6.5	10.6	12.2	6.4
	1992	6.8	7.3	7.2	6.2	3.8	16.7	6.1
	1993	7.1	8.1	6.7	5.7	7.9	9.6	6.3
	1994	7.0	8.9	7.4	6.3	2.3	14.6	6.3
Rate of Pregnancies	1976	6.2	5.5	11.6	18.5	13.3	5.9	10.0
Terminated (per 1,000	1981	6.8	7.6	11.5	18.7	16.9	11.9	10.8
women aged 15-44)[3]	1986	10.6	4.1	10.1	15.8	16.3	13.0	9.9
	1991	10.3	5.6	9.9	13.6	19.8	18.6	10.4
	1992	10.4	6.4	9.5	13.0	20.5	16.9	10.4
	1993	10.7	7.3	9.8	13.0	21.1	15.1	10.6
	1994	11.6	7.9	10.3	11.5	18.6	14.7	10.5

[1] Ratio between population aged 0-17, 65+ and 18-64.
[2] Because of an absence of deaths in certain age groups, the mortality table could not be calculated.
[3] Practiced in hospitals in Canada.
(P) Preliminary.
(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.
(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.
(PP) Preliminary postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Births***, catalogue no. 84-210, ***Deaths***, catalogue no. 84-211, ***Marriages***, catalogue no. 84-212, ***Therapeutic Abortions***, catalogue no. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 2. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1994 and 1995

Country	Population as of January 1			Births		Deaths		Natural Increase		Net Migration	
	1994	1995	1996	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995
	In Thousands										
Belgium	10,101.0	10,130.6	10,143.0	116.4	115.6	104.9	105.9	11.5	9.7	18.4	2.8
Denmark	5,196.6	5,215.7	5,251.0	69.7	69.8	61.1	63.2	8.6	6.6	10.6	28.7
Germany	81,352.6	81,538.6	81,845.0	769.6	759.5	884.7	875.1	-115.1	-115.6	315.6	421.9
Greece	10,390.0	10,442.9	10,474.6	103.8	104.0	97.8	98.5	6.0	5.5	27.3	26.2
Spain	39,168.2	39,177.4	39,241.9	365.1	357.2	335.8	344.0	29.3	13.2	26.6	51.3
France	57,800.1	58,020.4	58,265.4	710.9	729.0	519.6	529.0	191.3	200.0	50.0	45.0
Ireland	3,571.0	3,579.6	3,591.2	47.9	48.5	30.8	31.5	17.1	17.0	-6.5	-5.4
Italy [3]	57,153.7	57,268.6	57,330.5	527.4	514.9	548.1	547.0	-20.7	-32.1	150.8	94.0
Luxemburg	400.9	406.6	412.8	5.5	5.4	3.8	3.8	1.7	1.6	4.0	4.6
Netherlands [4]	15,341.3	15,424.1	15,492.8	195.6	189.4	133.5	136.2	62.1	53.2	20.4	15.5
Austria	8,005.9	8,039.9	8,054.8	92.4	88.7	80.7	81.2	11.7	7.5	13.1	7.4
Portugal	9,868.0	9,912.1	9,920.8	109.3	109.0	99.6	99.2	9.7	9.8	10.3	-1.2
Finland	5,077.9	5,098.8	5,116.8	65.2	63.1	48.0	49.3	17.2	13.8	3.6	4.3
Sweden	8,745.1	8,816.4	8,837.5	112.3	103.3	91.8	93.9	20.5	9.4	50.9	11.7
United Kingdom	58,276.0	58,491.6	58,671.9	750.7	732.1	632.3	641.7	118.4	90.4	80.2	90.0
EC members	**370,448.3**	**371,563.3**	**372,650.0**	**4,041.8**	**3,989.5**	**3,672.5**	**3,699.5**	**369.3**	**290.0**	**775.3**	**796.8**
Iceland	..	267.0	268.0	4.4	4.3	1.7	1.9	2.7	2.4	-0.8	-1.4
Norway	4,324.8	4,348.4	4,370.0	60.1	60.3	44.1	45.3	16.0	15.0	7.6	6.6
Switzerland [1]	6,968.6	7,019.0	7,060.4	83.0	82.5	62.0	63.4	21.0	19.1	29.5	22.3
Leichtenstein	30.5	30.6	31.0	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
EFTA [1]	..	**11,665.0**	**11,729.4**	**147.9**	**147.5**	**108.0**	**110.8**	**39.9**	**36.7**	**36.5**	**27.7**
EEA [1]	..	**383,228.3**	**384,379.4**	**4,189.7**	**4,137.0**	**3,780.5**	**3,810.3**	**409.2**	**326.7**	**811.8**	**824.5**
Canada	29,107.9	29,422.4	29,819.9	385.1	378.0	207.1	210.5	178.0	167.5	171.9	163.0
United States	259,681.0	261,638.0	264,023.0	3,952.8	3,900.1	2,279.0	2,312.2	1,673.8	1,587.9	736.0	731.0
Mexico	89,209.8	90,812.7 [6]	92,399.5	2,306.1	2,296.2	417.9	419.8	1,888.2	1,876.4	-285.3	-289.6
North America	**377,998.7**	**381,873.1**	**386,242.4**	**6,644.0**	**6,574.3**	**2,904.0**	**2,942.5**	**3,740.0**	**3,631.8**	**...**	**...**
Australia	17,746.6	17,932.1	18,168.6	258.1	256.2	126.7	125.1	131.4	131.1	76.0	105.8
New Zealand	3,524.8	3,577.2	3,643.2	57.4	57.8	27.1	28.0	30.3	29.8	22.0	28.5
Japan	124,683.6	125,000.0	125,500.0	1,238.3	1,187.1	875.9	922.1	362.4	265.0	11.6 [7]	-11.6 [7]

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 2. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1994 and 1995 - Continued

Country	Total Growth Rate (per 1,000) [8]		Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)		Life Expectancy [5]		Total Fertility Rate	
					Males	Females		
	1994	1995	1994	1995	1995		1994	1995
Belgium	3.0	1.2	7.6	6.1	73.3	80.2	1.55	1.54
Denmark	3.7	6.8	5.7	5.3	72.7	78.0	1.80	1.80
Germany	2.5	3.8	5.6	..	73.3	79.8	1.26	1.24
Greece	3.2	3.0	7.9	7.7	75.2	80.2	1.35	1.40
Spain	1.4	1.6	6.0	5.6	73.2	81.2	1.22	1.18
France	4.2	4.2	5.8	4.9	73.8	81.9	1.65	1.70
Ireland	3.0	3.2	5.9	..	73.1	78.7	1.86	1.87
Italy [3]	2.3	1.1	6.6	6.3	74.9	81.4	1.22	1.17
Luxemburg	14.1	15.1	5.3	5.5	73.0	80.0	1.72	1.68
Netherlands [4]	5.4	4.4	5.6	..	74.5	80.2	1.57	1.53
Austria	3.1	1.9	6.3	5.4	73.5	80.1	1.44	1.39
Portugal	2.0	0.9	8.1	..	71.5	78.6	1.44	1.41
Finland	4.1	3.5	4.7	3.9	72.8	80.2	1.85	1.81
Sweden	8.1	2.4	4.4	4.2	76.1	81.4	1.88	1.74
United Kingdom	3.4	3.1	6.2	..	74.2	79.2	1.74	1.71
EC members	**3.1**	**2.9**	**6.1**	..	**73.7**	**80.1**	**1.45**	**1.43**
Iceland	7.2	3.7	3.4	6.1	76.7	80.7	2.14	2.08
Norway	5.4	4.9	5.2	..	74.9	80.6	1.86	1.87
Switzerland [1]	7.2	5.8	5.1	5.1	75.3	81.7	1.49	1.48
Leichtenstein	10.5	12.0	5.6	..	..	..	..	..
EFTA [1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EEA [1]	**3.1**	**3.0**	**6.2** [2]	..	**73.9**	**80.1**	**1.45**	**1.44**
Canada	10.7	13.4	6.3	6.1	75.1 [9]	81.2 [9]	1.66	1.64
United States	7.5 [6]	9.1 [6]	7.9	7.6	72.3 [9]	79.0	2.04	2.02
Mexico	18.0 [6]	17.5 [6]	30.3	29.0	69.8	76.2	2.90	2.81
North America	**10.2**	**11.4**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**
Australia	10.5 [6]	11.8 [6]	5.9	5.7	75.5	81.1	1.85	1.82
New Zealand	14.9 [6]	18.5 [6]	7.1	6.7	73.7 [10]	79.1 [10]	2.04	2.04
Japan	2.5 [6]	4.0 [6]	4.2	4.3	76.4	82.8	1.50	1.43

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 2. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1994 and 1995 - Concluded

Country	Marriages (in thousands)		Marriage Rate (per 1,000)		Divorces (in thousands)		Divorce Rate (per 1,000)		Births Out of Wedlock (per 100 births)
	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994
Belgium	52.0	51.5	5.1	5.1	22.0	35.0	2.2	3.5	..
Denmark	35.3	35.0	6.8	6.7	13.7	13.0	2.6	2.5	46.9
Germany	440.2	429.7	5.4	5.3	166.1	..	2.0	..	15.4
Greece	56.8	64.5	5.4	6.2	7.7	7.5	0.7	0.7	2.9
Spain	196.1	196.9	5.0	5.0	79.6	..	2.0	..	..
France	253.7	254.0	4.4	4.4	114.3	..	2.0	..	..
Ireland	16.3	..	4.6	..	..	..	..	..	19.7
Italy [3]	285.1	281.1	5.0	4.9	27.5	..	0.5	..	..
Luxemburg	2.4	2.1	5.8	5.1	0.7	0.7	1.7	1.8	12.7
Netherlands [4]	83.0	80.6	5.4	5.2	36.2	34.0	2.4	2.2	14.3
Austria	43.3	42.9	5.4	5.3	16.9	18.2	2.1	2.3	26.8
Portugal	66.0	..	6.7	..	13.6	..	1.4	..	17.8
Finland	24.9	23.7	4.9	4.6	13.8	14.0	2.7	2.7	31.3
Sweden	34.2	33.5	3.9	3.8	22.2	22.5	2.5	2.5	51.6
United Kingdom	..	..	..	..	173.6	..	3.0	..	32.0
EC members	..	..	**5.2**	..	..	..	**1.9**	..	..
Iceland	1.3	1.2	4.9	4.5	0.5	0.5	1.8	1.9	59.6
Norway	20.6	..	4.8	..	10.9	..	2.5	..	45.9
Switzerland [1]	42.4	40.8	6.1	5.8	15.6	15.7	2.2	2.2	6.4
Leichtenstein	0.4	0.4	13.0	13.2	..	..	..	..	8.4
EFTA [1]	**233.1**	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EEA [1]	..	..	**5.2**	..	..	..	**1.9**	..	..
Canada	160.0	160.3	5.5	..	78.9	..	2.7	..	37.2
United States	2,362.0	2,336.0	9.1	8.9	1,191.0	1,169.0	4.6	4.0	..
Mexico	..	666.6	..	7.4	..	35.2	..	0.4	..
North America	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
Australia	111.2	109.4	6.2	6.1	48.3	49.7	2.7	2.7	25.6
New Zealand	21.9	21.5	6.2	6.0 [6]	9.2	9.6	2.6	2.7 [6]	..
Japan	782.7	791.9	6.3	6.4	195.1	199.0	1.6	1.6	..

[1] Switzerland ceased to be a member of EFTA and the EEA in 1992. It is included here to permit comparisons with previous data for major groups. [2] Eurostat estimates. [3] Resident population. [4] Includes administrative corrections. [5] In years and tenths of a year. [6] Calculations by author. [7] Legal entries minus legal exits. [8] Growth rates are furnished by the countries. If they are not consistent with the populations as of January 1 in the two successive years, it is presumably because the population estimates for the preceding year were corrected after the information was furnished. [9] 1994. [10] Average for 1993-1995.

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

Sources: Europe: Eurostat. Canada: Statistics Canada. United States: Census Bureau and NCHS (National Centre for Health Statistics). Mexico: Data obtained from the Consejo Nacional de Población Secretaria General. Australia: Data furnished by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. New Zealand: Data furnished by the Department of Statistics. Japan: Statistical Standards Department.

Right now, Europe as a whole (E.E.A.) has about the same demographic weight as the North America of NAFTA (384 million and 386 million, respectively). While we cannot predict the future, it is likely that in 20 years the two populations will no longer be as balanced. If growth rates and their components were to remain as they are today, the population of Europe would be only 85% that of North America. In that North America of 20 years from now, Canada would have a population of 39 million, or about the same 8% it represents currently. The U.S. would have lost 3.2% of its weight, which would have been gained by Mexico, with a population of 130 million. In Europe, Germany would have gained only 6 million, France, the U.K. and Italy would have lost less than 6 million, less than 4 million and less than 2 million respectively. France and Germany combined would have only 20 million more people than Mexico.

At the time of this study, many countries had not yet reported their marriage and divorce data. Based on available data, it would appear that the marriage rate is still dropping, but there are some exceptions, such as Greece, where it is on the rise. Similarly, divorce seems up slightly. The increase is particularly notable in Belgium.

Europe continues to make remarkable progress ***in the area of infant mortality***. A veritable revolution has occurred in just five or six years, with rates dropping 25% to 35% in most countries. Considerable reductions can be noted again from 1994 to 1995. Infant mortality improved by 16% in France, by 14% in Austria and by 17% in Finland. According to available statistics, ***Greece and Italy are the only European countries with a rate higher than Canada's, which was the lowest in the world in 1989***. In 1995, Finland had the best record (3.9 per 1,000), slightly lower than that of Japan.

The slight drop in life expectancy for Europe as a whole in 1995 is probably just the result of adjustments of the previous year's figures. Male life expectancy is highest in Iceland, at 76.7, and lowest in Portugal. As for women, France is first (81.9) and Denmark is last (78.0). No great importance should be attached to the minor differences between countries. They are often illusory and changes from one year to the next are not really significant. For all practical purposes, life expectancy is the same in societies with similar health care and economic conditions.

Extramarital Births

The percentage of births out of wedlock varies considerably from one country to the next, as does the divorce rate.[1] Unfortunately, we have just the crude divorce rate, and data on extramarital births for a few countries only.

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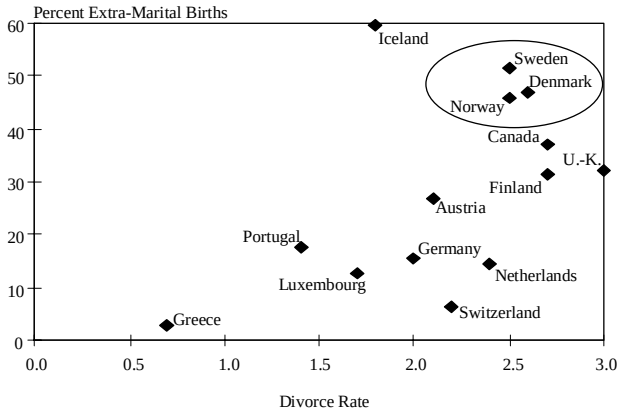
[1] By European standards, extramarital births and divorce are both indicators of liberalism in matters of morality.

Figure 1. Divorce and Extra-Marital Births for Certain Countries in 1994

Country	% of Extra-Marital Births	Divorce Rate
Iceland	59.6	1.8
Sweden	51.6	2.5
Denmark	46.9	2.6
Norway	45.9	2.5
Canada	37.2	2.7
Austria	26.8	2.1
Portugal	17.8	1.4
Greece	2.9	0.7
Germany	15.4	2.0
Netherlands	14.3	2.4
Luxembourg	12.7	1.7
Switzerland	6.4	2.2
United Kingdom	32.0	3.0
Finland	31.3	2.7



Source: Eurostat.

A priori, given the cultures of North America and Europe, we might propose that, since religion frowns on both divorce and children born out of wedlock, there should be a positive correlation between the two if their populations accept these religious precepts. In fact, there is no strong correlation, as Figure 1 shows. Only four countries, Canada, Austria, Portugal and Greece, fall on the regression line constructed using the indexes of all the countries. Only the countries of northern Europe have both high divorce rates and significant proportions of extramarital births, and there are no countries with both few divorces and many extramarital births.

The United States

The size of the U.S. population on January 1 in Table 2 cannot be reconciled with its components, natural increase and net migration, without lengthy explanations.

Immigration remains impressive, as high as that for all of Europe, while the U.S. population is 30% smaller than the European.

As regards natural increase, 1995 is the fifth consecutive year in which births have declined in the U.S. ***However, the total rate of 2.02, which is practically at replacement level, is much higher than Canada's***. This is not simply due to the higher fertility of black women: the rate for the white population is 1.99, for blacks, who are far less numerous, it is 2.16, and for Asians, 1.90.

In 1990, the rate was 2.08, so there has been a slight drop in overall fertility. In 1990, the rate for white women was 2.00 and for black women, 2.48. It would therefore seem that the two main racial groups comprising the U.S. population are responsible for the decline in population growth, the black more than the white. The drop in the period rate is due to lower rates among women under 35, which is not offset by the slight increase among women 35 to 44. Among black women, the rates have dropped notably for those under 35, and remained stable for those over 35.

It is important to note that, as a period rate, the fertility of American women was at its lowest toward the end of the 1970s, when young women were clearly delaying the birth of their first child while older women were increasingly less inclined to add to their families after the age of 35. The minor changes observed over the last 15 years are not likely to have had any effect on the lifetime fertility of the cohorts concerned; they merely reflect, although less so than in southern Europe, a change in tempo which is occurring concurrently with the slow decline in fertility.

The U.S. mortality rate is dropping slowly. As in Canada, there was a slight but unexpected increase in 1993 which health observers now attribute to the flu. However, the U.S. lags behind Canada in terms of life expectancy, which is 72.3 for men and 79.0 for women. Despite annual progress, infant mortality at 7.6 per 1,000 remains higher than in Canada, which, as mentioned above, is no longer the world leader in this regard.

Australia

Although Australia's population is only 60% that of Canada, for historical reasons, the country has a similar demographic evolution and has followed the same path. Population growth in 1995, after the adjustment of estimates following the latest census, was 11.8 per 1,000, higher than in 1994 and the highest since 1992. Also like Canada, the growth rate depends largely on immigration, which fluctuates from year to year depending on the economic and political situation. In 1995, net international migration accounted for 45% of total growth.

Fertility in Australia has declined almost without interruption from a 1961 high of 3.55 children per woman, although there was a slight increase from 1992 to 1993. In 1995, ***the Australian fertility rate was 1.82, placing it between those of the U.S. and Canada***.

Mortality is low, according to life-expectancy figures. In 1995, life expectancy was 75.5 for men and 81.1 for women, which is comparable to Canadian figures (minor differences may be completely accidental). Infant mortality is much lower than in Canada, although not as low as in many European countries.

We know that for a long time Australia had a very strict immigration policy that allowed in whites only, preferably of British extraction. But the fear of low population and the proximity of populous Asian nations led to a quick change in policy after World War II, and the country began increasingly to open its doors to immigrants of other origins.[2] Like all countries with high immigration, Australia must deal with the economic and international repercussions of the phenomenon every year. The origin of immigrants in 1995 nevertheless offers a good indication of where most people come from. The U.K. still tops the list, with 11,600 entrants planning to establish permanent or long-term residence. More than 17,500 came from the rest of Europe, including refugees from the former Yugoslavia (3,000), exiles from Bosnia-Herzegovina (3,100) and emigrants from the Baltic states. However, 53,000 people, or half of all immigrants, came from Asia (Southeast, Northeast and South). In this regard also, Australia bears a strong resemblance to Canada.

The Russian Federation and Eastern Europe

The U.S.S.R. was a union of republics grouped around Russia, each of them more or less homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, language and culture. While the U.S.S.R. existed, some population transfers occurred, although they were more significant politically than demographically. Moscow has never been generous with its population statistics, and there has always been doubt as to the reliability of published data, given that these are important indicators of economic and social health. The same applies to eastern Europe to a certain degree. Since the dismantling of the U.S.S.R., the various satellite republics have regained their independence. Based on data collected by local authorities, estimates are slowly emerging and beginning to circulate in the rest of the world. The quality of the data no doubt varies, but because of their long tradition of scrupulous administration, these countries have a good reputation for thoroughness among European demographers. The following section focuses on the European countries of the former U.S.S.R. and the nations of eastern Europe (Table 3).

Of all the countries observed, Russia had the lowest life expectancy, at 57.7 for men and 71.3 for women, which is a huge 14-year gap between the sexes. The highest life expectancy was in East Germany (69.9 and 77.2), which is still well below the Canadian averages of 75.1 and 81.2. The Russian figures are the same as those observed in Canada in 1920 for men and in 1951 for women, giving a fair idea of how far behind the Western world the country is in terms of health. But the summary period indicators for the male population may, more than those for the female population, reflect the harsh experiences of the generations living through World War II and the post-War period. Interestingly enough, infant mortality (18.6 per 1,000) can be compared

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[2] See ***Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1991***.

Table 3. Main Demographic Indicators for the Russian Federation and Eastern European Countries, 1994

Country	Population on January 1 (thousands)	Natural Increase (thousands)	Total Fertility Rate [1]	Proportion of Extra-Marital Births (per 100 births)	Legal Abortions (per 100 births)	Life Expectancy at Birth [6]		Infant Mortality (rate per 1,000)	Total First Marriage Rate [7]		Total Divorce Rate	Total Growth (thousands)
	1995	1994	1994	1994	1994	1994		1994	1994		1994	1995
						Males	Females		Males	Females		
Former U.S.S.R.												
Russia	148,306.1	-889.7	1.39	19.6	180.1 [4]	57.7	71.3	18.6	749	773	..	..
Belarus	10,345.0	-18.9	1.75 [5]	8.5 [2]	73.0 [5]	64.9 [4]	75.4 [4]	12.9	..	..	..	..
Ukraine	51,719.4	-243.2	1.46	12.8	153.1	62.8	73.2	14.7	..	..	..	..
Moldavia	5,348.0	10.0	2.10 [5]	11.2 [5]	94.5	64.3 [5]	71.1 [5]	22.9	..	..	..	..
Estonia	1,492.0	..	1.45 [5]	38.3 [5]	158.3	64.1 [4]	75.0 [4]	14.5	..	..	..	..
Latvia	2,529.5	-17.5	1.39	26.4	110.5	60.7	72.9	15.7	..	..	..	..
Lithuania	3,717.0	-3.7	1.54	10.8	70.8	62.3	74.9	14.1	..	..	..	..
Former Yugoslavia												
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4,570.3	33.1 [3]	1.70 [2]	7.4 [2]	..	69.7 [2]	75.2 [2]	15.3 [2]	..	..	..	..
Croatia	4,776.5	-0.9	1.48 [4]	7.8 [5]	51.9 [5]	65.6 [3]	75.0 [3]	10.2	..	..	..	..
Macedonia	2,783.9	17.1 [5]	2.18 [4]	7.1 [2]	..	..	..	24.6 [5]	..	..	..	..
Slovenia	1,949.4	0.1	1.32	28.8	61.4 [5]	69.4 [5]	77.3 [5]	6.5	..	..	..	..
Former Czechoslovakia												
Czech Republic	10,333.2	-10.8	1.50	14.6	50.3	69.5	76.6	7.9	1004 [2]	1029 [2]	36.3 [5]	-11.9
Slovakia	5,356.2	15.0	1.66	11.7	62.2	..	..	11.0	928 [2]	969 [2]	22.9 [2]	..
Former Eastern Europe												
Bulgaria	8,427.4	-32.4	1.37	24.7	122.6	67.3	74.8	16.3	576	576	11.9	-42.7
Hongary	10,246.0	-31.3	1.64	19.4	64.4	64.8	74.2	11.7	589	572	29.0	-32.0
Poland	38,581.9	94.9	1.80	9.0	0.2 [5]	67.2	75.9	15.2	680	699	12.0	27.1
Romania	27,778.3	..	1.41	18.3	214.8	66.6 [2]	73.1 [2]	21.2	864 [8]	740	23.0	..
East Germany	15,531.0	-12.4	0.77	41.4	40.0 [5]	69.9 [5]	77.2 [5]	6.2	296 [5]	338 [5]	14.1	-55.0

[1] Mean number of children per woman.
[2] 1990
[3] 1991
[4] 1992
[5] 1993
[6] In years and tenths of a year.
[7] First marriages per 1,000 men or women.
[8] 1985

Source: Data furnished by the Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris.

to Canadian levels in the 1970s. In a population whose evolution has not been disturbed, a close relationship between general mortality and infant mortality is usually observed, which would lead us to believe that the life expectancy of the average Russian male could rise rapidly if economic conditions improve and when cohorts are involved whose lives were less disturbed. There are probably a great number of premature deaths due to poor socioeconomic conditions and the alcoholism they lead to, which affects life expectancy. It might also be hypothesized that infant mortality is not any higher because a selection effect is occurring, fertility perhaps being greater among wealthier Russians. On the other hand, a low birth rate may have a beneficial effect on the quality of neonatal care. Most of the other countries have life expectancies that are, on average, about 10 years lower than those in Canada and the rest of the Western world, and also very high infant mortality, particularly in Romania, Moldavia and Macedonia.

The differences between male and female life expectancy reveal the great difference between the former republics of the U.S.S.R. and the countries of eastern Europe. As we have seen, the gap is huge in Russia. However, in eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavia, it is much lower, approaching the difference seen in western Europe and North America (seven to nine years). This supports the theory that there is something exceptional occurring in the countries of the former U.S.S.R., which could disappear in a relatively short time if economic conditions improve.

In almost all countries, people are eschewing marriage, quite possibly for the same reasons people in the Western world are doing so. Among the most spectacular changes may be noted that from 1990 to 1994 the total first marriage rate for men fell by 275 per 1,000 in Bulgaria (from 851 per 1,000 to 576), 181 in Hungary (from 770 per 1,000 to 589) and even 178 in Poland (from 858 per 1,000 to 680). Of course, these rates are linked to the current situation and might rise again as economic conditions change, but it is reasonable to be sceptical on this point, particularly since the number of births outside marriage is increasing overall. For example, from 1985 to 1994, they went from 12% to 20% in Russia; from 17% to 26% in Latvia; and from 7% to 11% in Lithuania. Fertility, however, is low. Only in Moldavia is the total fertility rate at the replacement level. In the former U.S.S.R., the simple average is 1.58; it is 1.39 in the Russian Federation. Central European countries are still below the replacement level, with an average of 1.53. There was no increase in abortions, which is not at all surprising: the rate in these countries is consistently high since abortion has long been a common means to terminate an unwanted pregnancy, due to the high cost or lack of contraceptives.

As a result of these factors, many countries have had negative natural increase. Such was the case in Bulgaria, at -5 per 1,000, Hungary (-3), Romania (-1), the Czech Republic (-2), Russia (-5), Estonia (-5), Latvia (-7), Lithuania (-1), Moldavia (-2) and especially the Ukraine (-8).

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, demographic behaviour (aside from abortion) in Central Europe and the former U.S.S.R. is not unlike that of western Europe. One interpretation of the situation could be that, in the entire Western world, at least, people are breaking free from lifestyles and practices inherited from ancient traditions (such as uncontrolled fertility, indissoluble marriage, fertility within marriage only, and so on) because of the diffusion of knowledge which has fostered the development of communications of all kinds. Mortality, however, is different. The struggle against death requires powerful economic efforts on the part of a whole society, not individuals, and it involves major long-term investments that many countries have chosen not to make as they pursue other objectives.

NUPTIALITY

Recent Changes

The decline in marriage rates is no longer a newsworthy item. In most industrialized countries, total rates and period tables indicate a questioning of this type of living arrangement. However, it is worth noting that in Canada in 1994, the total rate—the traditional nuptiality indicator, which has been dropping year after year—has ceased declining and has even risen slightly for the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s (Table 4). Almost all the provinces, including Quebec, have contributed to the change. Of course, this is only one sign and its interpretation is by no means certain; however, it merits attention given that many observers of society seem to have the feeling that the institution of marriage cannot recover. This curious moratorium suggests an examination of changes in behaviour in the real cohorts that contribute to the fictitious cohort and the resulting rates (Table A2 in the Appendix).

The 1938 male cohort reached age 50 in 1988, by which time 95.5% were married. This is practically a record in the industrialized world, and there is no way we can expect similar intensity among the cohorts that were in their twenties in the mid-1990s. It is, however, possible to determine what the intensity might be if current trends in age-specific rates were to persist. Simply by looking at a table of such rates, an increase in late marriages can be seen that corresponds to a reduction in early marriages, although the former does not compensate for the latter (Table 5). From the male cohort of 1945 to that of 1955, the sum of the marriage rates from age 30 to 40 (period rates) rose from 81 to 121 per 1,000, a 49% increase. This was also the case for the women of these cohorts: the sum increased from 44 to 72 per 1,000, or 65%. If this upward trend in age-specific rates is extended in a linear manner, the sum could be as high as 162 per 1,000 for men in the 1965 cohort, and 109 per 1,000 for women. ***Based on these hypotheses, the sum of first-marriage rates for the 1965 cohort would be 605 per 1,000 for men***

Table 4. Total First Marriage Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1988-1994 (per 1,000)[1]

Province	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Newfoundland	626	628	664	669	644	658	597	611	554	573	532	554	568	597
Prince Edward Island	728	739	798	807	768	766	717	724	689	702	703	714	653	688
Nova Scotia	637	680	640	685	610	649	568	600	551	582	533	566	541	574
New Brunswick	644	675	639	680	624	659	574	599	551	580	527	554	538	555
Quebec	425	453	424	455	408	459	377	425	333	376	323	364	333	373
Ontario	635	690	647	697	653	698	606	646	585	628	553	595	560	598
Manitoba	617	669	624	679	637	690	592	647	601	647	581	627	583	626
Saskatchewan	600	647	625	677	613	665	613	651	609	639	611	641	632	657
Alberta	590	642	621	665	625	673	590	635	588	631	583	621	598	642
British Columbia	633	684	641	693	638	694	599	651	605	646	575	612	575	617
Yukon	525	623	497	558	518	591	465	514	532	559	408	469	452	469
Northwest Territories	302	314	301	326	313	327	285	308	272	294	279	308	302	334
CANADA	574	620	585	630	582	631	543	588	523	566	503	544	512	552
CANADA LESS QUEBEC	626	676	640	688	641	687	599	640	587	627	562	600	570	608

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

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

Table 5. First-Marriage Rates for Birth Cohorts, by Sex[1], Canada, 1945-1965

Cohort	Sum of Rates to Age 29	Age											Sum of Rates for Ages 30-40	Total Sum of Rates
		30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		
	Males													
1945	806.9	**17.6**	**13.5**	**10.7**	**8.3**	**7.0**	**6.0**	**5.0**	**3.9**	**3.3**	**3.2**	**2.4**	80.9	887.8
1946	817.2	**17.2**	**13.8**	**10.7**	**8.9**	**7.2**	**6.1**	**5.4**	**4.4**	**3.6**	**3.3**	**3.0**	83.6	900.8
1947	854.6	**17.7**	**13.8**	**10.9**	**9.1**	**7.7**	**6.4**	**5.5**	**4.4**	**3.5**	**3.7**	**3.3**	86.1	940.7
1948	802.8	**18.3**	**14.2**	**11.6**	**9.5**	**7.8**	**6.7**	**5.7**	**4.6**	**3.9**	**3.7**	**3.4**	89.4	892.3
1949	768.1	**18.8**	**15.1**	**12.0**	**10.0**	**8.5**	**7.4**	**6.1**	**5.0**	**4.6**	**4.3**	**3.5**	95.4	863.9
1950	748.3	**19.8**	**15.6**	**12.9**	**10.9**	**8.7**	**7.6**	**6.4**	**5.4**	**5.0**	**4.2**	**3.3**	100.0	848.3
1951	727.1	**20.3**	**16.2**	**13.0**	**11.2**	**9.5**	**7.5**	**7.1**	**6.1**	**5.1**	**4.0**	**3.2**	103.1	830.7
1952	710.2	**21.0**	**17.4**	**14.7**	**11.7**	**9.3**	**8.5**	**7.3**	**6.6**	**5.3**	**4.2**	**3.3**	109.4	819.8
1953	688.3	**22.1**	**17.9**	**14.8**	**11.6**	**10.2**	**9.5**	**8.0**	**6.6**	**5.0**	**4.4**	**3.5**	113.7	801.9
1954	674.4	**22.6**	**18.4**	**14.5**	**12.8**	**11.6**	**9.7**	**7.9**	**6.4**	**5.3**	**4.5**	**3.9**	117.5	792.0
1955	651.9	**23.3**	**17.5**	**15.7**	**13.9**	**11.8**	**9.9**	**8.0**	**6.3**	**5.5**	**4.6**	3.8	120.5	772.2
1956	639.0	**23.5**	**19.9**	**17.4**	**14.3**	**12.5**	**9.7**	**8.1**	**6.5**	**5.8**	4.8	3.9	126.4	765.4
1957	620.1	**24.8**	**21.0**	**17.9**	**14.9**	**11.8**	**10.0**	**8.2**	**6.8**	6.1	4.9	4.0	130.5	750.6
1958	696.2	**26.4**	**21.9**	**18.2**	**15.0**	**12.0**	**9.8**	**8.2**	7.4	6.4	5.1	4.1	134.4	730.6
1959	578.8	**27.9**	**23.1**	**18.0**	**14.7**	**12.3**	**10.5**	9.0	7.6	6.6	5.2	4.2	139.1	717.9
1960	554.4	**28.8**	**22.5**	**18.9**	**15.3**	**12.6**	11.1	9.3	7.9	6.8	5.3	4.3	142.8	697.2
1961	533.7	**27.1**	**22.7**	**18.5**	**15.4**	13.6	11.5	9.6	8.1	7.0	5.5	4.4	143.3	677.0
1962	511.5	**28.1**	**22.5**	**19.0**	16.6	14.0	11.8	9.8	8.4	7.3	5.6	4.5	147.6	659.1
1963	495.4	**27.7**	**23.5**	20.3	17.1	14.4	12.2	10.1	8.6	7.5	5.7	4.6	151.8	647.2
1964	465.8	**28.5**	24.7	20.9	17.6	14.8	12.5	10.4	8.9	7.7	5.9	4.7	156.6	622.4
1965	443.3	30.2	25.3	21.5	18.1	15.3	12.9	10.7	9.1	7.9	6.0	4.8	161.7	605.0
	Females													
1945	842.7	**9.2**	**7.3**	**5.8**	**4.6**	**4.0**	**3.2**	**2.5**	**2.1**	**2.0**	**1.8**	**1.4**	43.9	886.6
1946	868.1	**9.1**	**7.1**	**5.9**	**4.8**	**3.9**	**3.5**	**3.0**	**2.3**	**2.2**	**1.9**	**1.6**	45.3	913.5
1947	928.2	**9.1**	**6.8**	**5.8**	**4.9**	**4.0**	**3.2**	**2.9**	**2.2**	**2.2**	**1.9**	**1.7**	44.9	973.1
1948	872.1	**9.2**	**7.4**	**6.1**	**5.4**	**4.3**	**3.6**	**2.9**	**2.5**	**2.3**	**2.1**	**2.0**	47.8	919.9
1949	834.7	**9.6**	**7.6**	**6.4**	**5.4**	**4.5**	**3.9**	**3.3**	**2.6**	**2.5**	**2.2**	**2.0**	50.0	884.8
1950	817.5	**10.5**	**8.4**	**7.0**	**5.8**	**5.1**	**4.2**	**3.4**	**3.2**	**2.8**	**2.6**	**2.0**	55.0	872.5
1951	807.7	**11.1**	**8.8**	**7.5**	**6.4**	**5.4**	**4.2**	**3.8**	**3.5**	**3.1**	**2.6**	**2.2**	58.5	866.3
1952	793.6	**11.7**	**9.5**	**7.8**	**6.6**	**5.4**	**5.1**	**4.4**	**3.7**	**2.8**	**2.6**	**2.3**	61.9	855.5
1953	784.6	**12.1**	**10.3**	**8.1**	**6.5**	**5.7**	**5.4**	**4.6**	**3.8**	**3.1**	**2.6**	**2.2**	64.4	849.0
1954	772.4	**13.6**	**10.4**	**7.8**	**7.2**	**6.3**	**5.7**	**4.8**	**3.7**	**3.3**	**2.7**	**2.4**	67.9	840.3
1955	751.6	**14.0**	**10.3**	**9.0**	**8.1**	**6.9**	**6.1**	**5.1**	**4.1**	**3.6**	**2.8**	2.5	72.4	824.1
1956	740.2	**13.7**	**11.4**	**10.1**	**8.8**	**7.5**	**6.3**	**4.8**	**4.2**	**3.2**	3.0	2.6	75.6	815.8
1957	731.2	**15.3**	**13.1**	**11.1**	**9.1**	**7.9**	**6.4**	**5.0**	**4.2**	3.6	3.1	2.7	81.6	812.7
1958	714.7	**16.8**	**14.0**	**12.0**	**9.4**	**8.1**	**6.5**	**5.3**	4.6	3.8	3.2	2.8	86.5	801.3
1959	703.7	**18.8**	**15.2**	**11.7**	**9.9**	**8.4**	**7.0**	5.7	4.8	3.9	3.3	2.9	91.7	795.5
1960	684.4	**19.5**	**14.5**	**12.0**	**10.0**	**8.2**	7.3	5.9	5.0	4.0	3.4	3.0	92.9	777.4
1961	671.0	**19.0**	**15.5**	**12.4**	**10.1**	8.9	7.6	6.1	5.2	4.2	3.5	3.2	95.7	766.8
1962	653.6	**19.9**	**15.7**	**13.2**	10.7	9.2	7.9	6.4	5.4	4.3	3.6	3.3	99.6	753.2
1963	635.2	**19.7**	**15.9**	13.4	11.1	9.6	8.2	6.6	5.6	4.4	3.7	3.4	101.6	736.6
1964	619.2	**20.3**	16.7	13.9	11.5	9.9	8.5	6.8	5.8	4.6	3.8	3.5	105.3	724.7
1965	599.0	21.4	17.3	14.3	11.9	10.2	8.8	7.0	6.0	4.7	3.9	3.6	109.3	708.4

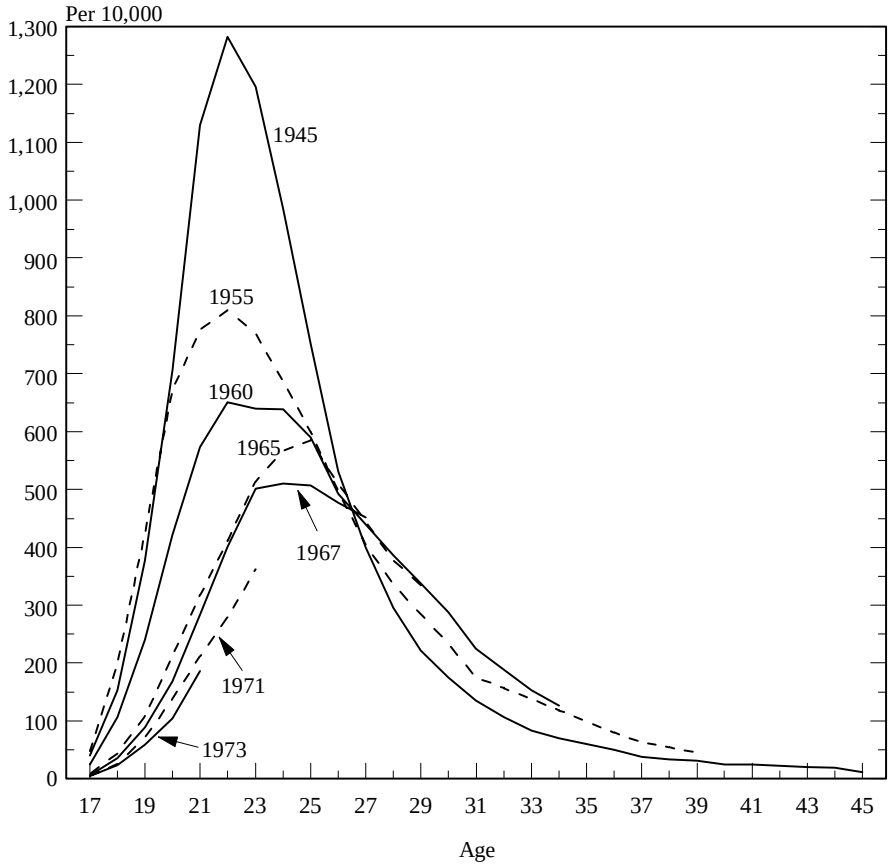
[1] Men (aged 17 to 40) and women (aged 15 to 40).

Note: Rates in italics result from a linear extrapolation of the rates observed at the same ages in the preceding cohorts.

Sources: Tables A3.1 and A3.2 in the Appendix.

and 708 per 1,000 for women. In other words, 61% of men and 71% of women in the 1965 cohort would have married at least once before the age of 40, and a number of others would likely join them during their forties. Plausibility increases with time, as important events in the life cycle (graduation, joining the labour force, leaving home, settling down, having children, retiring, etc.) occur later and later, as though they were in some way dependent on the average life span, which is increasing. It may be added that a certain number

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

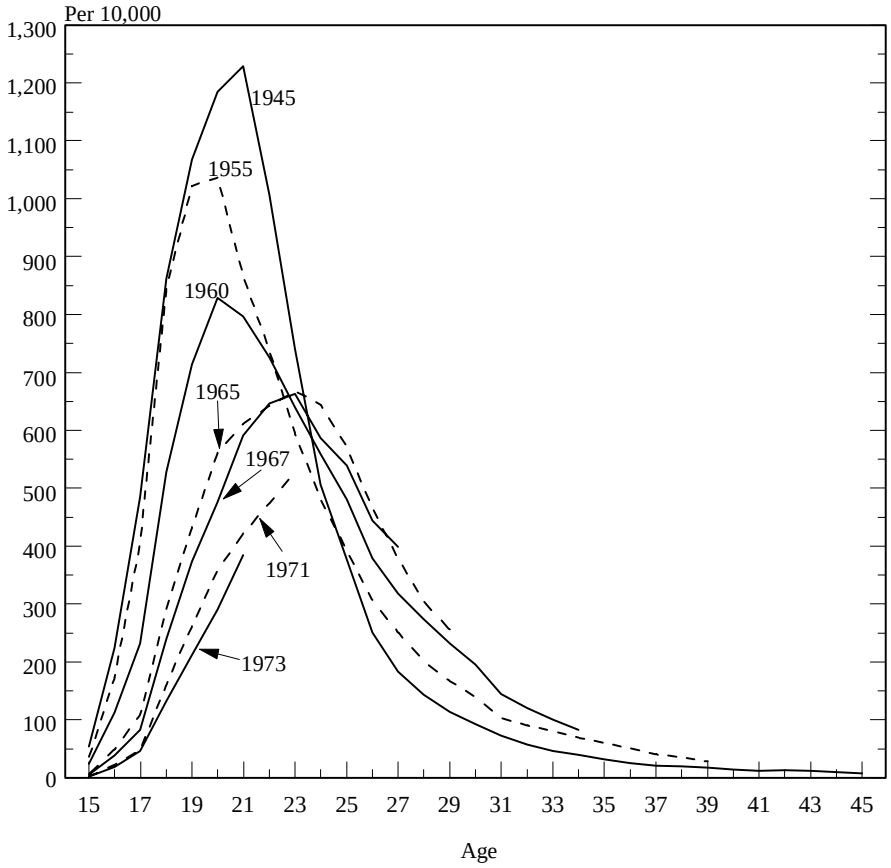


Source: Table A3.1 in the Appendix.

of common-law unions established early in life are converted into marriages later. Thus, while there has certainly been a growing disaffection for the institution of marriage, it is an exaggeration to proclaim its demise.

Changes in the age-specific rates and their distribution can be seen clearly in the average age at which people marry. For women 15 to 40, that age is over 25 for the 1965 cohort, whereas it was 22 for the 1945 cohort. The direction taken by the curves for the 1971 and 1973 cohorts (Figures 2a and 2b) in fact suggests that they will peak at older ages than those of earlier cohorts and that they will spread out more to the right.

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



Source: Table A3.2 in the Appendix.

Data on marriages in 1995 reinforce earlier views, leaving the impression that cohort nuptiality will be affected somewhat less than period rates indicate. Indeed, in 1995, all the age-specific rates were up again as of age 26. The result is a second consecutive year in which there is a slight increase for men, with no change for women.

Table 6, featuring the number and percentage of different types of marriage, indicates stagnation. The only findings that emerge from the minimal changes in marriage types are the continuation of the increase in remarriages and a downward trend for women's first marriages.

Table 6. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Canada, 1969-1994

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion of Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	%	Number	%
1968	171,766	157,309	156,783	21,133	12.3	8,307	39.3
1969	182,183	162,853	162,690	27,494	15.1	11,329	41.2
1970	188,428	167,267	167,421	29,975	15.9	12,193	40.7
1971	191,324	168,944	169,072	31,698	16.6	12,934	40.8
1972	200,470	176,537	177,155	33,582	16.8	13,666	40.7
1973	199,064	173,355	174,135	36,047	18.1	14,591	40.5
1974	198,824	170,678	172,107	39,063	19.6	15,800	40.4
1975	197,585	167,022	168,817	42,300	21.4	17,031	40.3
1976	186,844	155,679	157,412	43,098	23.1	17,499	40.6
1977	187,344	154,906	156,854	44,750	23.9	18,178	40.6
1978	185,523	151,884	154,016	46,254	24.9	18,892	40.8
1979	187,811	152,731	154,982	48,309	25.7	19,600	40.6
1980	191,069	154,138	156,918	50,600	26.5	20,422	40.4
1981	190,082	151,978	154,506	52,340	27.5	21,340	40.8
1982	188,360	149,419	152,825	52,979	28.1	21,438	40.5
1983	184,675	144,960	147,968	53,342	28.9	22,080	41.4
1984	185,597	144,674	147,907	55,436	29.9	23,177	41.8
1985	184,096	144,009	146,718	54,632	29.7	22,833	41.8
1986	175,518	137,665	138,523	52,678	30.0	22,170	42.1
1987	182,151	138,454	139,324	60,106	33.0	26,529	44.1
1988	187,728	142,956	143,943	61,665	32.8	26,892	43.6
1989	190,640	145,733	146,242	62,276	32.7	27,029	43.4
1990	187,737	143,637	145,350	60,393	32.2	26,094	43.2
1991	172,251	131,996	133,576	55,578	32.3	23,644	42.5
1992	164,573	125,505	126,955	53,547	32.5	23,139	43.2
1993	159,316	121,104	122,479	52,405	32.9	22,644	43.2
1994	159,959	121,497	122,642	52,758	33.0	23,021	43.6

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

Divorce

For several years now the number of divorces in Canada has remained stable at about half the number of marriages. In 1994, there were 78,800 divorces (Table A4 in the Appendix) and 160,000 marriages. ***The duration-specific divorce rate has been observed to be constant for several years now, and there have been only minor changes in the distribution of duration-specific rates***. It would therefore seem that the situation has stabilized for the time being (Table 7).

Regional differences remain intriguing. They are not only difficult to grasp in detail but also hard to explain. Unfortunately, there is no satisfactory method for measuring the intensity of the phenomenon; all require weighty hypotheses. Furthermore, divorce falls under federal jurisdiction, which means that people can obtain a divorce anywhere in Canada. The courts have a certain degree of autonomy and may handle divorce applications more or less quickly, depending on the number of requests and the personnel they have available. Thus, the pace at which divorce decrees are handed down may slow down or accelerate from time to time. Great prudence is also called for in interpreting variations in a given rate when analysing time series. Although the probability of divorcing between the ages of 15 and 50 may not be the best indicator for highlighting regional differences, it does reveal a few for which explanations will be suggested.

The ratio of the number of divorces in a five-year age group to the number of married women present at the middle of the period furnishes a divorce rate. This rate is transformed into a quotient for the period by the relationship $2({}_5t_x) / (2 + {}_5t_x)$. Since the quotient is the probability of getting divorced, when subtracted from one it is the probability of not getting divorced. By multiplying together these successive five-year probabilities from the youngest age (age 15) to the oldest (age 55), the probability of not getting divorced during the period is found and by subtracting from one, that of getting divorced. This is the index used.

Looking at the distribution of provincial indexes in Canada[3], one cannot help but notice that, regardless of the general fluctuations in levels over time, ***certain provinces such as British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario are always at the top of the list, while others are consistently at the bottom: the Atlantic provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan*** (Table 8). In each of the two groups, provinces are found showing differences among themselves on the various factors which might otherwise explain why they belong to the group (e.g., religion, language, ethnic origin, educational level), but in fact the only characteristic suggestive of an explanation and shared by all the provinces in

[3] The most readily available statistic and the most useful for present purposes is that of divorces by province where the decree was issued.

Table 7. Duration-Specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts 1943-1944 to 1993-1994

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

Year	Number of Marriages per Calendar Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration (in years)																										Year of Obser-vation	T.D.R [1]
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
1969	182,183	1968-69	176,975	3	22	53	83	122	158	182	184	171	165	160	153	148	146	133	112	103	121	139	118	106	98	90	81	80	68	1994	3,855
1970	188,428	1969-70	185,306	3	25	55	92	151	177	192	192	176	174	165	163	159	139	127	112	121	147	118	113	100	96	87	77	78			
1971	191,324	1970-71	189,876	4	28	61	106	161	186	189	191	184	180	173	166	151	132	115	129	151	121	113	101	96	93	86	83				
1972	200,490	1971-72	195,907	4	33	74	117	174	193	196	197	191	188	186	169	145	126	145	159	131	122	111	100	98	78	82					
1973	199,064	1972-73	199,777	5	36	83	129	181	203	212	211	206	204	180	155	135	152	175	138	126	111	103	99	101	89						
1974	198,824	1973-74	198,944	5	44	94	136	184	213	227	229	218	189	168	146	160	184	149	129	111	109	107	98	96							
1975	197,585	1974-75	198,205	6	52	104	147	199	225	242	234	214	185	163	172	197	150	139	130	111	111	104	94								
1976	193,343	1975-76	195,464	8	59	111	161	217	251	246	227	194	165	195	207	165	152	131	121	116	105	97									
1977	187,344	1976-77	190,344	8	63	116	162	227	250	240	208	180	200	225	181	158	143	127	117	123	106										
1978	185,523	1977-78	186,434	7	65	123	175	235	250	221	200	230	248	196	175	155	137	133	117	118											
1979	187,811	1978-79	186,667	8	58	132	185	226	226	211	252	274	211	185	164	152	141	129	120												
1980	191,069	1979-80	189,440	7	65	135	176	206	210	268	297	227	207	184	169	152	132	124													
1981	190,082	1980-81	190,576	8	71	133	154	190	269	316	250	218	189	181	162	163	134														
1982	188,360	1981-82	189,221	9	65	118	144	260	326	263	232	216	193	181	165	168															
1983	184,675	1982-83	186,518	8	64	109	209	322	273	247	219	201	184	173	161																
1984	185,597	1983-84	185,136	8	63	150	270	263	253	237	213	208	172	160																	
1985	184,096	1984-85	184,847	8	72	212	249	260	251	231	221	219	188																		
1986	175,518	1985-86	179,807	10	103	217	265	263	248	240	224	224																			
1987	182,151	1986-87	178,835	20	106	216	251	259	253	240	221																				
1988	187,728	1987-88	184,940	19	106	214	252	261	227	222																					
1989	190,640	1988-89	189,184	19	109	210	267	291	258																						
1990	187,738	1989-90	189,189	17	110	233	275	296																							
1991	172,251	1990-91	179,994	19	118	231	278																								
1992	164,573	1991-92	168,412	21	114	229																									
1993	159,316	1992-93	161,945	24	139																										
1994	159,95	1993-94	159,638	24																											

[1] Total Divorce Rate.
Note: Rates after 1980 have been revised.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 8. Probability of Divorce Between Ages 15 and 55, Women, by Province, 1980, 1987, 1990 and 1994

Rank	1980		1987		1990		1994	
	Province	In %	Province	In %	Province	In %	Province	In %
1	Newfoundland	3.2	Newfoundland	7.1	Newfoundland	7.0	Prince Edward Island	6.5
2	Prince Edward Island	4.6	Prince Edward Island	7.9	Prince Edward Island	8.9	Newfoundland	7.6
3	New Brunswick	5.8	New Brunswick	10.8	New Brunswick	9.2	New Brunswick	7.6
4	Saskatchewan	6.2	Saskatchewan	11.3	Manitoba	10.6	Nova Scotia	9.4
5	**Quebec**	**6.4**	**Quebec**	**11.6**	Saskatchewan	10.7	Manitoba	9.7
6	Manitoba	6.9	Nova Scotia	11.9	Nova Scotia	10.8	Saskatchewan	10.0
7	Ontario	7.7	Manitoba	13.9	Ontario	12.2	Ontario	11.6
8	Nova Scotia	8.3	Ontario	14.0	British Columbia	12.7	Alberta	12.1
9	Alberta	10.2	Alberta	14.1	**Quebec**	**13.1**	British Columbia	12.4
10	British Columbia	10.5	British Columbia	15.3	Alberta	13.5	**Quebec**	**13.1**

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

each group is their situation with regard to migration. The three provinces with the highest divorce rates are also those that have had on average a positive balance of migration, while those with the lowest divorce rates are the ones where net migration has almost always been negative. Migration is known to be selective on more than one count. Age and education are certainly important factors, but individual characteristics and personality traits also play a role. Of course, the majority of persons who get a divorce in a province are usual residents of that province, but it is at least possible that people who migrate are also those who possess characteristics that make them more likely to divorce. For a certain number of people, migration may also offer an opportunity to do something that they would otherwise not be able to do in their own community, or country in the case of international immigrants. Furthermore, the act of migration itself may place a strain on a couple. A new social milieu, new jobs or new responsibilities may bring out certain personality traits that make it difficult for the couple to continue living together as they did in the community they left behind.

Note also that the provinces with the highest divorce rates are also the most urbanized. It would not be wrong to make a connection but it would not add much since very few internal or international migrants show much interest in moving to rural areas. By the same logic, the regions that are losing population are keeping those individuals least at risk for divorce.

These considerations form only one part of an explanation of the higher divorce rates observed in certain provinces and do not claim to make migratory phenomena the motor driving divorce. Quebec is a case in point. The province is more often a loser than a winner in terms of migration, yet the divorce rate has been rising for several years, and in 1994 Quebec ranked first in terms of intensity. Unlike a total rate, the index used does not take into account the relatively smaller proportion of married people in Quebec, since it is the multiplied rate of the five-year probabilities of divorce per 100 women in the fictitious cohort. In

the case of Quebec, sociodemographic changes among its residents are recent and profound. The other reasons for having recourse to divorce are too numerous and powerful to permit any visible effect stemming from migratory phenomena.

FERTILITY

Like most of the other demographic indexes for Canada, those for fertility have been virtually stationary for several years now. Given that the levels are low, the best one can say is that there has been a barely visible downward trend. With minor fluctuations, the total fertility rate has fallen from 1.71 to 1.64 children per woman. At the same time, some changes between regions have been evident (Table 9).

Quebec is no longer the province with the lowest fertility. Its place at the bottom of the list has been taken by Newfoundland, which registered the lowest level ever reached by any province, 1.25 children per woman. Overall, fertility levels in the Atlantic provinces weakened somewhat more than those elsewhere in the country. It may also be observed that all provinces are now well below the replacement level while just ten years ago Saskatchewan was still just about there while Manitoba was not far below.

It may be noted that the index for the second child in Quebec, which was usually distinctly below that for the rest of Canada, is now the same but that those for higher-order births remain very weak. From the point of view of timing, from puberty to the 30s an upward trend is evident in the indexes for Quebec and a downward trend in the rest of the country. Even in the 30-34 age group, the difference, to Quebec's disadvantage, is smaller now than it used to be. Above this age, the fertility of Quebec women remains lower than that of other Canadian women (Table 9).

The results of the Quebec family policy implemented around 1985 will never be known with certainty. Is the recovery in fertility at the beginning of the 1990s to be credited to it, while the unfortunate consequences of economic recession prevented more obvious results or, as others have claimed, was it completely ineffective and unrelated to the slight rise in births registered by the province? In either case, it will remain as one of the first manifestations of a concern to renew the population in the post-transition period in North America.

Childbearing in Cohorts of Women Born Between 1931 and 1955

Although demographers and sociologists have always studied fertility using administrative and survey data, the data from the General Social Survey have been exploited to confirm, through the answers given by the respondents, how the fall in fertility evolved from the end of the baby boom to the cohorts now coming to the end of their fertile period.

Table 9. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada[1], 1983-1994

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate		
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada
1	1983	12.47	23.31	51.46	51.94	49.77	48.84	16.08	19.40	3.71	4.57	0.46	0.51	0.6697	0.7429	0.7232
	1984	12.39	22.56	48.69	49.46	49.66	49.14	15.96	20.46	3.91	4.74	0.53	0.54	0.6558	0.7345	0.7136
	1985	12.48	21.57	46.94	47.02	49.93	49.11	16.81	20.74	3.95	4.71	0.47	0.56	0.6529	0.7185	0.7014
	1986	12.97	21.08	46.82	45.67	49.60	48.18	17.41	20.48	4.42	5.03	0.49	0.66	0.6586	0.7055	0.6935
	1987	13.43	20.40	45.37	43.84	50.71	47.49	18.44	20.84	4.45	5.40	0.65	0.72	0.6653	0.6934	0.6864
	1988	13.90	20.76	48.22	43.94	53.93	49.52	19.22	22.13	4.71	6.05	0.69	0.77	0.7033	0.7158	0.7129
	1989	14.86	22.16	50.75	45.02	57.70	50.16	21.45	23.51	5.19	6.28	0.64	0.85	0.7529	0.7399	0.7435
	1990	15.66	22.83	53.08	45.04	60.44	52.55	23.54	25.16	5.64	6.88	0.66	0.89	0.7951	0.7667	0.7739
	1991	14.93	23.55	52.24	43.64	61.30	50.77	24.27	24.92	6.22	7.00	0.73	0.90	0.7984	0.7539	0.7647
	1992	15.05	22.74	48.66	41.64	59.87	50.61	24.68	25.82	6.09	7.30	0.78	0.99	0.7756	0.7455	0.7524
	1993	14.61	22.06	47.00	40.66	55.80	49.54	24.46	26.67	6.25	7.67	0.86	1.10	0.7449	0.7386	0.7393
	1994	14.80	22.17	46.28	39.97	53.27	49.85	24.18	27.74	6.48	7.92	0.88	1.19	0.7295	0.7442	0.7397
2	1983	1.54	4.29	21.88	30.07	47.39	46.29	25.03	27.57	5.29	6.66	0.61	0.76	0.5087	0.5782	0.5593
	1984	1.59	4.18	21.58	29.56	48.53	47.31	26.52	28.77	5.69	7.38	0.61	0.71	0.5226	0.5895	0.5716
	1985	1.63	4.08	20.53	28.43	47.13	47.66	26.02	29.77	5.77	7.72	0.58	0.79	0.5083	0.5922	0.5699
	1986	1.65	3.86	18.73	27.07	45.90	47.41	25.03	30.54	5.71	8.16	0.67	0.81	0.4885	0.5893	0.5626
	1987	1.86	4.02	19.12	25.80	43.87	46.43	25.36	31.19	6.05	8.78	0.68	0.95	0.4847	0.5859	0.5592
	1988	1.78	3.75	19.54	25.30	43.98	44.99	27.13	31.40	6.75	9.26	0.83	1.12	0.5000	0.5791	0.5584
	1989	1.93	4.06	20.62	25.01	45.31	44.70	28.65	32.39	7.05	9.63	0.73	1.10	0.5215	0.5845	0.5681
	1990	2.21	4.14	21.79	24.60	48.96	44.41	31.51	33.84	7.98	10.15	0.91	1.20	0.5668	0.5917	0.5853
	1991	2.10	4.30	22.14	24.05	48.38	43.42	32.16	33.20	7.82	10.42	0.85	1.16	0.5673	0.5827	0.5789
	1992	2.36	4.56	21.97	23.83	49.25	43.08	33.20	34.59	8.68	10.74	0.94	1.40	0.5820	0.5911	0.5888
	1993	2.29	4.47	22.09	22.73	47.64	41.38	33.57	33.76	8.72	11.18	1.11	1.42	0.5771	0.5748	0.5751
	1994	2.26	4.43	21.66	22.47	47.49	40.89	34.31	34.60	9.14	11.64	1.06	1.53	0.5797	0.5778	0.5779
3	1983	0.14	0.44	3.87	8.05	14.57	19.49	14.02	16.40	4.07	5.44	0.54	0.60	0.1860	0.2521	0.2341
	1984	0.10	0.44	3.69	7.83	14.06	19.49	13.79	17.25	4.31	5.60	0.57	0.65	0.1826	0.2563	0.2364
	1985	0.15	0.45	3.63	7.73	13.68	19.41	13.17	17.32	4.26	5.84	0.51	0.70	0.1770	0.2572	0.2356
	1986	0.18	0.48	3.36	7.42	13.05	19.19	12.20	17.60	4.30	6.05	0.57	0.74	0.1683	0.2574	0.2336
	1987	0.18	0.42	3.50	7.25	12.17	18.53	11.61	17.58	3.88	6.33	0.57	0.76	0.1595	0.2544	0.2290
	1988	0.18	0.48	3.55	7.16	12.37	18.20	12.18	17.84	4.07	6.73	0.52	0.84	0.1644	0.2563	0.2320
	1989	0.22	0.48	4.28	7.19	13.85	17.69	13.86	18.41	4.61	7.08	0.65	0.96	0.1873	0.2591	0.2403
	1990	0.17	0.50	4.49	7.08	15.03	17.17	15.14	18.33	5.21	7.25	0.58	0.91	0.2032	0.2562	0.2425
	1991	0.19	0.51	4.61	6.98	15.09	16.76	15.74	18.49	5.46	7.20	0.66	0.89	0.2087	0.2542	0.2428
	1992	0.24	0.59	4.95	6.95	15.36	16.21	16.55	17.83	5.63	7.31	0.80	0.93	0.2176	0.2491	0.2413
	1993	0.25	0.56	5.28	6.83	14.77	15.15	15.89	17.45	5.55	7.13	0.73	0.96	0.2123	0.2404	0.2335
	1994	0.28	0.57	5.22	6.94	15.22	14.81	15.92	16.81	5.79	7.30	0.82	1.05	0.2162	0.2374	0.2322

See notes at the end of the Table.

Table 9. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada[1], 1983-1994 - Concluded

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate		
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada
4	1983	0.01	0.03	0.58	1.48	2.77	5.17	3.89	5.83	1.93	2.77	0.34	0.47	0.0476	0.0788	0.0703
	1984	0.02	0.04	0.51	1.47	2.61	5.34	3.64	5.82	1.74	2.73	0.33	0.43	0.0443	0.0792	0.0697
	1985	0.02	0.04	0.47	1.44	2.44	5.22	3.48	5.96	1.83	2.84	0.28	0.54	0.0426	0.0802	0.0700
	1986	0.02	0.03	0.48	1.48	2.39	5.16	3.31	5.95	1.70	2.83	0.37	0.49	0.0413	0.0797	0.0694
	1987	0.02	0.04	0.50	1.50	2.21	5.02	3.19	5.71	1.67	2.86	0.35	0.46	0.0397	0.0780	0.0677
	1988	0.02	0.05	0.54	1.48	2.40	4.94	3.07	5.78	1.69	2.91	0.43	0.49	0.0407	0.0783	0.0683
	1989	0.01	0.05	0.58	1.57	2.59	4.87	3.65	6.13	1.67	3.07	0.35	0.56	0.0442	0.0813	0.0716
	1990	0.00	0.04	0.75	1.65	2.79	4.73	3.95	6.02	2.24	3.11	0.35	0.54	0.0504	0.0805	0.0727
	1991	0.01	0.05	0.81	1.65	3.22	4.69	4.18	6.03	2.11	3.22	0.35	0.47	0.0535	0.0805	0.0737
	1992	0.03	0.06	0.91	1.68	3.13	4.53	4.35	5.84	2.20	3.02	0.42	0.53	0.0552	0.0783	0.0726
	1993	0.02	0.05	0.82	1.57	3.05	4.31	4.49	5.67	2.23	3.16	0.45	0.56	0.0553	0.0766	0.0713
	1994	0.02	0.06	1.12	1.61	3.43	4.31	4.74	5.53	2.50	3.04	0.49	0.57	0.0615	0.0756	0.0722
5+	1983	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.33	0.69	1.86	1.39	3.05	1.22	2.23	0.49	0.75	0.0195	0.0411	0.0352
	1984	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.33	0.65	1.85	1.33	2.96	1.22	2.33	0.39	0.73	0.0183	0.0410	0.0348
	1985	0.00	0.01	0.08	0.37	0.66	1.85	1.13	2.91	1.03	2.12	0.33	0.67	0.0162	0.0396	0.0332
	1986	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.36	0.67	1.81	1.28	2.83	1.07	2.07	0.36	0.65	0.0174	0.0387	0.0329
	1987	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.34	0.64	1.85	1.17	2.87	0.94	2.19	0.34	0.71	0.0160	0.0398	0.0334
	1988	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.38	0.62	1.71	1.31	2.97	1.18	2.11	0.40	0.68	0.0180	0.0393	0.0336
	1989	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.41	0.77	1.76	1.60	2.87	1.30	2.15	0.35	0.63	0.0207	0.0391	0.0342
	1990	0.01	0.01	0.14	0.44	0.76	1.91	1.51	2.92	1.30	2.27	0.39	0.67	0.0206	0.0411	0.0357
	1991	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.43	0.80	1.94	1.62	2.99	1.39	2.27	0.34	0.59	0.0214	0.0412	0.0362
	1992	0.00	0.01	0.20	0.41	0.96	1.96	1.68	2.95	1.33	2.28	0.37	0.68	0.0227	0.0414	0.0367
	1993	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.35	0.65	1.24	1.12	1.70	0.78	1.09	0.18	0.28	0.0144	0.0234	0.0211
	1994	0.00	0.04	0.19	0.54	1.14	2.05	1.78	2.94	1.37	2.23	0.45	0.67	0.0247	0.0423	0.0380
All Orders	1983	14.16	28.07	77.89	91.88	115.18	121.65	60.40	72.26	16.23	21.66	2.43	3.09	1.4315	1.6931	1.6221
	1984	14.10	27.23	74.54	88.65	115.53	123.13	61.23	75.26	16.86	22.78	2.43	3.06	1.4235	1.7006	1.6261
	1985	14.28	26.15	71.65	85.00	113.84	123.25	60.62	76.70	16.84	23.22	2.16	3.26	1.3970	1.6878	1.6101
	1986	14.82	25.46	69.49	82.01	111.60	121.75	59.24	77.40	17.19	24.14	2.47	3.35	1.3740	1.6705	1.5920
	1987	15.49	24.89	68.60	78.74	109.60	119.32	59.75	78.19	16.99	25.56	2.59	3.60	1.3651	1.6515	1.5758
	1988	15.87	25.04	71.95	78.26	113.30	119.37	62.90	80.13	18.39	27.05	2.87	3.90	1.4265	1.6687	1.6051
	1989	17.02	26.76	76.34	79.19	120.21	119.17	69.20	83.33	19.82	28.21	2.72	4.11	1.5266	1.7039	1.6577
	1990	18.06	27.53	80.26	78.80	127.98	120.77	75.66	86.27	22.38	29.66	2.89	4.21	1.6361	1.7362	1.7101
	1991	17.23	28.41	79.95	76.76	128.79	117.58	77.96	85.63	23.00	30.11	2.93	4.01	1.6493	1.7125	1.6963
	1992	17.70	27.95	76.69	74.51	128.56	116.39	80.46	87.03	23.92	30.65	3.31	4.54	1.6532	1.7054	1.6917
	1993	17.17	27.15	75.32	72.13	121.92	111.62	79.53	85.26	23.51	30.23	3.32	4.33	1.6039	1.6536	1.6403
	1994	17.37	27.27	74.47	71.54	120.55	111.91	80.93	87.62	25.29	32.13	3.69	5.01	1.6115	1.6774	1.6600

[1] 1983 to 1990 excluding Newfoundland.

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

Fertility is usually considered complete by age 49, but so few children are born to women after 44, or even 39, that fertility can be regarded as to all intents and purposes complete by age 40. If this assumption is accepted, women born as recently as the mid-1950s can be included in an examination of completed fertility. Statistics Canada's General Social Survey, 1995, has recently been released and makes possible a review of the completed fertility of women born between 1931 and 1955, who therefore reached their peak childbearing years in the period spanning the latter half of the baby boom and the subsequent baby bust. While no strikingly new findings emerge, these data confirm the trends revealed by other data sources and provide some additional depth.

One of the fundamental changes now taking place in marriage and childbearing is that fertility is less closely tied to marital status than in the past. As more and more women have interrupted marital histories, and as more and more childbearing takes place outside of marriage, previous studies limited to ever-married or continuously married women lose their relevance, and a more inclusive view is required. The 1991 Census of Canada was the first to ask all women over 15 the number of live births they have ever had; previously, only ever-married women were asked the question. The General Social Survey also permits an analysis of fertility without reference to marital status.

The simplest ways to summarize childbearing are to give the distribution of women by the number of children they have ever borne, or reduce this to the average number of children they have had, as shown in Table 10. To evaluate the quality of the General Social Survey data, estimates from the 1991 Census and from the 1995 General Social Survey are included for women of the same cohorts. For General Social Survey data, only births before Census Day 1991 are included. The two populations are not exactly the same, since the General Social Survey is a sample of the 1995 population (the 1991 population diminished by deaths and emigration and increased by immigration), but the changes are small. In addition, the data collection methods differ. The two sets of estimates will, therefore, not correspond exactly.

Looking first at the percentage of women having a given number of children, the smaller the percentage the more the General Social Survey tends to deviate from the census. For older age groups of women and for cases where few women have the particular number of children, the deviation can approach 50%. However, ignoring fourth and higher births, and cases where estimates must be interpreted with caution, the General Social Survey deviates from the census by less than 10% in the majority of cases for age groups of women under 55, and never by as much as 20%, and for older women by 17% to 27%. Finally, the General Social Survey overestimates the mean number of children per woman by between 1% and 6%, a very small difference. This suggests that General Social Survey estimates can be used with due caution,

Table 10. Women Aged 35-64 in 1991 by Five-Year Age Group and Number of Children Ever Born by Census Day, 1991, Comparing the 1991 Census and the General Social Survey, 1995, Percentages, Canada

Number of Children	Age in 1991 and Birth Cohort of Woman											
	35-39 (1952-56)		40-44 (1947-51)		45-49 (1942-46)		50-54 (1937-41)		55-59 (1932-36)		60-64 (1927-31)	
	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children
	1991 Census											
0	19.8	...	15.9	...	13.7	...	12.1	...	12.0	...	13.4	...
1	16.1	9.0	14.5	7.3	12.4	5.6	9.9	3.7	8.6	2.8	9.1	2.8
2	38.9	43.4	40.2	40.8	36.0	32.2	27.5	20.5	21.6	14.0	20.0	12.4
3	18.3	30.6	20.3	30.9	22.7	30.5	24.1	26.9	22.0	21.4	19.4	18.1
4	5.0	11.2	6.4	12.9	9.4	16.7	13.7	20.4	15.5	20.1	14.7	18.3
5+	1.8	5.8	2.8	8.1	5.7	15.0	12.7	28.5	20.3	41.7	23.4	48.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (in thousands)	1,150	2,062	1,044	2,057	817	1,828	660	1,770	616	1,901	600	1,925
Children per Woman	...	1.79	...	1.97	...	2.24	...	2.68	...	3.08	...	3.21
	General Social Survey, 1995											
0	19.1	...	12.8	...	12.1 *	...	10.7 *	...	13.0 *	...	10.5 *	...
1	14.6	7.9	13.7	6.7	9.5 *	4.1 *	11.1 *	4.0 *	12.0 *	3.8 *	**	**
2	38.3	41.3	42.1	41.4	41.5	35.7	26.1	18.8	15.9	10.2	24.8	14.5
3	19.6	31.7	23.0	34.0	21.1	27.3	27.4	29.6	16.7	16.0	10.9 *	9.6 *
4	7.1 *	15.4 *	6.8 *	13.4 *	6.8 *	11.8 *	8.0 *	11.5 *	16.1	20.7	13.3 *	15.6 *
5+	**	**	**	**	8.9 *	21.2 *	16.8	36.0	26.4	49.2	33.1	58.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (in thousands)	1,167	2,160	1,039	2,112	862	2,004	661	1,833	613	1,911	625	2,131
Children per Woman	...	1.85	...	2.03	...	2.33	...	2.77	...	3.12	...	3.41

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, catalogue no. 93-321, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Table 11. Parity Progression Ratios by Specified Ages in 1991 by Five-Year Birth Cohorts of Women Born 1927-1956, Comparing the 1991 Census and the 1995 General Social Survey, Canada

Parity Progression Ratio	Birth Cohort of Woman					
	1927-31	1932-36	1937-41	1942-46	1947-51	1952-56
	By Age 50			By 45-49	By 40-44	By 35-39
	1991 Census					
a_0	866	880	879	863	841	802
a_1	895	903	887	856	828	799
a_2	742	728	647	512	422	393
a_3	663	619	523	399	311	273
a_4	615	568	482	380	305	267
	General Social Survey, 1995					
a_0	895	870	893	879	872	809
a_1	918	862	876	892	843	819
a_2	698	788	666	471	428	423

Note: a_0: proportion of women who proceed to have at least a first child.
a_1: proportion of women who, having had a first child, proceed to have at least a second.
a_2: proportion of women who, having had two children, proceed to have at least a third.
All births are assumed to have occurred by age 50, and only births before Census Day 1991 are included.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, catalogue no. 93-321, table 2, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

and also that summary measures, like the mean number of children per woman, as well as the parity progression ratios and birth intervals to be discussed below, are much closer to census estimates than estimates of percentages of women having specified numbers of children.

The three oldest cohorts in Table 10, women born from 1927-1931 to 1937-1941, represent those whose childbearing began at the peak of the baby boom while subsequent cohorts are increasingly those of the baby bust. Analysis is limited to women under 65 to avoid recall problems. All cohorts can be assumed to have completed their fertility, although the assumption is weaker for the youngest cohort, women born from 1952 to 1956. The sharp decline in the proportion of women with large completed fertilities over these six cohorts is evident. Taking the census data, in the 1927-1931 cohort, 38% of women have had four or more children, and two-thirds of all children are in families of this size. By the 1952-1956 cohort, 7% of women have had four or more children, and fewer than a fifth of children are in this large a family. At the same time, the proportion of children in families of two or three children rises from 31% in the oldest cohort to 74% in the youngest. The result is a steady decline in the number of children per woman, from 3.2 in the 1927-1931 cohort to 1.8 in the 1952-1956 cohort.

The numbers on which the percentages in Table 10 are based can be used to calculate a measure of the dynamics of childbearing, the parity progression ratio, the proportion of women who, not having had a child, have at least a first child, or the proportion of women who, having had a first child, go on to have at least a second child, etc. Table 11 compares parity progression ratios estimated using the 1991 Census and the 1995 General Social Survey. For the former, the first five ratios are shown but, to restrict the analysis to reliable estimates, only the first three are shown for the latter. All women are included without regard to marital status, so that these ratios are not directly comparable to those limited to ever-married women.

The greater stability of these estimates compared to those reported above is evident: the General Social Survey is mostly within 5% of the census estimates and never deviates by as much as 10%. The data suggest a pattern widely observed not only in Canada but in other developed countries: high ratios for the transition to the first birth and, for those who have had a first birth, to the second birth, although there is evidence also of a slow decline over time. For higher-order births, radical changes are observed. The proportion of those who, having had a second child, go on to have at least a third declines from 742 per 1,000 in the 1927-1931 cohort to only 393 per 1,000 in the 1952-1956 cohort. The parity progression ratios at higher parities for women in the 1927-1931 cohort have already declined somewhat from those observed among women born before the turn of the century. Reporting findings from the 1961 census for women born in 1896 and earlier, who would therefore have begun their childbearing during World War I or earlier, J. Henripin[4] found the first five parity progression ratios of 872, 861, 794, 769 and 762 per 1,000 women. These ratios indicate that 60%[5] of women born in 1896 or earlier would have had three or more children compared to 58% of women born between 1927 and 1931, while 35% of the former but only 23% of the latter would have had five or more children. By the 1952-1956 cohort, these numbers have fallen to 25% having three or more children and 2% having five or more, although observation is cut short at ages 35 to 39.

So far, data from the General Social Survey have been used only for comparisons to 1991 census data, but the Survey's full value is realised when it is used to investigate fertility in 1995. Table 12 shows parity progression ratios for women at the ages of 39 and 44 in 1995. Because they are estimates derived from a sample of the total population, they are inherently variable, and increasingly so as the sample size diminishes. For this reason, only the first three ratios are presented, to first birth, from first birth to second birth,

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[4] Statistics Canada, ***Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada***, catalogue no. 99-541E, Ottawa, 1972, Table 2.11.

[5] This percentage and the following are found by multiplying successive ratios: 0.872 x 0.861 x 0.794 = 0.596.

Table 12. Parity Progression Ratios for the First Three Births by Ages 39 and 44, by Birth Cohort of Women Born 1931-1955, Canada, 1995

Age and Parity Progression Ratio	Birth Cohort of Woman					Total
	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55	
	Year of Reaching Age 20					
	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	
	Year of Completing Age 39					
	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	
	Year of Completing Age 44					
	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95		
	per 1,000 Women					
By Age 39						
a_0	837	886	875	847	824	854
a_1	842	862	895	845	846	858
a_2	783	679	469	419	457	529
By Age 44						
a_0	837	891	875	851	■	864
a_1	842	857	895	840	■	859
a_2	783	673	471	412	■	553

Note: a_0: proportion of women who proceed to have at least a first child.
a_1: proportion of women who, having had a first child, proceed to have at least a second.
a_2: proportion of women who, having had two children, proceed to have at least a third.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, catalogue no. 93-321, table 2, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

and from second birth to third birth. Although all the ratios given are statistically reliable, small deviations from the trend should nonetheless be treated with caution.

Childbearing by age 44 is measured for four cohorts, women born 1931-1935 to 1946-1950. ***Of women completing their childbearing in 1991-1995, only two out of five of those having a second child went on to have a third. Just 15 years earlier, over three-quarters of women completing their childbearing in 1976-1980 went on to have a third child***. This change in the third parity progression ratio has a marked effect on completed fertility: 55% of women born in 1931-1935 had at least three children, while 31% of women born in 1946-1950 did so.

By restricting the definition of the fertile period to ages 15 to 39, an extra cohort, women born from 1951 to 1955, is added to the analysis. Their peak childbearing would be at ages 25 to 29, in 1976-1980. A comparison of the youngest, 1951-1955, cohort to the preceding one shows that part of the

Table 13. Median Duration of Birth Interval[1] in Months for Women Born 1931-1955, Canada, 1995

Birth Interval	Birth Cohort of Women				
	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55
1st	101.9	100.6	102.4	120.5	124.9
2nd	29.6	29.5	30.9	36.9	34.7
3rd	32.3	41.5	■	■	218.6

[1] The time in months within which one-half of all women having a child have a child of a higher order. Thus, the calculation of the median duration is impossible when half of the women at risk of a birth of higher order in the life table constructed to take censoring into account have not had the child in question.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

pattern, a slow decline in the proportions proceeding to a first birth, is continuing, but there is no evidence of a continuing decline in the proportion proceeding from a first birth to a second birth or from a second birth to a third birth, and there may even be some recovery. In addition, the proportion having at least three children is virtually unchanged from the previous cohort. The slight upturn in the third ratio may represent mere random variation in the sample. There is thus reason to believe that the changes observed since the peak of the baby boom in the first three parity progression ratios may finally be stabilizing.

In one case, the birth cohort 1941-1945, the third parity progression ratio by age 39 is slightly higher than that by age 44, which might be thought to be logically impossible. This is not so, however. It can be due to some women having a second birth between 39 and 44, and so being added to the denominator of the ratio, but not having a third birth and so not contributing to the numerator.

An important dimension of childbearing on which the General Social Survey, but not the census, throws light is the timing of births. Once again, the growing dissociation between marriage and childbearing makes it appropriate to find a more neutral starting point for birth intervals than marriage, and age 15 is used instead. The first birth interval is thus the time elapsed between age 15 and a first birth, the second birth interval is the time elapsed between the first birth and the second birth, etc. Estimates of the first three intervals for the five cohorts of women born between 1931 and 1955 are shown in Table 13. The summary measure of the interval is the median duration, the halfway point in the distribution of women by the time elapsed from the previous event (reaching age 15 or the earlier birth), to either the next birth or the survey date if they do not have another birth. Hence, half of women have the specified birth in a shorter length of time than the median, and half have it in a longer length of time, or reach the survey date without having it. For the 1941-1945 to 1951-1955 cohorts, the median third birth interval either does not exist or

is very long: what is happening is that the proportion of women going on to have a third birth is very close to half by the time they reach age 40, slightly under for the 1941-1945 and 1946-1950 cohorts, and slightly over for the 1951-1955 cohort. In the older cohorts, half of women who have had a second birth have gone on to have a third birth within about three years.

The data show that birth intervals are increasing over these five cohorts. For example, ***the first interval, between age 15 and the first birth, lengthens from a median of 102 months in the 1931-1935 cohort*** (the median age of women at their first birth is 23.7) ***to 125 months in the 1951-1955 cohort*** (a median age of 25.6). Taken with the parity progression ratios, the summary conclusion is that, while few women are forgoing childbearing altogether, many are having their children later. There is however, a significant difference in the pattern shown by birth intervals and parity progression ratios. In the case of birth intervals, most change is in the first, which lengthens by almost two years between the 1931-1935 cohort and the 1951-1955 cohort. In contrast, the second birth interval lengthens by only about half a year. As observed above, the major change in the parity progression ratios is in the third ratio and higher. ***In other words, women have been increasingly delaying their first child and forgoing a third child***. However, it should be noted that the widespread belief that the two-child family is now the norm is somewhat exaggerated. ***Although the 30% of women in the 1946-1950 cohort who have had at least three children by age 39 are far from being a majority, they are also by no means a negligible proportion***.

Abortions[6]

Since abortion ceased to be illegal in Canada, the number of clinics where voluntary interruptions of pregnancy may be obtained has increased; with the exception of Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island, all provinces have such clinics.[7] As a result, the number of interruptions performed in clinics continues to grow. Looking back, it becomes apparent that voluntary interruptions of pregnancy were underestimated prior to 1990 by the number of abortions, illegal except in Quebec, that were not counted as therapeutic. From 1989 to 1990, there was almost no increase in the number of abortions performed in hospitals, but the number performed in clinics increased by 187%. However the Canadian Institute for Health Information (C.I.H.I.) to which Statistics Canada transfered the data collection activities in 1995 still does not have complete information on the subject. Since January 1988, when the Supreme Court of Canada completely decriminalized abortions, the collection of data has become more difficult. When most hospitals continue to report the number of abortions performed, along with the demographic and medical characteristics

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[6] Understood as voluntary interruptions of pregnancy.
[7] There are none in Yukon or the Northwest Territories.

Table 14. Rate by Age and Total Rate of Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy, Canada, 1993 and 1994

Age Group	1993			1994		
	Population (thousands)	Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy	Rate (per 1,000)	Population (thousands)	Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy	Rate (per 1,000)
> 15	187.7	664	36	193.4	561	29
15-17	564.4	8,306	147	568.8	8,486	149
18-19	380.6	11,378	299	388.5	12,540	323
20-24	1,014.6	31,226	308	1,015.0	31,868	314
25-29	1,158.0	23,323	201	1,137.9	23,026	202
30-34	1,300.9	17,015	131	1,322.6	16,723	126
35-39	1,231.8	9,544	77	1,267.0	9,978	79
40-44	1,091.9	2,947	27	1,127.7	3,073	27
Total Rate	**...**	**...**	**47.95**	**...**	**...**	**48.62**

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

of the women, some have stopped the compilation and reporting of demographic characteristics. For clinics, data collection is less complete and less consistent. While most clinics provide Statistics Canada (and now the Institute) with the information requested, a few report only partial information or, in a limited number of cases, no information. Some provinces collect information from clinics themselves and then forward it to the agency. If they do not, the numbers have to be traced from the patient's place of residence that appears in the records of the province where the procedure was performed. Further complicating matters is the fact that information available one year may not have been available the previous year, nor will it necessarily be available the next year. Notwithstanding such problems in data collection, regularity in the time series gives some confidence in the trends observed. Also, a comparison of the demographic characteristics of women who choose clinics over hospitals in Ontario and Alberta leads to the conclusion that there is no great difference between the clienteles of the two types of establishment; it therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the situation is likely to be similar elsewhere. It thus seems appropriate to apply conclusions based on the part to the whole.

Compared to 1994 figures for age-specific voluntary interruptions of pregnancy, almost all the rates have increased slightly (Table 14). The total rate is therefore also somewhat higher. The rate of 0.48 means that 1,000 Canadian women will have 480 abortions during their childbearing years. This does not mean that one in every two women will have an abortion, since some women have more than one; also, the calculation is based on the fictitious cohort and not on a real one. However, these statistics do show that the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy is on the rise.

Table 15. Number of Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy by Province of Residence, Canada, 1994

Province	Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy (V.I.P.)			Births	Ratio VIP / Births (%)
	In Hospital (1)	In a Clinic (2)	Total (3)	(4)	(3) / (4)
Newfoundland	485	406	891	6,337	14.1
Prince Edward Island	6	159	165	1,716	**9.6**
Nova Scotia	1,823	228	2,051	11,099	18.5
New Brunswick	617	235	852	8,978	**9.5**
Quebec	17,459	9,928	27,387	90,578	30.2
Ontario	29,743	15,363	45,106	147,068	30.7
Manitoba	2,858	593	3,451	18,480	18.7
Saskatchewan	1,741	107	1,848	14,038	**13.2**
Alberta	6,713	2,296	9,009	39,796	22.6
British Columbia	9,718	4,196	13,914	46,998	29.6
Yukon	138	2	140	442	31.7
Northwest Territories	267	7	274	1,580	17.3
Residence Not Stated	62	767	829	**...**	**...**
Total	71,630	34,287	105,917	387,110	**27.4**

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Therapeutic Abortions***, catalogue no. 82-219, ***Births***, catalogue no. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

From one year to the next, the number of second abortions is also increasing.[8] First abortions represented 89% of the total in 1975, but only 66% in 1994. These figures lead us to believe that the number of women who resort more than once to an abortion is increasing over time.

In any given year, comparing the number of abortions to the number of births gives a ratio that allows for comparisons over time and with other countries. This ratio is rising quite rapidly in Canada, increasing from 18.6% in 1978 to 27.4% in 1994 (see "Canada and the World" above). Births are declining as the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy increases but it would be wrong to conclude that, in a country like Canada, it is voluntary interruptions of pregnancy that are responsible for the decline in births.

There was a time when, for various reasons, such as the notoriety surrounding an unwanted pregnancy or the lack of properly equipped clinics, women had to leave home to obtain a voluntary interruption of pregnancy, but those days are long gone. We need only look at the change in the number of abortions performed in U.S. border states. In 1971, 17% of all known procedures performed on Canadian women took place in these states, but in recent years, the figure has dropped to a negligible proportion (about 3 per 1,000). Note also that, with the exception of provinces that do not have adequate

[8] Statistics Canada, ***Therapeutic Abortions 1994***, catalogue no. 82-319-XPB, pages 22-23.

clinics or hospital facilities, very few women interrupt a pregnancy in a province other than their province of residence: according to hospital data, only a few hundred do so.

MORTALITY

Deaths

As suspected last year, the increase in the number of deaths in 1993 (8,377) has proved to be merely a surprising surge, not uncommonly observed, short-lived and largely due to the flu. The increase in 1994 was 2,165, which is perfectly in keeping with the average increase in recent years. In 1995, the number of deaths increased by 3,425 (Table A7 in the Appendix). This annual increase does not signify a rise in mortality: it is inevitable in a growing population where older people constitute an increasingly large share. In fact, the mortality rate continues to drop, albeit slowly, as we will see when we look at the changes in age-specific deaths and the parameters of the life table. However, before examining the major causes of death, deaths due to HIV will be reviewed. Alzheimer's disease—an illness that is of increasing concern due to Canada's aging population—and suicide will also be touched on.

Deaths Due to AIDS

Curious developments have occurred in the mere eight years that HIV mortality has been observed in Canada. ***Most fortunately for men, the rate is clearly dropping: the increase was only 1% from 1993 to 1994*** (Table 16). Since the number of people carrying the immunodeficiency virus is increasing, it must be supposed that treatment is slowing or halting the progression of the disease toward fatal AIDS. Also, a certain number of men infected with HIV are not actually dying of AIDS, but of other, competing causes (accident, suicide). With regard to women, however, the pattern is extremely erratic. This certainly has something to do with the fact that the disease is far less widespread among women. In fact, female deaths in the last eight years (557) constitute only 6% of all deaths from AIDS (8,749) during the period. But 1994 shows a disturbing increase of 54% (49 deaths) over the previous year, and there had already been a 29% increase from 1992 to 1993.

Alzheimer's Disease

While a fair number of the secondary, but not minor, causes of death are declining, others are on the rise. ***Alzheimer's disease*** is a case in point. This disease of aging has only been classified separately (Code 331) since 1979, in the ninth edition of the International Classification of Diseases adapted for North America. It is by no means a new disease; it has merely been distinguished from senile dementia as a whole. For the time being, Alzheimer's disease can

Table 16. Deaths Due to HIV (Causes 042-044 in the ICD) by Broad Age Groups and Sex, Canada, 1987-1994

Year	Sex	Age Group					Total	Variation with the previous year (%)
		0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60 +		
1987	M	1	85	293	87	22	488	...
	F	5	7	12	8	5	37	...
1988	M	2	96	361	126	29	614	25.8
	F	3	10	28	7	9	57	54.1
1989	M	3	124	485	164	21	797	29.8
	F	2	10	20	10	12	54	-5.3
1990	M	3	108	576	215	35	937	17.6
	F	1	14	19	7	4	45	-16.7
1991	M	3	129	698	233	42	1 105	17.9
	F	4	15	25	14	7	65	44.4
1992	M	4	161	783	305	35	1 288	16.6
	F	4	10	38	11	7	70	7.7
1993	M	7	159	924	330	54	1,474	14.4
	F	2	19	49	13	7	90	28.6
1994	M	4	127	954	350	54	1,489	1.0
	F	14	16	77	26	6	139	54.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Causes of Death***, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

be confirmed only by autopsy, although its symptoms become increasingly well defined in those afflicted by the disease. If the number of deaths attributed to it accurately reflects its incidence, ***this is a cause of death that is progressing very quickly, even taking into account the possibility of improper assignment in the years immediately following its addition to the classification. The number of deaths rose from 72 in 1979 to 2,544 in 1994*** (Table 17). ***At the moment, it is more deadly than AIDS***, but its victims are very different. Because it is a disease of aging, almost all those who die of it are over 65. Also, ***despite the great difference in the number of deaths for men and women, it affects women only slightly more than men*** (Table 18). In 1994, 859 men died of Alzheimer's disease, compared to 1,685 women, a ratio of almost two to one. However, a breakdown of the crude rates for the population 40 and over shows that, although the 1994 male rate is lower than the female rate by 12 points per 100,000, 84% of that difference is due to the older age structure among women, which is more likely than the male age structure to lead to the appearance of the disease. The difference in incidence accounts for only 16%. There is no a priori reason why 1994 would be different from preceding years, and why this conclusion should not be generalized.

Table 17. Number and Rate of Deaths Due to Alzheimer's Disease by Sex, Canada, 1979-1994

Year	Males		Females	
	Number	Rate (per 100,000)	Number	Rate (per 100,000)
1979	30	0.6	42	0.8
1980	70	1.5	73	1.4
1981	125	2.6	130	2.5
1982	136	2.7	156	2.9
1983	218	4.2	223	4.0
1984	330	6.3	348	6.1
1985	450	8.4	547	9.4
1986	496	9.0	700	11.8
1987	639	11.3	845	13.8
1988	701	12.1	983	15.7
1989	730	12.2	1,087	16.8
1990	775	12.6	1,240	18.7
1991	767	12.2	1,344	19.7
1992	824	12.7	1,394	19.9
1993	848	12.7	1,563	21.6
1994	859	12.5	1,685	22.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Causes of Death***, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

Suicide

It has been many years since death by suicide was last addressed in the pages of this Report. In the 1983 edition, the reader was warned against several pitfalls awaiting the analyst of this cause of death. It must be kept in mind that it is a cause for which the number of deaths must be accepted with great caution. "In fact," according to the 1983 Report, "the exact number of suicides is unknown. Violent deaths may be suspected of really being suicides but there may be no evidence to classify them as such." It must be stressed that this remains the case. Nevertheless, making use of available data, it can be

Table 18. Standardization and Decomposition of Rates of Death from Alzheimer's Disease, Canada, 1994

	Standardization[1]		Effect	Decomposition	
	Female Population	Male Population		Difference (effect)[1]	Difference (%)
Standardization by Rate	26.16	16.03	Age Effect	-10.13	84.0
Standardization by Age	22.06	20.14	Rate Effect	-1.92	16.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	27.40	15.40	Total	-12.05	100.0

[1] Per 100,000.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Causes of Death***, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

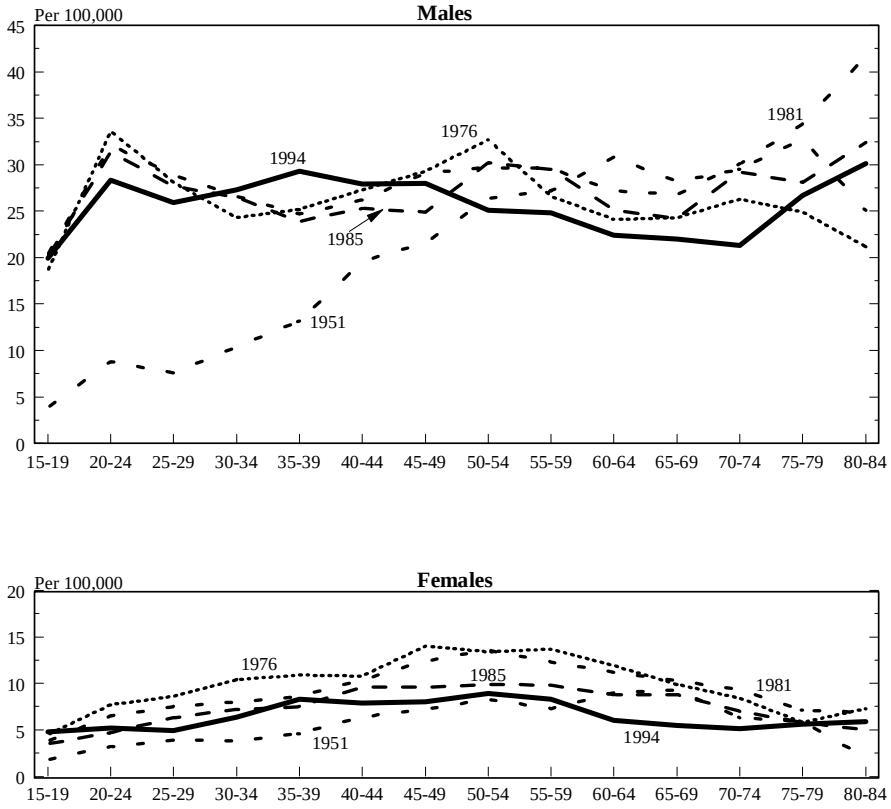
Table 19. Standardized[1] Death Rates[2] by Suicide (per 100,000), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1970-1974 to 1990-1994

Province	1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1984		1985-1989		1990-1994	
	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate
	Males									
Newfoundland	10	8.3	10	7.5	10	10.1	10	10.1	9	14.9
Prince Edward Island[3]	2	23.3	1	26.4	8	19.0	9	14.0	4	22.1
Nova Scotia	7	19.5	7	20.1	7	20.1	7	19.4	8	19.2
New Brunswick	9	14.7	8	19.7	4	23.0	5	21.0	5	22.0
Quebec	**8**	**16.3**	**9**	**18.6**	**3**	**25.2**	**1**	**25.9**	**1**	**27.2**
Ontario	**6**	**20.0**	**6**	**20.5**	**9**	**18.9**	**8**	**17.3**	**9**	**14.9**
Manitoba	3	21.7	5	23.5	6	21.5	4	21.6	6	19.9
Saskatchewan	4	21.6	4	23.7	1	26.0	3	21.7	3	22.9
Alberta	4	21.6	2	25.3	2	25.6	2	25.1	2	26.5
British Columbia	**1**	**25.0**	**3**	**24.2**	**5**	**21.8**	**6**	**19.8**	**7**	**19.5**
Yukon[3]	...	69.1	...	34.6	...	47.2	...	45.9	...	37.3
Northwest Territories[3]	...	30.1	...	39.4	...	39.9	...	46.2	...	49.7
Canada	...	19.5	...	20.8	...	22.0	...	21.0	...	20.6
	Females									
Newfoundland	10	1.6	10	0.9	10	1.3	10	1.3	10	2.8
Prince Edward Island[3]	9	1.7	9	4.3	9	2.8	9	3.6	9	2.9
Nova Scotia	7	3.9	7	4.5	7	3.4	8	3.7	7	3.9
New Brunswick	8	3.3	8	4.4	7	3.4	7	4.4	8	3.6
Quebec	**6**	**5.7**	**6**	**6.6**	**2**	**7.6**	**1**	**7.1**	**2**	**6.5**
Ontario	**2**	**9.2**	**3**	**8.2**	**3**	**6.7**	**5**	**5.5**	**6**	**4.2**
Manitoba	4	7.5	4	7.7	6	5.9	3	6.2	5	4.7
Saskatchewan	5	5.9	5	7.6	5	6.3	4	5.6	3	5.7
Alberta	3	7.6	2	8.5	1	8.5	2	6.5	1	7.4
British Columbia	**1**	**11.4**	**1**	**9.9**	**3**	**6.7**	**6**	**5.4**	**4**	**5.2**
Yukon[3]	...	25.5	...	11.6	...	11.0	...	7.1	...	1.5
Northwest Territories[3]	...	6.1	...	6.8	...	9.4	...	11.7	...	8.8
Canada	...	7.6	...	7.5	...	6.8	...	5.9	...	5.2

[1] Population structure of Canada in 1991.
[2] The rates are medians for each five-year period.
[3] Since numbers are small, variations may be random..
Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

determined that the number of deaths by suicide had reached 3,776 in 1994 in a population of 29 million, which yields a crude rate of 12.6 per 100,000. In 1980, it was 10.3 and in 1983, 11.3. These crude rates are not directly comparable because the age structure of the population has changed over

Figure 3. Rate of Death by Suicide by Age and Sex, Canada, 1951, 1976, 1981, 1985 and 1994



Source: Table A8 in the Appendix.

the period. But since mortality from suicide is less related to aging than other types of mortality, a reference population on which to carry out a simple standardization can be chosen freely, to give a glimpse of the changes which have taken place in populations in which suicide has varying incidences at different ages.

Choosing the 1991 population as standard, one may observe that mortality by suicide, which rose from the 1950s to the first half of the 1980s, fell slightly since. The average of standardized annual rates went from 22.0 per 100,000 in the 1980-1984 period to 21.0 in the following period and to 20.6 in the 1990-1994 period for males. For females, the highest average annual rate, 7.6 per 100,000, is observed in the 1975-1979 period. It has fallen since, reaching 5.2 between 1990 and 1994 (Table 19).

An examination of Figure 3 shows that variations in age rates have been minimal since 1976, as have trends. In fact, no new pattern of evolution can be detected. Canada, contrary to many industrialized countries, has always been characterized by a high suicide rate among young adults, and this situation remains unchanged. If any change deserves mention, it is a lower reduction in suicide rates after age 50 as Figure 3 shows.

Interprovincial Differences

The number of suicides is small and when it is broken down by age group and province there obviously result considerable variations by age of uncertain significance. It is wiser to compare provinces with large enough populations to suppress random fluctuations. It may be observed that the values for Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia have changed over the course of twenty years (Table 19). Using as before the annual average for the five-year period, the highest level for the period 1970-1974 and for males is observed in British Columbia (25.0 per 100,000), followed by Ontario (20.0) and finally Quebec with 16.3. Ten years later, Quebec is in first place with 25.2, followed by British Columbia (21.8), with Ontario in last place with 18.9 per 100,000. For the 1990-1994 period, the order has remained the same but the values have changed. Quebec's rate has risen (27.2) while those of the other two provinces have fallen, to 19.5 in British Columbia and to 14.9 in Ontario. ***It can be concluded that the higher rates observed in Quebec in 1994 are the result of a long-term trend and do not represent a sudden change***.

There is no obvious explanation for these changes. Economic prosperity, characterized globally by the level of average income, the number of the unemployed, social-assistance recipients, personal bankruptcies, can furnish only a suspect correlation with the number of suicides. The same is true of the "social climate," an incommensurable reality. The reasons a suicide has for ending it all are often unknown to those who know about the case, and often different from what indicators chosen after the fact because they appear relevant would lead one to imagine. Deductions and suppositions satisfy the need for an explanation more than they describe reality.

If these considerations apply to medium-term changes, still more should they induce caution in the interpretation of annual fluctuations. In Quebec in 1995, male rates by age group from 15 to 64 increased in no particular order and by different amounts. Such variations in a single year can only be described as a period effect, which casts doubt on a cohort effect involving baby-boomers, as some writers have characterized it, but above all it is necessary to keep the numbers involved in mind. An increase of the order of 160 is certainly not negligible (it is 18% of the 1994 figure), but it loses some of its mystery when it is placed in the context of an upward trend. Before chancing interpretations which may turn out to be inaccurate, it would be wiser to await the next year to see if a change in the trend is evident. The same prudence

Table 20. Change in Life Expectancy at Birth, Canada, 1976-1994

Year	Males		Females	
	Life Expectancy at Birth	Gain	Life Expectancy at Birth	Gain
1976	70.50	...	77.81	...
1981	72.05	1.55	79.17	1.36
1986	73.32	1.27	80.02	0.85
1991	74.61	1.29	80.95	0.93
1992	74.78	0.17	81.02	0.07
1993	74.96	0.18	81.09	0.07
1994	75.12	0.16	81.17	0.08
Gain from 1991 to 1996	...	0.85	...	0.38

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Research and Analysis Section and calculations by the author.

must be shown with regard to suicide among young people; it is too early to say that it has improved because the rate for 15-to-19-year-olds has decreased by 1%, that for 20-to-24-year-olds has dropped by 11%, and that for 25-to-29-year-olds has dropped by 7% between 1985 and 1994 (Table A8 in the Appendix).

The Life Table (Table A9 in the Appendix)

The final life table for 1993 has proved to be almost identical to the provisional table, and the 1994 life table shows very little change. Table 20 shows the changes in male and female life expectancies at birth since 1976. The increases tended to grow smaller from one period to the next. The increases for the period 1991-1996 (not yet all known) were estimated using the annual increases of 1992, 1993 and 1994. Note that they are very low for men and almost insignificant for women. This move toward at least temporary near-stagnation should come as no surprise. Considering the level of understanding we now have of disease prevention and treatment, only modest increases in life expectancy can be hoped for. ***Diseases of the circulatory system, which have caused and continue to cause the most deaths, have been fought to the point where they affect people in late middle age or early old age, but preventing such diseases among frail, elderly people is very difficult***. From 1971 to 1994 the rate of deaths due to heart disease fell by 63% among men aged 50 to 54; among men 80 to 84, it dropped by only 42%. According to the logic on which the life table is based, the number of younger lives saved is what increases life expectancy at birth. When death comes later in life, these figures do not significantly reduce the number of years lived by the population in the table. As will be discussed below, it is now clear that cancer

is the major stumbling block for science. It is causing even more deaths than before among relatively young people, and women in particular. This is one of the main reasons for the very slight increase in life expectancy, especially for women. Until major discoveries are made to prevent or cure this disease, smaller and smaller gains in life expectancy can be anticipated.

Employing Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates

The study of changes over time in mortality and its causes has always posed the problem of finding comparable measures, and the same difficulty is encountered in the analysis of mortality differences between geographical areas. Consequently, it seems worthwhile to illustrate how the problem can be addressed by taking stock of the progress which has been achieved in Canada in certain areas of mortality. The following question can be legitimately posed: ***what is the outcome, as measured by simple indexes, of the effort expended over the last few decades in the fight against death?***

When comparisons of the behaviour of several populations are at issue, raw rates are obviously useless measures, even if the size of the populations involved is the same. This is because the different causes of death, acting in varying degrees in different populations, do not select their victims equally at every age. As a consequence, the age structure of the population affects the number of deaths which result, and a process of standardization is employed in order to eliminate this structural effect. Direct standardization, frequently used in demography, consists in calculating fictitious deaths in a population that has been chosen as a standard, making use of the death rates by age of the real populations that are to be compared. Then the sum is taken for each and divided by the total standard population. For each population, the rate resulting from this calculation has a value differing from that of the crude rate. These measures are called standardized or normalized or comparative rates. For their calculation, it is obviously necessary to have death rates by age available for each population.

The value of a standardized rate thus does not measure something actually there but rather serves as a kind of index possessing the property of being comparable, i.e., of showing, with certain reservations, that the phenomenon studied is stronger or weaker in different populations independently of their differences in age structure. An actual value for one of the rates can be maintained by choosing one of the populations being compared as the standard population. (This is the principle adopted in the comparison of men and women carried out above for deaths due to Alzheimer's disease.)

Because the standard population becomes the reference point for comparisons, it will be readily understood that its choice is of the greatest importance: it is in relation to it that the others are implicitly judged. To the extent that its structure, compared to the other populations, does or does

Table 21. Standardization and Decomposition of the General Mortality Rate, Canada, 1951-1993

Age Group	1951			1993			Fictious Deaths	
	Number of Deaths	Population	Death Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Population	Death Rate (per 1,000)	1993 Population 1951 Rates	1951 Population 1993 Rates
0-1	14,584	344,073	42.4	2,448	387,900	6.3	16,442	2,171
1-4	2,528	1,378,036	1.8	507	1,617,500	0.3	2,967	432
5-9	1,156	1,397,825	0.8	317	1,974,900	0.2	1,633	224
10-14	727	1,130,783	0.6	366	1,984,400	0.2	1,276	209
15-19	1,163	1,057,972	1.1	1,187	1,962,300	0.6	2,157	640
20-24	1,543	1,088,641	1.4	1,465	2,057,500	0.7	2,916	775
25-29	1,637	1,131,215	1.4	1,839	2,304,800	0.8	3,335	903
30-34	1,833	1,042,734	1.8	2,585	2,682,100	1.0	4,715	1,005
35-39	2,289	999,133	2.3	3,258	2,548,100	1.3	5,838	1,277
40-44	3,008	868,567	3.5	3,846	2,255,600	1.7	7,812	1,481
45-49	4,052	744,679	5.4	4,984	1,991,600	2.5	10,837	1,864
50-54	5,589	663,656	8.4	6,157	1,526,200	4.0	12,853	2,677
55-59	7,555	570,690	13.2	8,754	1,268,400	6.9	16,792	3,939
60-64	10,344	506,152	20.4	13,850	1,214,400	11.4	24,818	5,773
65-69	13,104	433,497	30.2	20,071	1,107,000	18.1	33,463	7,860
70-74	15,160	314,638	48.2	26,035	951,300	27.4	45,836	8,611
75-79	15,140	189,952	79.7	29,534	646,800	45.7	51,553	8,674
80-84	12,342	96,610	127.8	30,934	438,000	70.6	55,955	6,823
85+	11,636	52,222	222.8	46,772	329,400	142.0	73,396	7,415
Total	125,390	14,011,075	...	204,909	29,248,200	...	374,593	62,752
Crude Rate (per 1,000)	...	...	**8.9**	...	...	**7.0**	...	...
Standardized Rate (per 1,000)	...	...	...	...	...	...	**12.8**	**4.5**

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Deaths***, catalogue no. 84-210, Census of Canada 1951, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

not favour the appearance of the deaths which enter into the calculation of the comparative rates, it will furnish a high or low reference point. Thus, in the case of general mortality, as the risks of death are higher among older persons than among the young, the comparison of the values of the standardized rate will give rise to different comments according to whether the reference point chosen is the young population or the old population.

If the change in general mortality in Canada is evaluated over a long period (1951-1993), a decline is observed in the crude rate. In fact, it drops from 8.95 per 1,000 in 1951 to 7.01 per 1,000 in 1993, which supports the conclusion that mortality has fallen (Table 21). Since changes have taken place between the two dates in population structure, as well as progress in the fight against the causes of death, the difference observed results from a combination of the two phenomena. If the 1951 population had been exposed to the death rates by age of the 1993 population, the rate for the population as a whole would have been 4.48 per 1,000. The comparison evidently shows that the fight against death has borne fruit since, with the death rates by age of 1993, the rate for 1951 would have been 4.48 instead of 8.95, a gain of 4.47 points per 1,000. On the other hand, if the 1993 population still had the death rates

Table 22. Standardization and Decomposition of General Mortality Rates, Canada, 1951 and 1991

	Standardization[1]		Effect	Decomposition	
	Situation in 1993	Situation in 1951		Difference (effect)[1]	Difference (%)
Standardization by Rate	9.907	6.714	Age Effect	3.193	-164.0
Standardization by Age	5.742	10.878	Rate Effect	-5.136	264.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	7.006	8.949	Total	-1.943	100.0

[1] Per 1,000.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Death***, 1951 and 1991 and calculations by the author.

by age of the 1951 population, the rate for the population as a whole would have been 12.81 per 1,000. This comparison also indicates that the situation has improved since, instead of the rate of 12.81 yielded by the assumption, one of only 7.01 per 1,000 is observed. But this time the excess is 5.80 points per 1,000. The role played by the choice of reference population is obvious and, as a result, the effect of progress cannot be quantified unambiguously: in the first case, the gain is 4.40 points per 1,000 (50%) and in the second 5.80 points per 1,000 (45%).

Without calling in question the results of direct standardization, it is possible to proceed differently. Das Gupta[9], drawing on the work of numerous other methodologists, has proposed a method, recently published by the U.S. Census Bureau, which separates the change in the value of the rates into two parts, one due to the change in age structure and one which can be attributed to "progress." The sum of the two measures corresponds exactly to the difference between the crude rates. The following analysis reports the results of the application of this method of standardization to Canadian data.

Between two dates, the difference between the crude rates is the algebraic sum of the rate standardized for age structure and the rate standardized for the value of the rates by age. According to the results which appear in Table 22, between 1951 and 1993, as previously stated, the value of the crude general death rate has gone from 8.95 per 1,000 to 7.01, for a gain of 1.95 points. The decomposition of the overall gain permits the observation that, if the age structure had not changed between the two dates, it would have been 5.14 points but that aging reduced this gain by 3.19 points. The algebraic sum thus gives, as expected, the 1.94 points yielded by the difference between the crude rates.

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[9] Prithwis Das Gupta, ***Standardization and Decomposition of Rates: A User's Manual***, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

If "i" designates the age group, let "T_i" be the death rate by age group for population **1**, "t_i" that for population **2**. N_i / N is the proportion of the total population of the age group in population **1** and n_i / n is the corresponding proportion in population **2**. Then:

$$\sum_i \frac{n_i / n + N_i / N}{2} \times T_i$$ = the standardized rate by age for population **1**

and

$$\sum_i \frac{t_i + T_i}{2} \times N_i / N$$ = the standardized rate for the rates of population **1**

The interest of this method lies principally in the continuous consistency, whatever the interval of time considered, of the difference observed in the value of the crude rates between any two years with the sum of the differences of which it is the result: differences due to the age structure on the one hand and to the value of the rates on the other. In Table A10 in the Appendix, where series of rates from 1971 to 1994 for five major causes of death are shown for men and women (which will be discussed below), the increase in female mortality due to malignant neoplasms and cancers can be seen to be 6.6 points per 100,000 (155.9 - 149.3 per 100,000) and the effect of age can be seen to be 49.2 points per 100,000 (177.3 - 128.1), for a total of 55.8 points, corresponding to the observed difference in the crude rates between 1971 and 1994. In the same way, if the crude rate increased by 32.5 points per 100,000 from 1978 to 1988, the change in the age structure by itself would have caused the rate to go from 141.0 to 164.9 per 100,000 (an increase of 23.9 points per 100,000) and the change in the value of the rates would have been responsible for an increase of 8.6 points (156.2 - 147.6), which add up to exactly 32.5 points.

These intriguing results suggest passing in review the major causes of death (Table 23) in order to measure over the lengthy period 1951 to 1993, within the limitations of the method[10], the success of the fight against disease and the importance of the brake which the aging of the population has applied. As far as infectious and parasitic diseases go, the gain is observed to be very modest (2.39 points per 10,000), but it would have been slightly higher (2.62) if the change in population structure had not hidden 10% of its effect.

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[10] The question always remains of interaction among the causes. Those who do not die from one cause of death become candidates for another cause.

Table 23. Standardization and Decomposition of Rates of Death for Certain Causes, Canada, 1951 and 1991

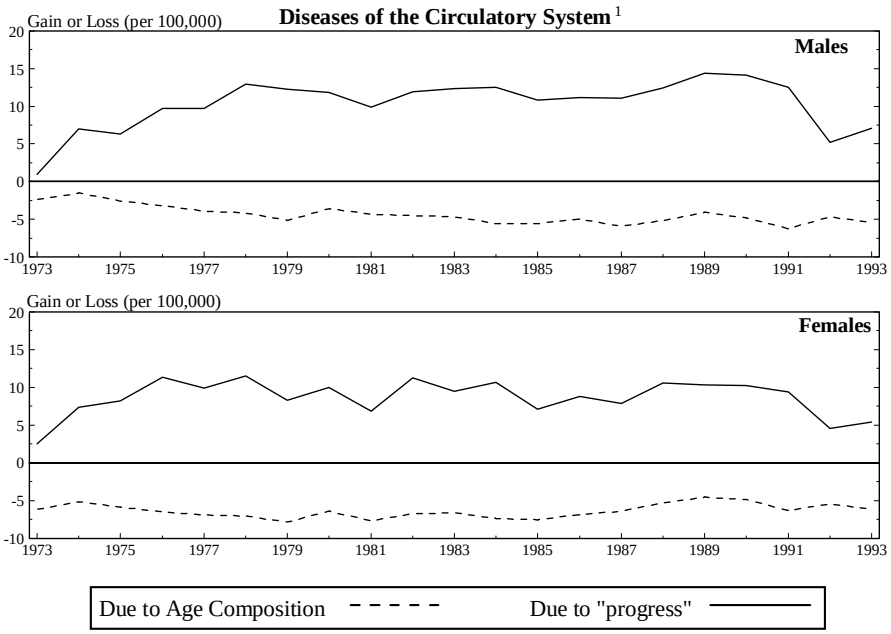
	Standardization[1]		Effect	Decomposition	
	1993	1951		Difference (effect)[1]	Difference (%)
	Infectious and Parasitic Diseases[2]				
Standardization by Rate	0.236	0.214	Age Effect	0.022	-9.0
Standardization by Age	0.094	0.356	Rate Effect	-0.262	110.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	0.107	0.346	Total	-0.239	100.0
	Heart Diseases[3]				
Standardization by Rate	3.259	1.972	Age Effect	1.287	-143.0
Standardization by Age	1.522	3.709	Rate Effect	-2.187	243.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	1.928	2.827	Total	-0.899	100.0
	Heart Attacks[4]				
Standardization by Rate	1.957	1.233	Age Effect	0.724	-1724.0
Standardization by Age	1.212	1.978	Rate Effect	-0.766	1824.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	1.528	1.570	Total	-0.042	100.0
	Neoplasms[5]				
Standardization by Rate	1.900	1.337	Age Effect	0.563	81.0
Standardization by Age	1.684	1.552	Rate Effect	0.132	19.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	1.989	1.293	Total	0.696	100.0

[1] Per 1,000.
[2] 1951 : Causes 001-138. 1993 : Causes 001-139.
[3] 1951 : Causes 401-402.1, 410-443 and 465. 1993 : Causes 391, 392, 393-398, 402, 404, 410-416 and 420-429.
[4] 1951 : Cause 420. 1993 : Causes 410-414.
[5] 1951 : Causes A44-A60. 1993 : 140-239.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Causes of Death,*** 1951 and 1991 and calculations by the author.

The major cause of death, the ***heart-disease*** group, has nevertheless declined. The improvements in nutrition, the reduction in fat consumption, better hygiene, etc., as well as medical and surgical advances would have reduced the death rate by almost 2.187 points per 1,000 if half the gain had not been absorbed by the increasing number of persons at risk, as represented by the elderly (1.287 points). The same phenomenon can be observed by examining the change in the value of the death rate from heart attacks, which is part of the heart-disease group. The gain due to "progress" would have been substantial (0.766 per 1,000), but it passed completely unobserved by reason of the increase in the number of elderly persons. ***It can be said of this cause of death that someone is just as likely to die of it as in 1951 but at a more advanced age***. The increase in death from cancer has been evident in the increase of the

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993

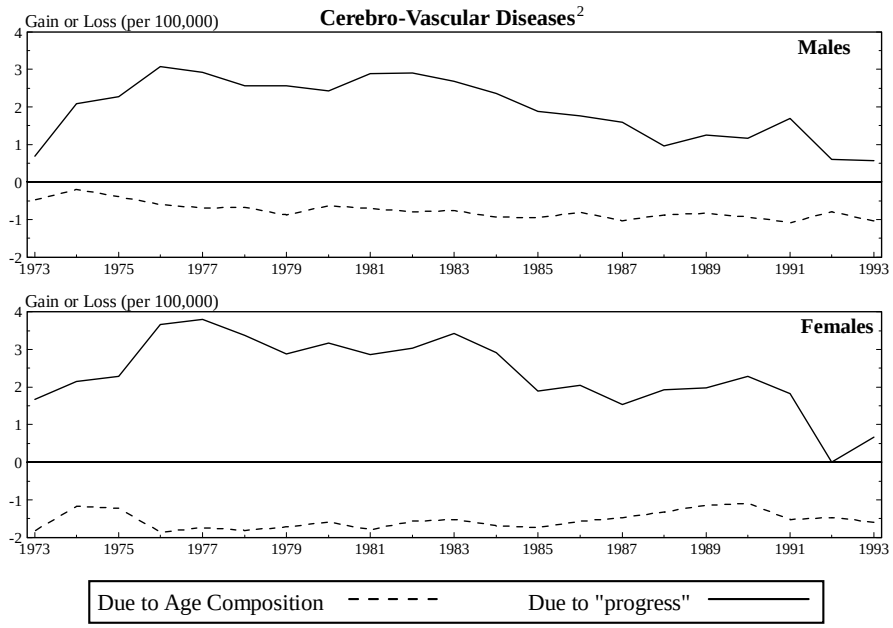


Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.
Source: See end of figure.

crude rate, unlike the other causes of death, which have become less deadly. On this subject, one often hears that, as cancer is known to be a disease of aging, it is necessary to take into account the effect of aging on the increase in the value of the rate. The method has permitted the measurement that in fact 81% of the increase in mortality from this cause is due to aging. But it remains true that part of the increase is real, i.e., due to changes in the rates by age, since these have contributed 0.132 per 1,000, or 19%, to the increase in the crude rate between these dates.

The shorter period from 1971 to the present permits finer observations, year by year, of the components of which the crude rates by cause are the sum. The choice of the period 1971-1994 has been determined by the population estimates serving as the denominator of the rates. As it happens, these estimates are consistent while a break appears with those of preceding years. The data of Table A10 in the Appendix have been translated into graphs (Figure 4) to give a more holistic view of the changes in four causes to which the health sciences have paid particular attention.

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993 - Continued

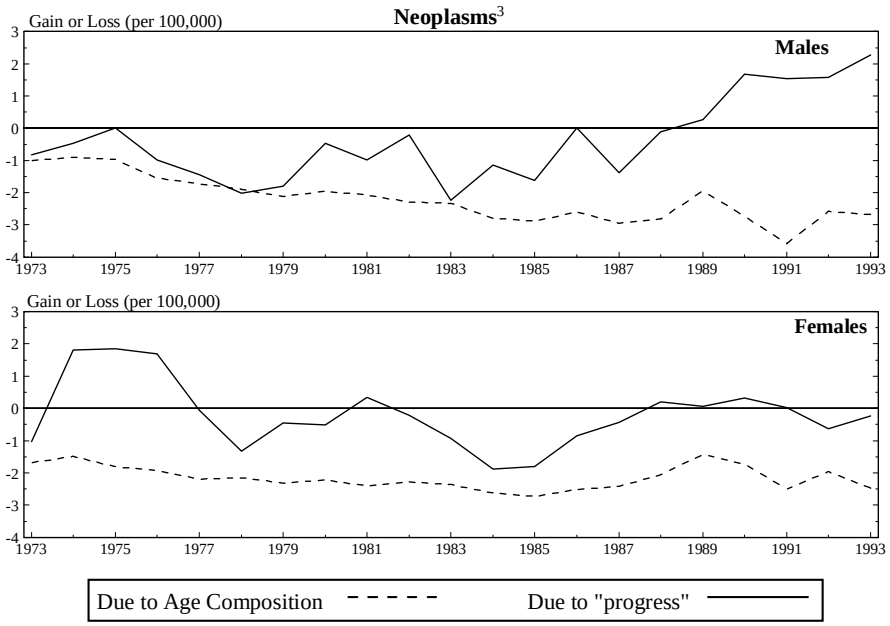


Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.
Source: See end of figure.

For each year, the curve, solid or dashed, displays the gain (or loss) over the preceding year. Consequently, if each year a gain exactly equal to that of the previous year was observed, the curve would be a horizontal straight line parallel to the X axis. Thus, when the curve is rising, it does so because, from one year to the next, a larger gain has been realized, and vice versa, when the slope is downward, it means that a smaller gain, although still a gain, has been realized than in the previous year. The only case in which a loss from one year to the next is represented is when the curve passes below the zero line toward the bottom of the graph.

The first remark suggested by these graphs concerns the changes due to age composition. Because the Canadian population is aging, the curves representing population change show a loss which on the whole continues to grow. If these curves are not identical on all the graphs, it is because in each case they are relative to the cause of death, and the different causes do not have exactly the same incidence at each age. The most interesting curves and the most diversified are those representing "progress" or, more exactly, changes in the age-specific rates.

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993 - Continued



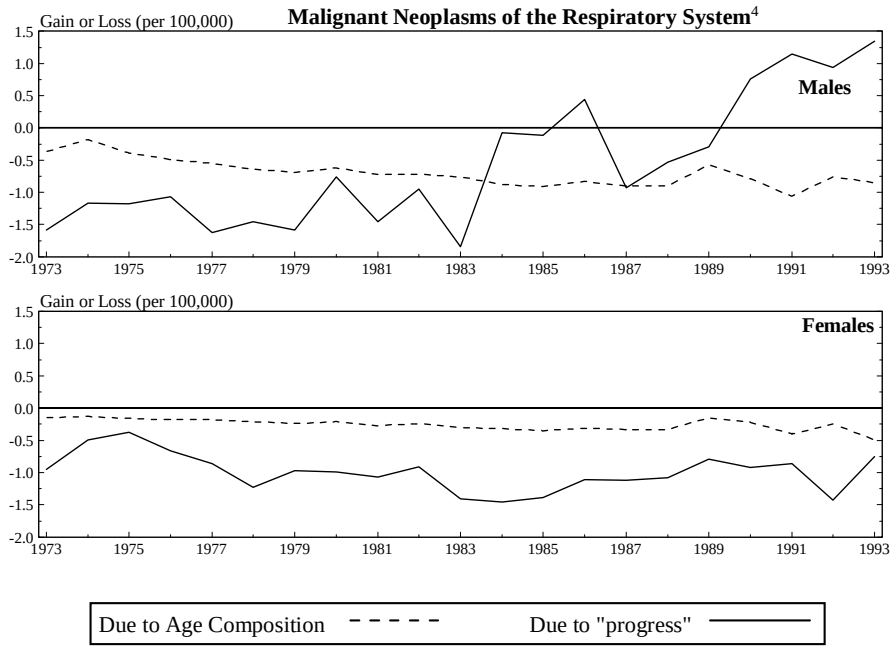
Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.
Source: See end of figure.

For diseases of the circulatory system, more important gains are observed from year to year until about the end of the 1970s, and at levels a little higher for men than for women. This period was followed by a number of years when the gains (but not the changes) were constant. Since 1990, they appear to have become weaker and weaker. Nevertheless, during the entire period studied, these net gains have been becoming smaller because of the progress of population aging.

For cerebrovascular diseases, the pattern of change is the same for men and women, but the gains overall are higher for women. From year to year, these gains were increasingly important until about 1976. Since then, it has not been possible to maintain this rhythm, and gains on the whole fell off to the point of practically vanishing by 1992.

In the case of cancers (malignant neoplasms) of all types, losses are observed. For men, losses continued up to about 1988, when gains were registered for the first time, although the aging effect more than offset them. Nevertheless, progress has been registered beginning in 1983 and it may be

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993 - Concluded



[1] Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[2] Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[3] Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[4] Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.

Source: Table A10 in the Appendix.

observed that it is exactly at this time that the decline in death rates for cancer of the respiratory system began. The coincidence of the curves for all cancers and for those of the respiratory system underlines the importance of the latter. In the case of women, the evolution of the gains for all cancers does not present a clear picture. Over a period of 25 years, there are more years of losses than of gains. But for cancer of the respiratory system, the situation is crystal clear. The curve is practically horizontal, signifying that each year the fall experienced by the rate is equal to that of the preceding year. In other words, because of the cumulative effect, with the passage of time mortality due to cancer of the respiratory system increases. As for the curve of the age composition, its shape and position show that age composition has only a very weak effect except for the most recent years.

Decomposition of the Rates and Life Expectancy

What share of the gain in life expectancy between two dates can be attributed to progress in delaying death by cause?

The logic embodied in the method proposed by Das Gupta and used in the analysis of rates gives, when applied to the calculation of tables of mortality, satisfying results for interpreting the changes in the value of life expectancy and the role of the causes which are responsible for it.

In the course of the two last decades, there has evidently been some progress in the fight against the main causes of death, and it is possible to distinguish the part of it hidden by population aging. The beneficiaries of this progress have mainly been older people. In fact, the expectation of life at age 50 of men in Canada has increased by 3.28 years between 1971 and 1993, and that of women by 2.88 years (Table 24). For this reason, it is of interest to quantify the role played in the lengthening of this segment of life by progress in the principal areas of mortality. In the case of the mortality table, the question of standard population does not arise. Six major areas are considered:

1) ischaemic heart disease;

2) cerebrovascular diseases;

3) other diseases of the circulatory system;

4) malignant neoplasms and cancers, other than those of the respiratory system;

5) malignant neoplasms and cancers of the respiratory system;

6) other causes.

Only the end results of calculations, too extensive to be presented in their entirety, appear in Table 24. ***The considerable role played by the reduction in ischaemic heart disease is obvious. It has allowed 2.43 years of life to be gained, or 75% of the total gain for males, while the reduction in cerebrovascular diseases represent 17% of the total gain. On the other hand, the fight against cancer has produced insignificant gains. Cancers of the respiratory system, moreover, have increased to the point of reducing the gains due to all causes of death by a quarter of a year***.

The gain ***for women*** has been smaller than that for men, and ***it is the increase in deaths due to cancer of the respiratory system which is responsible for the poorer performance observed for them***. If the expectation of life had not been reduced by half a year because of the growth of mortality due to this cause, women's total expectation of life would have grown as much as men's, with a smaller gain due to ischaemic heart disease and a larger one due to cerebrovascular diseases.

Table 24. Gain in Expectancy of Life at Age 50 from 1971 to 1993

Causes	Life Expectancy at Age 50		Gain (in years)	Gain (%)
	1993	1971		
	Males			
Ischaemic Heart Diseases[1]	27.55	25.13	**2.43**	74.0
Cerebrovascular Diseases[2]	26.62	26.06	0.56	17.1
Other Diseases of the Circulatory System[3]	26.43	26.26	0.17	5.0
Malignant Neoplasms except of the Mouth and Respiratory System[4]	26.36	26.34	0.01	0.4
Malignant Neoplasms of the Mouth and Respiratory System[5]	26.23	26.48	**-0.24**	-7.4
Other Causes	26.53	26.17	0.36	11.0
Total	**28.01**	**24.73**	**3.28**	**100.0**
	Females			
Ischaemic Heart Diseases[1]	32.42	30.54	**1.88**	65.3
Cerebrovascular Diseases[2]	31.89	31.07	0.82	28.3
Other Diseases of the Circulatory System[3]	31.65	31.32	0.33	11.3
Malignant Neoplasms except of the Mouth and Respiratory System[4]	31.65	31.32	0.33	11.4
Malignant Neoplasms of the Mouth and Respiratory System[5]	31.25	31.76	**-0.51**	-17.8
Other Causes	31.52	31.47	0.04	1.5
Total	**32.95**	**30.07**	**2.88**	**100.0**

[1] Causes 410-414.
[2] Causes 430-438.
[3] Causes 390-409, 415-429 and 439-459.
[4] Causes 150-159 and 170-239.
[5] Causes 140-149 and 160-165.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Causes of Death***, 1971 and 1991 and calculations by the author.

Another Illustration of Difficult Comparisons

Demographic yearbooks generally present the reader with the crude death rate for different countries or different regions of a country. It rarely occurs to the reader that, for the reasons which have just been discussed, venturing upon comparisons must be done with the utmost caution. The necessary material to correct distortions caused by different population structures is not always available. When it is, simple standardization is usually resorted to. The example of general mortality for Quebec and Ontario in 1950 will be briefly presented.

The crude death rates for Ontario and Quebec in 1950 were respectively 10.60 and 9.50 per 1,000. The advantage seems thus to lie with Quebec, with an edge of 12%. But when the rates are standardized on the 1991 Canadian population, they are 13.99 per 1,000 for Ontario and 15.20 per 1,000 for Quebec. This gives Ontario a lead of 1.20 points per 1,000, or 7.9% over Quebec. In other words, eliminating the effect of population structure between the two provinces has reversed their standing. But the value of 1.20 represents nothing in itself. It has a meaning only as a “distance” in relation to the value it would have if the age structure for Quebec were that of Canada in 1991.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

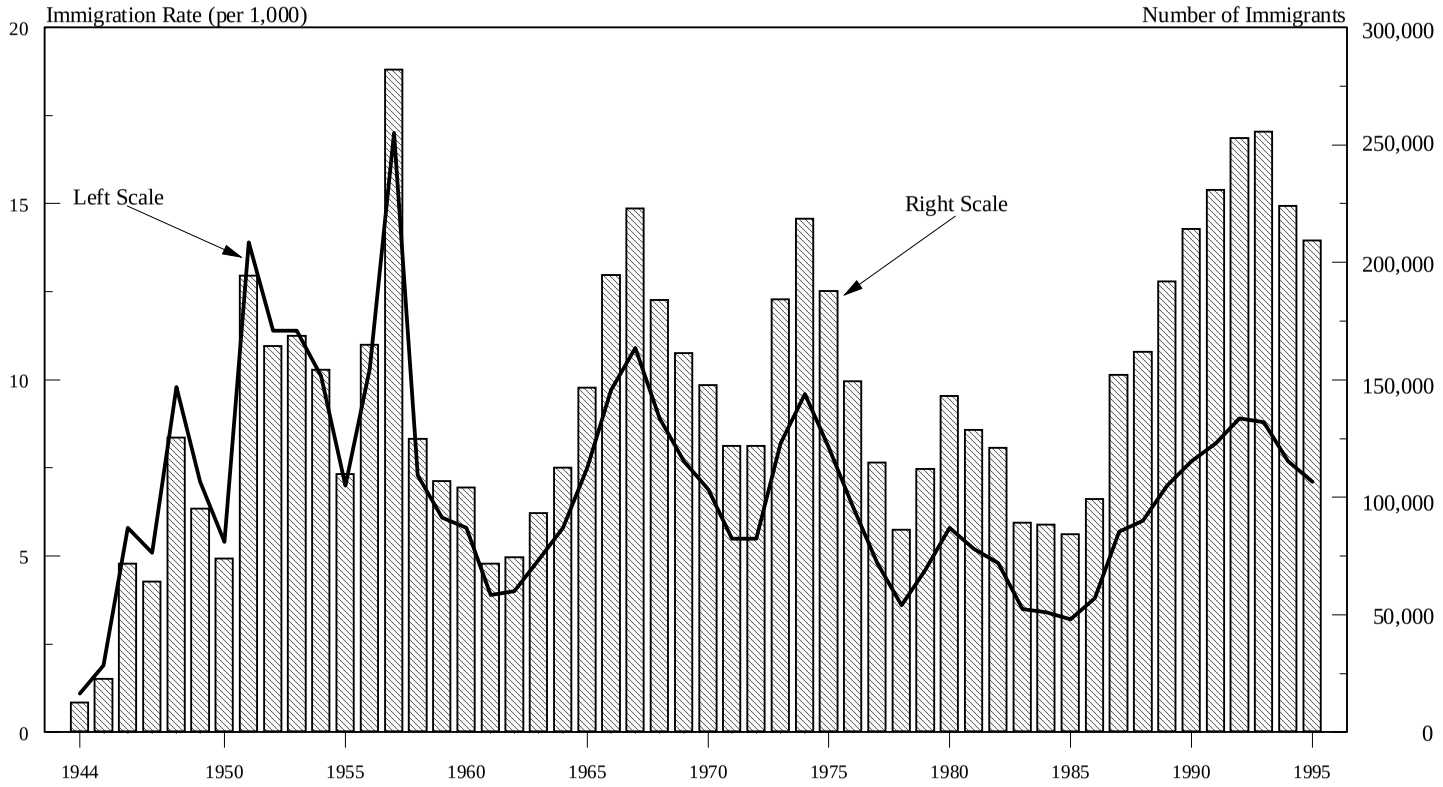
The final totals of international immigrants in 1993 and 1994 were 256,000 and 224,000 respectively. These figures are slightly higher than the provisional figures published last year. ***The number of immigrants in 1993 was the highest since 1913, but nowhere near the 400,000 of that record year***. Although 1995 figures (212,000) are still provisional, they are in keeping with a short-term downward trend that is usually followed by an upswing (Table 25 and

Table 25. Immigrants to Canada by Class, 1981-1995

Year		Family Class	Refugees[2]	Designated Persons	Assisted Relatives	Independent Immigrants[3]	Total
1981	No.	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
	%	39.7	0.6	11.0	13.7	35.0	100.0
1982	No.	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
	%	41.3	1.5	12.5	9.9	34.9	100.0
1983	No.	48,698	4,100	9,867	4,997	21,495	89,157
	%	54.6	4.6	11.1	5.6	24.1	100.0
1984	No.	43,814	5,625	9,717	8,167	20,916	88,239
	%	49.7	6.4	11.0	9.3	23.7	100.0
1985	No.	38,514	6,080	10,680	7,396	21,632	84,302
	%	45.7	7.2	12.7	8.8	25.7	100.0
1986	No.	42,197	6,490	12,657	5,890	31,985	99,219
	%	42.5	6.5	12.8	5.9	32.2	100.0
1987	No.	53,598	7,473	14,092	12,283	64,652	152,098
	%	35.2	4.9	9.3	8.1	42.5	100.0
1988	No.	51,331	8,741	18,095	15,567	68,195	161,929
	%	31.7	5.4	11.2	9.6	42.1	100.0
1989	No.	60,774	10,210	26,794	21,520	72,703	192,001
	%	31.7	5.3	14.0	11.2	37.9	100.0
1990	No.	73,457	11,398	28,291	23,393	77,691	214,230
	%	34.3	5.3	13.2	10.9	36.3	100.0
1991	No.	86,378	18,374	35,027	22,247	68,755	230,781
	%	37.4	8.0	15.2	9.6	29.8	100.0
1992	No.	99,960	28,699	23,176	19,880	81,127	252,842
	%	39.5	11.4	9.2	7.9	32.1	100.0
1993	No.	112,189	22,326	8,087	22,922	90,411	255,935
	%	43.8	8.7	3.2	9.0	35.3	100.0
1994	No.	93,893	17,952	1,120	27,461	83,485	223,911
	%	41.9	8.0	0.5	12.3	37.3	100.0
1995[1]	No.	77,061	23,874	608	29,282	81,445	212,270
	%	36.3	11.2	0.3	13.8	38.4	100.0

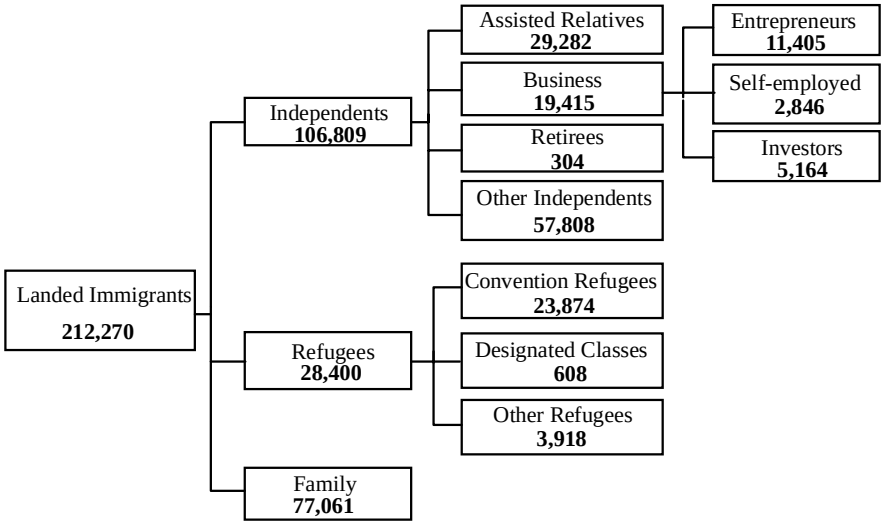
[1] Preliminary data as of October 15, 1996.
[2] Convention refugees.
[3] Includes business, retirees and other independents.
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Figure 5. Number of Immigrants and Immigration Rate, Canada, 1944-1995



Note: Data for 1995 is preliminary as of July 18, 1996.
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration Statistics*** and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Figure 6. Distribution of Immigrants by Class and Category, 1995[1]



[1] Preliminary data as of October 15, 1996.
Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Figure 5); Canada has experienced several since World War II. The most significant decreases were in the family class. According to the country's citizenship and immigration plan for 1995-2000[11], 111,000 family-class immigrants had been anticipated in 1994, but in fact, there were only 94,000. Similarly, between 86,000 and 90,000 had been expected in 1995[12], but only 77,000 were admitted. The situation with regard to refugees is somewhat different: a total of 28,300 was anticipated for 1994 and 18,500 were admitted, but the 1995 number of 28,400 (Figure 6) was within the expected range of 24,000 to 32,000. It was predicted that so-called economic immigrants (independent immigrants in Figure 6) would make up 43% of all those admitted in 1994 and 1995, but in fact, this group accounted for 49% in 1994 and 50% in 1995.[13] ***It would appear that interest on the part of immigrants likely to contribute to the Canadian economy is growing more quickly than anticipated by the immigration strategy***. The annual report submitted to Parliament in 1996 states that, for this category of immigrant, the effects of improvements made to the program will begin to be felt in 1997.

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[11] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, ***Immigration and Citizenship Plan, 1995-2000***, p.6.
[12] Ibid., p.15.
[13] Ibid., p.15.

Total immigration for 1996 is expected to be between 195,000 and 220,000. If this proves true, it will confirm the downward trend observed since the high of 1993 (255,935).

Destination of Immigrants

Province of destination (Table 26) is only partly a matter of the immigrant's personal choice. Before the Department finalizes its immigration plan and presents it to Parliament, the governments concerned are consulted with regard to their ability to take in new residents, and influence can be exerted through government recruitment offices outside the country. Quebec is in a unique position in this regard because of the Canada-Quebec accords which give the province control over the selection of independent immigrants. ***For a number of reasons, including the condition of the province's labour market, in the last two years Quebec has admitted fewer immigrants than allowed under the accords—fewer, in fact, than since they were signed***. This explains why the province received only 12.5% of all immigrants to Canada in 1994 and 1995, (28,000 and 26,500).[14] In order to admit immigrants better adapted to the needs of the Quebec economy and keep them in the province, the government has modified its selection criteria. People with good employability qualities[15] are now more likely to be accepted than those who can prove they have a job ready upon their arrival. A knowledge of French is also more important now, and a spouse's skills are taken into account in order to favour the arrival of families. Reducing the number of independent immigrants has an effect on those eligible to come in under family reunification. The fewer independent immigrants there are now, the fewer family members they will sponsor in future.

At the other end of the country, British Columbia remains the province of choice for an ever-increasing number of immigrants, although the number fell slightly from 49,000 in 1994 to 44,300 in 1995 (21.9% to 20.9%). As explained below, this is due to a decrease in the number of immigrants from Hong Kong.

The distribution of immigrants by category is very different in the three main destination provinces. In 1995—and this was not an exceptional year—***Quebec received 12.5% of all family-class immigrants to Canada, 11% of the entrepreneurs, 7% of the self-employed and 13% of the investors, but a full 21% of the 24,000 Convention refugees*** (Table 27). In practically all categories of immigrant, Ontario received numbers fairly proportionate to the overall percentage of immigrants who settled in the province (54.7%), except for investors, of whom it received only 18%. ***By contrast, British***

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[14] According to figures available on July 18, 1996.

[15] Government of Quebec, Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration, Direction des communications, ***La grille de sélection des travailleurs, pondération des facteurs et de certains critères, en vigueur le 1er octobre 1996***.

Table 26. Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants by Intended Province of Destination, Canada, 1961-1995

Province	Year												
	1961	1971	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995 [1]
Newfoundland	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	1.3	1.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.8
New Brunswick	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	23.6	15.8	16.4	19.6	17.6	15.9	17.8	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	12.5	12.5
Ontario	50.9	52.8	42.7	50.0	55.8	55.0	54.6	53.0	51.5	54.7	52.5	52.4	54.5
Manitoba	3.5	4.3	4.2	3.8	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7
Saskatchewan	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9
Alberta	6.7	7.1	15.0	9.7	7.9	8.7	8.4	8.8	7.4	7.0	7.3	8.0	7.0
British Columbia	10.2	15.5	17.1	12.7	12.4	14.3	13.2	13.4	13.9	14.5	17.9	21.9	20.9
Yukon and Northwest Territories	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	71,689	121,900	128,618	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	223,911	212,154

[1] Preliminary data as of July 18, 1996.

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

Table 27. Distribution of International Immigrants by Selected Categories, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1995

Province	Refugees	Family	Independents other than Business	Business	Total
	Number				
Newfoundland	202	127	262	12	603
Prince Edward Island	62	33	43	23	161
Nova Scotia	**218**	**302**	**908**	**2,342**	**3,770**
New Brunswick	173	161	243	53	630
Quebec	**6,033**	**9,626**	**8,772**	**2,165**	**26,596**
Ontario	**16,950**	**44,537**	**48,554**	**5,551**	**115,592**
Manitoba	653	1,329	1,364	195	3,541
Saskatchewan	571	447	824	86	1,928
Alberta	1,475	5,189	6,515	1,642	14,821
British Columbia	**1,996**	**15,195**	**19,813**	**7,314**	**44,318**
Yukon	■	49	54	2	105
Northwest Territories	8	31	24	26	89
Canada	28,341	77,026	87,376	19,411	212,154
	Distribution by Category				
Newfoundland	33.5	21.1	43.4	2.0	100.0
Prince Edward Island	38.5	20.5	26.7	14.3	100.0
Nova Scotia	**5.8**	**8.0**	**24.1**	**62.1**	**100.0**
New Brunswick	27.5	25.6	38.6	8.4	100.0
Quebec	**22.7**	**36.2**	**33.0**	**8.1**	**100.0**
Ontario	**14.7**	**38.5**	**42.0**	**4.8**	**100.0**
Manitoba	18.4	37.5	38.5	5.5	100.0
Saskatchewan	29.6	23.2	42.7	4.5	100.0
Alberta	10.0	35.0	44.0	11.1	100.0
British Columbia	**4.5**	**34.3**	**44.7**	**16.5**	**100.0**
Yukon	■	46.7	51.4	1.9	100.0
Northwest Territories	9.0	34.8	27.0	29.2	100.0
Canada	13.4	36.3	41.2	9.1	100.0
	Distribution by Province				
Newfoundland	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.2	■	■	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	**0.8**	**0.4**	**1.0**	**12.1**	**1.8**
New Brunswick	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	**21.3**	**12.5**	**10.0**	**11.2**	**12.5**
Ontario	**59.8**	**57.8**	**55.6**	**28.6**	**54.5**
Manitoba	2.3	1.7	1.6	1.0	1.7
Saskatchewan	2.0	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.9
Alberta	5.2	6.7	7.5	8.5	7.0
British Columbia	**7.0**	**19.7**	**22.7**	**37.7**	**20.9**
Yukon	■	0.1	0.1	■	■
Northwest Territories	■	■	■	0.1	■
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Columbia, which received 21% of all immigrants, had only 7% of refugees, but 57% of the 5,000 investors, 30.5% of the entrepreneurs, and one-third of the self-employed. These differences are highly indicative of the interest British Columbia holds for immigrants in categories that feature a high proportion of people with leadership qualities… and capital. Among the other provinces,

Table 28. Countries from Which more than 2,000 Immigrants Came to Canada in 1994 or 1995

	1994	1995	Difference
AFRICA			
Egypt	2,318	2,717	399
Republic of South Africa	2,461	1,479	-982
Somalia	1,728	2,057	329
AMERICA			
Guyana	4,261	3,972	-289
Haiti	2,121	2,040	-81
Jamaica	3,930	3,635	-295
Trinidad and Tobago	2,337	2,577	240
United States	5,128	4,317	-811
ASIA			
China	23,313	20,935	-2,378
Hong Kong	33,676	24,868	-8,808
India	18,533	18,227	-306
Iran	2,999	4,066	1,067
Iraq	2,250	2,403	153
Lebanon	2,717	2,153	-564
Pakistan	4,390	4,650	260
Philippines	19,456	15,804	-3,652
South Korea	3,004	3,494	490
Sri Lanka	7,078	9,354	2,276
Taiwan	7,003	7,425	422
Vietnam	6,494	4,143	-2,351
EUROPE			
France	2,516	3,024	508
Great Britain [1]	4,762	4,555	-207
Poland	3,552	2,436	-1,116
Romania	3,590	4,325	735
Ex USSR [2]	5,283	6,882	1,599
Yugoslavia [3]	9,982	10,461	479

[1] Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.
[2] Includes Russian Federation, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldovia and Russia.
[3] Includes Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.
Note: Data for 1995 is preliminary as of October 15, 1996.
Sources: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Nova Scotia attracted a fair number of investors and entrepreneurs (18% of both), despite its small population and the somewhat depressed nature of the Atlantic economy. In fact, 54% of all the immigrants the province received were in the entrepreneur category.

International immigration was down in 1995 because emigration from several countries was considerably reduced. This was the case for Hong Kong (9,000 fewer than in 1994; see Table 28) and, to a lesser degree, for China and the Philippines (2,400 and 3,700, respectively). With regard to Hong Kong,

the migratory flow may be starting to dry up, given that most of those concerned about the return of the territory to China have likely already left. Also worth noting is that immigration from Poland hit a new low, with only 2,436 immigrants in 1995, compared to figures in the vicinity of 16,000 from 1989 to 1991 (Table A11 in the Appendix).

INTERNAL MIGRATION

The number of movements between provinces and territories rose slightly in 1995 compared to the previous year (331,000 instead of 285,000[16]), but on the whole internal migration patterns remained the same (Tables 29, 30 and 31). Quebec still lost the most people, while gains were highest in British Columbia. The only significant change was in Alberta, which recorded a gain of 3,200 people, compared to a loss of 2,600 in 1994. This is because the population flow from Alberta to British Columbia remained much the same while the flow in the opposite direction increased by nearly 4,500. Without knowing the characteristics of the arriving and departing migrants, it is impossible to advance a reason explaining this change. Minor internal policy changes by a province may by themselves attract or, conversely, discourage some categories of potential migrant.

Demographic phenomena are known for their inertia, and the most notable population exchanges are often between neighbouring provinces. Quebec-Ontario migration is not at all surprising. Exchanges are primarily between the Anglophone communities in the two provinces, and ***Quebec's negative balance is not indicative of an exodus: it must be seen as part of the traditional east-to-west migration, just as Ontario loses people to the western provinces***.

Prince Edward Island again showed a net gain in 1995, although not as high as in 1994. This is most probably due to the jobs created by the construction of the bridge linking the island to the mainland. Newfoundland's negative balance was the same as the previous year, and as always, its population exchange was primarily with Ontario. There are many reasons for the outflow, which is invariably linked to a return flow. In Newfoundland, unemployment caused by the drastic reduction in fishing has led to emigration, while the Hibernia project is creating new jobs and attracting people from outside. Clearly, the two industries generally call for different skills and personnel.

As noted in the past, Ontario loses many people to British Columbia (-11,100), and some to Alberta (-2,000). In its exchanges with almost all other provinces, however, Ontario is either even or ahead (Newfoundland, 2,800; Nova Scotia, nil; New Brunswick, nil; Quebec, 7,200; Manitoba, nil; and Saskatchewan, 300).

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[16] The figure of 341,000 published in the 1995 Report has been revised.

Table 29. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenu Canada Tax Files
January to December 1994

Number of Migrants: 284,673

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	238	2,031	610	334	5,453	215	114	1,507	1,803	33	300
Prince Edward Island	80	...	477	358	105	486	26	79	194	204	3	14
Nova Scotia	1,201	704	...	2,450	942	6,507	477	218	1,877	3,099	45	209
New Brunswick	368	411	2,295	...	1,921	3,515	285	122	1,061	1,069	18	122
Quebec	316	112	1,052	1,892	...	20,906	544	326	1,718	5,282	52	139
Ontario	2,828	784	5,555	3,479	15,005	...	4,191	2,203	11,446	24,200	183	434
Manitoba	173	44	429	333	560	4,434	...	2,469	4,913	5,533	44	180
Saskatchewan	88	51	230	147	258	2,095	2,460	...	10,046	4,932	62	244
Alberta	687	157	1,493	696	1,564	9,778	3,887	8,027	...	25,499	473	1,057
British Columbia	369	137	1,401	650	1,993	11,797	2,956	3,197	16,410	...	794	365
Yukon	27	5	20	8	24	119	39	41	432	1,132	...	119
Northwest Territories	104	6	121	99	189	469	241	249	1,093	670	127	...
In	6,241	2,649	15,104	10,722	22,895	65,559	15,321	17,045	50,697	73,423	1,834	3,183
Out	12,638	2,026	17,729	11,187	32,339	70,308	19,112	20,613	53,318	40,069	1,966	3,368
Net Migration	-6,397	623	-2,625	-465	-9,444	-4,749	-3,791	-3,568	-2,621	33,354	-132	-185

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

Table 30. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenu Canada Tax and Child Tax Credit Files
January to December 1995

Number of Migrants: 331,131

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	240	2,238	713	268	7,243	374	103	2,487	2,007	154	234
Prince Edward Island	177	...	509	420	55	765	35	23	236	220	4	■
Nova Scotia	1,588	774	...	2,779	910	7,238	508	308	2,564	3,037	64	158
New Brunswick	693	419	2,549	...	2,552	4,524	342	226	1,462	1,279	22	72
Quebec	301	107	1,049	2,403	...	25,046	762	439	1,706	5,647	44	145
Ontario	4,440	835	7,236	4,584	17,862	...	6,335	2,191	12,243	25,320	249	369
Manitoba	116	43	448	331	530	6,185	...	3,043	5,177	5,359	89	326
Saskatchewan	92	63	259	179	297	2,500	3,032	...	11,190	5,076	156	259
Alberta	1,086	251	1,640	1,122	1,567	10,388	3,538	9,246	...	26,066	623	1,245
British Columbia	770	175	2,107	742	2,671	14,232	3,796	4,569	20,973	...	1,253	443
Yukon	2	9	22	6	47	124	55	141	441	1,019	...	89
Northwest Territories	216	■	130	82	115	469	293	424	1,485	724	99	...
In	9,481	2,916	18,187	13,361	26,874	78,714	19,070	20,713	59,964	75,754	2,757	3,340
Out	16,061	2,444	19,928	14,140	37,649	81,664	21,647	23,103	56,772	51,731	1,955	4,037
Net Migration	-6,580	472	-1,741	-779	-10,775	-2,950	-2,577	-2,390	3,192	24,023	802	-697

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

Table 31. Net Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1970-1995

Year	New-foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon and Northwest Territories	Total
1970	-5,950	-29	-3,967	-2,373	-41,156	54,590	-7,707	-28,358	9,898	22,579	2,473	412,559
1971	733	-129	-755	1,798	-25,005	18,580	-7,251	-17,986	2,408	25,034	2,573	405,301
1972	-189	858	2,845	241	-19,891	8,227	-7,735	-17,296	6,538	24,927	1,475	375,184
1973	-2,510	478	2,107	2,841	-14,730	-5,275	-2,200	-13,261	2,698	30,537	-685	433,992
1974	-618	1,386	1,576	4,192	-11,852	-22,163	-5,400	-4,835	14,810	22,655	249	421,336
1975	915	814	4,454	7,572	-12,340	-25,057	-4,134	6,555	23,463	-2,864	622	385,330
1976	-2,732	309	361	1,640	-20,801	-10,508	-3,655	3,819	34,215	-1,490	-1,158	376,970
1977	-4,009	614	-1,277	-886	-46,536	8,596	-3,789	384	32,344	15,507	-948	366,918
1978	-3,540	25	-109	-1,644	-33,424	415	-9,557	-3,701	31,987	20,698	-1,150	348,929
1979	-4,217	-225	-1,840	-2,219	-30,025	-15,317	-13,806	-3,510	39,212	33,241	-1,294	370,862
1980	-3,082	-1,082	-2,494	-4,165	-24,283	-34,919	-11,342	-4,382	46,933	40,165	-1,349	372,167
1981	-6,238	-783	-2,465	-4,766	-22,549	-19,665	-3,621	-520	40,243	21,565	-1,201	380,041
1982	261	-6	1,591	2,183	-28,169	19,614	1,498	1,743	3,961	-2,019	-657	322,634
1983	-1,092	799	3,861	2,296	-19,080	32,825	950	2,501	-26,246	4,029	-843	285,599
1984	-3,585	524	2,963	812	-10,943	36,691	-49	733	-30,591	3,505	-60	273,323
1985	-5,019	-13	-234	-1,559	-6,023	33,414	-1,755	-5,014	-9,568	-3,199	-1,030	281,275
1986	-4,682	-493	-739	-2,897	-3,020	42,916	-3,039	-7,020	-20,293	910	-1,643	302,352
1987	-4,374	301	-2,183	-1,762	-7,410	40,278	-4,751	-9,043	-27,595	17,618	-1,079	318,890
1988	-2,154	424	71	-1,215	-7,003	14,898	-8,584	-16,338	-5,535	25,865	-429	323,685
1989	-2,606	-102	572	-21	-8,379	-1,205	-10,004	-18,589	3,366	37,367	-399	347,990
1990	-1,137	-273	-106	1,014	-9,567	-15,117	-8,613	-15,928	11,055	38,704	-32	332,637
1991	-1,086	-416	1,039	-79	-13,047	-9,978	-7,581	-9,498	5,510	34,572	564	315,419
1992	-2,731	482	138	-1,155	-9,501	-13,242	-6,152	-6,914	-73	39,458	-310	306,382
1993	-3,656	588	-1,682	-453	-7,177	-11,920	-4,737	-4,770	-2,738	37,455	-910	276,413
1994	-6,397	623	-2,625	-465	-9,444	-4,749	-3,791	-3,568	-2,621	33,354	-317	284,673
1995	-6,580	472	-1,741	-779	-10,775	-2,950	-2,577	-2,390	3,192	24,023	105	331,131
Total	-69,695	4,674	1,102	-1,070	-441,355	121,929	-136,805	-174,796	183,381	520,173	-7,538	8,620,861

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

THE AGING OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION

The aging of a population is commonly measured by comparing the size of the 65-and-over segment to the total population. Such a general measure takes into account all the factors that may cause an increase or decrease in the different parts of the population, such as increasing life expectancy, variations in the birth rate, and migration. Since migration is only a marginal factor for the elderly, instead of comparing those 65 and over to the total population, they can be compared to people under 65. This can serve to highlight the effects, if any, of migration and birth rate on the 0-64 group. Also, when the denominator does not include the older group, the comparison between the two groups allows the identification of which of them (or both of them) is responsible for the change, and the variation from one date to the next is magnified. Once the increase or decrease in the ratio has been noted, an explanation is sought by examining each group. ***It must be kept in mind that using proportions produces a zero-sum game, so that an increase in one proportion leads to a decrease in the other***.

In a population that is neither aging nor being rejuvenated, the ratio of the 65-and-over segment to the under-65 segment does not change from one date to the next. An increase or a decrease in the ratio will thus indicate whether the population has aged or been rejuvenated, and the size of the change will reveal the pace at which it is occurring. In other words, the difference between two ratios reveals the speed of the aging process. If it is negative, it indicates rejuvenation. The ratio of the 65-and-over group to the under-65 group from 1921 to 1931 (Table 32) rose from 5.0% to 5.9%, indicating that the population of Canada aged during that period at an annual rate of 0.86 per 1,000. From 1931 to 1941, aging accelerated to 1.27 per 1,000.

An examination of the two groups shows that there was relatively modest growth (9.6%) in the population 0-64 from 1931 to 1941 because of a decline in net international migration and the drop in the birth rate caused by the Great Depression, while population growth among those 65 and over remained steady at 33.3% because the Canadian-born reaching that age were joined by immigrants from the turn of the century who were also turning 65. From 1941 to 1951, the annual rate of aging stayed the same (1.26 per 1,000). Indeed, while the increase in the 0-64 group was substantial due to the start of the baby boom, there was an even greater increase among the older population for much the same reason as in the previous period (the aging of the immigrants who had settled the Prairies). From 1951 to 1956, the increase among those under 65 was almost equal to the increase among those 65 and over (14.8% and 14.5%), due to the opposite effects of increased births and post-War immigration in the 0-64 group and the minimal increase in the number of older Canadians, whose ranks had been depleted by the death of many people who had immigrated at the turn of the century. In fact, there was even a slight negative change which continued into the following period (-0.04 and -0.25 per 1,000

Table 32. Aging of the Population, Canada, 1921-1991

Year	Age 0-64 (thousands)	65 and over (thousands)	Percent Increase 0-64	Percent Increase 65 and Over
1921	8,367.2	420.2	**...**	**...**
1931	9,800.7	576.1	17.1	37.1
1941	10,738.8	767.8	9.6	33.3
1951	12,923.2	1,086.3	20.3	41.5
1956	14,836.9	1,243.9	14.8	14.5
1961	16,847.1	1,391.2	13.5	11.8
1966	18,475.3	1,539.5	9.7	10.7
1971	19,823.9	1,744.4	7.3	13.3
1976	20,990.3	2,002.3	5.9	14.8
1981	21,982.2	2,361.0	4.7	17.9
1986	22,611.8	2,697.6	2.9	14.3
1991	24,126.9	3,170.0	6.7	17.5
	Age 0-64 (%)	65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change
1921	95.2	4.8	5.0	**...**
1931	94.4	5.6	5.9	**0.86**
1941	93.3	6.7	7.1	**1.27**
1951	92.2	7.8	8.4	**1.26**
1956	92.3	7.7	8.4	**-0.04**
1961	92.4	7.6	8.3	**-0.25**
1966	92.3	7.7	8.3	**0.15**
1971	91.9	8.1	8.8	**0.93**
1976	91.3	8.7	9.5	**1.48**
1981	90.3	9.7	10.7	**2.40**
1986	89.3	10.7	11.9	**2.38**
1991	88.4	11.6	13.1	**2.42**

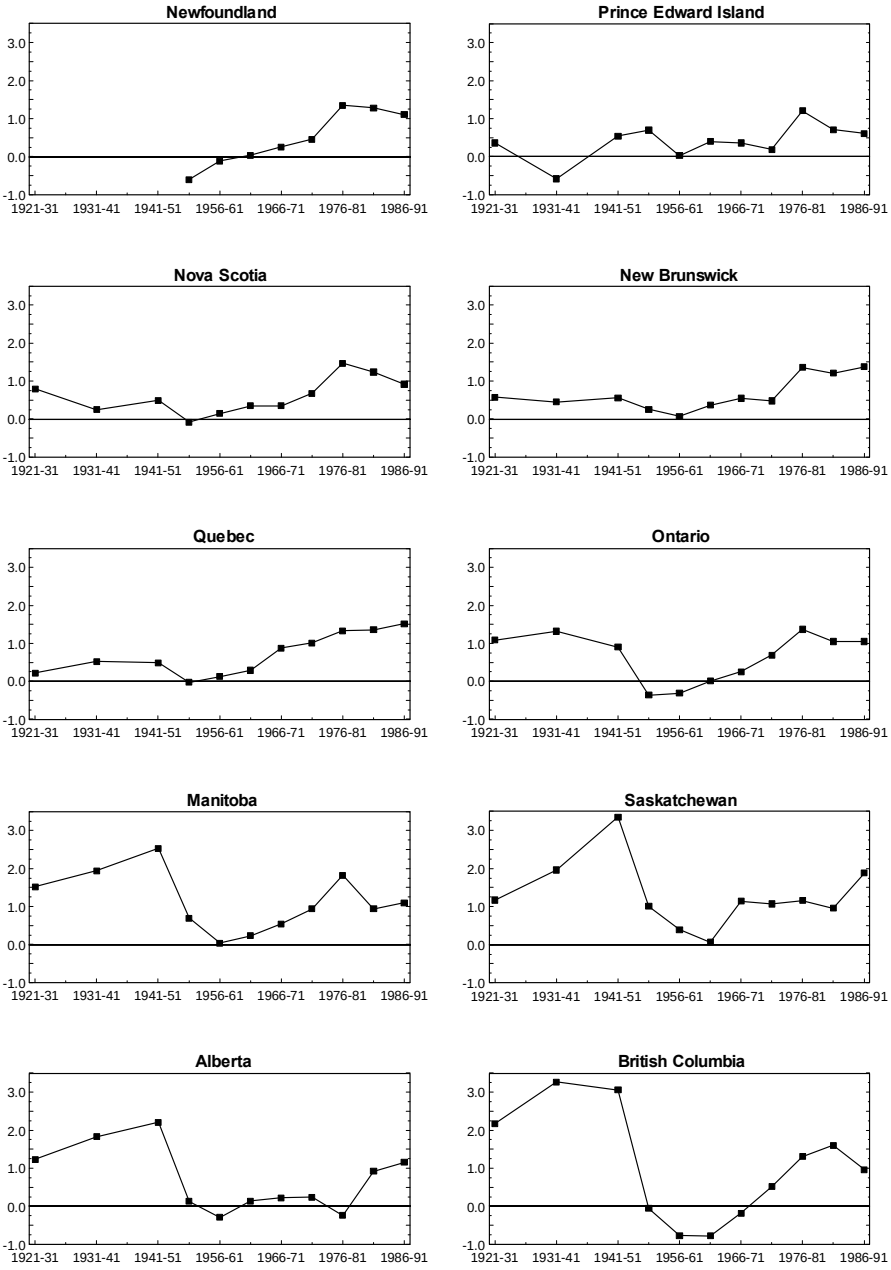
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, ***Age, Sex and Matrimonial Status***, catalogue no. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

respectively). The Canadian population did not age during this period. However, in 1961, the aging process began again, progressing very slowly until 1966 and then more rapidly, reaching a maximum during 1986-1991. At 2.42 per 1,000 per year, it was almost twice as high as the aging provoked by the Great Depression.

Overall, from 1921 to 1991, the ratio of the population 65 and over to those under 65 increased from 5.0% to 13.1%, slowing from 1956 to 1966, primarily because of the baby boom, and then resuming its growth. The average pace for the whole period was 1.16 per 1,000 per year.

This brief history of the aging of the population presents an average for Canada as a whole. The situation differed considerably from one province to the next (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Differences in the Level of Aging, by Province and Period, 1921 to 1991[1]



[1] The level of aging is understood as the ratio of the 65 and over group to the 0-64 group, expressed as a percentage.

Source: Table A12 in the Appendix.

The Western Provinces

The population of the Prairies (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) and British Columbia aged rapidly from 1921 to 1951. The average annual rate for the 30-year period was 1.8 per 1,000 in Alberta, 2.8 in British Columbia, 2.0 in Manitoba and 2.2 in Saskatchewan, with peaks of 3.3 per 1,000 in British Columbia from 1931 to 1941 and in Saskatchewan from 1941 to 1951. There was an overall drop in the growth of the 0-64 age group throughout the region, caused by a reduction in immigration—Saskatchewan even experienced net negative migration—combined with a lower birth rate, and the fact that the older of the immigrants of the settlement period were now beginning to swell the ranks of the 65-and-over age group. In British Columbia, the older people already there were doubtless joined by wealthy retirees attracted by the more clement west coast. All four provinces were then affected by the baby boom to varying degrees. The 0-64 age group grew notably in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, while in Saskatchewan the increasing birth rate helped compensate for continuing emigration. In British Columbia from 1956 to 1966 the increase in the older population was so low that the province experienced a rejuvenation. Since then, however, aging has resumed throughout the west, more slowly in Manitoba and much more quickly in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. In British Columbia, the aging of the population slowed between 1986 and 1991 because of an increase in the 0-64 age group caused by domestic and international migration. ***The Alberta population also aged more slowly, to the point of rejuvenation from 1976 to 1981, a period of economic prosperity that brought many new migrants to the province, the vast majority of whom were younger rather than older***.

Central Canada

Population changes in Quebec and Ontario tell two very different tales of population aging. Compared to Ontario, and even more strikingly to the western provinces, ***the aging of the Quebec population has been slow until recently, but with no periods of rejuvenation***. From the end of World War II until 1986, the population 65 and over continued to increase as the proportion of those under 65 continued to drop. The latter phenomenon was due to a steady drop in the birth rate and consistently negative net migration. As the increase in the 65-and-over group has always been high and has fluctuated very little, the rate of aging has increased continuously. From nil in 1951-1956, it increased to 3.0 per 1,000 for 1986-1991, the second highest rate after Saskatchewan.

Aging in Ontario has been more erratic. While the population of Quebec aged at a rate of 0.4 per 1,000 from 1921 to 1951, the rate was almost three times higher in Ontario (1.1 per 1,000) because of a lower birth rate than Quebec's and an increase in the number of older immigrants from the Prairies, who had left for the factories of southern Ontario. The baby boom and high

post-War immigration helped maintain the high rate of increase among the 0-64 group, with as a result a slower increase in the percentage of older Ontarians, resulting in a rejuvenation of the population from 1951 to 1961 and no aging during the subsequent period. Since then, however, aging has been winning because of a drop in the birth rate that even high international migration cannot counter, and internal migration that is not always positive. From 1986 to 1991, the population aged at a rate of 2.0 per 1,000.

The Atlantic Provinces

Aside from Newfoundland, the proportion of the population 65 and over has always been higher here than in the Canadian population as a whole, although, because of its small numbers, its effect on the latter is slight. However, aging is not occurring rapidly in the region. All the provinces, except for New Brunswick, have even had short periods of slight rejuvenation. This must be seen as the effect of chronic internal migration. The many young people who leave the region are not there later to swell the ranks of the older age group; these same young people who leave keep growth down among the 0-64 age group. For many years, the ratio of the two groups has varied little from one period to the next. Since the 1970s, however, the ratio of older to younger has been increasing, and New Brunswick has the highest annual rate of aging at 2.8 per 1,000 from 1986 to 1991.

The above description shows that the aging of the Canadian population, particularly at the regional level, has been affected by two factors:

1) the fluctuation in the birth rate; and

2) migratory movements.

As far as the birth rate is concerned, the baby boom interrupted the slow long-term decline in fertility. All the provinces were affected but not all to the same degree. The baby boom caused minimal rejuvenation in Quebec, whereas the western provinces and Ontario felt its effects more strongly.

Migration has had a notable and complex effect. When it occurs in the form of arriving migrants, its influence on the population structure is first observed as an increase in the younger portion of the population, and then later as an increase in the older segment when the surviving migrants enter the 65-and-over group. As both the Atlantic provinces and the west bear witness, migration is extremely important in understanding changes in the rate of aging.

No province has ever had as high a proportion of older residents as that which now prevails in Saskatchewan, with 14.1% of its population 65 and over (Table A12 in the Appendix). Alberta is in last place with only 9.1%. As for the rate at which aging is occurring, Saskatchewan is in the lead again,

Table 33. Ratio in Percent of Persons Aged 65 and Over to Persons Aged 0-64 and Rapidity of Aging Over the Period, by Province, 1991, 2001, 2011 and 2016

Year	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
	Newfoundland		Prince Edward Island	
1991	10.7	■	15.2	■
2001	12.8	2.1	15.8	0.6
2011	17.4	4.6	17.9	2.1
2016	22.6	10.4	21.3	6.8
	Nova Scotia		New Brunswick	
1991	14.4	■	13.9	■
2001	15.7	1.3	15.2	1.4
2011	18.7	3.0	18.5	3.2
2016	22.6	7.8	22.8	8.6
	Quebec		Ontario	
1991	12.6	■	13.3	■
2001	14.7	2.1	14.3	1.0
2011	17.6	2.9	15.7	1.3
2016	20.5	5.8	17.8	4.2
	Manitoba		Saskatchewan	
1991	15.5	■	16.5	■
2001	15.9	0.4	17.7	1.2
2011	17.0	1.1	18.5	0.8
2016	19.4	4.8	20.8	4.6
	Alberta		British Columbia	
1991	10.0	■	14.8	■
2001	11.7	1.8	15.3	0.5
2011	13.9	2.1	16.8	1.5
2016	16.4	5.0	19.4	5.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Projections Section and calculations by the author.

followed by Quebec, which nonetheless has a far smaller proportion of older people. ***In recent years there has been a net slowdown in the rate at which the British Columbia population is aging, but the proportion aged 65 and over is still very high (12.9%)***, suggesting that its very high rate of immigration should not be permitted to fall. In Canada as a whole, the aging of the population has occurred twice as quickly over the last two decades as during the periods following the Great Depression and World War II.

Looking Ahead

Statistics Canada's population projections make it possible to determine how aging is likely to evolve in the various regions of the country. These forecasts are based on hypotheses concerning the four major parameters of population growth: fertility, mortality, international migration and internal migration (Table 33).

From 1991 to 2001, the western provinces should see an important slowing of their rate of aging. Saskatchewan aside, all should certainly see the share of persons aged 65 and over grow over the decade compared to the growth of the previous five years, but the pattern should be just about the same for the under-65s so that the result is a weakened ratio and a smaller rate of aging. Ontario should slow its rate of aging, and Quebec should do likewise. In the Atlantic region, aging should be obviously slower in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, while there should be practically no change in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

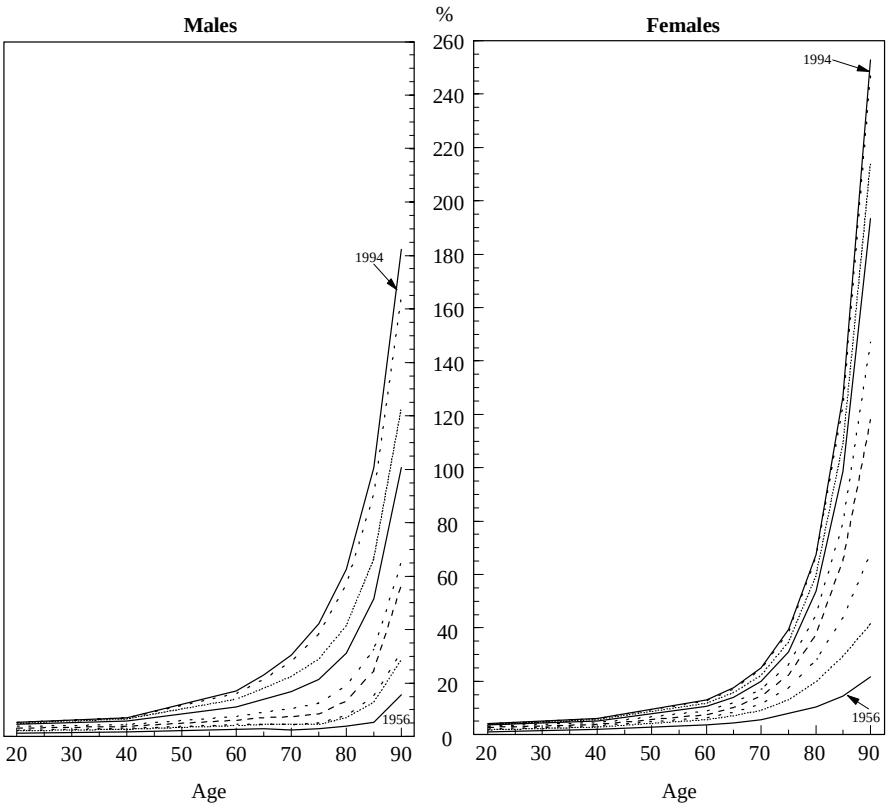
Over the following fifteen years, the rate of aging should show a distinct acceleration throughout the country, most obviously in the Atlantic provinces. ***If the projections become reality, between 2011 and 2016, Newfoundland would see its annual rate of aging climb to 10.4 per 1,000, while New Brunswick's would be 8.6 per 1,000, rates well beyond any heretofore known***. In Quebec, the rate should double in comparison to that of the 1986-1991 period. Ontario's should also double, but the resulting rate would not be nearly as high. In the west, rates of aging should also double.

The Mortality Effect

Lower mortality has certainly also played a role in increasing the number of older persons. It would have been interesting to measure the number of lives saved in Canada as a result of the drop in mortality from the start to the end of the period under study (1951-1994), but the data required for such an analysis would need extensive manipulation before they could be used. Nevertheless, an idea of how important a factor this is can be obtained by comparing the survivor figures in the life tables for the first and last years of the period. Figure 8 shows the percentage increase at different ages of survivors among the population in the table, taking 1951 as the base year. Note that the increase is modest up to the age of 70. Indeed, ***there are only 25% more women survivors in the 1994 table than in the 1951 table (83,363 instead of 66,667). However, the older the ages examined, the more important are the gains over time, so that there were three and a half times more women still alive at the age of 90 in 1994 compared to 1951 (27,992 instead of 7,933)***. The phenomenon is similar for men, although the increase is slightly higher for ages 70 and 75, compared to women, and lower for the more advanced ages (an increase of 182% at age 90). Despite the weaknesses in the data, it can be suggested that the role of mortality is liable to be more important in the future than in the past. It is this that affects the population projections used to construct Table 33, which shows increasing aging.

The effect of regional differences in mortality on the aging of the population has probably been slight. Provincial life tables show that in 1951, in the province with the highest mortality, 192 out of a thousand men surviving at age 60 were still alive at age 90 compared to 235 in the province with the lowest

Figure 8. Increase in the Number of Survivors of the Table at various Ages as a Percentage of the Survivors of the Table of 1951



Note: The tables are established in 5-year periods except the last year.
Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, unpublished data.

mortality, for a difference of 43. In 1994, the range was from 462 to 559, for a difference of 97. While these differences are not absolutely negligible, they are too small to have an effect on differences in aging.

Regions and Aging

It is difficult to paint a satisfactory geographical portrait of the aging of the Canadian population, and this for at least two reasons:

1) Canada in 1995 was divided into 290 census divisions of extremely different demographic weights, varying from fewer than 5,000 inhabitants (e.g., Stikine, British Columbia, with 1,436 inhabitants) to more than two million (e.g., Toronto, with 2,420,000), and within which the proportion of elderly people varies between 2% and 23%.

2) The number of divisions is not always the same and their boundaries are often changed from census to census.

Nevertheless, several observations are worth making because of their potential socioeconomic implications. Five regions, unequal in size and population, have aged considerably.

The first is a huge area in the Prairies, comprising 16 adjacent divisions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan[17]. In each division, more than 17% of the population is 65 or over. Moreover, this area is surrounded by divisions in which the proportion of older people is almost as high. This is a region of huge farms. The situation developed as agriculture became increasingly mechanized, reducing the number of jobs and resulting in a steady emigration of young people and young adults.

Second is the Okanagan Valley[18], where five adjacent divisions have attracted older people, probably because of its mild climate.

Climate is also a factor in the Victoria-Vancouver region[19] where aging immigrants have joined the aging established population.

In fourth place is a ring of townships surrounding the metropolitan Toronto region[20]. Here again, these are rural counties that have attracted retired Torontonians.

Last is the block of counties that make up the southwestern portion of Nova Scotia[21]. Agriculture has declined because the area is far from the main cities, while subsistence farming and small mining enterprises have disappeared, resulting in emigration.

In short, migration—either the departure of the young or the attraction of the old—is primarily responsible for the creation of regions where the proportion of inhabitants 65 and over is clearly higher than the national average. Differences in fertility and mortality play only a minor role.

As there is little more to say with regard to the geography of aging, let us look at a more sociological aspect that is interesting for a number of reasons. If the census division is regarded as the social environment in which people live, which is not precisely true, ***3.6% of Canadians live in a society in which old people are rare, comprising less than 7% of the population; on the other hand, 5.5% live in societies where those 65 and over represent at least 17%***

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[17] In Manitoba, divisions 1, 4, 5, 6, 15, 16, 17 and 20. In Saskatchewan, divisions 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10.
[18] Primarily Okanagan North, Centre and South, Similkameen and Kootenay Boundary.
[19] Mainly Capital, Nanaimo and Sunshine Coast.
[20] Prince Edward, Victoria, Parry Sound, Muskoka, Huron, Peterborough, Grey and Northumberland.
[21] Digby, Annapolis, Queens, Lunenburg, Yarmouth, Guyborough and Victoria.

Table 34. Distribution of Census Divisions by Aging Category and Age Group, Canada, 1995

Category[1] (%)	Mean of the Category	Distribution by Large Age Groups of Persons in the Category						Population	Percent of the Total Population of Canada
		0-14	15-34	35-64	65-74	75+	Total		
	Percentage								
Less than 7	5.0	26.4	32.8	35.7	3.3	1.7	100.0	1,068,740	**3.6**
7 - 10	8.7	22.0	31.3	38.0	5.4	3.3	100.0	7,168,385	**24.2**
11 - 13	12.2	19.4	30.8	37.6	7.1	5.0	100.0	12,407,515	**41.9**
14 - 16	14.6	19.2	28.8	37.4	8.4	6.2	100.0	7,343,090	**24.8**
17 and Over	18.3	18.9	25.7	37.0	10.3	8.1	100.0	1,627,595	**5.5**
Total	12.0	20.2	30.2	37.6	7.1	5.0	100.0	29,615,325	**100.0**

[1] A category is defined according to the proportion of persons 65 and over.

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

of the population (Table 34). In between the two extremes, four in every ten Canadians are part of a community in which 11% to 13% of the people are 65 and over. One quarter of the population lives in a younger environment (7%-10% of the population 65 and over) and another quarter experiences an older one (14%-16%).

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Appendices

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Newfoundland

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	545.2	4.2	8.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	13.0	15.5	-2.5	2.6
1974	549.4	4.5	7.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	12.4	13.0	-0.6	2.6
1975	553.9	7.3	8.0	0.6	0.2	0.1	12.3	11.4	0.9	2.6
1976	561.2	4.0	7.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	9.7	12.4	-2.7	1.6
1977	565.2	2.7	7.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	8.1	12.2	-4.0	1.0
1978	567.9	2.1	6.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	8.1	11.7	-3.5	1.0
1979	569.9	2.3	7.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	8.9	13.1	-4.2	1.0
1980	572.2	3.5	7.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	9.3	12.4	-3.1	1.0
1981	575.8	-0.6	6.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	8.5	14.8	-6.2	1.6
1982	575.1	4.2	5.8	-0.1	0.2	0.1	10.6	10.3	0.3	2.1
1983	579.4	2.0	5.4	-0.2	0.2	-0.2	7.6	8.7	-1.1	2.1
1984	581.4	-0.5	5.0	-0.1	0.2	0.1	5.7	9.3	-3.6	2.1
1985	580.9	-2.0	4.9	-0.1	0.2	0.0	6.0	11.0	-5.0	2.1
1986	578.8	-1.7	4.6	-0.2	0.2	0.2	7.7	12.4	-4.7	1.8
1987	577.1	-1.2	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	8.4	12.8	-4.4	1.5
1988	575.9	0.9	3.9	0.2	0.2	0.3	10.0	12.2	-2.2	1.5
1989	576.8	0.7	4.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	10.1	12.7	-2.6	1.5
1990	577.5	1.5	3.7	0.4	0.1	-0.1	10.2	11.4	-1.1	1.5
1991	578.9	2.5	3.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	9.9	10.9	-1.1	0.6
1992 (PD)	581.4	2.2	3.1	0.5	0.1	1.2	8.0	10.7	-2.7	...
1993 (PR)	583.6	-0.9	2.5	0.5	0.1	-0.5	6.6	10.3	-3.7	...
1994 (PR)	582.7	-4.1	2.3	0.3	0.1	-0.5	6.2	12.6	-6.4	...
1995 (PR)	578.5	-4.0	1.9	0.3	0.1	0.1	9.5	16.1	-6.6	...
1996 (PR)	574.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	545.2	7.7	15.5	-7.8	21.8	6.2	0.6	28.4	0.8
1974	549.4	8.2	12.6	-4.4	18.6	6.0	0.6	23.6	0.9
1975	553.9	13.1	14.3	-1.2	20.1	5.8	0.6	20.5	1.1
1976	561.2	7.0	13.9	-6.8	19.8	5.9	0.4	22.1	0.5
1977	565.2	4.7	12.8	-8.1	18.4	5.5	0.4	21.5	0.3
1978	567.9	3.6	11.3	-7.6	16.7	5.5	0.4	20.5	-0.1
1979	569.9	4.1	12.3	-8.2	17.8	5.5	0.4	23.0	0.4
1980	572.2	6.1	12.2	-6.0	18.0	5.8	0.4	21.5	0.5
1981	575.8	-1.1	12.0	-13.1	17.6	5.6	0.4	25.7	0.2
1982	575.1	7.3	10.0	-2.7	15.9	5.9	0.4	17.9	-0.1
1983	579.4	3.5	9.4	-5.9	15.4	6.0	0.3	14.9	-0.4
1984	581.4	-0.9	8.7	-9.5	14.7	6.1	0.2	16.0	-0.2
1985	580.9	-3.5	8.5	-12.1	14.7	6.1	0.2	18.9	-0.2
1986	578.8	-3.0	7.9	-10.9	14.0	6.1	0.3	21.4	-0.4
1987	577.1	-2.1	7.2	-9.3	13.5	6.3	0.3	22.2	0.2
1988	575.9	1.5	6.8	-5.3	13.0	6.2	0.4	21.1	0.3
1989	576.8	1.2	7.0	-5.8	13.4	6.4	0.4	22.0	0.5
1990	577.5	2.6	6.4	-3.9	13.2	6.7	0.4	19.7	0.6
1991	578.9	4.2	5.8	-1.6	12.4	6.5	0.4	18.9	0.6
1992 (PD)	581.4	3.8	5.4	-1.6	11.9	6.5	0.3	18.4	0.9
1993(PR)	583.6	-1.6	4.3	-5.9	11.0	6.7	0.2	17.6	0.9
1994 (PR)	582.7	-7.1	3.9	-11.1	10.9	7.0	0.2	21.8	0.5
1995 (PR)	578.5	-6.9	3.3	-10.3	10.2	6.8	0.3	27.9	0.6
1996 (PR)	574.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Prince Edward Island

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	114.5	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.8	4.3	0.5	0.7
1974	115.4	1.8	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	5.2	3.8	1.4	0.7
1975	117.2	1.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.6	3.8	0.8	0.7
1976	118.4	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.3	4.0	0.3	0.2
1977	119.5	1.8	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.9	3.3	0.6	-0.1
1978	121.3	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.0	-0.1
1979	122.5	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.6	-0.2	-0.1
1980	123.5	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.1	-1.1	-0.1
1981	123.6	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	4.3	-0.8	0.0
1982	123.8	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.1
1983	124.8	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.5	0.8	0.1
1984	126.4	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.5	0.5	0.1
1985	127.8	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.1
1986	128.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	3.0	-0.5	0.4
1987	128.8	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.8	0.3	0.6
1988	129.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.1	0.4	0.6
1989	130.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.4	-0.1	0.6
1990	130.8	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	3.1	-0.3	0.6
1991	131.0	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.3	-0.4	0.2
1992 (PD)	131.1	1.3	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.3	0.5	...
1993 (PR)	132.5	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	1.9	0.6	...
1994 (PR)	133.9	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.0	0.6	...
1995 (PR)	135.2	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.2	2.9	2.4	0.5	...
1996 (PR)	136.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	114.5	7.7	7.5	0.2	16.4	8.9	0.2	37.7	1.3
1974	115.4	15.6	7.3	8.3	16.7	9.4	0.2	32.5	1.6
1975	117.2	10.2	7.4	2.8	16.4	9.0	0.2	32.2	1.1
1976	118.4	9.3	7.1	2.2	16.3	9.2	0.2	33.6	1.1
1977	119.5	14.6	7.7	7.0	16.4	8.7	0.2	27.2	0.8
1978	121.3	9.8	8.1	1.7	16.3	8.2	0.1	28.4	0.4
1979	122.5	8.3	7.4	0.9	15.7	8.3	0.1	29.4	1.7
1980	123.5	0.7	7.5	-6.7	15.8	8.4	0.1	33.3	1.0
1981	123.6	2.0	7.3	-5.3	15.3	8.0	0.1	34.4	0.3
1982	123.8	7.7	7.6	0.2	15.5	7.9	0.1	27.1	0.6
1983	124.8	13.1	6.8	6.2	15.2	8.4	0.1	19.7	0.0
1984	126.4	10.6	6.6	3.9	15.4	8.7	0.1	20.0	0.1
1985	127.8	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.7	8.7	0.1	22.2	0.2
1986	128.7	1.2	6.3	-5.0	15.0	8.7	0.1	23.2	0.7
1987	128.8	5.8	6.5	-0.7	15.1	8.6	0.1	21.5	0.9
1988	129.6	6.8	6.7	0.2	15.2	8.6	0.1	23.5	0.7
1989	130.5	2.6	6.5	-3.9	14.8	8.3	0.1	26.4	0.7
1990	130.8	1.4	6.7	-5.2	15.4	8.7	0.1	23.7	1.1
1991	131.0	1.2	5.3	-4.1	14.4	9.1	0.1	25.2	0.4
1992 (PD)	131.1	10.2	5.6	4.6	14.0	8.5	0.1	17.1	0.5
1993 (PR)	132.5	10.4	4.6	5.8	13.2	8.6	0.1	14.1	0.7
1994 (PR)	133.9	10.0	4.5	5.5	12.8	8.3	0.1	15.1	0.7
1995 (PR)	135.2	10.2	4.5	5.7	12.9	8.4	0.1	18.0	0.6
1996 (PR)	136.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Nova Scotia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual[2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	810.4	7.6	6.4	1.8	0.4	0.1	26.3	24.1	2.1	3.2
1974	818.1	6.6	6.0	1.9	0.3	-0.1	27.2	25.6	1.6	3.2
1975	824.7	9.6	6.3	1.5	0.3	0.1	25.6	21.1	4.5	3.2
1976	834.2	5.8	5.9	1.4	0.3	-0.1	23.0	22.6	0.4	2.1
1977	840.0	4.1	5.4	1.0	0.3	-0.1	19.9	21.2	-1.3	1.3
1978	844.2	4.9	5.7	0.4	0.3	-0.1	19.5	19.6	-0.1	1.3
1979	849.1	3.7	5.6	0.8	0.3	0.1	18.4	20.3	-1.8	1.3
1980	852.8	3.3	5.4	1.2	0.3	0.2	18.5	21.0	-2.5	1.3
1981	856.1	3.5	5.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	19.3	21.7	-2.5	0.9
1982	859.6	7.5	5.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	18.8	17.3	1.6	0.6
1983	867.1	9.4	5.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	18.3	14.5	3.9	0.6
1984	876.5	8.7	5.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.3	14.4	3.0	0.6
1985	885.2	4.8	5.1	0.5	0.2	-0.2	16.7	16.9	-0.2	0.6
1986	890.0	4.4	5.1	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.1	17.8	-0.7	0.8
1987	894.4	3.1	5.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	17.6	19.8	-2.2	1.0
1988	897.5	5.8	4.8	0.9	0.2	0.8	19.2	19.1	0.1	1.0
1989	903.2	6.5	5.0	1.0	0.2	0.7	20.4	19.8	0.6	1.0
1990	909.8	5.4	5.5	0.9	0.2	-0.2	18.6	18.7	-0.1	1.0
1991	915.2	6.1	4.8	0.5	0.3	-0.1	19.0	17.9	1.0	0.4
1992 (PD)	921.3	6.8	4.3	1.5	0.4	0.5	17.8	17.7	0.1	...
1993 (PR)	928.1	4.6	4.0	2.2	0.4	-0.3	14.8	16.5	-1.7	...
1994 (PR)	932.7	3.1	3.3	2.7	0.4	-0.7	15.1	17.7	-2.6	...
1995 (PR)	935.8	5.4	3.1	2.9	0.4	1.0	18.2	19.9	-1.7	...
1996 (PR)	941.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow[3]			In	Out	
1973	810.4	9.4	7.8	1.5	16.3	8.5	1.2	29.7	2.2
1974	818.1	8.1	7.4	0.7	15.8	8.4	1.2	31.2	2.3
1975	824.7	11.5	7.6	3.9	15.8	8.2	1.2	25.5	1.8
1976	834.2	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.3	8.3	1.0	27.0	1.6
1977	840.0	4.9	6.4	-1.5	14.7	8.3	0.9	25.2	1.2
1978	844.2	5.8	6.7	-0.9	14.8	8.1	0.8	23.2	0.5
1979	849.1	4.4	6.5	-2.2	14.6	8.0	0.8	23.8	1.0
1980	852.8	3.9	6.3	-2.4	14.5	8.2	0.8	24.6	1.4
1981	856.1	4.1	6.0	-1.9	14.1	8.1	0.8	25.3	1.0
1982	859.6	8.7	6.2	2.5	14.3	8.0	0.8	20.0	0.9
1983	867.1	10.8	6.1	4.6	14.2	8.1	0.8	16.6	0.4
1984	876.5	9.8	6.2	3.6	14.1	7.8	0.7	16.3	0.7
1985	885.2	5.4	5.8	-0.4	14.0	8.2	0.7	19.1	0.5
1986	890.0	4.9	5.7	-0.8	13.9	8.1	0.7	20.0	0.7
1987	894.4	3.5	5.6	-2.1	13.5	7.9	0.7	22.1	0.8
1988	897.5	6.4	5.3	1.1	13.5	8.2	0.7	21.2	1.0
1989	903.2	7.2	5.5	1.7	13.8	8.3	0.8	21.9	1.1
1990	909.8	5.9	6.0	-0.1	14.1	8.1	0.7	20.5	1.0
1991	915.2	6.7	5.2	1.5	13.1	7.9	0.7	19.5	0.6
1992 (PD)	921.3	7.4	4.7	2.7	12.8	8.2	0.7	19.1	1.7
1993 (PR)	928.1	4.9	4.3	0.6	12.4	8.1	0.5	17.7	2.4
1994 (PR)	932.7	3.3	3.6	-0.3	11.9	8.3	0.5	19.0	2.8
1995 (PR)	935.8	5.8	3.3	2.5	11.4	8.2	0.6	21.2	3.1
1996 (PR)	941.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

New Brunswick

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual[2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	654.4	8.5	6.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	22.7	19.9	2.8	1.8
1974	663.0	10.1	6.2	0.9	0.6	0.0	22.9	18.7	4.2	1.8
1975	673.1	14.0	6.6	0.9	0.6	0.1	24.2	16.6	7.6	1.8
1976	687.2	8.1	6.6	0.7	0.6	0.0	18.9	17.3	1.6	1.4
1977	695.3	5.0	6.3	0.1	0.5	0.0	15.5	16.4	-0.9	1.1
1978	700.4	3.0	5.6	-0.4	0.5	0.0	14.3	16.0	-1.6	1.1
1979	703.4	3.2	5.7	0.2	0.5	0.1	14.3	16.5	-2.2	1.1
1980	706.6	1.2	5.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	13.2	17.4	-4.2	1.1
1981	707.9	0.1	5.4	-0.1	0.5	0.4	13.8	18.6	-4.8	1.3
1982	708.0	6.0	5.3	-0.3	0.4	-0.2	14.8	12.7	2.2	1.4
1983	714.0	6.3	5.3	-0.2	0.4	0.0	13.2	10.9	2.3	1.4
1984	720.3	4.6	5.1	-0.3	0.4	-0.1	12.0	11.2	0.8	1.4
1985	724.9	2.0	4.9	-0.4	0.5	0.0	11.5	13.1	-1.6	1.4
1986	726.9	1.3	4.3	-0.3	0.4	0.1	11.4	14.3	-2.9	0.4
1987	728.1	3.0	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.1	13.2	15.0	-1.8	-0.3
1988	731.2	4.1	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.6	13.7	14.9	-1.2	-0.3
1989	735.2	4.9	4.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	15.0	15.0	0.0	-0.3
1990	740.1	5.9	4.4	0.0	0.4	-0.1	14.2	13.2	1.0	-0.3
1991	746.1	4.4	4.0	-0.2	0.4	0.1	12.8	12.9	-0.1	-0.1
1992 (PD)	750.5	3.3	3.8	-0.2	0.5	0.5	11.9	13.1	-1.2	...
1993 (PR)	753.8	2.9	3.2	-0.2	0.4	-0.2	10.8	11.2	-0.5	...
1994 (PR)	756.7	2.3	3.1	-0.3	0.5	-0.4	10.7	11.2	-0.5	...
1995 (PR)	759.0	2.6	2.6	-0.3	0.5	0.5	13.4	14.1	-0.8	...
1996 (PR)	761.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow[3]			In	Out	
1973	654.4	13.0	9.6	3.3	17.3	7.7	1.0	30.1	0.6
1974	663.0	15.2	9.3	5.8	17.1	7.8	1.0	28.0	1.3
1975	673.1	20.7	9.8	10.9	17.3	7.6	1.1	24.4	1.3
1976	687.2	11.8	9.6	2.2	17.1	7.5	0.8	25.0	1.0
1977	695.3	7.2	9.1	-1.8	16.5	7.4	0.7	23.4	0.2
1978	700.4	4.3	8.0	-3.7	15.4	7.4	0.6	22.8	-0.6
1979	703.4	4.6	8.1	-3.4	15.4	7.3	0.6	23.4	0.3
1980	706.6	1.8	7.5	-5.8	15.0	7.5	0.6	24.6	0.7
1981	707.9	0.2	7.6	-7.4	14.8	7.3	0.6	26.3	-0.1
1982	708.0	8.4	7.4	1.0	14.8	7.3	0.6	17.8	-0.4
1983	714.0	8.8	7.4	1.4	14.7	7.3	0.5	15.2	-0.3
1984	720.3	6.3	7.0	-0.7	14.3	7.3	0.5	15.5	-0.4
1985	724.9	2.8	6.7	-4.0	13.9	7.2	0.5	18.0	-0.5
1986	726.9	1.8	6.0	-4.2	13.5	7.5	0.5	19.6	-0.4
1987	728.1	4.2	5.7	-1.6	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.5	-0.3
1988	731.2	5.5	5.7	-0.2	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.3	-0.2
1989	735.2	6.6	5.7	1.0	13.1	7.5	0.6	20.4	0.0
1990	740.1	8.0	5.9	2.1	13.2	7.3	0.5	17.7	-0.1
1991	746.1	5.9	5.4	0.5	12.7	7.3	0.5	17.3	-0.2
1992 (PD)	750.5	4.4	5.0	-0.6	12.5	7.5	0.4	17.4	-0.3
1993 (PR)	753.8	3.8	4.3	-0.5	12.0	7.7	0.4	14.8	-0.3
1994 (PR)	756.7	3.1	4.0	-1.0	11.8	7.8	0.4	14.8	-0.4
1995 (PR)	759.0	3.4	3.4	-0.1	11.3	7.8	0.5	18.6	-0.5
1996 (PR)	761.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Quebec

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual[2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	6,210.8	50.7	41.4	13.4	6.7	1.7	39.6	54.4	-14.7	-2.3
1974	6,261.4	59.5	42.9	20.1	6.3	-0.3	39.3	51.2	-11.9	-2.3
1975	6,320.9	64.2	50.2	16.1	6.3	1.7	34.5	46.8	-12.3	-2.3
1976	6,385.1	52.2	53.3	18.4	6.2	-0.5	31.6	52.4	-20.8	4.5
1977	6,437.3	12.0	53.7	9.0	5.5	-0.3	24.4	71.0	-46.5	9.4
1978	6,449.3	17.6	51.8	3.8	5.4	-0.5	24.5	57.9	-33.4	9.4
1979	6,466.9	33.3	55.3	10.5	5.1	1.8	23.6	53.7	-30.0	9.4
1980	6,500.2	43.3	53.9	15.1	4.7	3.3	21.9	46.2	-24.3	9.4
1981	6,543.5	42.6	52.6	13.4	4.2	4.8	23.6	46.1	-22.5	9.8
1982	6,586.1	22.9	47.3	11.8	4.8	-2.8	19.9	48.1	-28.2	10.1
1983	6,609.0	27.6	43.9	7.0	4.3	1.6	22.3	41.4	-19.1	10.1
1984	6,636.6	33.0	43.4	5.8	4.3	0.6	25.2	36.2	-10.9	10.1
1985	6,669.6	40.5	40.6	7.2	4.1	4.6	25.4	31.4	-6.0	10.1
1986	6,710.1	60.0	37.7	12.4	4.0	13.9	26.0	29.0	-3.0	5.0
1987	6,770.1	59.0	36.2	21.1	3.5	7.1	26.0	33.4	-7.4	1.4
1988	6,829.1	77.0	38.8	20.7	3.0	22.9	27.8	34.8	-7.0	1.4
1989	6,906.0	73.0	44.1	28.7	2.9	7.2	29.5	37.8	-8.4	1.4
1990	6,979.0	69.4	49.6	35.5	2.6	-7.4	26.9	36.4	-9.6	1.4
1991	7,048.4	70.9	48.2	45.1	3.1	-11.9	24.5	37.6	-13.0	0.6
1992 (PD)	7,119.3	80.2	47.3	42.3	3.2	-3.1	25.4	34.9	-9.5	...
1993 (PR)	7,199.5	70.8	40.7	38.9	3.1	-4.7	23.5	30.7	-7.2	...
1994 (PR)	7,270.3	44.6	39.2	21.9	3.1	-10.2	22.9	32.3	-9.4	...
1995 (PR)	7,315.0	55.4	34.9	20.3	3.1	6.6	26.9	37.6	-10.8	...
1996 (PR)	7,370.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow[3]			In	Out	
1973	6,210.8	8.1	6.6	1.5	13.5	6.8	2.5	8.7	2.1
1974	6,261.4	9.5	6.8	2.6	13.6	6.8	2.4	8.1	3.2
1975	6,320.9	10.1	7.9	2.2	14.7	6.8	2.1	7.4	2.5
1976	6,385.1	8.1	8.3	-0.2	15.0	6.7	1.9	8.2	2.9
1977	6,437.3	1.9	8.3	-6.5	15.1	6.7	1.4	11.0	1.4
1978	6,449.3	2.7	8.0	-5.3	14.8	6.7	1.4	9.0	0.6
1979	6,466.9	5.1	8.5	-3.4	15.2	6.7	1.3	8.3	1.6
1980	6,500.2	6.6	8.3	-1.6	14.9	6.7	1.2	7.1	2.3
1981	6,543.5	6.5	8.0	-1.5	14.5	6.5	1.3	7.0	2.0
1982	6,586.1	3.5	7.2	-3.7	13.8	6.6	1.1	7.3	1.8
1983	6,609.0	4.2	6.6	-2.5	13.3	6.7	1.2	6.3	1.1
1984	6,636.6	5.0	6.5	-1.6	13.2	6.7	1.3	5.4	0.9
1985	6,669.6	6.0	6.1	0.0	12.9	6.8	1.3	4.7	1.1
1986	6,710.1	8.9	5.6	3.3	12.6	7.0	1.4	4.3	1.8
1987	6,770.1	8.7	5.3	3.4	12.3	7.0	1.3	4.9	3.1
1988	6,829.1	11.2	5.7	5.6	12.6	7.0	1.4	5.1	3.0
1989	6,906.0	10.5	6.3	4.2	13.3	7.0	1.5	5.4	4.1
1990	6,979.0	9.9	7.1	2.8	14.0	6.9	1.3	5.2	5.1
1991	7,048.4	10.0	6.8	3.2	13.7	6.9	1.2	5.3	6.4
1992 (PD)	7,119.3	11.2	6.6	4.6	13.4	6.8	1.2	4.9	5.9
1993 (PR)	7,199.5	9.8	5.6	4.2	12.8	7.1	1.1	4.2	5.4
1994 (PR)	7,270.3	6.1	5.4	0.7	12.4	7.0	1.1	4.4	3.0
1995 (PR)	7,315.0	7.5	4.7	2.8	11.9	7.2	1.2	5.1	2.8
1996 (PR)	7,370.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Ontario

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	8,032.5	126.1	63.9	65.5	18.1	4.1	104.2	109.4	-5.3	20.2
1974	8,158.7	120.1	63.7	82.6	17.3	-1.2	89.5	111.7	-22.2	20.2
1975	8,278.7	106.1	65.2	64.6	17.5	4.1	80.9	106.0	-25.1	20.2
1976	8,384.8	92.2	62.1	41.3	17.3	-1.7	88.7	99.2	-10.5	16.2
1977	8,477.0	98.2	61.3	27.3	15.4	-1.2	98.6	90.0	8.6	13.4
1978	8,575.2	72.6	59.8	12.3	15.2	-1.7	86.6	86.2	0.4	13.4
1979	8,647.8	76.0	60.2	26.1	14.4	4.0	83.5	98.9	-15.3	13.4
1980	8,723.9	74.0	60.6	41.1	13.0	7.6	74.2	109.1	-34.9	13.4
1981	8,797.9	96.3	59.3	32.2	11.9	17.5	80.6	100.2	-19.7	5.0
1982	8,894.1	120.4	61.2	25.4	13.4	-0.1	89.1	69.5	19.6	-1.0
1983	9,014.5	123.6	62.3	13.5	12.3	1.7	88.2	55.4	32.8	-1.0
1984	9,138.1	131.3	66.6	16.7	11.9	-1.6	89.1	52.4	36.7	-1.0
1985	9,269.4	132.2	65.5	16.6	12.4	3.4	88.4	54.9	33.4	-1.0
1986	9,401.7	174.1	66.0	27.9	11.4	24.7	100.1	57.1	42.9	-1.1
1987	9,575.8	206.4	66.5	65.4	10.8	22.2	104.7	64.4	40.3	-1.2
1988	9,782.2	235.2	67.4	72.2	9.5	70.0	91.4	76.5	14.9	-1.2
1989	10,017.4	218.6	74.4	87.3	9.3	47.6	87.3	88.5	-1.2	-1.2
1990	10,236.0	165.4	80.1	96.8	8.4	-6.0	75.2	90.3	-15.1	-1.2
1991	10,401.4	147.2	78.6	98.2	9.9	-30.0	71.2	81.2	-10.0	-0.5
1992 (PD)	10,548.6	175.6	77.4	119.2	9.9	-17.7	67.6	80.8	-13.2	...
1993 (PR)	10,724.2	148.2	72.0	115.5	9.6	-36.9	60.7	72.6	-11.9	...
1994 (PR)	10,872.4	132.5	69.6	98.1	9.7	-40.0	65.6	70.3	-4.7	...
1995 (PR)	11,004.9	181.2	67.8	95.9	9.6	13.0	78.7	81.7	-3.0	...
1996 (PR)	11,186.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

Year	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	8,032.5	15.6	7.9	7.7	15.3	7.4	7.3	13.5	8.1
1974	8,158.7	14.6	7.7	6.9	15.1	7.4	6.2	13.6	10.1
1975	8,278.7	12.7	7.8	4.9	15.1	7.3	5.6	12.7	7.8
1976	8,384.8	10.9	7.4	3.6	14.6	7.2	6.0	11.8	4.9
1977	8,477.0	11.5	7.2	4.3	14.4	7.2	6.6	10.6	3.2
1978	8,575.2	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.0	7.1	5.7	10.0	1.4
1979	8,647.8	8.8	6.9	1.8	14.0	7.1	5.4	11.4	3.0
1980	8,723.9	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.1	7.2	4.8	12.5	4.7
1981	8,797.9	10.9	6.7	4.2	13.8	7.1	5.1	11.3	3.6
1982	8,894.1	13.4	6.8	6.6	13.9	7.1	5.6	7.8	2.8
1983	9,014.5	13.6	6.9	6.7	14.0	7.1	5.5	6.1	1.5
1984	9,138.1	14.3	7.2	7.0	14.3	7.0	5.5	5.7	1.8
1985	9,269.4	14.2	7.0	7.2	14.2	7.1	5.4	5.9	1.8
1986	9,401.7	18.4	7.0	11.4	14.1	7.2	6.1	6.0	2.9
1987	9,575.8	21.3	6.9	14.5	13.9	7.0	6.3	6.7	6.8
1988	9,782.2	23.8	6.8	16.9	13.9	7.1	5.5	7.7	7.3
1989	10,017.4	21.6	7.3	14.2	14.4	7.0	5.2	8.7	8.6
1990	10,236.0	16.0	7.8	8.3	14.6	6.9	4.4	8.8	9.4
1991	10,401.4	14.1	7.5	6.6	14.5	7.0	4.1	7.8	9.4
1992 (PD)	10,548.6	16.5	7.3	9.2	14.2	6.9	3.9	7.6	11.2
1993 (PR)	10,724.2	13.7	6.7	7.1	13.7	7.0	3.4	6.7	10.7
1994 (PR)	10,872.4	12.1	6.4	5.8	13.4	7.1	3.6	7.5	9.0
1995 (PR)	11,004.9	16.3	6.1	10.2	13.2	7.1	4.3	7.9	8.6
1996 (PR)	11,186.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Manitoba

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,004.5	9.8	8.8	3.7	1.4	0.2	33.8	36.0	-2.2	2.1
1974	1,014.3	7.2	8.9	4.5	1.4	-0.1	30.2	35.6	-5.4	2.1
1975	1,021.5	8.6	8.8	4.5	1.4	0.2	28.4	32.5	-4.1	2.1
1976	1,030.1	6.4	8.5	3.2	1.3	-0.1	25.1	28.7	-3.7	2.9
1977	1,036.5	5.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	-0.1	21.6	25.3	-3.8	3.4
1978	1,041.8	-2.5	8.1	1.3	1.2	-0.1	18.7	28.2	-9.6	3.4
1979	1,039.3	-4.9	8.0	3.0	1.1	0.2	18.8	32.6	-13.8	3.4
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.6	6.1	1.0	0.4	19.0	30.4	-11.3	3.4
1981	1,034.8	7.8	7.4	3.4	1.0	0.7	22.7	26.3	-3.6	1.2
1982	1,042.6	13.7	7.6	3.2	0.8	0.2	20.9	19.4	1.5	-0.4
1983	1,056.2	12.7	8.1	1.8	1.0	0.4	18.5	17.5	1.0	-0.4
1984	1,069.0	11.7	8.4	2.3	0.8	-0.2	17.2	17.2	0.0	-0.4
1985	1,080.7	9.4	8.3	1.6	0.9	-0.1	17.2	19.0	-1.8	-0.4
1986	1,090.1	7.0	8.1	1.9	0.9	0.2	17.4	20.5	-3.0	1.0
1987	1,097.0	5.3	8.2	2.8	0.9	0.1	18.1	22.9	-4.8	2.0
1988	1,102.3	1.8	7.9	3.0	0.8	0.7	16.1	24.7	-8.6	2.0
1989	1,104.1	1.4	8.5	3.7	1.0	0.2	17.1	27.1	-10.0	2.0
1990	1,105.6	3.5	8.5	4.6	0.9	0.2	16.9	25.5	-8.6	2.0
1991	1,109.1	5.0	8.3	3.5	1.2	0.4	16.1	23.6	-7.6	0.8
1992 (PD)	1,114.1	6.0	7.6	3.0	1.1	0.4	15.9	22.0	-6.2	...
1993 (PR)	1,120.0	6.1	7.4	2.7	1.0	-0.3	14.5	19.2	-4.7	...
1994 (PR)	1,126.1	5.7	7.3	1.9	1.1	-0.8	15.3	19.1	-3.8	...
1995 (PR)	1,131.8	7.9	6.5	1.2	1.1	1.3	19.1	21.6	-2.6	...
1996 (PR)	1,139.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	1,004.5	9.7	8.7	1.0	16.8	8.1	1.6	35.6	3.7
1974	1,014.3	7.0	8.7	-1.7	17.0	8.3	1.4	35.0	4.5
1975	1,021.5	8.4	8.5	-0.1	16.7	8.2	1.3	31.7	4.4
1976	1,030.1	6.1	8.2	-2.0	16.2	8.0	1.1	27.8	3.1
1977	1,036.5	5.1	8.2	-3.1	16.1	7.9	1.0	24.4	2.7
1978	1,041.8	-2.4	7.8	-10.2	15.8	8.0	0.8	27.1	1.3
1979	1,039.3	-4.7	7.7	-12.4	15.7	7.9	0.8	31.4	2.9
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.3	-7.0	15.5	8.2	0.8	29.4	5.9
1981	1,034.8	7.5	7.1	0.3	15.5	8.3	1.0	25.3	3.3
1982	1,042.6	13.0	7.3	5.8	15.4	8.1	0.9	18.5	3.1
1983	1,056.2	12.0	7.6	4.4	15.6	8.0	0.8	16.5	1.7
1984	1,069.0	10.9	7.8	3.1	15.5	7.7	0.7	16.0	2.2
1985	1,080.7	8.7	7.7	1.0	15.8	8.1	0.7	17.5	1.5
1986	1,090.1	6.4	7.4	-1.0	15.6	8.1	0.7	18.7	1.7
1987	1,097.0	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.4	7.9	0.7	20.8	2.5
1988	1,102.3	1.7	7.2	-5.5	15.4	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7
1989	1,104.1	1.3	7.7	-6.4	15.7	8.0	0.7	24.5	3.4
1990	1,105.6	3.2	7.7	-4.5	15.7	8.0	0.6	23.1	4.1
1991	1,109.1	4.5	7.5	-3.0	15.5	8.0	0.6	21.3	3.1
1992 (PD)	1,114.1	5.3	6.8	-1.5	14.9	8.0	0.6	19.7	2.7
1993 (PR)	1,120.0	5.4	6.6	-1.2	14.9	8.3	0.5	17.1	2.4
1994 (PR)	1,126.1	5.0	6.5	-1.4	14.6	8.1	0.6	16.9	1.6
1995 (PR)	1,131.8	7.0	5.7	1.3	14.2	8.5	0.7	19.1	1.1
1996 (PR)	1,139.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Saskatchewan

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	915.9	-6.1	7.2	0.4	0.7	0.1	26.2	39.4	-13.3	1.3
1974	909.8	2.7	7.3	0.8	0.7	0.0	28.0	32.8	-4.8	1.3
1975	912.5	15.3	7.6	1.6	0.7	0.1	30.0	23.4	6.6	1.3
1976	927.8	13.0	8.2	1.2	0.7	0.0	26.2	22.4	3.8	0.8
1977	940.7	10.6	9.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	22.2	21.8	0.4	0.4
1978	951.3	5.6	8.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	19.3	23.0	-3.7	0.4
1979	956.9	8.1	9.6	1.8	0.5	0.1	21.1	24.6	-3.5	0.4
1980	965.0	8.1	9.4	2.8	0.5	0.2	20.7	25.0	-4.4	0.4
1981	973.1	11.3	9.7	1.4	0.5	0.3	23.2	23.7	-0.5	0.1
1982	984.4	12.9	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.0	21.0	19.3	1.7	-0.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	0.5	0.5	0.1	19.5	17.0	2.5	-0.1
1984	1,011.3	12.9	10.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	17.3	16.6	0.7	-0.1
1985	1,024.2	6.6	10.1	0.5	0.6	0.3	15.8	20.8	-5.0	-0.1
1986	1,030.8	2.8	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.4	15.9	22.9	-7.0	1.5
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	9.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	15.7	24.7	-9.0	2.6
1988	1,033.2	-8.1	8.7	1.3	0.5	0.4	13.6	30.0	-16.3	2.6
1989	1,025.1	-10.6	8.7	1.2	0.5	0.2	15.3	33.9	-18.6	2.6
1990	1,014.5	-8.4	8.0	1.5	0.5	0.1	16.1	32.0	-15.9	2.6
1991	1,006.1	-1.0	7.2	1.6	0.5	0.4	17.4	26.9	-9.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	1,005.1	2.8	7.2	1.6	0.5	0.5	17.4	24.3	-6.9	...
1993 (PR)	1,007.9	3.0	6.1	1.5	0.5	-0.2	15.8	20.6	-4.8	...
1994 (PR)	1,010.9	3.2	5.7	1.3	0.5	-0.7	17.0	20.6	-3.6	...
1995 (PR)	1,014.0	5.7	5.0	0.9	0.5	1.2	20.7	23.1	-2.4	...
1996 (PR)	1,019.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	915.9	-6.7	7.8	-14.5	16.2	8.4	1.2	43.2	0.5
1974	909.8	3.0	8.0	-5.1	16.6	8.6	1.3	36.0	0.9
1975	912.5	16.6	8.3	8.3	16.6	8.3	1.4	25.5	1.7
1976	927.8	13.9	8.7	5.2	17.1	8.4	1.2	24.0	1.2
1977	940.7	11.2	9.5	1.7	17.5	8.0	1.0	23.1	1.2
1978	951.3	5.9	9.2	-3.3	17.3	8.1	0.8	24.1	0.4
1979	956.9	8.4	10.0	-1.6	17.6	7.7	0.9	25.6	1.9
1980	965.0	8.4	9.7	-1.3	17.6	7.9	0.9	25.8	2.9
1981	973.1	11.5	9.9	1.6	17.6	7.7	1.0	24.2	1.5
1982	984.4	13.0	9.6	3.4	17.9	8.3	0.9	19.5	1.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	3.8	17.8	7.6	0.8	16.9	0.5
1984	1,011.3	12.7	10.1	2.6	17.7	7.6	0.7	16.3	1.1
1985	1,024.2	6.4	9.9	-3.4	17.7	7.8	0.6	20.2	0.5
1986	1,030.8	2.7	9.2	-6.4	17.0	7.8	0.6	22.2	1.0
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	8.9	-9.3	16.5	7.6	0.6	23.9	1.1
1988	1,033.2	-7.9	8.4	-16.3	16.3	7.9	0.5	29.1	1.3
1989	1,025.1	-10.4	8.6	-19.0	16.3	7.8	0.6	33.2	1.1
1990	1,014.5	-8.3	8.0	-16.3	15.9	8.0	0.6	31.7	1.5
1991	1,006.1	-1.0	7.2	-8.1	15.2	8.1	0.7	26.8	1.6
1992 (PD)	1,005.1	2.8	7.2	-4.4	14.9	7.7	0.6	24.2	1.6
1993 (PR)	1,007.9	3.0	6.0	-3.1	14.1	8.1	0.6	20.4	1.4
1994 (PR)	1,010.9	3.1	5.7	-2.5	13.9	8.2	0.6	20.4	1.2
1995 (PR)	1,014.0	5.6	4.9	0.7	13.3	8.4	0.7	22.7	0.9
1996 (PR)	1,019.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Alberta

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,716.6	28.8	18.5	2.2	4.6	0.7	70.5	67.8	2.7	-0.1
1974	1,745.5	42.4	18.6	4.6	4.4	-0.1	75.4	60.6	14.8	-0.1
1975	1,787.9	56.4	20.2	7.4	4.5	0.7	76.7	53.2	23.5	-0.1
1976	1,844.2	74.0	21.5	6.6	4.5	-0.2	83.5	49.3	34.2	-7.4
1977	1,918.2	76.2	22.8	4.6	4.1	-0.1	82.8	50.5	32.3	-12.5
1978	1,994.4	73.1	23.5	1.3	4.1	-0.2	82.6	50.6	32.0	-12.5
1979	2,067.5	86.5	24.9	5.2	4.0	0.7	96.1	56.9	39.2	-12.5
1980	2,154.1	103.9	27.0	12.4	3.7	1.2	106.7	59.8	46.9	-12.5
1981	2,257.9	90.0	29.8	11.6	3.6	2.5	107.6	67.3	40.2	-2.3
1982	2,347.9	43.4	32.1	8.8	4.1	-0.4	72.7	68.8	4.0	5.0
1983	2,391.4	7.2	33.0	1.5	4.0	0.0	45.9	72.1	-26.2	5.0
1984	2,398.6	2.2	31.4	2.3	3.9	0.2	39.3	69.9	-30.6	5.0
1985	2,400.8	22.1	30.6	0.5	4.3	1.2	49.9	59.5	-9.6	5.0
1986	2,422.9	14.5	30.2	2.4	3.7	2.5	49.5	69.8	-20.3	3.9
1987	2,437.4	11.2	28.8	4.6	3.8	4.6	45.3	72.9	-27.6	3.0
1988	2,448.6	35.3	28.2	7.5	3.6	4.7	54.8	60.3	-5.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	44.8	29.5	9.8	3.3	1.9	64.7	61.3	3.4	3.0
1990	2,528.7	52.0	28.9	12.4	3.1	-0.4	67.4	56.3	11.1	3.0
1991	2,580.7	43.9	28.3	8.4	3.8	-0.8	61.2	55.7	5.5	1.3
1992 (PD)	2,624.6	42.9	27.4	10.2	3.8	1.6	55.6	55.7	-0.1	...
1993 (PR)	2,667.5	33.8	25.0	11.1	3.7	-3.2	48.5	51.2	-2.7	...
1994 (PR)	2,701.4	30.2	24.2	10.4	3.8	-5.5	50.7	53.3	-2.6	...
1995 (PR)	2,731.6	41.7	23.0	7.0	3.7	4.5	60.0	56.8	3.2	...
1996 (PR)	2,773.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	1,716.6	16.7	10.7	6.0	16.9	6.2	3.4	39.2	1.3
1974	1,745.5	24.0	10.5	13.5	16.9	6.4	3.6	34.3	2.6
1975	1,787.9	31.0	11.1	19.9	17.4	6.3	3.6	29.3	4.1
1976	1,844.2	39.3	11.4	27.9	17.6	6.2	3.9	26.2	3.5
1977	1,918.2	39.0	11.7	27.3	17.6	5.9	3.8	25.8	2.3
1978	1,994.4	36.0	11.5	24.5	17.4	5.9	3.8	24.9	0.6
1979	2,067.5	41.0	11.8	29.2	17.5	5.7	4.4	27.0	2.5
1980	2,154.1	47.1	12.3	34.8	18.0	5.8	4.8	27.1	5.6
1981	2,257.9	39.1	12.9	26.1	18.5	5.6	4.8	29.2	5.0
1982	2,347.9	18.3	13.5	4.8	19.0	5.5	3.2	29.0	3.7
1983	2,391.4	3.0	13.8	-10.8	19.0	5.3	2.0	30.1	0.6
1984	2,398.6	0.9	13.1	-12.1	18.4	5.3	1.7	29.1	1.0
1985	2,400.8	9.1	12.7	-3.5	18.2	5.5	2.1	24.7	0.2
1986	2,422.9	6.0	12.4	-6.4	18.0	5.6	2.1	28.7	1.0
1987	2,437.4	4.6	11.8	-7.2	17.2	5.5	1.9	29.8	1.9
1988	2,448.6	14.3	11.4	2.9	17.1	5.6	2.3	24.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	17.9	11.8	6.1	17.3	5.5	2.6	24.5	3.9
1990	2,528.7	20.3	11.3	9.0	16.8	5.5	2.7	22.1	4.8
1991	2,580.7	16.9	10.9	6.0	16.4	5.6	2.4	21.4	3.2
1992 (PD)	2,624.6	16.2	10.3	5.9	15.9	5.5	2.2	21.0	3.9
1993 (PR)	2,667.5	12.6	9.3	3.3	15.0	5.7	1.9	19.1	4.1
1994 (PR)	2,701.4	11.1	8.9	2.2	14.6	5.7	1.9	19.6	3.8
1995 (PR)	2,731.6	15.2	8.4	6.8	14.1	5.8	2.3	20.6	2.6
1996 (PR)	2,773.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

British Columbia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration[1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	2,348.3	72.1	16.3	17.6	4.8	0.8	87.1	56.6	30.5	-2.0
1974	2,420.4	69.5	16.3	24.0	4.7	-0.2	84.2	61.5	22.7	-2.0
1975	2,489.9	41.6	17.1	19.7	4.8	0.8	61.1	64.0	-2.9	-2.0
1976	2,531.5	32.1	17.1	11.8	4.8	-0.3	59.3	60.8	-1.5	-0.3
1977	2,563.6	43.8	18.1	7.1	4.3	-0.2	62.8	47.3	15.5	1.0
1978	2,607.5	45.6	18.2	3.8	4.3	-0.3	65.4	44.7	20.7	1.0
1979	2,653.1	65.5	19.2	9.2	4.1	0.8	76.6	43.4	33.2	1.0
1980	2,718.5	83.4	20.7	18.2	3.8	1.5	80.0	39.8	40.2	1.0
1981	2,801.9	65.3	21.6	15.5	3.4	3.3	70.4	48.8	21.6	0.1
1982	2,867.2	34.8	22.0	10.9	3.9	-0.6	45.9	47.9	-2.0	-0.6
1983	2,901.9	38.3	23.1	6.4	3.7	0.5	43.9	39.9	4.0	-0.6
1984	2,940.3	36.0	23.2	4.5	3.8	0.4	42.0	38.5	3.5	-0.6
1985	2,976.2	28.6	21.8	3.6	3.9	1.8	42.6	45.8	-3.2	-0.6
1986	3,004.8	33.9	20.8	4.3	4.0	4.5	49.5	48.6	0.9	0.6
1987	3,038.7	57.7	20.0	12.0	3.7	5.8	60.9	43.3	17.6	1.5
1988	3,096.4	74.0	20.4	17.5	3.2	8.5	67.5	41.6	25.9	1.5
1989	3,170.4	88.2	20.8	19.3	3.2	9.0	79.4	42.0	37.4	1.5
1990	3,258.6	87.7	22.0	22.5	3.1	2.8	78.4	39.7	38.7	1.5
1991	3,346.3	84.0	21.6	25.1	3.3	0.0	74.5	39.9	34.6	0.6
1992 (PD)	3,430.3	100.3	21.5	30.0	3.4	5.9	78.4	39.0	39.5	...
1993 (PR)	3,530.5	96.5	20.3	38.9	3.3	-3.5	74.2	36.7	37.5	...
1994 (PR)	3,627.0	94.2	21.1	42.1	3.4	-5.7	73.4	40.1	33.4	...
1995 (PR)	3,721.3	98.2	20.4	37.2	3.4	13.5	75.8	51.7	24.0	...
1996 (PR)	3,819.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

Year	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	2,348.3	30.2	6.8	23.4	14.4	7.6	4.4	23.7	7.4
1974	2,420.4	28.3	6.6	21.7	14.4	7.8	4.2	25.1	9.8
1975	2,489.9	16.6	6.8	9.8	14.5	7.6	3.0	25.5	7.9
1976	2,531.5	12.6	6.7	5.9	14.1	7.4	2.9	23.9	4.6
1977	2,563.6	17.0	7.0	10.0	14.2	7.2	3.0	18.3	2.8
1978	2,607.5	17.3	6.9	10.4	14.2	7.2	3.1	17.0	1.4
1979	2,653.1	24.4	7.2	17.2	14.3	7.2	3.6	16.2	3.4
1980	2,718.5	30.2	7.5	22.7	14.5	7.0	3.7	14.4	6.6
1981	2,801.9	23.0	7.6	15.4	14.6	7.0	3.2	17.2	5.5
1982	2,867.2	12.1	7.6	4.4	14.8	7.2	2.1	16.6	3.8
1983	2,901.9	13.1	7.9	5.2	14.7	6.8	2.0	13.7	2.2
1984	2,940.3	12.2	7.9	4.3	14.8	7.0	1.9	13.0	1.5
1985	2,976.2	9.6	7.3	2.3	14.4	7.1	1.9	15.3	1.2
1986	3,004.8	11.2	6.9	4.3	13.9	7.0	2.2	16.1	1.4
1987	3,038.7	18.8	6.5	12.3	13.6	7.1	2.6	14.1	3.9
1988	3,096.4	23.6	6.5	17.1	13.7	7.2	2.9	13.3	5.6
1989	3,170.4	27.4	6.5	21.0	13.6	7.2	3.3	13.1	6.0
1990	3,258.6	26.6	6.7	19.9	13.8	7.1	3.3	12.0	6.8
1991	3,346.3	24.8	6.4	18.4	13.5	7.1	3.1	11.8	7.4
1992 (PD)	3,430.3	28.8	6.2	22.6	13.3	7.1	3.2	11.2	8.6
1993 (PR)	3,530.5	27.0	5.7	21.3	12.9	7.2	3.0	10.3	10.9
1994 (PR)	3,627.0	25.6	5.7	19.9	12.8	7.1	2.9	10.9	11.5
1995 (PR)	3,721.3	26.1	5.4	20.6	12.4	7.0	3.0	13.7	9.9
1996 (PR)	3,819.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Yukon

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	20.9	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.6	-0.3	-0.1
1974	21.1	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.1
1975	21.7	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	2.8	2.5	0.2	-0.1
1976	22.4	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.9	-0.4	-0.3
1977	22.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.4
1978	23.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.8	-0.2	-0.4
1979	24.1	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.8	-0.4	-0.4
1980	24.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.7	-0.4	-0.4
1981	24.9	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	4.1	-1.4	-0.3
1982	24.4	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	2.8	-1.2	-0.3
1983	23.8	-0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.4	-0.8	-0.3
1984	23.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.7	-0.1	-0.3
1985	24.4	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.0	-0.4	-0.3
1986	24.6	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.0	0.2	-0.2
1987	25.4	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.2	0.1	-0.2
1988	26.1	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.1	0.3	-0.2
1989	27.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	-0.2
1990	27.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	-0.2
1991	28.4	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.4	1.9	0.5	-0.1
1992 (PD)	29.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	...
1993 (PR)	30.1	-0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1	1.6	2.4	-0.8	...
1994 (PR)	29.6	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	-0.1	1.8	2.0	-0.1	...
1995 (PR)	29.9	1.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.0	0.8	...
1996 (PR)	31.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	20.9	7.7	14.7	-7.0	20.0	5.3	0.1	121.5	-0.9
1974	21.1	28.4	17.8	10.6	23.1	5.3	0.1	125.3	-0.3
1975	21.7	30.9	13.4	17.5	18.5	5.1	0.1	113.7	0.0
1976	22.4	12.7	14.4	-1.7	19.9	5.5	0.1	129.2	-0.7
1977	22.7	35.2	14.2	21.0	18.8	4.5	0.1	119.1	-1.4
1978	23.5	25.5	15.0	10.5	18.8	3.7	0.1	119.0	-1.3
1979	24.1	15.8	15.4	0.5	20.6	5.2	0.1	116.3	-0.3
1980	24.5	17.1	14.1	3.0	19.3	5.2	0.1	109.9	1.4
1981	24.9	-21.8	16.0	-37.9	21.8	5.7	0.1	165.7	1.0
1982	24.4	-21.9	16.9	-38.7	21.8	4.9	0.1	117.4	-1.7
1983	23.8	-2.4	17.9	-20.4	22.7	4.7	0.1	99.3	0.5
1984	23.8	25.6	17.1	8.6	21.5	4.5	0.1	70.6	-0.4
1985	24.4	9.7	13.9	-4.2	18.9	5.0	0.1	82.6	-0.3
1986	24.6	31.3	14.8	16.5	19.3	4.5	0.1	80.4	-0.2
1987	25.4	28.1	14.3	13.8	18.5	4.2	0.1	85.7	0.8
1988	26.1	36.0	14.5	21.6	19.6	5.1	0.1	78.9	1.0
1989	27.1	23.6	14.0	9.5	17.5	3.5	0.1	85.5	2.1
1990	27.8	22.9	15.7	7.2	19.8	4.1	0.1	80.1	0.9
1991	28.4	39.1	15.7	23.4	19.6	3.9	0.1	64.6	0.3
1992 (PD)	29.5	18.1	13.8	4.3	17.8	3.9	0.1	75.1	1.9
1993 (PR)	30.1	-14.4	12.9	-27.3	17.0	4.1	0.1	78.3	1.3
1994 (PR)	29.6	7.2	10.7	-3.5	14.9	4.2	0.1	78.4	2.9
1995 (PR)	29.9	39.9	10.3	29.6	15.4	5.2	0.1	78.5	1.3
1996 (PR)	31.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Northwest Territories

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration [1]	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual [2]
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	40.3	0.8	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.6	4.0	-0.4	-0.1
1974	41.2	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.2	0.2	-0.1
1975	42.4	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	3.9	0.4	-0.1
1976	44.1	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.9	-0.8	-0.3
1977	44.7	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.4	5.4	-1.0	-0.3
1978	45.1	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.9	4.8	-1.0	-0.3
1979	45.6	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.6	-0.8	-0.3
1980	46.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.3	-0.9	-0.3
1981	46.9	1.8	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.1	0.2	-0.4
1982	48.6	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	3.2	0.6	-0.4
1983	50.8	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	-0.4
1984	52.5	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.1	-0.4
1985	54.2	1.1	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.0	-0.6	-0.4
1986	55.3	-0.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	4.9	-1.8	-0.4
1987	55.2	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	4.7	-1.2	-0.4
1988	55.8	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.5	4.3	-0.8	-0.4
1989	56.9	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.1	-0.4	-0.4
1990	58.3	1.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.8	3.8	0.0	-0.4
1991	60.1	1.8	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.6	0.1	-0.2
1992 (PD)	61.9	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.7	-0.3	...
1993 (PR)	63.0	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.1	-0.1	...
1994 (PR)	64.3	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	-0.1	3.2	3.4	-0.2	...
1995 (PR)	65.4	0.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	4.0	-0.7	...
1996 (PR)	66.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...

	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration
		Total	Natural	By Flow [3]			In	Out	
1973	40.3	20.5	23.4	-2.9	29.6	6.1	0.2	98.1	3.4
1974	41.2	31.1	20.0	11.1	24.9	4.9	0.2	100.4	3.9
1975	42.4	38.2	22.2	16.0	27.2	5.0	0.2	90.6	3.6
1976	44.1	13.1	21.9	-8.8	26.6	4.8	0.2	110.5	3.2
1977	44.7	9.8	22.1	-12.3	26.5	4.5	0.2	119.7	2.0
1978	45.1	10.3	22.0	-11.7	26.5	4.5	0.2	106.4	1.8
1979	45.6	15.3	23.5	-8.1	27.9	4.5	0.2	99.1	2.4
1980	46.3	12.2	22.8	-10.7	28.0	5.1	0.1	92.4	1.5
1981	46.9	37.5	23.2	14.4	27.3	4.1	0.2	84.9	1.5
1982	48.6	44.0	22.7	21.3	27.4	4.7	0.2	65.2	0.6
1983	50.8	31.9	24.2	7.7	28.9	4.7	0.1	66.5	0.4
1984	52.5	32.1	22.6	9.5	27.1	4.4	0.1	65.5	0.6
1985	54.2	19.5	22.3	-2.9	26.3	3.9	0.1	73.1	-0.2
1986	55.3	-1.8	23.0	-24.8	27.3	4.3	0.1	88.9	-0.2
1987	55.2	11.5	23.9	-12.4	27.4	3.6	0.1	84.5	0.1
1988	55.8	19.6	23.7	-4.1	27.6	3.9	0.1	76.4	0.4
1989	56.9	23.4	21.4	2.0	25.7	4.3	0.1	71.2	-0.2
1990	58.3	31.8	22.9	8.9	26.8	3.8	0.1	63.5	-0.4
1991	60.1	29.1	22.9	6.2	26.8	3.9	0.1	58.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	61.9	17.2	20.8	-3.6	24.9	4.1	0.1	59.1	0.8
1993 (PR)	63.0	20.1	20.4	-0.3	24.5	4.1	0.1	48.2	1.5
1994 (PR)	64.3	17.6	20.7	-3.0	24.4	3.7	0.1	51.9	0.5
1995 (PR)	65.4	10.9	21.1	-10.1	24.5	3.5	0.1	61.4	0.1
1996 (PR)	66.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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

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

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

(PD) Final postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

(PR) Updated postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

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

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

Table A2. Nuptiality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Number of Marriages												
1978	3,841	939	6,560	5,310	45,936	67,491	8,232	7,139	18,277	21,388	194	216	185,523
1979	3,737	893	6,920	5,355	46,341	67,980	7,769	7,272	18,999	22,087	181	277	187,811
1980	3,783	939	6,791	5,321	44,848	68,840	7,869	7,561	20,818	23,830	200	269	191,069
1981	3,758	849	6,632	5,108	41,005	70,281	8,123	7,329	21,781	24,699	235	282	190,082
1982	3,764	855	6,486	4,923	38,354	71,595	8,264	7,491	22,312	23,831	225	260	188,360
1983	3,778	937	6,505	5,260	36,144	70,893	8,261	7,504	21,172	23,692	243	286	184,675
1984	3,567	1,057	6,798	5,294	37,433	71,922	8,393	7,213	20,052	23,397	212	259	185,597
1985	3,220	956	6,807	5,312	37,026	72,891	8,296	7,132	19,750	22,292	185	229	184,096
1986	3,421	970	6,445	4,962	33,083	70,839	7,816	6,820	18,896	21,826	183	257	175,518
1987	3,481	924	6,697	4,924	32,616	76,201	7,994	6,853	18,640	23,395	189	237	182,151
1988	3,686	965	6,894	5,292	33,519	78,533	7,908	6,767	19,272	24,461	209	222	187,728
1989	3,905	1,019	6,828	5,254	33,325	80,377	7,800	6,637	19,888	25,170	214	223	190,640
1990	3,791	996	6,386	5,044	32,060	80,097	7,666	6,229	19,806	25,216	218	228	187,737
1991	3,480	876	5,845	4,521	28,922	72,938	7,032	5,923	18,612	23,691	196	215	172,251
1992	3,254	850	5,623	4,313	25,841	70,079	6,899	5,664	17,871	23,749	221	209	164,573
1993	3,163	885	5,403	4,177	25,021	66,575	6,752	5,638	17,860	23,446	180	216	159,316
1994	3,318	850	5,374	4,219	24,985	66,694	6,585	5,689	18,096	23,739	169	241	159,959
1995	3,404	877	5,329	4,257	24,238	67,583	6,703	5,799	18,044	23,597	207	218	160,256

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

Table A3.1 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Male Cohorts, 1946-1978, Canada

Age	Year of Birth																															
	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946
	Year of 17th Birthday																															
	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963
17	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.6	1.5	2.0	2.4	3.3	3.8	4.4	4.8	4.6	4.2	4.3	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.8
18		1.7	1.7	1.8	2.3	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.6	3.9	4.4	5.9	6.5	8.2	9.2	10.7	12.6	14.6	17.7	18.9	19.9	21.1	18.3	17.9	17.2	16.9	17.8	18.1	18.3	15.9
19			5.0	5.1	5.2	5.9	6.5	7.1	7.4	8.0	8.1	8.9	9.9	10.9	12.9	15.9	18.9	21.6	24.1	27.4	31.1	35.0	39.4	42.6	45.6	46.5	42.2	41.7	39.8	41.0	44.2	44.6	39.2
20				9.9	10.8	10.5	12.5	13.9	15.1	16.4	16.7	16.8	19.2	21.2	23.6	27.8	33.3	38.3	42.2	47.0	50.9	56.0	58.6	67.2	72.9	77.0	79.2	73.3	73.6	73.4	77.4	82.8	73.3
21					17.9	18.7	18.8	21.1	23.1	26.4	28.8	28.4	29.0	31.8	36.2	39.9	45.2	51.8	57.4	63.5	67.6	71.1	75.0	77.6	90.1	93.8	102.9	109.9	109.5	114.0	120.1	127.6	118.1
22						26.3	27.4	27.9	30.5	34.6	37.9	40.1	40.8	41.1	44.9	49.8	53.9	58.4	65.1	68.4	75.2	77.8	78.6	81.0	85.1	95.3	103.3	111.2	119.2	117.3	130.3	140.0	128.6
23							35.1	36.2	37.0	39.6	44.8	50.1	50.2	51.4	52.3	54.5	59.9	63.1	64.0	68.9	72.0	76.3	75.8	77.0	78.8	80.8	89.9	94.8	103.2	111.0	109.2	130.7	121.1
24								43.3	44.1	44.0	48.1	51.0	56.6	56.7	57.2	56.7	58.5	62.7	63.9	64.7	65.5	67.4	69.2	68.7	68.0	68.7	70.0	77.3	82.0	86.9	92.0	92.1	98.3
25									47.5	48.7	48.1	50.7	54.0	58.5	59.7	57.7	56.1	56.3	59.0	59.6	57.3	58.4	60.0	60.0	58.7	57.8	58.6	58.1	63.2	65.1	68.6	71.4	72.9
26										48.5	48.5	47.7	48.6	51.0	54.5	54.6	53.1	48.9	49.3	51.9	49.6	49.5	50.4	49.7	48.4	47.5	46.1	47.0	46.0	48.7	50.0	52.7	54.6
27											44.6	45.2	43.3	44.5	45.4	48.6	47.6	46.0	43.9	42.5	43.8	42.3	40.3	40.5	40.6	39.6	38.4	37.1	37.0	36.4	37.9	38.8	39.6
28												40.3	39.5	37.7	39.0	38.9	41.9	40.5	38.6	36.0	34.3	35.6	34.2	33.6	33.0	32.3	31.4	30.4	30.1	29.9	28.5	29.4	29.2
29													35.0	33.5	33.1	32.9	33.4	34.9	33.8	32.5	30.5	28.6	29.7	28.4	27.8	26.4	26.3	25.3	24.0	22.7	22.7	22.3	22.7
30														29.4	28.5	27.7	28.1	27.1	28.8	27.9	26.4	24.8	23.5	23.3	22.6	22.1	21.0	20.3	19.8	18.8	18.3	17.7	17.2
31															24.5	23.5	22.5	22.7	22.5	23.1	21.9	21.0	19.9	17.5	18.4	17.9	17.4	16.2	15.6	15.1	14.2	13.8	13.8
32																20.0	19.0	18.5	18.9	18.0	18.2	17.9	17.4	15.7	14.5	14.8	14.7	13.0	12.9	12.0	11.6	10.9	10.7
33																	15.7	15.4	15.3	14.7	15.0	14.9	14.3	13.9	12.8	11.6	11.7	11.2	10.9	10.0	9.5	9.1	8.9
34																		13.4	12.6	12.3	12.0	11.8	12.5	11.8	11.6	10.2	9.3	9.5	8.7	8.5	7.8	7.7	7.2
35																			10.8	10.5	9.8	10.0	9.7	9.9	9.7	9.5	8.5	7.5	7.6	7.4	6.7	6.4	6.1
36																				8.7	8.2	8.2	8.1	8.0	7.9	8.0	7.3	7.1	6.4	6.1	5.7	5.5	5.4
37																					7.1	6.8	6.5	6.3	6.4	6.6	6.6	6.1	5.4	5.0	4.6	4.4	4.4
38																						5.9	5.8	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.0	4.6	3.9	3.5	3.6
39																							4.8	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.2	4.0	4.2	4.3	3.7	3.7	3.3
40																								4.1	3.9	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.0
41																									3.3	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.8	2.6
42																										2.7	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.2
43																											2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.0
44																												1.7	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.4
45																													1.5	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3

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

Table A3.2 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Female Cohorts, 1946-1980, Canada

Age	Year of Birth																																				
	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946
	Year of 15th Birthday																																		
	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
15	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.1	2.0	2.4	2.4	2.7	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.4	4.1	4.2	5.4	5.0
16		0.9	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	3.0	3.6	3.9	4.5	4.9	5.8	6.5	7.6	9.1	11.2	13.7	15.5	17.0	18.2	17.3	17.7	16.7	15.7	16.5	16.8	17.6	19.5	21.6	21.6
17			2.4	2.6	2.7	3.1	3.8	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.5	6.0	7.5	8.3	9.4	10.9	12.5	14.9	16.7	19.2	23.2	26.8	32.3	35.2	38.8	40.8	39.0	40.6	38.6	39.7	40.8	41.0	44.8	48.7	45.4
18				9.2	9.5	10.4	11.0	13.3	15.2	16.0	16.5	18.0	21.5	24.0	25.3	29.1	33.6	37.8	43.8	48.3	52.9	59.8	66.2	75.2	79.5	84.1	89.2	82.4	82.7	82.0	81.7	84.5	88.0	93.6	87.2
19					17.1	18.6	18.2	21.2	23.5	26.2	29.1	31.2	32.3	37.3	39.9	43.1	48.0	54.5	61.3	67.6	71.4	76.6	82.4	87.9	97.3	102.3	110.6	114.9	108.7	108.7	108.6	110.3	116.5	123.1	109.4
20						26.1	28.5	29.0	31.3	35.8	40.7	44.9	45.6	47.7	50.3	56.1	59.2	64.2	72.3	77.3	82.9	85.8	88.7	92.5	92.7	103.7	110.4	117.3	124.5	121.1	121.5	126.1	132.8	141.3	124.7
21							36.8	38.5	39.3	42.1	47.0	53.7	57.1	59.2	59.6	61.2	66.6	70.9	71.9	77.8	79.7	84.4	85.4	87.1	86.3	86.5	96.9	103.4	111.7	119.8	122.2	126.7	134.6	143.0	132.1
22								44.6	46.9	47.4	50.9	55.6	63.0	64.6	65.8	64.3	66.6	69.6	70.5	71.0	72.6	75.0	74.9	75.9	73.2	73.9	74.4	81.5	85.4	90.8	95.7	96.2	105.8	115.9	105.1
23									50.9	52.9	53.2	57.3	61.3	66.3	66.6	66.8	64.6	62.7	66.1	65.6	63.9	64.6	63.7	63.5	62.1	59.5	59.9	58.2	63.3	65.2	67.6	70.6	70.1	83.0	76.3
24										56.2	54.6	54.2	57.0	58.7	64.6	64.4	62.1	58.5	56.4	57.4	55.9	53.5	52.9	50.5	50.6	48.0	45.9	45.4	44.5	48.3	48.5	48.8	49.7	48.4	53.4
25											53.3	53.2	51.7	53.9	54.2	57.2	56.5	54.4	50.4	47.2	48.1	45.5	42.5	41.3	40.4	39.4	36.9	35.4	34.9	34.3	35.5	35.2	34.9	35.4	36.2
26												47.6	47.1	44.4	45.0	46.6	48.4	45.9	43.6	39.0	37.9	38.6	35.9	33.9	32.3	30.7	29.2	28.3	26.8	27.2	26.3	26.4	25.2	24.9	26.3
27													40.1	39.9	36.8	37.9	38.0	39.4	36.0	35.1	31.8	29.5	29.2	28.0	25.9	25.1	23.8	23.6	21.4	20.9	20.3	19.9	19.5	18.4	19.1
28														32.4	31.4	30.4	31.4	30.3	31.2	29.4	27.4	25.2	22.0	22.6	21.9	20.1	19.1	18.2	17.5	16.4	15.8	15.2	14.7	14.7	15.0
29															26.6	25.6	25.5	24.3	23.8	24.7	23.2	22.1	19.7	17.1	17.7	16.7	15.8	15.3	14.5	13.6	12.6	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.4
30																21.3	20.3	19.7	19.9	19.0	19.5	18.8	16.8	15.3	13.7	14.0	13.6	12.1	11.7	11.1	10.5	9.6	9.2	9.1	9.1
31																	16.5	15.9	15.7	15.5	14.5	15.2	14.0	13.1	11.4	10.3	10.4	10.3	9.5	8.8	8.4	7.6	7.4	6.8	7.1
32																		13.8	13.2	12.4	12.0	11.7	12.0	11.1	10.1	9.0	7.8	8.1	7.8	7.5	7.0	6.4	6.1	5.8	5.9
33																			10.9	10.1	10.0	9.9	9.4	9.1	8.8	8.1	7.2	6.5	6.6	6.4	5.8	5.4	5.4	4.9	4.8
34																				9.0	8.2	8.4	8.1	7.9	7.5	6.9	6.3	5.7	5.4	5.4	5.1	4.5	4.3	4.0	3.9
35																					7.2	7.0	6.5	6.4	6.3	6.1	5.7	5.4	5.1	4.2	4.2	3.9	3.6	3.2	3.5
36																						5.6	5.3	5.0	4.8	5.1	4.8	4.6	4.4	3.8	3.4	3.3	2.9	2.9	3.0
37																							4.6	4.2	4.2	4.1	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.2	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.3
38																								3.7	3.2	3.6	3.3	3.1	2.8	3.1	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.2
39																									3.0	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9
40																										2.5	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.6
41																											1.8	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.3
42																												1.7	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3
43																													1.4	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.3
44																														1.1	1.0	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.1
45																															1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9

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

Table A4. Divorce

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Number of Divorces												
1980	555	163	2,314	1,326	13,898	22,441	2,282	1,836	7,580	9,464	82	76	62,017
1981	569	187	2,285	1,334	19,193	21,680	2,399	1,932	8,418	9,533	75	66	67,671
1982	625	205	2,281	1,663	18,579	23,640	2,392	1,815	8,882	10,164	117	67	70,430
1983	711	215	2,340	1,942	17,364	23,073	2,642	2,000	8,758	9,347	88	85	68,565
1984	590	195	2,263	1,427	16,845	21,635	2,611	1,988	8,454	8,988	100	74	65,170
1985	561	213	2,337	1,360	15,814	20,851	2,313	1,927	8,102	8,330	96	72	61,976
1986	687	199	2,609	1,729	19,026	27,549	2,982	2,479	9,556	11,299	94	95	78,304
1987	1,117	275	2,759	1,995	22,098	39,095	3,923	2,968	9,535	12,184	142	109	96,200
1988	906	269	2,494	1,673	20,340	32,524	3,102	2,501	8,744	10,760	82	112	83,507
1989	1,005	248	2,527	1,649	19,829	31,298	2,912	2,460	8,237	10,658	82	93	80,998
1990	1,016	281	2,419	1,699	20,474	28,977	2,798	2,364	8,489	9,773	81	92	78,463
1991	912	269	2,280	1,652	20,274	27,694	2,790	2,240	8,388	10,368	67	86	77,020
1992	867	227	2,304	1,633	19,695	30,463	2,657	2,325	8,217	10,431	117	98	79,034
1993	930	227	2,376	1,606	19,662	28,903	2,586	2,239	8,612	10,889	94	103	78,227
1994	933	249	2,286	1,570	18,224	30,718	2,746	2,354	8,174	11,437	97	92	78,880
	Mean Duration of Marriage for Persons Divorced in the Year [1]												
1980	12.1	12.8	11.1	11.7	11.8	11.8	10.8	11.1	10.5	11.8	11.8	12.6	11.5
1981	11.8	12.4	11.3	11.8	11.8	11.9	11.0	10.5	10.5	11.7	11.2	9.0	11.5
1982	11.7	12.3	11.0	11.8	11.6	11.9	11.2	10.7	10.5	11.8	11.8	11.1	11.5
1983	11.1	12.6	11.0	11.8	11.4	11.9	10.9	10.4	10.6	11.8	11.5	11.2	11.4
1984	11.9	13.2	11.5	12.3	11.5	11.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.3	10.4	11.6
1985	11.4	12.8	11.4	11.9	11.7	12.0	10.7	10.7	11.0	12.3	11.5	10.3	11.6
1986	11.7	12.5	11.3	11.8	11.5	11.7	11.1	10.7	10.9	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.5
1987	11.3	11.7	11.1	11.7	11.3	11.6	10.5	10.4	10.9	11.8	11.7	11.0	11.4
1988	11.7	12.4	11.0	11.7	11.1	11.5	10.6	10.6	11.0	11.7	11.4	10.4	11.3
1989	11.7	11.5	11.3	11.5	11.0	11.3	10.3	10.8	11.0	11.5	11.5	10.5	11.2
1990	11.3	11.9	11.3	11.1	10.8	11.2	10.5	10.6	11.0	11.5	11.4	10.1	11.1
1991	11.5	13.0	11.0	11.5	11.0	10.9	10.3	10.9	10.8	11.3	11.2	9.0	11.0
1992	11.0	12.1	11.2	11.0	10.8	10.9	10.5	10.7	10.8	11.2	10.8	9.7	10.9
1993	11.7	11.8	10.9	11.5	10.5	10.8	10.4	10.6	10.6	11.0	10.6	10.1	10.8
1994	11.3	12.6	11.0	11.2	10.6	10.6	10.4	10.5	10.6	10.7	10.9	10.7	10.7

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

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

Table A5. Births and Fertility

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Live Births												
1980	10,332	1,958	12,369	10,636	97,421	123,316	15,989	17,057	39,749	40,104	476	1,302	370,709
1981	10,130	1,897	12,079	10,503	95,322	122,183	16,073	17,209	42,638	41,474	536	1,302	371,346
1982	9,173	1,924	12,325	10,489	90,800	124,856	16,123	17,722	45,036	42,747	525	1,362	373,082
1983	8,929	1,907	12,401	10,518	88,154	126,826	16,602	17,847	45,555	42,919	540	1,491	373,689
1984	8,560	1,954	12,378	10,360	87,839	131,296	16,651	18,014	44,105	43,911	519	1,444	377,031
1985	8,500	2,008	12,450	10,121	86,340	132,208	17,097	18,162	43,813	43,127	464	1,437	375,727
1986	8,100	1,928	12,358	9,788	84,634	133,882	17,009	17,518	43,739	41,967	483	1,507	372,913
1987	7,769	1,955	12,110	9,588	83,791	134,617	16,953	17,034	42,110	41,814	478	1,523	369,742
1988	7,487	1,977	12,182	9,617	86,612	138,066	17,030	16,763	42,055	42,930	521	1,555	376,795
1989	7,762	1,937	12,533	9,667	92,373	145,338	17,321	16,651	43,351	43,769	480	1,479	392,661
1990	7,604	2,014	12,870	9,824	98,048	150,923	17,352	16,090	43,004	45,617	556	1,584	405,486
1991	7,166	1,885	12,016	9,497	97,310	151,478	17,282	15,304	42,776	45,612	568	1,634	402,528
1992	6,918	1,850	11,874	9,389	96,146	150,593	16,590	15,004	42,039	46,156	529	1,554	398,642
1993	6,421	1,754	11,568	9,049	92,391	147,848	16,709	14,269	40,292	46,026	508	1,559	388,394
1994	6,337	1,716	11,099	8,978	90,578	147,068	16,480	14,038	39,796	46,998	442	1,580	385,110
1995	5,859	1,754	10,726	8,563	87,416	146,257	16,113	13,499	38,914	46,821	470	1,613	378,005
	Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1,000)												
1992: 15-19	30.0	30.2	30.7	33.7	17.7	22.2	42.4	44.5	36.3	24.0	36.1	94.5	25.4
20-24	74.7	81.3	78.9	82.5	76.5	64.4	92.2	109.4	89.9	73.9	106.9	161.9	75.0
25-29	99.2	135.2	109.6	109.9	128.2	115.9	127.2	139.0	121.1	110.2	115.0	138.2	119.4
30-34	58.1	88.5	70.5	61.3	80.3	92.1	86.5	83.4	88.4	85.4	79.5	95.0	85.3
35-39	15.0	24.2	23.1	16.9	23.9	33.6	29.3	24.6	30.5	31.4	37.4	40.0	28.9
40-44	2.0	4.0	3.1	2.5	3.3	4.9	4.7	3.7	4.5	4.8	8.4	7.8	4.2
45-49	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
1993: 15-19	26.5	30.7	30.4	31.1	17.2	22.3	43.4	44.0	33.2	22.5	41.5	99.4	24.7
20-24	66.9	83.4	74.8	80.1	75.1	62.8	92.5	104.6	87.6	70.9	100.9	167.3	73.0
25-29	96.5	121.5	108.7	107.6	121.8	110.7	128.9	134.3	118.4	106.7	117.0	138.1	114.7
30-34	54.7	79.5	71.0	60.9	80.0	92.5	90.4	79.0	84.7	84.2	76.3	91.3	84.9
35-39	15.0	26.2	23.7	17.5	24.2	34.5	29.4	25.8	29.9	32.7	41.3	28.0	29.5
40-44	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.5	3.6	5.2	4.0	3.8	4.4	5.3	3.0	6.4	4.4
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.1
1994: 15-19	25.8	29.1	30.2	32.7	17.4	22.4	43.0	46.3	33.0	22.2	44.0	104.5	24.8
20-24	67.5	82.8	73.6	78.8	74.5	62.3	93.6	104.6	84.9	69.9	86.3	154.2	72.2
25-29	93.9	112.8	105.1	110.2	120.5	110.3	127.4	131.3	120.0	106.4	96.9	137.0	114.0
30-34	60.4	78.1	70.3	61.3	80.9	93.2	89.9	81.7	86.3	86.4	70.7	94.8	86.0
35-39	14.1	29.1	23.3	17.3	25.3	35.3	29.8	24.3	30.9	34.2	38.7	47.0	30.4
40-44	1.6	4.2	2.5	2.1	3.7	5.6	4.7	3.5	4.7	5.7	8.9	6.6	4.7
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.1

Table A5. Birth and Fertility - concluded

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Fertility Rates by Birth Order (per 1,000 women)												
1992: 1	21.3	23.1	24.1	23.5	25.6	25.6	26.9	24.4	25.7	24.5	26.5	32.0	25.3
2	17.4	21.3	19.3	18.5	20.4	21.1	20.4	22.9	22.4	19.9	21.3	25.8	20.7
3	6.4	11.4	7.5	7.1	7.8	8.6	10.6	12.6	10.4	8.4	12.4	17.6	8.7
4	1.7	3.9	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.5	4.2	5.1	3.8	2.5	2.7	11.7	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	3.1	3.4	2.3	1.1	1.6	11.0	1.3
1993: 1	20.3	22.1	23.5	22.7	24.1	25.1	26.8	23.7	24.6	24.7	28.2	34.1	24.6
2	15.9	20.0	18.6	18.2	19.8	20.5	20.7	21.4	21.3	19.0	17.6	24.5	20.0
3	5.9	10.8	7.5	6.5	7.5	8.3	10.4	11.6	10.0	7.8	9.9	17.5	8.3
4	1.3	3.5	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.5	4.9	3.5	2.3	4.6	10.5	2.6
5 +	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.8	1.9	1.2	0.7	2.1	4.9	0.8
1994: 1	20.4	21.3	22.9	22.9	23.2	24.7	26.9	24.0	24.8	24.9	22.9	31.6	24.2
2	16.2	19.7	18.2	18.2	19.6	20.5	20.5	20.6	20.9	19.1	19.7	26.0	19.9
3	5.6	10.1	6.9	6.4	7.6	8.2	10.3	11.3	9.7	7.6	8.3	17.6	8.2
4	1.3	3.3	2.1	1.8	2.2	2.5	4.0	4.7	3.4	2.3	3.2	10.2	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.3	3.3	3.5	2.0	1.1	2.2	11.1	1.4
	Total Fertility Rate (Women Aged 15-49) [1]												
1981	..	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
1982	..	1.89	1.64	1.66	1.48	1.59	1.80	2.14	1.89	1.65	1.96	2.81	1.64
1983	..	1.83	1.63	1.65	1.43	1.59	1.83	2.10	1.90	1.65	2.16	3.00	1.62
1984	..	1.84	1.60	1.61	1.43	1.62	1.82	2.08	1.86	1.68	2.07	2.80	1.63
1985	..	1.86	1.60	1.57	1.40	1.60	1.85	2.08	1.86	1.65	1.83	2.66	1.61
1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.69	1.69
1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64	1.94	1.96	1.79	1.61	1.90	2.66	1.66
1994	1.32	1.68	1.53	1.51	1.61	1.65	1.94	1.96	1.80	1.62	1.73	2.72	1.66
1995 (P)	1.25	1.72	1.50	1.46	1.58	1.65	1.92	1.90	1.77	1.60	1.84	2.78	1.64

(P) Preliminary.

[1] Number of children per woman.

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

Table A6. Number of Abortions by Age, Canada, 1975-1994

Year	Less than 15	15-17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44 [1]	Total
1975	651	8,097	8,073	15,636	10,437	5,730	3,447	1,632	53,703
1976	717	8,511	8,810	17,395	11,628	6,397	3,568	1,686	58,712
1977	697	8,646	9,092	18,137	11,602	6,702	3,453	1,535	59,864
1978	642	9,179	10,208	20,916	12,873	7,501	3,803	1,588	66,710
1979	694	9,498	10,988	22,017	13,447	7,887	3,789	1,425	69,745
1980	613	9,500	11,273	22,927	14,114	8,371	3,831	1,470	72,099
1981	605	8,821	10,912	23,263	14,324	8,638	3,936	1,412	71,911
1982	585	8,310	11,223	24,660	15,300	9,141	4,393	1,459	75,071
1983	560	7,003	9,711	23,129	14,426	8,719	4,467	1,353	69,368
1984	503	6,766	9,122	23,268	14,834	8,810	4,774	1,372	69,449
1985	554	6,422	8,764	23,131	14,949	9,079	4,866	1,451	69,216
1986	431	6,552	8,630	22,789	15,227	9,502	5,055	1,386	69,572
1987	442	6,352	8,636	22,345	15,699	9,781	5,208	1,560	70,023
1988	415	6,230	9,066	22,872	16,626	10,311	5,510	1,663	72,693
1989	453	6,353	9,893	24,143	18,536	11,587	6,445	1,905	79,315
1990	600	7,248	11,072	27,895	21,815	14,289	7,809	2,173	92,901
1991	494	7,532	10,649	28,649	21,975	14,974	8,375	2,411	95,059
1992	580	8,112	11,112	30,536	23,295	16,357	9,250	2,843	102,085
1993	664	8,306	11,378	31,226	23,323	17,015	9,544	2,947	104,403
1994	561	8,486	12,540	31,868	23,026	16,723	9,978	3,073	106,255

[1] Includes volontary interruption of pregnancies performed on women aged 44 and older.

Source : Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, ***Therapeutic Abortions 1994***, catalogue no. 82-219.

Table A7. Mortality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
	Deaths												
1980	3,345	1,035	7,004	5,297	43,512	62,746	8,436	7,651	12,710	19,371	128	238	171,473
1981	3,230	992	6,958	5,139	42,684	62,838	8,648	7,523	12,823	19,857	141	196	171,029
1982	3,385	980	6,941	5,197	43,497	63,696	8,490	8,202	12,968	20,707	118	232	174,413
1983	3,498	1,050	7,047	5,206	44,275	64,507	8,521	7,611	12,588	19,827	113	241	174,484
1984	3,520	1,109	6,913	5,272	44,449	64,703	8,290	7,710	12,730	20,686	108	237	175,727
1985	3,557	1,110	7,315	5,230	45,707	66,747	8,756	8,031	13,231	21,302	123	214	181,323
1986	3,540	1,121	7,255	5,458	46,892	67,865	8,911	8,061	13,560	21,213	113	235	184,224
1987	3,629	1,116	7,112	5,408	47,616	68,119	8,710	7,808	13,316	21,814	108	197	184,953
1988	3,591	1,112	7,412	5,450	47,771	70,679	9,100	8,100	13,894	22,546	136	220	190,011
1989	3,718	1,089	7,516	5,496	48,305	70,907	8,819	7,920	13,854	22,997	95	249	190,965
1990	3,884	1,143	7,388	5,426	48,420	70,818	8,863	8,044	14,068	23,577	115	227	191,973
1991	3,798	1,188	7,255	5,469	49,121	72,917	8,943	8,098	14,451	23,977	114	237	195,568
1992	3,798	1,114	7,544	5,609	48,824	73,206	8,980	7,793	14,679	24,615	117	256	196,535
1993	3,890	1,145	7,559	5,806	51,711	75,853	9,299	8,164	15,338	25,764	123	260	204,912
1994	4,050	1,114	7,770	5,917	51,366	77,487	9,148	8,308	15,613	25,939	124	241	207,077
1995	3,936	1,138	7,649	5,947	52,560	78,464	9,659	8,495	15,895	26,375	157	227	210,502
	Infant Deaths (age less than 1 year)												
1980	110	22	135	116	953	1,175	184	193	500	442	9	29	3,868
1981	98	25	139	114	807	1,073	191	203	452	424	8	28	3,562
1982	99	15	106	110	800	1,041	146	186	442	423	11	22	3,401
1983	95	16	116	112	676	1,013	173	180	383	377	10	31	3,182
1984	79	16	97	81	645	992	144	169	425	378	7	25	3,058
1985	92	8	98	97	626	961	170	200	352	349	5	24	2,982
1986	65	13	104	81	604	969	157	157	393	355	12	28	2,938
1987	59	13	90	67	594	888	142	155	315	359	5	19	2,706
1988	70	14	79	69	563	910	132	140	347	362	3	16	2,705
1989	64	12	73	69	632	985	115	134	325	360	2	24	2,795
1990	70	12	81	71	612	946	138	123	346	344	4	19	2,766
1991	56	13	69	58	578	953	111	126	285	298	6	20	2,573
1992	49	3	71	59	522	886	113	110	304	286	2	26	2,431
1993	50	16	82	65	529	922	118	115	268	264	4	15	2,448
1994	52	11	67	48	512	884	115	125	294	297	1	23	2,429

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

Table A8. Death Rates by Suicide (per 100,000) by Age Group, Canada, 1951, 1976, 1981, 1985 and 1994

Age Group	Sex	Year[1]				
		1951	1976	1981	1985	1994
15-19	Males	3.9	18.6	20.3	20.1	19.9
	Females	1.8	4.5	3.8	3.5	4.8
20-24	Males	8.8	33.6	32.1	31.4	28.3
	Females	3.2	7.7	6.5	4.7	5.2
25-29	Males	7.6	28.1	28.9	27.7	25.9
	Females	3.9	8.6	7.5	6.3	4.9
30-34	Males	10.4	24.3	26.6	26.5	27.3
	Females	3.8	10.4	8.0	7.2	6.4
35-39	Males	13.2	25.2	24.7	23.9	29.3
	Females	4.6	10.9	8.6	7.5	8.3
40-44	Males	19.6	27.3	26.2	25.3	27.9
	Females	6.4	10.8	10.4	9.6	7.9
45-49	Males	21.6	29.3	29.1	24.9	28.0
	Females	7.2	14.0	12.4	9.6	8.0
50-54	Males	26.4	32.7	29.7	30.2	25.1
	Females	8.3	13.4	13.6	9.9	8.9
55-59	Males	27.2	26.6	29.6	29.5	24.8
	Females	7.3	13.7	12.3	9.8	8.3
60-64	Males	30.8	24.1	27.2	25.1	22.4
	Females	9.0	11.9	11.2	8.8	6.0
65-69	Males	28.2	24.3	26.8	24.2	22.0
	Females	9.3	9.9	10.3	8.8	5.5
70-74	Males	29.5	26.3	30.1	29.2	21.3
	Females	6.3	8.4	9.3	7.0	5.1
75-79	Males	32.8	24.9	34.4	28.1	26.7
	Females	5.9	5.8	7.1	5.8	5.6
80-84	Males	25.1	21.2	41.7	32.4	30.1
	Females	2.0	7.3	6.9	5.0	5.9
Standardized Rate[2]	Males	15.7	26.5	27.5	26.3	20.7
	Females	5.2	9.6	8.7	7.1	5.3

[1] Average of years 1950 and 1951, 1975 and 1976, 1980 and 1981, 1984 and 1985, 1993 and 1994 respectively.

[2] Structure of the population of Canada in 1976.

Note: The rates for 1976, 1981 and 1985 were calculated from old population estimates.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Causes of Death,*** catalogue no. 84-203 and calculations by the author.

Table A9. Life Expectancy at Different Ages, Canada, 1993 and 1994

Age	1993 Table (triennial)[1]		1994 Table (preliminary)[2]	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	74.96	81.09	75.12	81.17
1	74.48	80.54	74.64	80.62
5	70.58	76.63	70.75	76.71
10	65.64	71.68	65.81	71.76
15	60.72	66.74	60.88	66.82
20	55.96	61.85	56.13	61.92
25	51.24	56.96	51.40	57.03
30	46.51	52.06	46.67	52.13
35	41.80	47.19	41.96	47.26
40	37.14	42.37	37.30	42.44
45	32.53	37.61	32.69	37.68
50	28.01	32.95	28.16	33.02
55	23.68	28.44	23.82	28.49
60	19.65	24.12	19.77	24.17
65	15.97	20.01	16.08	20.06
70	12.68	16.15	12.79	16.22
75	9.79	12.61	9.88	12.67
80	7.41	9.52	7.50	9.59
85	5.55	6.96	5.65	7.02
90	4.36	5.07	4.43	5.13

[1] Calculated by using the average of deaths in 1992, 1993 and 1994.

[2] Calculated by using, to set an average, the deaths in 1993 and twice the deaths in 1994.

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

Table A10. Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates for Certain Causes, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1994[1]

Year	Males			Females		
	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age
	Diseases of the Circulatory System[2]					
1971	400.2	301.0	447.4	305.3	216.7	383.7
1972	405.0	303.4	449.8	310.6	222.2	383.5
1973	401.3	305.8	443.7	310.6	228.4	377.3
1974	403.7	307.3	444.6	314.5	233.5	376.1
1975	390.5	309.9	428.9	305.8	239.4	361.5
1976	389.5	313.0	424.7	303.5	245.9	352.7
1977	384.2	317.0	415.4	299.7	252.8	342.0
1978	372.7	321.1	399.8	296.6	259.9	331.8
1979	364.0	326.2	385.9	290.9	267.7	318.2
1980	360.2	329.8	378.6	296.0	274.1	317.0
1981	350.2	334.2	364.2	288.7	281.8	302.0
1982	346.8	338.7	356.3	291.0	288.6	297.6
1983	338.0	343.4	342.8	283.2	295.2	283.2
1984	328.0	348.9	327.3	280.9	302.5	273.5
1985	325.1	354.5	318.8	280.4	310.1	265.4
1986	321.5	359.5	310.2	283.7	316.9	261.8
1987	310.9	365.4	293.7	275.2	323.4	246.9
1988	307.8	370.5	285.5	275.3	328.7	241.7
1989	299.4	374.6	273.0	268.2	333.2	230.1
1990	281.7	379.4	250.5	258.9	338.1	215.9
1991	280.7	385.6	243.2	260.3	344.4	211.0
1992	277.7	390.3	235.5	256.5	349.8	201.8
1993	282.3	395.7	234.8	262.9	356.0	202.1
1994	275.2	401.3	222.0	262.2	362.5	194.8
	Ischaemic Heart Diseases[3]					
1971	272.8	198.3	304.2	171.4	118.9	214.6
1972	275.2	200.0	305.0	174.1	121.9	214.3
1973	271.7	201.7	299.7	176.2	125.1	213.3
1974	273.5	202.8	300.4	179.3	127.9	213.5
1975	264.6	204.7	289.7	171.2	131.5	201.8
1976	264.4	206.9	287.2	171.2	134.9	198.3
1977	261.7	209.5	281.9	169.8	138.8	193.1
1978	251.8	212.4	269.1	169.2	142.6	188.7
1979	240.2	215.9	254.0	159.8	147.3	174.6
1980	237.8	218.3	249.2	162.4	150.9	173.5
1981	232.8	221.1	241.5	158.4	155.0	165.5
1982	229.4	224.1	235.1	159.8	158.7	163.2
1983	222.8	227.1	225.4	154.3	162.3	154.1
1984	216.0	230.7	215.1	155.4	166.3	151.2
1985	213.8	234.2	209.3	152.1	170.3	143.9
1986	208.7	237.3	201.1	153.9	174.0	142.0
1987	202.1	241.0	190.9	149.2	177.4	133.8
1988	199.3	244.1	184.9	147.2	180.1	129.2
1989	190.7	246.5	173.9	142.1	182.4	121.7
1990	177.8	249.3	158.2	138.0	185.0	115.1
1991	175.8	253.1	152.4	137.5	188.3	111.3
1992	173.1	256.0	146.8	132.6	190.9	103.8
1993	174.9	259.3	145.4	134.9	193.9	103.0
1994	169.1	262.6	136.3	133.2	197.1	98.1

See notes at the end.

Table A10. Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates for Certain Causes, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1994[1] - Continued

Year	Males			Females		
	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age
	Cerebrovascular Diseases[4]					
1971	68.8	46.5	76.9	77.1	49.3	96.3
1972	70.3	46.8	78.1	78.6	50.6	96.5
1973	68.1	47.3	75.4	75.8	52.5	91.9
1974	67.7	47.5	74.9	76.4	53.6	91.3
1975	65.1	47.9	71.9	76.3	54.8	90.0
1976	62.5	48.5	68.6	73.1	56.7	85.0
1977	60.2	49.2	65.6	70.2	58.4	80.3
1978	58.3	49.8	63.1	70.4	60.2	78.7
1979	57.0	50.7	60.9	68.3	62.0	74.9
1980	54.7	51.3	58.0	66.7	63.6	71.6
1981	53.2	52.0	55.8	65.9	65.4	69.1
1982	50.5	52.8	52.3	64.6	66.9	66.3
1983	48.2	53.6	49.2	62.4	68.4	62.5
1984	47.7	54.5	47.8	60.5	70.1	58.9
1985	46.0	55.5	45.2	60.9	71.9	57.5
1986	45.2	56.3	43.6	61.7	73.4	56.8
1987	45.1	57.3	42.5	59.1	74.9	52.7
1988	43.9	58.2	40.4	60.6	76.2	52.9
1989	45.1	59.0	40.7	59.9	77.4	51.0
1990	44.0	59.9	38.7	56.8	78.5	46.8
1991	43.3	61.0	36.9	57.5	80.0	46.1
1992	42.8	61.8	35.6	58.5	81.5	45.6
1993	45.1	62.8	36.9	61.3	83.0	46.8
1994	44.5	63.9	35.2	60.1	84.5	44.1
	Neoplasms[5]					
1971	158.4	168.0	179.5	125.9	128.1	149.3
1972	161.2	169.2	181.0	130.9	129.7	152.8
1973	163.9	170.2	182.7	131.7	131.4	151.8
1974	164.0	171.1	182.0	133.7	132.9	152.4
1975	165.5	172.1	182.4	130.5	134.7	147.4
1976	167.3	173.6	182.7	131.4	136.6	146.3
1977	171.2	175.4	184.9	134.6	138.8	147.3
1978	174.9	177.3	186.7	137.0	141.0	147.6
1979	179.1	179.4	188.7	142.0	143.3	150.3
1980	182.6	181.3	190.3	142.6	145.5	148.7
1981	182.5	183.4	188.2	145.4	147.9	149.1
1982	188.4	185.7	191.7	147.9	150.2	149.2
1983	189.9	188.0	191.0	150.3	152.5	149.3
1984	196.6	190.8	194.9	155.5	155.1	151.9
1985	199.8	193.7	195.2	161.2	157.9	154.8
1986	203.0	196.3	195.8	163.6	160.4	154.8
1987	205.0	199.2	194.9	165.7	162.8	154.5
1988	212.4	202.1	199.3	169.5	164.9	156.2
1989	211.1	204.0	196.2	168.9	166.3	154.1
1990	211.7	206.7	194.0	170.8	168.0	154.3
1991	215.6	210.3	194.4	174.2	170.5	155.2
1992	215.4	212.9	191.6	175.0	172.5	154.0
1993	215.8	215.6	189.3	179.6	175.0	156.1
1994	217.3	218.8	187.5	181.7	177.3	155.9

See notes at the end.

Table A10. Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates for Certain Causes, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1994[1] - Concluded

Year	Males			Females		
	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age
	Malignant Neoplasm of Respiratory System[6]					
1971	44.5	55.6	51.1	7.9	18.7	10.0
1972	45.8	56.0	51.9	9.5	18.7	11.6
1973	47.9	56.4	53.8	10.3	18.8	12.1
1974	50.2	56.6	55.9	11.1	19.0	12.8
1975	50.2	57.0	55.5	11.4	19.1	13.0
1976	52.5	57.5	57.3	11.8	19.3	13.3
1977	54.9	58.0	59.1	13.6	19.5	14.8
1978	56.8	58.6	60.4	14.6	19.7	15.6
1979	58.8	59.3	61.7	16.1	19.9	16.9
1980	61.6	60.0	63.8	17.1	20.2	17.7
1981	61.1	60.7	62.6	18.3	20.4	18.6
1982	65.3	61.4	66.1	20.1	20.7	20.1
1983	66.6	62.2	66.7	20.7	21.0	20.4
1984	69.0	63.0	68.1	23.4	21.3	22.8
1985	68.0	63.9	66.3	25.4	21.6	24.5
1986	69.6	64.8	67.0	25.8	21.9	24.6
1987	70.3	65.7	66.8	27.7	22.3	26.1
1988	73.5	66.6	69.1	29.8	22.6	27.9
1989	73.5	67.1	68.6	29.9	22.8	27.8
1990	73.4	67.9	67.7	30.7	23.0	28.5
1991	73.6	69.0	66.8	33.3	23.4	30.7
1992	72.7	69.8	65.2	33.3	23.6	30.4
1993	73.3	70.6	64.9	36.2	24.1	32.8
1994	72.1	71.5	62.8	36.6	24.4	32.9

[1] Rate per 100,000.
[2] Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[3] Causes 410-414, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[4] Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[5] Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.
[6] Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Note: By following the values of the rates adjusted for age, changes due to changes in the rates may be seen. By following the values of the rates adjusted for the rates, changes due to changes in age structure may be seen. The "due to progres" curves in Figure 4 were constructed using the three-year moving average of annual gains.

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

Table A11. Landed Immigrants in Canada by Country of Birth, 1981-1995

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995 [3]
EUROPE	44,784	44,356	23,664	20,581	18,530	22,518	36,486	39,187	50,844	50,561	46,651	43,338	45,487	37,985	40,151
British Isles [1]	18,912	14,525	4,945	4,657	3,998	4,612	7,650	7,906	7,358	6,897	6,383	5,831	5,928	4,762	4,555
Portugal	3,292	2,308	1,373	869	917	1,981	5,904	6,294	7,952	7,740	5,837	2,700	1,563	770	788
France	1,681	1,821	1,237	970	994	1,124	1,486	1,819	2,128	1,996	2,619	3,105	3,347	2,516	3,024
Greece	924	884	617	578	579	555	750	595	798	604	618	593	537	338	243
Italy	2,057	1,496	879	892	733	785	1,123	961	1,204	1,066	775	663	690	533	497
Poland	4,093	9,259	5,374	4,640	3,642	5,283	7,132	9,360	16,042	16,536	15,737	11,918	6,924	3,552	2,436
Other	13,825	14,063	9,239	7,975	7,667	8,178	12,441	12,252	15,362	15,722	14,682	18,528	26,498	25,514	28,608
AFRICA	5,901	5,196	3,913	3,851	3,912	5,189	9,047	9,604	12,482	13,845	16,530	20,113	17,515	14,184	15,449
ASIA	50,759	43,863	38,183	42,730	39,438	42,417	69,081	83,283	95,292	113,978	122,228	141,816	149,343	142,997	130,298
Philippines	5,978	5,295	4,597	3,858	3,183	4,203	7,420	8,651	11,907	12,590	12,626	13,737	20,488	19,456	15,804
India	9,415	8,858	7,810	6,082	4,517	7,481	10,635	11,942	10,738	12,572	14,248	14,228	21,668	18,533	18,227
Hong Kong (B.C.C.)	4,039	4,452	4,238	5,013	5,121	4,318	12,618	18,355	15,694	23,134	16,425	27,927	27,242	33,676	24,868
China	9,798	6,295	5,321	5,769	5,166	4,178	6,611	7,903	9,001	14,193	20,621	22,160	19,689	23,313	20,935
Middle East [2]	5,409	5,321	3,964	4,951	5,239	6,947	10,904	12,325	17,697	23,826	25,561	21,816	18,798	18,797	18,794
Other	16,120	13,642	12,253	17,057	16,212	15,290	20,893	24,107	30,255	27,663	32,747	41,948	41,458	29,222	31,670
NORTH AMERICA and CENTRAL AMERICA	10,183	10,030	10,200	10,223	10,898	12,412	13,691	11,495	11,899	13,042	18,899	18,676	14,371	8,734	7,251
United States	8,695	7,841	6,136	5,727	5,614	6,094	6,547	5,571	5,814	5,067	5,270	5,891	6,446	5,128	4,317
CARIBBEAN, BERMUDA	8,797	8,717	7,258	5,696	6,240	8,948	11,210	9,481	10,967	11,784	13,046	15,142	16,699	10,030	10,075
AUSTRALASIA	1,020	758	394	430	399	449	539	528	634	725	735	918	1,013	739	675
SOUTH AMERICA	6,114	6,892	4,825	4,046	4,273	6,546	10,833	7,210	8,595	8,602	10,468	10,240	9,511	7,941	7,507
OCEANIA	1,024	1,183	720	599	612	740	1,144	1,140	1,186	1,692	2,213	2,479	1,808	1,265	864
Other	36	152	..	83	..	..	67	1	102	1	11	120	..	..	..
Total	128,618	121,147	89,157	88,239	84,302	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	223,875	212,270

[1] Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

[2] Includes Turkey, Bahrein, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

[3] Preliminary data as of October 15, 1996.

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

Table A12. Aging of the Population by Province, 1921-1991

Year	Newfoundland				Prince Edward Island			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	..	..	..	..	80,107	8,508	...	...
1931	..	..	..	..	79,328	8,710	-1.0	2.4
1941	..	..	..	..	86,091	8,956	8.5	2.8
1951	337,926	23,490	..	..	88,722	9,707	3.1	8.4
1956	390,285	24,789	15.5	5.5	88,935	10,350	0.2	6.6
1961	430,958	26,895	10.4	8.5	93,699	10,930	5.4	5.6
1966	464,224	29,172	7.7	8.5	96,846	11,689	3.4	6.9
1971	490,030	32,075	5.6	10.0	99,295	12,345	2.5	5.6
1976	521,195	36,530	6.4	13.9	104,975	13,255	5.7	7.4
1981	523,900	43,780	0.5	19.8	107,615	14,895	2.5	12.4
1986	518,400	49,950	-1.0	14.1	110,560	16,085	2.7	8.0
1991	513,315	55,160	-1.0	10.4	112,685	17,080	1.9	6.2
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	..	..	..	..	90.4	9.6	10.6	...
1931	..	..	..	..	90.1	9.9	11.0	**0.4**
1941	..	..	..	..	90.6	9.4	10.4	**-0.6**
1951	93.5	6.5	7.0	..	90.1	9.9	10.9	**0.6**
1956	94.0	6.0	6.4	**-1.1**	89.6	10.4	11.6	**1.2**
1961	94.1	5.9	6.2	**-0.2**	89.6	10.4	11.7	■
1966	94.1	5.9	6.3	■	89.2	10.8	12.1	**1.0**
1971	93.9	6.1	6.5	**0.5**	88.9	11.1	12.4	**0.8**
1976	93.5	6.5	7.0	**0.9**	88.8	11.2	12.6	**0.2**
1981	92.3	7.7	8.4	**2.8**	87.8	12.2	13.8	**2.6**
1986	91.2	8.8	9.6	**2.6**	87.3	12.7	14.5	**1.3**
1991	90.3	9.7	10.7	**2.2**	86.8	13.2	15.2	**1.3**

Year	Nova Scotia				New Brunswick			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	485,906	37,931	...	...	363,873	24,003	...	...
1931	472,197	40,649	-2.8	7.2	380,880	27,339	4.7	13.9
1941	530,936	47,026	12.4	15.7	424,967	32,434	11.6	18.6
1951	587,659	54,925	10.7	16.8	476,664	39,033	12.2	20.3
1956	635,810	58,907	8.2	7.2	511,424	43,192	7.3	10.7
1961	673,590	63,417	5.9	7.7	551,019	46,917	7.7	8.6
1966	688,760	67,279	2.3	6.1	566,470	50,318	2.8	7.2
1971	716,490	72,470	4.0	7.7	579,850	54,710	2.4	8.7
1976	747,840	80,730	4.4	11.4	616,180	61,070	6.3	11.6
1981	754,890	92,555	0.9	14.6	625,850	70,555	1.6	15.5
1986	769,345	103,835	1.9	12.2	630,705	78,740	0.8	11.6
1991	786,540	113,405	2.2	9.2	635,760	88,140	0.8	11.9
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	92.8	7.2	7.8	...	93.8	6.2	6.6	...
1931	92.1	7.9	8.6	**0.8**	93.3	6.7	7.2	**0.6**
1941	91.9	8.1	8.9	**0.2**	92.9	7.1	7.6	**0.5**
1951	91.5	8.5	9.3	**0.5**	92.4	7.6	8.2	**0.6**
1956	91.5	8.5	9.3	■	92.2	7.8	8.4	**0.5**
1961	91.4	8.6	9.4	**0.2**	92.2	7.8	8.5	■
1966	91.1	8.9	9.8	**0.7**	91.8	8.2	8.9	**0.9**
1971	90.8	9.2	10.1	**0.7**	91.4	8.6	9.4	**1.0**
1976	90.3	9.7	10.8	**1.2**	91.0	9.0	9.9	**1.0**
1981	89.1	10.9	12.3	**3.0**	89.9	10.1	11.3	**2.7**
1986	88.1	11.9	13.5	**2.6**	88.9	11.1	12.5	**2.5**
1991	87.4	12.6	14.4	**1.8**	87.8	12.2	13.9	**2.8**

Source : See end of table.

Table A12. Aging of the Population by Province, 1921-1991 - Continued

Year	Quebec				Ontario			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	2,251,723	108,787	...	...	2,761,411	172,251	...	...
1931	2,736,419	138,243	21.5	27.1	3,197,522	234,161	15.8	35.9
1941	3,155,927	175,955	15.3	27.3	3,486,330	301,325	9.0	28.7
1951	3,823,584	232,097	21.2	31.9	4,197,179	400,363	20.4	32.9
1956	4,364,355	264,023	14.1	13.8	4,950,558	454,375	17.9	13.5
1961	4,952,910	306,301	13.5	16.0	5,728,019	508,073	15.7	11.8
1966	5,429,191	351,654	9.6	14.8	6,393,148	567,722	11.6	11.7
1971	5,614,750	413,015	3.4	17.4	7,058,695	644,410	10.4	13.5
1976	5,753,090	481,355	2.5	16.5	7,525,550	738,915	6.6	14.7
1981	5,869,020	569,380	2.0	18.3	7,756,920	868,190	3.1	17.5
1986	5,881,825	650,635	0.2	14.3	8,108,995	992,700	4.5	14.3
1991	6,125,040	770,920	4.1	18.5	8,901,410	1,183,475	9.8	19.2
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	95.4	4.6	4.8	...	94.1	5.9	6.2	...
1931	95.2	4.8	5.1	**0.2**	93.2	6.8	7.3	**1.1**
1941	94.7	5.3	5.6	**0.6**	92.0	8.0	8.6	**1.4**
1951	94.3	5.7	6.1	**0.4**	91.3	8.7	9.5	**0.8**
1956	94.3	5.7	6.0	■	91.6	8.4	9.2	**-0.7**
1961	94.2	5.8	6.2	**0.2**	91.9	8.1	8.9	**-0.7**
1966	93.9	6.1	6.5	**0.7**	91.8	8.2	8.9	**0.2**
1971	93.1	6.9	7.4	**1.8**	91.6	8.4	9.1	**0.5**
1976	92.3	7.7	8.4	**1.9**	91.1	8.9	9.8	**1.2**
1981	91.2	8.8	9.7	**2.6**	89.9	10.1	11.2	**2.9**
1986	90.0	10.0	11.1	**2.9**	89.1	10.9	12.2	**2.0**
1991	88.8	11.2	12.6	**3.0**	88.3	11.7	13.3	**2.0**

Year	Manitoba				Saskatchewan			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	591,123	18,995	...	...	740,360	17,150	...	...
1931	668,523	31,616	13.1	66.4	890,763	31,022	20.3	80.9
1941	684,093	45,651	2.3	44.4	849,740	46,252	-4.6	49.1
1951	711,073	65,468	3.9	43.4	764,515	67,213	-10.0	45.3
1956	773,473	76,567	8.8	17.0	802,019	78,646	4.9	17.0
1961	838,398	83,288	8.4	8.8	839,611	85,570	4.7	8.8
1966	874,208	88,858	4.3	6.7	866,462	88,882	3.2	3.9
1971	892,695	95,555	2.1	7.5	831,440	94,805	-4.0	6.7
1976	914,950	106,555	2.5	11.5	819,150	102,175	-1.5	7.8
1981	904,425	121,820	-1.2	14.3	852,140	116,170	4.0	13.7
1986	929,130	133,885	2.7	9.9	881,015	128,600	3.4	10.7
1991	945,335	146,605	1.7	9.5	849,005	139,925	-3.6	8.8
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	96.9	3.1	3.2	...	97.7	2.3	2.3	...
1931	95.5	4.5	4.7	**1.5**	96.6	3.4	3.5	**1.2**
1941	93.7	6.3	6.7	**2.0**	94.8	5.2	5.4	**2.0**
1951	91.6	8.4	9.2	**2.5**	91.9	8.1	8.8	**3.3**
1956	91.0	9.0	9.9	**1.4**	91.1	8.9	9.8	**1.9**
1961	91.0	9.0	9.9	■	90.8	9.2	10.2	**0.7**
1966	90.8	9.2	10.2	**0.5**	90.7	9.3	10.3	**0.2**
1971	90.3	9.7	10.7	**1.2**	89.8	10.2	11.4	**2.2**
1976	89.6	10.4	11.6	**1.7**	88.9	11.1	12.5	**2.3**
1981	88.1	11.9	13.5	**3.8**	88.0	12.0	13.6	**2.3**
1986	87.4	12.6	14.4	**1.8**	87.3	12.7	14.6	**1.8**
1991	86.6	13.4	15.5	**2.1**	85.9	14.1	16.5	**3.7**

Source : See end of table.

Table A12. Aging of the Population by Province, 1921-1991 - Concluded

Year	Alberta				British Columbia			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	574,649	13,805	**...**	**...**	506,187	18,395	**...**	**...**
1931	705,945	25,660	22.8	85.9	656,160	38,103	29.6	107.1
1941	754,928	41,241	6.9	60.7	749,789	68,072	14.3	78.7
1951	872,558	66,943	15.6	62.3	1,039,073	126,137	38.6	85.3
1956	1,041,789	81,327	19.4	21.5	1,247,685	150,779	20.1	19.5
1961	1,238,866	93,078	18.9	14.4	1,463,466	165,616	17.3	9.8
1966	1,359,193	104,010	9.7	11.7	1,695,008	178,666	15.8	7.9
1971	1,509,130	118,745	11.0	14.2	1,979,610	205,010	16.8	14.7
1976	1,700,115	137,925	12.7	16.2	2,224,555	242,050	12.4	18.1
1981	2,074,330	163,395	22.0	18.5	2,446,295	298,175	10.0	23.2
1986	2,174,500	191,325	4.8	17.1	2,533,890	349,480	3.6	17.2
1991	2,315,000	230,550	6.5	20.5	2,860,055	422,010	12.9	20.8
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	97.7	2.3	2.4	**...**	96.5	3.5	3.6	**...**
1931	96.5	3.5	3.6	**1.3**	94.5	5.5	5.8	**2.2**
1941	94.8	5.2	5.5	**1.9**	91.7	8.3	9.1	**3.3**
1951	92.9	7.1	7.7	**2.2**	89.2	10.8	12.1	**3.1**
1956	92.8	7.2	7.8	**0.2**	89.2	10.8	12.1	■
1961	93.0	7.0	7.5	**-0.5**	89.8	10.2	11.3	**-1.5**
1966	92.9	7.1	7.7	**0.2**	90.5	9.5	10.5	**-1.7**
1971	92.7	7.3	7.9	**0.5**	90.6	9.4	10.4	**-0.2**
1976	92.5	7.5	8.1	**0.5**	90.2	9.8	10.9	**1.0**
1981	92.7	7.3	7.9	**-0.5**	89.1	10.9	12.2	**2.7**
1986	91.9	8.1	8.8	**1.9**	87.9	12.1	13.8	**3.1**
1991	90.9	9.1	10.0	**2.4**	87.1	12.9	14.8	**2.1**

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, ***Âge, Sex and Marital Status***, catalogue no. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

Table A13. Canadian Population as of July 1st, 1994 and 1995, by Age and Sex (in thousands)

Age	1994		1995	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	198.8	189.1	195.9	185.6
1	201.8	191.3	199.8	190.5
2	207.8	198.1	203.0	192.6
3	209.5	198.5	209.3	199.6
4	210.4	200.3	211.2	200.1
5	203.1	193.7	212.1	201.9
6	197.8	189.4	204.5	195.0
7	198.5	191.0	199.2	190.6
8	204.6	196.5	199.7	192.1
9	205.1	196.5	205.8	197.6
10	203.1	194.7	206.3	197.7
11	201.9	193.3	204.3	195.7
12	202.3	193.4	203.2	194.5
13	204.2	194.9	204.0	194.9
14	204.3	193.4	206.1	196.6
15	200.8	190.1	206.0	195.0
16	198.5	188.1	202.5	191.7
17	199.6	190.6	200.3	189.9
18	202.5	193.3	201.4	192.6
19	203.7	195.2	204.6	195.9
20	198.1	191.5	205.6	197.9
21	201.7	194.7	200.1	194.3
22	207.3	201.0	203.5	197.3
23	216.7	212.6	208.9	203.4
24	219.8	215.1	218.3	214.7
25	218.2	214.3	221.5	217.4
26	219.7	215.7	219.9	216.6
27	226.1	221.4	221.6	217.9
28	240.3	234.1	228.0	223.5
29	259.4	252.4	242.1	236.4
30	268.7	260.3	261.2	254.6
31	273.6	265.6	270.6	262.6
32	271.7	264.0	275.4	267.6
33	274.5	267.6	273.0	265.8
34	270.7	265.1	275.7	269.3
35	265.2	260.4	271.6	266.7
36	263.6	258.6	266.1	261.7
37	257.6	255.2	264.5	260.0
38	248.2	246.5	258.4	256.5
39	246.3	246.4	249.0	247.6
40	237.8	239.6	247.0	247.5
41	228.5	230.5	238.3	240.5
42	223.6	223.0	228.9	231.4
43	220.9	219.5	224.0	223.7
44	217.9	215.1	221.3	220.2
45	214.3	212.7	218.4	215.7
46	214.3	211.0	214.5	213.1

Table A13. Canadian Population as of July 1st 1994 and 1995, by Age and Sex (in thousands) - Concluded

Age	1994		1995	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
47	214.4	211.8	214.4	211.3
48	186.0	183.5	214.5	212.1
49	173.3	171.1	185.7	183.7
50	167.8	166.4	173.0	171.1
51	162.8	161.3	167.4	166.5
52	151.9	150.6	162.4	161.4
53	145.7	145.8	151.5	150.9
54	137.2	137.1	145.3	145.9
55	133.2	133.6	136.8	137.3
56	128.1	128.7	132.6	133.9
57	123.6	125.5	127.4	128.9
58	124.4	126.2	122.9	125.6
59	121.8	124.0	123.6	126.2
60	119.4	121.1	120.9	123.9
61	121.2	124.2	118.4	120.9
62	121.4	124.8	119.8	123.8
63	119.2	125.2	120.0	124.4
64	116.1	123.2	117.7	124.7
65	109.8	119.0	114.4	122.5
66	107.8	119.1	107.9	118.1
67	103.7	117.2	105.6	118.1
68	100.9	118.2	101.4	116.0
69	96.9	115.8	98.4	116.7
70	92.2	113.3	94.2	114.2
71	87.2	109.8	89.2	111.5
72	85.0	109.2	84.2	108.0
73	79.2	103.9	81.9	107.0
74	73.3	97.9	76.3	101.9
75	60.8	84.3	70.4	95.8
76	55.9	78.5	57.7	81.8
77	52.1	75.4	52.6	75.9
78	49.1	72.9	48.6	72.6
79	47.2	71.7	45.7	69.9
80	42.1	66.4	43.8	68.5
81	37.1	59.9	38.8	63.4
82	32.0	54.0	34.0	56.7
83	27.8	49.3	28.9	50.8
84	23.9	43.7	25.0	46.2
85	19.9	38.5	21.2	40.4
86	16.8	33.9	17.5	35.4
87	13.6	29.4	14.6	30.9
88	10.8	25.1	11.5	26.2
89	8.8	21.3	9.0	22.1
90 +	29.4	80.1	30.8	84.4
Total	14,494.1	14,757.2	14,664.3	14,941.8

1994: Revised postcensal estimates.
1995: Revised postcensal estimates.
Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Part II

Common-Law Unions in Canada at the end of the 20th Century

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"Why pledge our troth before a minister?
Let's not be inscribed in a register!"
Georges Brassens
(freely translated from the French)

INTRODUCTION

The course of the average individual's conjugal life has become far more complex than it used to be. The common-law union is increasingly challenging legal marriage and remarriage as a viable alternative, while divorce and the break-up of common-law relationships continue adding to the ranks of candidates for conjugal life. Changes in ways of thinking have rendered commonplace what was once the exception.

There are many reasons why people choose to live together without being married. In some cases, religious considerations or the inability to obtain a divorce from a previous marriage may make marriage impossible. In others, the financial implications of marriage (including the potential benefits of not marrying) may influence the decision. Today, however, most people who choose to live as common-law partners do so because of personal convictions. Some women, for example, feel alienated because of their perceived subordination in the couple. Instead of "husband and wife," the members of the common-law couple are called cohabitants, partners, mates or friends.

Unions not sanctioned by marriage have always existed, in Canada and elsewhere, although until relatively recently, they were the exception to the rule. For a long time, the only union accepted by society was the kind that began with a marriage ceremony and ended with the death of a spouse, or more rarely, in divorce. Few children were born to unmarried mothers. Children born to single women —historically known as bastards— heaped shame and dishonour upon the unmarried mother and her whole family. The conjugal life of individuals "living in sin" was known to be less stable than that of the married couple: because the union was not legally recognized, there were no obligations binding the partners. Such non-conformist couples were widely looked down upon. Furthermore, because there were so few of them, there was little interest in studying the characteristics of these people who, for one reason or another, had chosen to live as husband and wife without actually being married.

Common-law unions first became widespread in Northern Europe during the mid-1960s and later spread to Western Europe and to this side of the Atlantic. However, it was not until the 1970s that the phenomenon was sufficiently

widespread in Canada for statistical studies to be possible and considered useful. The 1981 census did not ask a direct question about common-law relationships, but for the first time it recognized the phenomenon statistically by allowing respondents living in such unions to indicate this in the question dealing with the relationship to the reference person.[1] Nevertheless, to ensure the continuity in series, people were asked to consider themselves married in the question concerning marital status. This probably resulted in a slight underestimation of the number of persons living in common-law unions, since not all such unions between two persons other than the reference person were identified by this method. This initial estimate revealed the magnitude of the phenomenon: a minimum of 704,300 Canadians were living together without being legally married. That number has continued to grow. According to the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS), it had practically tripled since 1981, and nearly two million Canadians —one in every seven couples— were living in common-law unions.

This report, using data on common-law unions from the censuses and the most recent General Social Surveys, presents an update of our knowledge on the number and characteristics of people who choose to live in common-law unions. As a report, it remains incomplete, and represents but a few more pages in a continuing story.

MARRIAGE AND COMMON-LAW UNIONS UNDER THE LAW

An analysis of the evolution of the number of common-law unions and the characteristics of those who choose this conjugal option is not the proper place for a detailed examination of the legal implications of the choice. However, a brief description of the legal differences between marriage and common-law union seems appropriate. The discussion shall be limited to the differences with the most significant impact, taking into consideration that there are two legal systems operating in Canada: civil law in Quebec and common-law in the rest of the country.

In Quebec: Strangers before the Law

Given the growth of the phenomenon, one would tend to believe that persons in common-law unions have the same rights, obligations and privileges as married persons. Not at all. ***Contrary to what many may think, the rights and obligations of legally married spouses and common-law partners are very different under the Civil Code***. While married people owe each other respect, fidelity, aid and assistance, and must share the household expenses (food, lodging and home maintenance, and other costs related to the family's

[1] The concept of "reference person" was also introduced in the 1981 census and has since replaced "head of household," which is now considered inegalitarian.

welfare) according to their respective capacity (Art. 392 and 396), the partners in a common-law union have no such mutual legal obligations, regardless of how long they have lived together or whether children have been born of their union. When a break-up occurs, only married people are entitled to protection of the family residence, alimony for themselves, and a share of the family patrimony.

Married people have private property and community property (acquests) that is to be shared between them in case of divorce or death. If the marriage is dissolved, the family assets are shared between the former spouses; if one of the spouses dies, the family assets are divided between the surviving spouse and the estate of the deceased. Spouses therefore have ipso facto status as legal heirs. Married people also have protection with regard to the family residence, since no spouse may sell or mortgage the property without the other's consent.

Common-law partners have no community property unless a deed of purchase clearly specifies joint ownership. If the relationship ends, each partner retains possession of his or her own assets, and in the case of a dispute, the person who paid is considered the owner. Take the example of a common-law union in which one of the partners pays the mortgage on the house and the other pays the household bills. Should the relationship end, the former would retain full possession of the house and the latter would be left with nothing, unless joint ownership was clearly specified in writing. Should one of the partners die, the survivor would inherit the deceased's assets only if he or she were specifically designated in the will as heir. Similarly, the surviving partner would not be entitled to the deceased's life insurance benefits, unless specifically named as beneficiary.

In short, the Civil Code offers no protection to the partners in a common-law union. The only way they can protect their share of the common assets is to ensure that anything acquired together is clearly identified as joint property at the time of purchase or by contract. The conclusion of ***Vivre à deux***[2] offers a succinct summary of the legal differences between the two types of unions, along with the reason underlying the principle:

> Marriage imposes many obligations but they are always reciprocal. It grants both spouses rights which are not accorded to concubines. There is therefore greater financial risk and uncertainty in a common-law union than in a marriage. The Civil Code (of Quebec) does not recognize the common-law union. The reason for this is simple. The law has regulated one type of union; in the eyes of the law, if you wish to avoid the inconveniences of marriage, then naturally you will enjoy none of the privileges.

[2] Government of Quebec, Department of Justice (1995). ***Vivre à deux***, Les publications du Québec, 69 pages. Unofficial translation.

Persons living in common-law unions may as well be strangers to each other, as far as the Quebec Civil Code is concerned.

In the Rest of Canada: Common-Law and Relevant Laws

Generally speaking, in the case of a dispute, common-law partners currently have more difficulty than married couples when it comes to the recognition of their rights in court. Again, they would be wise to sign a contract with regard to their residence, mortgage payments, responsibility for debts, mutual assistance and arrangements concerning children, if any.

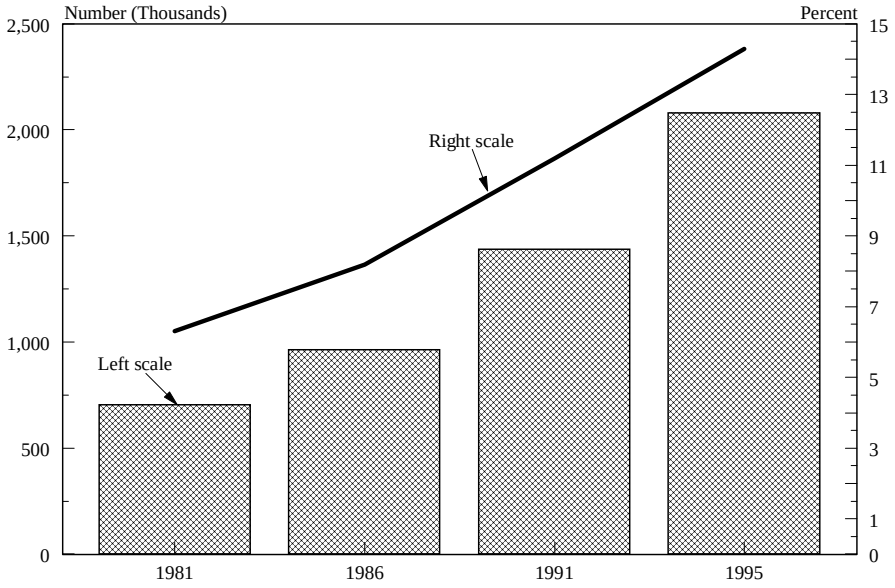
The legal system becomes involved only when the union is dissolved, not when it is established. In the past, it was clear that, due to the nature of their union, cohabitants did not enjoy any of the rights and privileges of married people. The law has been modified since the 1980s, and in some cases legal recognition of the union has been guaranteed. The most important protection has been the monitoring of unjustified enrichment of one of the partners, when such enrichment has occurred as the result of a common-law union.

In many provinces, statutory rights and support obligations have been established for cohabitants, but they are still significantly different from those that apply to married people. Provincial legislation has enhanced the property rights of married women through regimes governing the sharing of acquests, but the law does not apply to female cohabitants, who must protect themselves with contracts of ownership. The same is true with regard to the estate of a deceased partner. However, a woman may claim dependence if she is not specifically designated in the will as heir.

Some provincial laws grant cohabitants of the opposite sex the right to draw up cohabitation and separation contracts that stipulate provisions agreed to by both parties. The specific conditions governing such contracts vary from one province to another. All contracts under provincial jurisdiction must be in writing and signed by the parties before a witness. However, the courts have considerable discretionary power to render such contracts invalid by invoking prevailing aspects of the law. As for support and other obligations, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Ontario, Saskatchewan and the Yukon have enacted legislation governing unmarried heterosexual cohabitants, but the minimum mandatory duration of the union varies between provinces (from one to five years) and partners must live as husband and wife. The fact that two people have regular sexual relations is not sufficient to constitute a common-law union, and many other criteria apply.

These few points merely serve to indicate how the legal approach varies from one province to the next when common-law partners seek to settle their

Figure 1. Number of Persons in Common-Law Unions and Percentage of Couples in Common-Law Unions, Canada, 1981-1995



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

differences in court. Judges and courts have more freedom to invoke and interpret other portions of the law, and it would be incorrect to assume that common-law unions in these provinces are equivalent to marriage.[3]

THE SPREAD OF A NEW CONJUGAL OPTION

Since 1981, Canadian censuses have been counting the number of people living in common-law unions. To be more precise, in the 1991 census, Statistics Canada asked Canadians a question about their common-law conjugal status. In the 1981 and 1986 censuses, people living in common-law unions had been asked to call themselves married. The census forms did not contain specific questions about the union, and the number of persons living in common-law relationships was estimated based on answers to the questions concerning the relationship of household members to the reference person.

In Figure 1, the estimate based on the 1995 General Social Survey has been added to data from the three censuses. There are definite conceptual

[3] J. Payne and M. Payne (1994). ***Canadian Family Law***. Carswell, Toronto.

differences between the census and the GSS, not to mention that in the 1981 and 1986 censuses the estimates were obtained indirectly. In the 1991 census, each individual was asked to indicate whether he or she was living in a common-law union, defined in the respondent's guide as a situation in which two persons live together as husband and wife but are not legally married to each other. This question immediately followed the one asking the person's legal marital status in order to minimize the possibility of confusing legal marriage with common-law union. In the 1995 GSS, the question was simply: Are you now living with a common-law partner? This question followed the one concerning legal marital status but was separated from it by the series of questions pertaining to the respondent's marital history. If the respondent asked for a definition of the term "common-law partner," the interviewer answered that a common-law partnership meant having a sexual relationship while sharing the same usual address. This definition seems both less abstract and less restrictive than the census definition.

In addition to the conceptual difference there is the difference in collection method. The census is a self-enumeration of the entire population, but the validity of the responses is controlled only by the logical consistency with responses given to other questions, whereas the GSS is a telephone survey of a relatively small sample by an interviewer who may provide clarification, if needed, in accordance with strict rules. The Survey should therefore measure the phenomenon better than the census, but the latter has the advantage of a complete enumeration in which sampling errors disappear while, as for the Survey, it estimates numbers using a weighting[4] of respondents determined by the sample design. Nevertheless, even though the link between the two sources may not be entirely satisfactory, we can assess the growth in the number of common-law unions and the characteristics of the partners involved over a 15-year period.

In 1981, when the number of persons living in common-law unions in Canada was first estimated, the phenomenon was already quite widespread: more than ***700,000 Canadians, or 6.3% of all couples, were living together without being legally married***. In the next census, in 1986, nearly one million Canadians were living in common-law unions, and unmarried couples made up 8.2% of all couples. From one date to the next, the average annual increase in the number of persons living in common-law unions was 65 per 1,000, or nearly six times that of the population aged 15 and over, and more than twelve times that of the married population (Table 1).

The phenomenon spread even more rapidly from 1986 to 1991. The average annual rate of increase rose to 83 per 1,000, and in the latest census for which

[4] The weights used are constructed on the basis of estimates of the population by age, sex and province of residence. Contrary to census data, a correction is added to the population estimates to take into account net undercount and non-permanent residents. The Survey population is comparable to these estimates and so is slightly larger than that of the census.

Table 1. Population Aged 15 and Over by Marital Status, Showing Average Annual Increase, Canada and Regions, 1981 to 1995

Individual Marital Status	Number (Thousands)				Average Annual Increase (per 1,000)			
	1981	1986	1991	1995	1981-1986	1986-1991	1991-1995	1981-1995
	Atlantic							
Total	1,619	1,709	1,785	1,914	10.9	8.8	17.5	12.0
Married	949	976	996	1,079	5.8	4.0	20.2	9.3
Common-Law	38	56	95	136	81.5	108.6	95.0	95.0
Single	632	676	694	698	13.5	5.4	1.4	7.2
	Quebec							
Total	4,907	5,056	5,374	5,837	6.0	12.3	20.9	12.5
Married	2,687	2,621	2,617	2,719	-5.0	-0.3	9.6	0.8
Common-Law	239	376	612	906	94.6	102.5	103.0	**99.8**
Single	1,981	2,059	2,145	2,213	7.7	8.2	7.9	7.9
	Ontario							
Total	6,576	7,065	7,852	8,773	14.5	21.3	28.1	20.8
Married	3,855	4,042	4,410	4,984	9.5	17.6	31.0	18.5
Common-Law	202	267	359	547	57.6	61.1	111.3	73.9
Single	2,519	2,757	3,083	3,242	18.2	22.6	12.6	18.2
	Manitoba and Saskatchewan							
Total	1,467	1,541	1,553	1,649	9.8	1.6	15.0	8.4
Married	867	891	875	979	5.3	-3.6	28.5	8.7
Common-Law	43	57	77	75	61.2	61.0	-7.3	41.1
Single	558	593	601	595	12.3	2.9	-2.6	4.7
	Alberta							
Total	1,644	1,755	1,890	2,096	13.1	15.0	26.2	17.5
Married	939	996	1,051	1,162	12.0	10.8	25.4	15.4
Common-Law	78	90	118	161	28.5	55.8	80.5	52.9
Single	627	668	720	772	12.8	15.1	17.7	15.0
	British Columbia							
Total	2,139	2,288	2,614	2,996	13.5	27.0	34.7	24.3
Married	1,220	1,269	1,417	1,588	7.9	22.3	29.0	19.1
Common-Law	105	118	178	255	24.7	85.4	94.3	65.8
Single	815	901	1,019	1,152	20.2	25.1	31.1	25.0
	Canada							
Total	18,353	19,412	21,067	23,264	11.3	16.5	25.1	17.1
Married	10,517	10,795	11,366	12,511	5.2	10.4	24.3	12.5
Common-Law	704	964	1,439	**2,080**	64.9	83.2	96.6	**80.4**
Single	7,132	7,653	8,263	8,673	14.2	15.5	12.2	14.1
	Canada less Quebec							
Total	13,445	14,357	15,694	17,427	13.2	18.0	26.5	18.7
Married	7,829	8,174	8,749	9,792	8.6	13.7	28.6	16.1
Common-Law	465	589	827	1,174	48.3	70.2	91.7	68.4
Single	5,150	5,594	6,118	6,460	16.7	18.1	13.7	16.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

data is available[5], common-law couples represented 11.2% of all couples. ***The 1995 General Social Survey found that nearly two million persons, or 14.3% of all couples, were living in common-law unions***. The popularity of this conjugal choice clearly continued to grow during the first half of the 1990s. The survey data indicate that the annual rate of growth rose slightly

[5] Data from the 1996 census will not be available until the autumn of 1997.

Table 2. Percentage of the Population Living as a Couple and of Couples in a Common-Law Union, Canada and Regions, 1981 to 1995

Regions	Living as a Couple				Couples in a Common-Law Union			
	1981	1986	1991	1995	1981	1986	1991	1995
Atlantic	61.0	60.4	61.1	63.5	3.9	5.5	8.7	11.2
Quebec	59.6	59.3	60.1	62.1	8.2	12.5	19.0	**25.0**
Ontario	61.7	61.0	60.7	63.0	5.0	6.2	7.5	9.9
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	62.0	61.5	61.3	63.9	4.7	6.0	8.1	7.1
Alberta	61.9	61.9	61.9	63.2	7.7	8.3	10.1	12.2
British Columbia	61.9	60.6	61.0	61.5	7.9	8.5	11.2	13.8
Canada less Quebec	61.7	61.0	61.0	62.9	5.6	6.7	8.6	**10.7**
Canada	61.1	60.6	60.8	62.7	6.3	8.2	11.2	14.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

to almost 10% from 1991 to 1995. Such growth could not be sustained over a long period, for it would mean that the number of persons in common-law unions would double every eight years.

In summary, from 1981 to 1995 the number of people in common-law unions increased at an annual rate of 80.4 per 1,000, or 6.5 times more quickly than the married population, among whom the average annual increase was 12.5 per 1,000. To illustrate this remarkable 15-year growth, consider that if the relative growth rates were maintained for the two groups, by the year 2022 there would be as many common-law couples as married couples. Thus, in half a century (1970 to 2020), marriage would have relinquished its place as the conjugal norm in Canada. Such a projection may seem extravagant, but in Quebec, where common-law unions are more widespread, common-law couples now constitute 25% of all couples; and the percentage is even higher among younger people (42% of Canadians under 30 living as a couple, 64% of Quebeckers in the same age group).

Regional Variations

The prevalence of common-law unions is not increasing at the same rate everywhere. Major regional differences could already be noted in 1981. Such unions were less in vogue in the Atlantic Provinces, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where they made up no more than 5.0% of all couples (Table 2). Quebec was not yet notably different from the two westernmost provinces: 8.2% of couples were not married, compared to 7.7% in Alberta and 7.9% in British Columbia. Things would change quickly.

From 1981 to 1986, while regional differences in Canada outside Quebec diminished, the gap between Quebec and the rest of the country widened. The phenomenon is clearly visible in the column in Table 1 showing the average annual rate of increase. The highest mean annual rate of increase (95 per 1,000) is in Quebec, where persons in common-law unions are proportionately

more numerous at the beginning of the period. By comparison, Alberta and British Columbia have the lowest rates of increase, with 29 and 25 per 1,000, respectively; this is well below the rates of increase in regions were common-law unions were less widespread. In the Atlantic Provinces, for example, the number of persons in common-law unions increased at a rate of 82 per 1,000 for the same period.

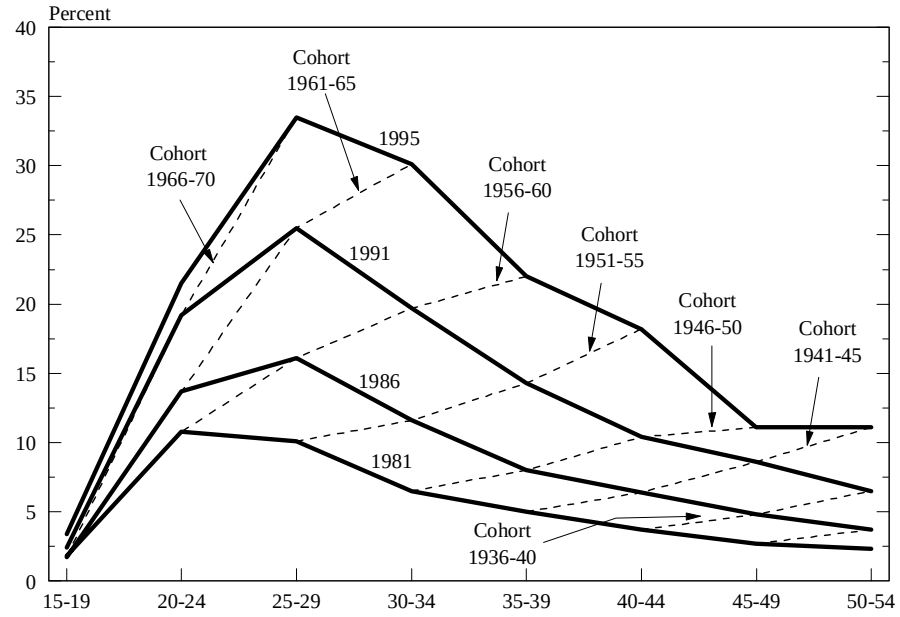
In all three periods, the gap between Quebec and the rest of the country grew, while regional differences between the other provinces were reduced. In fact, in each period, the region with the lowest proportion of unmarried couples at the start of the period is also the one with the greatest increase, and conversely, the provinces (other than Quebec) in which common-law unions are most widespread at the start have the lowest rates of increase. Since, at the same time, Quebec continues to show a very high rate of increase compared to the national average, it stands out increasingly over the years. ***In 1995, the proportion of common-law couples was two and a half times higher in Quebec (25.0%) than in the rest of Canada (10.7%)***. Not counting Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where there is some doubt about the decline in the number of common-law couples from 1991 to 1995, which may be attributable to sampling error, in 1995, a mere four percentage points separate Ontario, the province slowest to embrace common-law unions, from British Columbia, the province second to Quebec, but by a wide margin.

Propensity to Live as a Couple Remains Stable

The decline in nuptiality notwithstanding, people are still definitely choosing to live as couples. From 1971 to 1994, the number of marriages occurring during the year dropped by more than 31,000 (16%), despite a considerable increase (49%) in the population of marriageable age and an age structure favourable to the establishment of a union. The crude marriage rate thus dropped dramatically, from 12.1 per 1,000 to 6.8 per 1,000. The first-marriage rate fell from 50.8 per 1,000 in 1981 to 38.1 per 1,000 in 1991. The drop in the first-marriage rate is expressed in a considerable decline in marriage probability and a remarkable increase in the proportion of those never married. In the early 1980s, the proportion never married was 20% for men and 17% for women. In 1991, it had risen to 30% and 25%, respectively. In Quebec, where common-law unions are more numerous, 44% of women and 50% of men would never marry if the rates in the 1991 first-marriage table continue to hold (Nault and Bélanger, 1996).

In all regions of Canada the average annual growth rate of the married population is lower than that of the overall population 15 and over, with the exception of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where both increased at the same rate. In Quebec, which is the atypical province in this area, the married population increased by less than 1 per 1,000 per year from 1981 to 1995, whereas the

Figure 2. Proportion of Persons Living in a Common-Law Union by Age Group, Quebec, 1981-1995



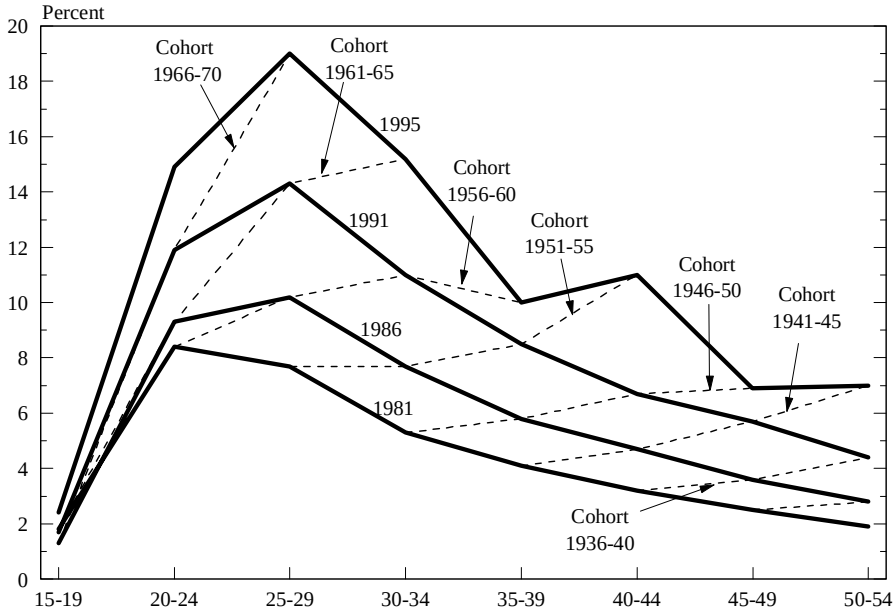
Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

population 15 and over increased at a rate of 12 per 1,000 (see Table 1). Nevertheless, across Canada, the tendency to live as a couple has remained stable. In all regions and for all periods between 1981 and 1995, nearly two-thirds of the population 15 and over lived in a couple. The rapid growth in the number of common-law unions is compensating for the relatively modest increase in the married population. But if for now common-law unions are growing at an average annual rate of 10% in Quebec and 7% in the rest of Canada, legally-married persons still represent 54% of the Canadian population aged 15 and over.

Growth from Period to Period, but Also from One Group of Cohorts to Another

Ever since census figures have allowed the measurement of such data, it has been shown that non-married couples are more common among younger people (Figure 2), but over time, younger cohorts tend to stay longer in common-law unions as a conjugal choice. In 1981, the proportion of common-law unions was higher among those aged 20-24, but since 1986, it is most prevalent among those aged 25-29. Thus, from 15 to 30 years of age, the

Figure 3. Proportion of Persons Living in a Common-Law Union by Age Group, Canada, 1981-1995



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

number of newly created common-law unions surpasses the number that disappear, and the phenomenon becomes more prevalent from one five-year age group to the next. ***According to the 1995 GSS, one-third (33.5%) of Quebeckers aged 15-30 lived in common-law unions, compared to 14.5% in the rest of the country***. The rate then drops by successive five-year age groups to about 5% for 55-59 year-olds in 1995, partly due to the break-up of common-law unions or their conversion into marriages, but also because older segments of the population are less likely to choose this type of conjugal arrangement or contracted their present marriage before living in a common-law union became an everyday occurrence.

Across Canada, with only one exception[6], ***the proportion of persons in common-law unions in each cohort group is higher than observed in the previous census, for that same group***. This is a period effect, since the

[6] The proportion of Canadians outside Quebec aged 35-39 living in common-law unions is estimated at 5.9%, according to the 1995 GSS. This seems too low, compared to both the percentages for the 30-34 and 40-44 age groups in the survey and the percentages for this cohort in previous censuses.

prevalence of common-law unions increases with time for all groups, as indicated by the dotted lines linking groups from one census to the next (Figure 3). For example, ***if we follow the cohort of Quebeckers born between 1951 and 1955, we see that with time, while the age of the individuals increases, the proportion of persons within the group living in common-law unions increases steadily: from 10.1% at 25-29 in the 1981 census***, to 11.6% at 30-34 in the 1986 census, to 14.3% at 35-39 in the 1991 census and, ***to 18.2% at 40-44, according to the 1995 GSS***. Within this cohort, despite the fact that it went from 25-29 (where common-law unions are more prevalent) in 1981, to 40-44 in 1995, the proportion of persons in common-law unions increased 8 percentage points in less than 15 years. Similar results can be observed for all groups of cohorts, even the oldest.

To explain the notable increase in common-law unions from one period to the next, it is necessary to add to the increasing prevalence of such unions within each group of cohorts the fact that this form of conjugal life is being chosen increasingly by members of younger cohorts, as indicated by the growing gap between each group of cohorts (dotted lines) and the replacement of older cohorts by younger ones. The increase therefore results from both a period effect and a cohort effect. At the same age within each group of cohorts, common-law unions are more prevalent than in the preceding cohort, and the propensity increases within each cohort as time passes.

Other Means of Measurement

A census offers an instant snapshot of the phenomenonCan enumeration of individuals according to conjugal status at a specific moment in time. The ratio of the number of persons in common-law unions to the population at risk measures the prevalence of the phenomenon. But insofar as such unions tend to be of short duration, this measure underestimates the proportion of persons implicated by the phenomenon during their adult life. Furthermore, since the changes in status that transform the population structure fluctuate more rapidly than the resulting numbers, it is clear that the prevalence of common-law unions is not a sufficient measure.

In addition to a prevalence measurement comparable to that obtained from censuses, other measurements calculated with GSS data, although they may be less precise because of the size of the sample, can shed light on various aspects of how Canadian society is responding to this conjugal choice and its proliferation. We can estimate, to an acceptable degree of accuracy, the number of persons who have been in a common-law union, or distinguish which first unions were common-law and which were marriages, or determine how many persons who are now married previously lived common-law with their spouse.

Table 3. Number (in Thousands) of Persons Entering their First Union and Proportion Which Common-Law Unions Make of All First Unions, by Period of Union Formation, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Period	Common-Law	Marriage	Total	Percent Common-Law
	Quebec			
< 1970	64	1,725	1,789	**3.6** *
1970-1974	120	441	561	21.4
1975-1979	301	335	636	47.4
1980-1984	318	183	500	63.5
1985-1989	446	190	636	70.1
1990-1994	416	104	519	**80.0**
Total	1,665	2,977	4,641	35.9
	Canada less Quebec			
< 1970	122	5,331	5,452	**2.2** *
1970-1974	223	1,280	1,503	14.9
1975-1979	439	908	1,347	32.6
1980-1984	524	1,056	1,580	33.2
1985-1989	700	904	1,604	43.6
1990-1994	840	832	1,673	**50.2**
Total	2,849	10,310	13,159	21.7
	Canada			
< 1970	186	7,055	7,241	2.6
1970-1974	343	1,721	2,065	16.6
1975-1979	741	1,243	1,983	37.3
1980-1984	842	1,238	2,080	40.5
1985-1989	1,146	1,093	2,239	51.2
1990-1994	1,256	936	2,192	57.3
Total	4,514	13,287	17,801	25.4

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Given the convergence of conjugal behaviour in provinces outside Quebec, the growing gap between Quebec and the other provinces, and the sample size of the GSS, our analysis will compare Quebec and the rest of the country.

Share of Common-Law Unions in All First Unions Increases Rapidly

The first union occupies a special place in people's lives. It often takes place at the end of schooling, when a person begins to work and leaves the parental home. While people's lives are increasingly complicated by the growing number of dissolved unions, the first union remains a singular life event. Table 3 shows the number of first unions entered for each five-year period since 1970, as estimated using the General Social Survey, with a distinction made between

marriages and common-law unions. The first marriages of those who begin their conjugal life with a common-law union are not taken into account, nor are the first common-law unions of those who are married.

The number of persons establishing first unions for each five-year period has remained relatively stable in Canada since 1970. According to the conjugal histories gathered by the GSS, every five years, an average of 2.1 million persons formed their first union. This relative numerical stability nevertheless masks significant changes in the type of union chosen. Since 1970, the number of first unions which are common-law unions has been growing, compensating for the fall by half in the number of first unions which are marriages. There is thus an extremely rapid rise in the proportion of first unions that are common-law unions, certainly the most striking information in this table. ***In Quebec in particular, the ratio reversed in 20 years. From 1970 to 1974, there were four first unions which were marriages for each first union which was a common-law union; in 1990-94, there were four first unions which were common-law unions for each first union which was a marriage***. Elsewhere in Canada the change occurs a little less quickly, but is still impressive. During the first half of the 1970s, less than one first union in every five was a common-law union; 20 years later, there were as many common-law unions as marriages among first unions. Like Dumas and Péron (1992), ***we can conclude that marriage is being displaced as the first union of choice***.

Number of People Ever in a Common-Law Union

The proportion of people who are or have been in a common-law union reveals more about this conjugal choice than the prevalence of the phenomenon at any given moment. Indeed, if the common-law union is accepted as a conjugal option but remains limited to a trial marriage or a deliberately temporary union, the proportion of people who have lived in a common-law relationship at least once in their lives should be greater than the number of people living in a common-law union at any given moment. If, however, the common-law union has become a substitute for marriage, the average duration should rise and a greater proportion of persons who have chosen this option should still be in the union at the time of the survey. A comparison of these two percentages offers an indication of how acceptable common-law unions are in Quebec and the rest of the country.

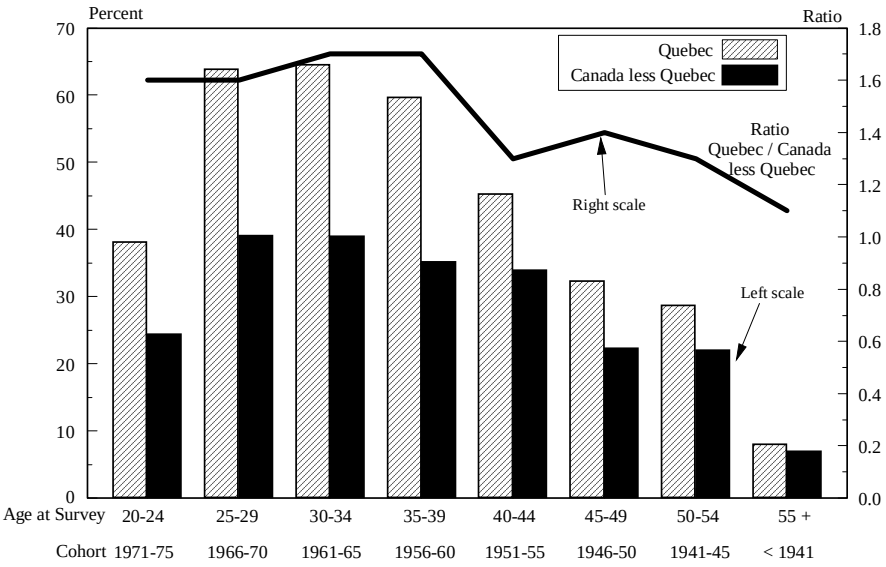
According to the General Social Survey, ***more than six million Canadians had been or still were in a common-law union in 1995*** (Table 4). ***They represented more than one-quarter (26%) of the population 15 and over***. In Quebec, 35% of the population had been or still were in a common-law union in 1995; this compares to 23% for the rest of Canada. The 905,000 or so Quebeckers living in a common-law union at the time of the survey represented just under half (44.3%) of the two million who had been or still were in such relationships. Overall, in the other provinces, 2.9 million persons

Table 4. Proportion of the Population Who Have Ever Lived in a Common-Law Union by Cohort, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Age in 1995	Cohort	Number of Persons (Thousands)					Percent			
		Previously Lived Common-Law (1)	Never Lived Common-Law (2)	Now in Common-Law Union (3)	Ever Lived Common-Law (4 = 1 + 3)	Total Population (5)	Previously Lived Common-Law (6 = 1 / 5)	Now in Common-Law Union (7 = 3 / 5)	Ever Lived Common-Law (8 = 4 / 5)	Still Living Common-Law (9 = 3 / 4)
		Quebec								
20-24	1971-1975	78	293	102	180	473	16.6	21.5	38.1	56.5
25-29	1966-1970	161	192	178	339	530	30.4	33.5	63.9	52.5
30-34	1961-1965	225	233	197	422	655	34.4	30.1	**64.5**	46.6
35-39	1956-1960	248	265	146	393	658	37.6	22.1	59.7	37.0
40-44	1951-1955	160	325	108	269	593	27.0	18.3	45.3	40.3
45-49	1946-1950	113	363	60 *	173	536	21.1	11.2 *	32.3	34.5 *
50-54	1941-1945	76	308	48 *	124	432	17.6	11.1 *	28.7	38.6 *
55 +	<1941	46	1,340	**	116	1,457	3.2	**	8.0	**
Total		1,139	3,786	906	**2,045**	5,830	19.5	15.5	**35.1**	44.3
		Canada less Quebec								
20-24	1971-1975	177	1,170	202	378	1,548	11.4	13.0	24.4	53.3
25-29	1966-1970	412	1,025	247	659	1,684	24.5	14.7	39.1	37.5
30-34	1961-1965	567	1,214	208	775	1,989	28.5	10.4	39.0	26.8
35-39	1956-1960	560	1,239	114 *	674	1,913	29.3	6.0 *	35.2	16.9
40-44	1951-1955	432	1,124	145	577	1,701	25.4	8.5	33.9	25.1
45-49	1946-1950	256	1,179	83 *	339	1,518	16.9	5.5 *	22.3	24.4 *
50-54	1941-1945	190	901	64 *	254	1,155	16.5	5.5 *	22.0	25.2 *
55 +	<1941	219	4,009	50	301	4,310	5.1	1.2	7.0	16.6
Total		2,848	13,265	1,174	**4,022**	17,287	16.5	6.8	**23.3**	29.2

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Figure 4. Proportion of the Population Having Ever Lived in a Common-Law Union by Cohort, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

had been but were no longer in a common-law union, and 1.2 million others were in common-law unions at the time of the survey, for a total of just over four million persons who had lived as a couple without being married. Persons living in common-law unions at the time of the survey thus make up less than one-third (29.2%) of all those who had been or still were in such unions, compared to 44.3% in Quebec. While the percentage of persons in common-law unions at the time of the survey is thus twice as high in Quebec (15.5%) as in the rest of Canada (6.8%), the percentage of those who have ever been in a common-law union is only 50% higher. This and other indicators support the hypothesis that the common-law union is replacing marriage in Quebec, whereas for many Canadians in the other provinces, it is an intermediary stage between the parental home and a legal union.

In Quebec, as in the rest of Canada, the proportion of persons who have lived in a common-law union varies significantly from one group of cohorts to the next. It increases from the 1971-1975 group to the 1961-1965 group, in which it reaches nearly 65% in Quebec and 40% elsewhere in the country, because the younger group have not yet had the opportunity to establish themselves in couples. It remains at this level for the two following groups

of cohorts. ***Among those born between 1951 and 1970 (persons aged 25-44 in 1995), more than two Canadians in five (42%) had already been in a common-law union***. In Quebec, the figure is 58%. The percentage is lower for older cohorts because people established their unions at a time when marriage was the norm.

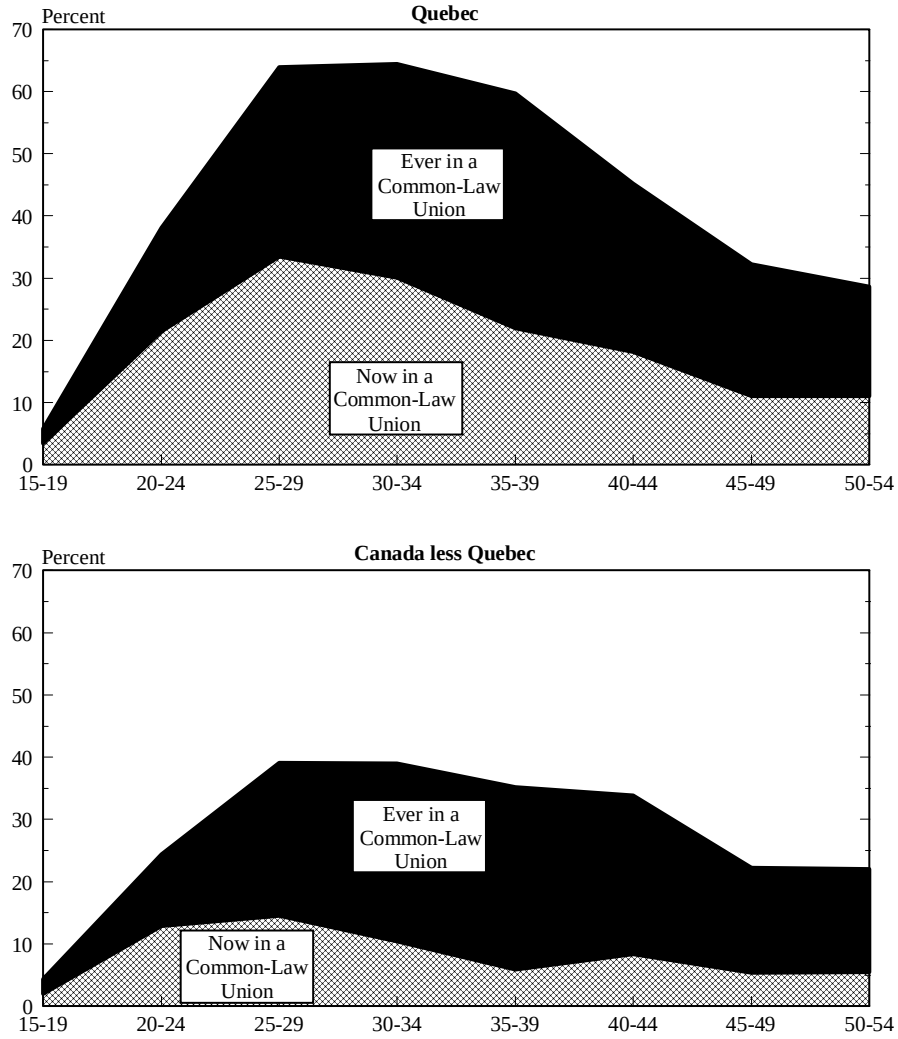
On average, for the entire population, the proportion of persons in Quebec who have lived in a common-law union is 50% higher than in the rest of Canada, but the ratio varies from one cohort to another (Figure 4), perhaps reflecting the effect of the Catholic Church on older cohorts of Quebeckers, on the one hand, and the dramatic decline in religion among the younger inhabitants of the province, on the other. For cohorts born after 1956, the ratio of Quebec percentages to those in the rest of Canada is well over one, but closer for previous cohorts; and among the oldest cohorts, the proportion of persons who have lived in a common-law union in the rest of Canada is equal to that in Quebec.

Figure 5 illustrates regional differences by comparing percentages by five-year age group. The space between the two curves represents the proportion of people who had been in at least one common-law union during their lifetime but were not in one at the time of the survey. The area between the lower curve and the horizontal axis measures the proportion of people in a common-law union at the time of the survey. It is interesting to compare these areas between regions. At first glance, we can see how widespread common-law unions are in Quebec, as well as that, for each age group, the proportion of those still in a common-law union compared to those who have had the experience is higher. In Quebec as well as in the rest of Canada, the curves are similar in shape: from nil at age 15, the proportion rises quickly until about age 30, then drops off gradually. The proportion of people who have been in a common-law union at least once reaches its peak among those aged 30-34: 65% in Quebec and 39% in the rest of Canada. Obviously, the proportions of those currently in a common-law union are lower: 34% in Quebec and 15% in the rest of Canada. But note that this statistic peaks in the youngest age group (25-29), and that, between this group and the 35-39 age group, the decline is more pronounced than for those who have been in a common-law union but no longer are. With increasing age, or as we move from younger to older cohorts, the ratio of people currently in a common-law union to those who have been in one decreases (Figure 5), under the effect of separations and the conversion of such unions into marriages.

The Spread of Common-Law Unions: Age, Period and Cohort Effects

From 1990 to 1995, the proportion of persons who had been in a common-law union rose from 30% to 35% in Quebec, and from 21% to 23% in the rest of Canada. This is another indication that Quebec is not only ahead of the rest of the country in terms of adopting this lifestyle, but the phenomenon

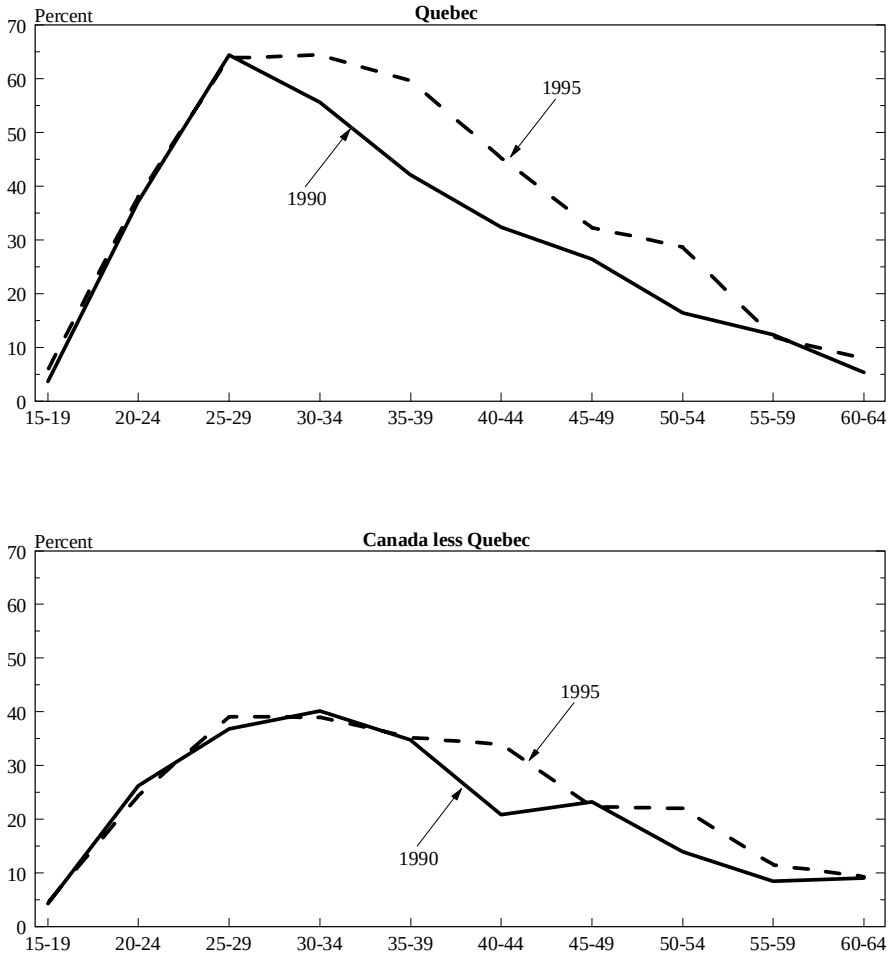
Figure 5. Proportion of Persons Now in a Common-Law Union and Ever in a Common-Law Union, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

is also developing more rapidly there. Time is a key factor in analysing the spread of any new phenomenon, whether it is the practice of polyculture in Northern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, or the replacement of horses by tractors in the American plains. In demography, one must frequently deal with the effects of age and cohort, as well as the effects of period.

Figure 6. Proportion of Persons Ever in a Common-Law Union by Age at the 1990 and 1995 Surveys, Quebec and Canada less Quebec



Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1990 and 1995 and calculations by the author.

A cohort effect is indicated by the particular behaviour at every age of the group comprising it, as compared to younger and older cohorts. A period effect is revealed by a change in behaviour among all cohorts at a specific time. The age effect is demonstrated by behaviour that is systematically different at a certain age among all cohorts. Usually, several effects occur concurrently.

Figure 6 compares the proportion of people who live or have lived in a common-law union by their age at the 1990 and 1995 surveys, and serves to illustrate the different effects. Since the fact of having been in a common-law

Table 5. Percentage of Persons Married at the Time of the Survey who Lived Together before Marriage, by Period of Union Formation, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Period	Quebec	Canada less Quebec	Canada
1970-79	16.4	12.0	13.2
1980-89	41.4	26.2	29.0
After 1989	**61.8**	**40.5**	44.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

union is an irreversible characteristic, the proportion of such persons cannot decrease within a given cohort as it ages over time[7]. In the graph at the top showing the curves for Quebec, the age effect is clearly visible before age 30: when the 1995 curve is superimposed over the 1990 curve, we see that the change in proportion from one age group to the next is due strictly to the progress of the life cycle. People almost always form their first common-law union between the ages of 15 and 30. After 30 in 1990, or after 35 in 1995, the proportion decreases steadily. This indicates the period effect, with the oldest cohorts having formed couples at a time when the common-law union was not an alternative to marriage. Finally, between the ages of 30 and 50, the 1995 curve is almost an exact replica of the 1990 curve moved five years to the right, indicating a cohort effect. The lower figure shows the comparable curves for the population of other provinces. Aside from the fact that the percentages are much higher in Quebec, the same age effect is noted, explaining the increase from age 15 to age 30, and the same period effect explains the subsequent decrease, but there is no clear cohort effect.

Premarital Cohabitation among Married People

A great many marriages these days are preceded by a generally short period of premarital cohabitation that some consider a "trial marriage." Table 5 shows the percentage of persons by period of marriage who were married at the time of the GSS and who had lived common-law with their spouse before legalizing the union. These are persons who were still married at the time of the survey. Several Canadian and American studies have shown that, probably due to the selection process involved, marriages preceded by a common-law union are more likely to end in divorce, and to do so more quickly than marriages in which the spouses did not live together first. It follows that the percentages for the earlier periods underestimate somewhat the number of trial marriages. Nevertheless, the trends are clear and indicate the important changes that took place quickly in the process of establishing unions.

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[7] Aside from a possible differential mortality or migration, which has no measurable impact over such a short period, a reduction in this proportion for a given cohort between the two periods studied can be due only to sampling error.

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Duration of Premarital Cohabitation by Period of Marriage, Population Married at the Time of the Survey, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Duration	Quebec				Canada less Quebec			
	1970-1979	1980-1989	>1989	Total	1970-1979	1980-1989	>1989	Total
< 1 Year	38.5	19.7	16.3	22.3	31.1	22.6	18.9	22.3
1-2 Years	43.7	45.4	39.6	43.0	40.9	41.6	42.4	41.8
3-4 Years	5.3	21.5	26.6	20.0	17.7	22.2	17.0	19.4
> 4 Years	12.5	13.5	17.5	14.7	10.3	13.6	21.7	16.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median	1.3	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.5	1.9	2.0	1.9
Mean	2.8	2.9	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.7	3.4	3.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Very few marriages contracted prior to 1970 and which still existed in 1995 were preceded by a period of cohabitation; trial marriages became more popular beginning in the 1970s, occurring in more than one in every eight marriages. The phenomenon gained ground during the 1980s, particularly in Quebec, where already two marriages in every five are simply legalizing an existing union. ***Two-thirds of recent marriages (since 1990) in Quebec were preceded by a period of cohabitation. As with other common-law statistics, the figures are lower in the rest of Canada (40%)***.

Duration of Premarital Cohabitation among Married Persons in the Survey

Table 6 shows the distribution in percentages of the duration of premarital unions among persons who were married at the time of the survey. Overall, such unions do not last long. The average duration of three years is exaggerated by a few long-term unions, as one might suspect from the difference between the average and median duration. In half the cases, it is less than two years from the start of the union to the date of marriage. There is little difference in this rate between Quebec and the rest of Canada: people who legalize their unions do so equally quickly in both regions. However, an increase in the duration of the premarital union can be observed for more recent periods. This is not all that surprising. Since the common-law union is a relatively recent phenomenon, the number of long-term unions increases with time. In summary, ***people who legalize a common-law union do so quickly, with little regional variation, but the duration of premarital unions is on the rise***.

It is impossible to determine how many of these trial marriages were anticipated as such. Some of the shorter ones may never have been intended as trial periods; they may simply be a period of living together from the time the couple sets up house until they actually marry. In other cases, people may establish a premarital union while waiting for a divorce or other administrative formalities to be finalized.

Table 7. Population by Number of Common-Law Unions[1] and Percentage Distribution by Number of Common-Law Unions of the Population With at Least One Such Union, by Sex, Canada, 1995

Sex	0	1	2	3 +	Total	At Least One Union
	Number (Thousands)					
Men	8,756	2,042	528	125	11,452	2,696
Women	8,888	2,260	563	105	11,816	2,927
Total	17,644	4,302	1,091	230	23,267	5,623
	Percent					
Men	**...**	75.7	19.6	4.7	100.0	**...**
Women	**...**	77.2	19.2	3.6 *	100.0	**...**
Total	**...**	**76.5**	19.4	4.1	100.0	**...**

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
[1] Restricted to unions whose initial and for those that have ended, terminal years are known.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Number of Common-Law Unions

The common-law union is considered to be less restrictive than marriage. Because it takes less time to establish and certainly less time to dissolve, it is obviously easier for a person to be in a common-law union more than once. And yet, ***while nearly six million Canadians have had at least one common-law relationship, more than three-quarters of them (77%) have had only one, about one-fifth (19%) have had two, and fewer than one-twentieth (4%) have had three or more***[8]. The percentages are almost identical for men and women and hardly differ from those for remarriages (Table 7).

The large number of respondents in the 1995 GSS who have had just one common-law relationship is due to the fact that the phenomenon is relatively recent. Younger cohorts began their conjugal life in a more permissive environment than their elders, but because of their youth, they have not yet had many conjugal experiences; among older cohorts, the majority of persons have chosen marriage. Thus, in the survey, fewer than 6% of people 55 and over (born before 1940) had been in at least one common-law union, and almost all (88%) of those had done so just once (Table 8). People born after 1970 were 15-25 at the time of the survey and just beginning conjugal life. Sixteen percent had been in at least one common-law union, but like those 55 and older at

[8] The figures and percentages in Table 7 and the two following tables do not include the 226 respondents who said they had been in a common-law partnership (question H9) but could not identify a specific duration, since the year the union began or ended could not be recalled. The 2,900 respondents who had at least one experience in an identifiable common-law union comprise 93% of all respondents who said they had lived in a common-law union.

Table 8. Population by Number of Common-Law Unions[1] and Percentage Distribution by Number of Common-Law Unions of the Population With at Least One Such Union, by Cohort, Canada, 1995

Cohort	Age at the Survey	0	1	2	3 +	Total	At Least One Union
		Number (Thousands)					
Before 1940	55 and Over	5,347	274	34	**	5,655	311
1940-1949	46-55	2,840	587	132	**	3,559	746
1950-1959	36-45	3,109	1,217	379	124 *	4,828	1,719
1960-1969	26-35	2,793	1,624	467	74 *	4,959	2,165
1970-1980	15-25	3,554	600	79	**	4,234	683
Total	Total	17,644	4,302	1,091	230	23,235	5,623
		Percent					
Before 1940	55 and Over	...	88.3	**	**	100.0	...
1940-1949	46-55	...	78.7	17.7	**	100.0	...
1950-1959	36-45	...	70.8	22.0	7.2 *	100.0	...
1960-1969	26-35	...	75.0	21.6	3.4 *	100.0	...
1970-1980	15-25	...	88.0	11.6 *	**	100.0	...
Total	Total	...	76.5	19.4	4.1	100.0	...

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
[1] Restricted to unions whose initial and for those that have ended, terminal years are known.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

the time of the survey, 88% had been in only one. The highest percentage (44%) of people who had been in at least one common-law union was among those born between 1960 and 1969 (who turned 20 during the mid 1980s), and one-quarter of them had been in more than one such union. Compared to this group, fewer (36%) of those born between 1950 and 1959 (who were 36 to 45 at the time of the survey) had been in at least one common-law relationship, but a greater percentage of them had experienced more than one (29%).

The highest proportion of the population that has had at least one common-law experience is in Quebec. However, it is surprising to note that among those who have been in such a union, the percentage that has been in more than one is not significantly higher than elsewhere (Table 9). In the Atlantic Provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, fewer people have been in common-law unions and among these, not many have done so more than once (15% and 18% respectively). But elsewhere in Canada, the percentage of people who have had more than one common-law relationship is similar to Quebec (26%): 27% in British Columbia, 23% in Alberta and 22% in Ontario.

Conclusion

Living as a couple without marriage has, in Canada as elsewhere, always existed, but it only achieved a numerical importance justifying statistical

Table 9. Probability of Experiencing at Least One More Common-Law Union[1] for Persons Having Experienced a Given Number of Unions, by Region, 1995

Region	Number of Unions		
	0	1	2
Atlantic	0.204	0.145	**
Quebec	0.337	0.260	0.242
Ontario	0.184	0.220	**
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	0.183	0.180	**
Alberta	0.237	0.234	**
British Columbia	0.286	0.267	0.160 *
Canada	0.242	0.235	0.174
Canada less Quebec	0.210	0.222	0.131 *

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
[1] Restricted to unions whose initial and for those that have ended, terminal years are known.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

measurement at the end of the 1970s. Since, it has maintained its strong growth. Between 1981 and 1995, the number of Canadians living in common-law unions grew from about 700,000 to over two million. This style of living together has experienced a mean annual growth rate six times that of the married population (8% a year for the population in common-law unions compared to 1.3% a year for the married population). While, in 1981, one couple in 16 only were composed of people in a common-law union, in 1995 one couple in seven was not married. But this ratio hides important regional variations: according to the General Social Survey, the ratio is one couple in four in Quebec and only one couple in ten in the rest of Canada.

An important part, but only a part, of the strong growth in the numbers in common-law unions is due to the replacement of older cohorts, for whom there really was no alternative to marriage, by more recent ones. Certainly, living as a couple without marriage remains commoner among young people: among the under 30s, already 42% of couples are formed of people in common-law unions (64% in Quebec). It is even possible to conclude that marriage is no longer the typical beginning of conjugal life, especially in Quebec where, during the first half of the 1990s, four first common-law unions were counted for each first marriage. But over time new cohorts tend to keep the common-law union longer as a conjugal lifestyle and the prevalence of the common-law union increases for all cohorts, even the oldest, each time that it is measured. Nothing suggests a major slowing of these trends in the near future.

This chapter has provided answers to numerous questions concerning the growth of the population in common-law unions in Canada. But over the years, common-law unions have not only progressed rapidly in number; they have also undergone important qualitative changes. The following chapter is an attempt at measuring these transformations.

FROM TRIAL MARRIAGE TO SUBSTITUTE

Early studies on common-law unions revealed that they were an additional stage in the conjugal cycle and were not replacing marriage as the conjugal

lifestyle of choice; they were certainly not a preferred alternative to the family with children. In particular, while a considerable number of young people in the late 1970s were choosing to begin their conjugal life in common-law unions, these unions were most often legalized before the first child was born. This was the period when common-law unions were frequently called "trial marriages". People "lived together," but marriage tended to occur when this lifestyle risked creating problems. The decline in nuptiality and the increase in out-of-wedlock births seem to indicate that a change has occurred. ***Marriage no longer appears to be a prerequisite for creating a family***.

In the short section on common-law unions and the law, we presented a brief, and by no means exhaustive, list of the reasons that might motivate people to live together without being married. For some years now, analysts of the phenomenon have individually categorized common-law unions, either intentionally or not. However, such undertakings are problematic because the classification criteria may lead to the establishment of categories that are not always mutually exclusive. In addition, classifying unions is like classifying migration: it is always done after the fact. Quite often, people were not aware of why they made a particular choice, and may have deluded themselves with regard to their motives; at best, they must justify themselves after the fact, or else others will do so for them. Furthermore, one of the members of the couple may decide for both, thereby placing the other member in a category that he or she would not otherwise have chosen. It is also important to recognize that, despite all precautions, there is a certain arbitrariness to typology and, unwittingly on the part of their creator, the categories often turn out to be a means to prove a hypothesis. Nor does creating more categories solve the problem: not only are all categories subject to the same criticism, but each new one merely clouds the picture further. For this reason, we have chosen to use the model developed by Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp,[9] essentially unmodified, even though it was created for another society (France) and another period (early 1980s). Our analysis will include qualifying comments.

A Typology of Common-Law Unions

Based on the conjugal and fertility history of each respondent, each episode of cohabitation can be classified in one of the following six categories:

1) prelude to marriage,
2) trial marriage,
3) unstable union,
4) stable union, but without commitment,
5) substitute for marriage, and
6) other.

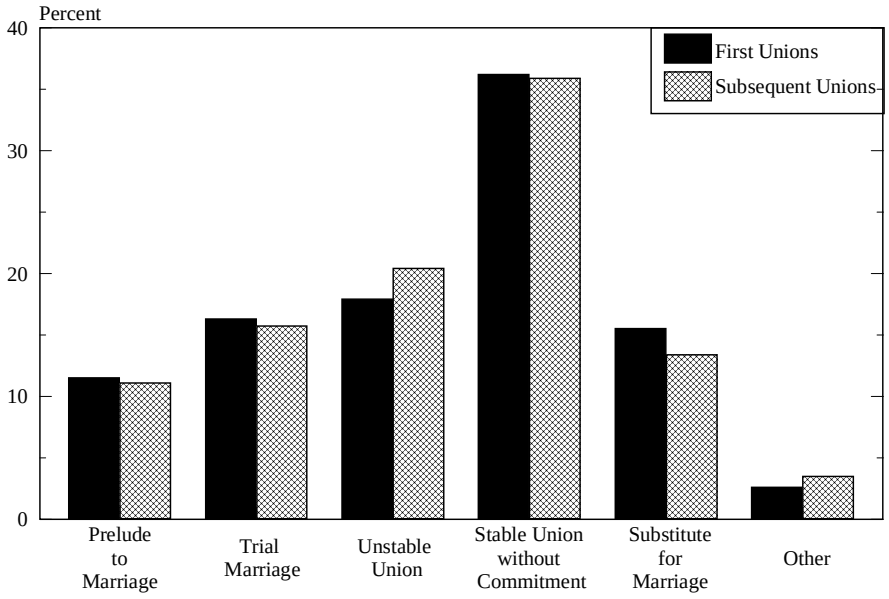
[9] Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp (1990). "Du mariage aux unions sans papier: histoire récente des transformations conjugales," ***Population***, (2):265-298.

When a couple lives together before marriage, and less than a year elapses from the time they set up their household until they marry, the union is considered a ***prelude to marriage***. Couples whose period of cohabitation lasts more than one year but less than three fall into the ***trial marriage*** category, because it is presumed that there was some hesitation involved, and that at the time they began living together they may not have been sure the union would last very long. In both cases, children are not born until after the marriage, or no more than six months prior to it. Common-law unions that end quickly (within three years) without producing a child are considered ***unstable unions***. Those that last more than three years but do not produce a child are ***stable unions, but without commitment***. Finally, the unions of couples who produce a child within three years of the establishment of the union and remain unmarried for at least six months following the birth are considered ***substitutes for marriage***. The "others" category includes couples who converted their common-law relationship into a legal marriage within three years, but who had a child more than six months before the marriage, and couples whose union ended within three years without marriage, but who had a child before the relationship ended.

This typology implicitly supposes that persons who live in prelude-to-marriage and trial-marriage unions are not really questioning the institution of marriage; they are simply adding another stage to the conjugal cycle and the difference between the two categories is simply one of time. Couples in the stable-but-without-commitment or substitute-marriage categories, however, are considered to be deliberately choosing an alternative conjugal arrangement. The additional criterion of the birth of a child supports hypotheses regarding the original intentions of the couple to see their union as an alternative to legal marriage, since until quite recently having children was almost exclusively the prerogative of married couples. We can also presume that people in common-law unions who have neither married nor separated for three years also see no need for marriage, even if the birth of children has not yet bound them permanently during those three years. Fertility is not at issue in this category because infertility could be interpreted incorrectly. Indeed, it is likely that younger people who live together in a common-law union are not ready to have children, and that older people may not want or not be able to have children.

The three-year criterion is certainly arbitrary, and the use of a shorter or longer time period would affect how the unions are classified. The choice is motivated by the average length of prenuptial cohabitation among married people in the survey, which is about three years while the median is less than two years. Also, the use of a relatively short period makes it possible to include the youngest cohorts in our analysis. If we had used a five-year period, for example, unions established in 1990 and 1991 would have been excluded.

Figure 7. Common-Law Unions[1] by Type and Order, Canada, 1995



[1] Unions beginning before 1992.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Distribution of Common-Law Unions by Type

Half (51%) of common-law unions —36% stable unions without commitment and 15% substitutes for marriage— last longer than three years (Figure 7). Almost a third of these unions have produced a child during this period. The most common type of union for both first common-law unions and others is the stable union without commitment: more than one in three (36%) falls into this category. This indicates that individuals in common-law couples are concerned about controlling their fertility, at least in the early years of the relationship. A little more than one-quarter of common-law unions were only a short-term stage prior to marriage: 11% lasted less than one year (prelude to marriage) and 16% lasted two to three years (trial marriage). Finally, 18% of common-law unions can be classified as unstable. By comparison, fewer than 4% of marriages among the youngest cohorts end in divorce before three years.[10]

[10] These percentages are not totally comparable, since there is a period of variable duration between the time a married couple separates and their final divorce, whereas a common-law union ends when the couple separates. For the purposes of comparison with common-law unions, it would be better to measure the length of time between marriage and separation, but separation is not always legally arranged and in many cases the date of separation is unknown.

Table 10. Percentage of Common-Law Unions by Type, Order and Period of Entering the Union, Canada, 1995

Period	Type						
	Prelude to Marriage	Trial Marriage	Unstable Union	Stable Union without Commitment	Substitute for Marriage	Other	Total
	1st Union						
Before 1977	17.9	18.4	12.6	32.2	15.4	3.6	100.0
1977-1979	**13.5**	**24.9**	14.0	33.1	11.5	2.9	100.0
1980-1982	11.8	13.2	17.8	41.0	14.4	1.8	100.0
1983-1985	9.6	14.1	20.7	39.4	15.1	1.1	100.0
1986-1988	9.1	18.2	18.9	32.4	18.1	3.3	100.0
1989-1991	**6.8**	**11.6**	22.8	39.5	17.0	2.3	100.0
Total	11.5	16.3	17.9	36.2	15.5	2.6	100.0
	2nd Union and Higher						
Before 1977	23.1 *	12.4 *	12.3 *	44.5	7.7 *	■	100.0
1977-1979	12.9 *	33.8 *	28.6 *	13.1 *	11.6 *	■	100.0
1980-1982	10.3	15.4	17.7	35.3	18.3	2.9	100.0
1983-1985	6.3	13.1	23.8	46.0	9.1	1.7	100.0
1986-1988	10.2	14.9	21.0	38.3	7.4	8.1	100.0
1989-1991	11.4	15.5	19.7	30.6	19.4	3.4	100.0
Total	11.1	15.7	20.4	35.9	13.4	3.5	100.0
	All Unions						
Before 1977	18.3	17.9	12.6	33.3	14.7	3.3	100.0
1977-1979	13.5	25.8	15.6	31.0	11.6	2.6	100.0
1980-1982	11.5	13.6	17.8	40.0	15.1	2.0	100.0
1983-1985	8.8	13.9	21.4	40.9	13.7	1.3	100.0
1986-1988	9.3	17.5	19.4	33.8	15.7	4.4	100.0
1989-1991	8.2	12.8	21.9	36.8	17.7	2.6	100.0
Total	11.4	16.2	18.4	36.1	15.1	2.8	100.0

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Slight differences in distribution by category can be observed between first unions and those of a higher order (Figure 7). For a number of reasons, there are slightly more unions of a higher order than first unions in the unstable category. However, we find proportionately fewer substitute marriages. Overall, the most important information in this figure is the minimal difference between the distribution according to order and the size of the stable-union-without-commitment category.

This typology of common-law unions is mainly of interest because it allows for the analysis of the transformation over time of such unions. Table 10 shows the distribution of common-law unions by type and time of establishment. Care was taken to analyse cohorts by three-year age groups in order to attenuate accidental variations caused by small numbers, while ensuring enough periods to measure how quickly transformations occur.

Common-law unions have changed considerably over the past 12 years. From around 1978 to 1990, the number of persons who established a first common-law union increased dramatically from 530,000 to 921,000. Despite this, the number of common-law unions that were quickly converted into marriages dropped 13% for preludes to marriage and 19% for trial marriages. Since the number of unions in the three other categories increased more rapidly than the overall number, ***the proportion of first common-law unions converted into marriage within three years fell dramatically: it dropped by half during the same period, from 38% of the total to 18%***.

This decrease of 20 percentage points is distributed among the three other categories, all of which showed increases in both number and proportion. But the unstable unions increased most quickly of all: nearly one union in four (23%) established during 1989-1991 was dissolved three years later, whereas the figure was only 14% for the earliest period. Considered in isolation, these observations lead us to believe that those who choose common-law unions today have less definite intentions concerning the stability of their union than their counterparts in earlier times, but the marked increase in the number of unions classified as stable but without commitment, and particularly those classified as substitutes for marriage, indicate the contrary. During the period 1977-1979, about 20,000 people established common-law unions each year and had children without legalizing their status. These couples represent 11% of all common-law unions established during the period. In the early 1990s, more than 52,000 people per year established common-law unions and did not feel it necessary to legalize their union before having a child. In the three years from 1989 to 1991, 520,000 first common-law unions were established and were still in existence three years later (363,300 stable unions without commitment and 156,300 substitutes for marriage). They represent 57% of all common-law unions formed during that period. By comparison, 12 years earlier, there were 237,000 unions, representing 45% of the total. ***The number of persons establishing common-law unions without any apparent intention of marrying more than doubled. For these people, common-law living is not another stage in the conjugal cycle, but a domestic arrangement equivalent to marriage***.

It is not surprising that ***in Quebec the distribution according to type of union reflects the greater popularity and earlier spread of the phenomenon there*** (Table 11). ***Already in 1977-79, one common-law union in five (19%) was fertile, without leading to marriage. This proportion*** changed little from one period to the next, but at that time, it ***was already higher than that observed in the rest of Canada for the most recent period (16%)***. At the other extreme, the proportion of prelude-to-marriage unions was lower in Quebec at the start of the period under study (9%) than it is today in the rest of Canada (11%). In the most recent period, one common-law union in 25 in Quebec (4%) was converted into marriage within one year, one-third the proportion

Table 11. Percentage of Common-Law Unions by Type and Period of Entering the Union, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Period	Type						
	Prelude to Marriage	Trial Marriage	Unstable Union	Stable Union without Commitment	Substitute for Marriage	Other	Total
	Quebec						
Before 1977	12.7	19.2	12.6	36.7	16.0	2.9	100.0
1977-1979	8.8	22.7	15.6	33.5	**19.4**	0.0	100.0
1980-1982	8.4	12.3	16.5	36.7	23.4	2.7	100.0
1983-1985	4.4	9.1	21.1	45.5	19.3	0.6	100.0
1986-1988	6.7	12.1	20.4	37.2	20.9	2.6	100.0
1989-1991	4.2	8.2	23.4	40.8	19.9	3.4	100.0
Total	7.3	13.2	18.8	38.8	19.7	2.3	100.0
	Canada less Quebec						
Before 1977	21.4	17.2	12.5	31.4	14.0	3.5	100.0
1977-1979	16.3	27.8	15.6	29.4	6.7	4.2	100.0
1980-1982	13.2	14.3	18.5	41.9	10.4	1.7	100.0
1983-1985	11.2	16.5	21.6	38.4	10.6	1.6	100.0
1986-1988	11.0	20.9	18.7	31.6	12.3	5.6	100.0
1989-1991	10.6	15.5	21.0	34.4	**16.3**	2.2	100.0
Total	13.8	18.0	18.2	34.6	12.4	3.0	100.0
	Canada						
Before 1977	18.3	17.9	12.6	33.3	14.7	3.3	100.0
1977-1979	13.5	25.8	15.6	31.0	11.6	2.6	100.0
1980-1982	11.5	13.6	17.8	40.0	15.1	2.0	100.0
1983-1985	8.8	13.9	21.4	40.9	13.7	1.3	100.0
1986-1988	9.3	17.5	19.4	33.8	15.7	4.4	100.0
1989-1991	8.2	12.8	21.9	36.8	17.7	2.6	100.0
Total	11.4	16.2	18.4	36.1	15.1	2.8	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

in the rest of Canada. If we add the trial marriages to the prelude-to-marriage group, we observe that, ***outside Quebec, 26% of common-law unions are quickly converted to marriages (within three years), compared to only 12% in Quebec***.

Compared to the rest of Canada, Quebec appears to differ not only in terms of the prevalence of common-law unions, but also with respect to changes in the nature of the union. The distribution of unions established during 1977-1979 in Quebec is similar to that of unions created in the rest of Canada in the late 1980s. For example, in 1977-79, 53% of common-law unions established in Quebec were either stable but without commitment, or substitutes for marriage; in the rest of Canada, it was not until 1989-1991 that these two categories constituted half of all common-law unions created during the period. Similarly, the proportion of common-law unions followed by marriage within three years was 31% in Quebec in 1977-79 and 32% in the rest of Canada in 1986-88. It would appear that Quebec is about ten years ahead of the rest of the country with regard to the distribution and evolution of common-law unions in Canada.

Table 12. Percentage of Common-Law Unions by Type and Age of the Respondent at the Beginning of the Union, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Age Group	Type						
	Prelude to Marriage	Trial Marriage	Unstable Union	Stable Union without Commitment	Substitute for Marriage	Other	Total
	Quebec						
Under 20	5.9	10.6	21.9	38.7	17.2	5.7	100.0
20-24	9.5	15.6	21.2	30.3	21.8	1.6	100.0
25-29	7.9	15.4	12.0	36.7	26.6	1.5	100.0
30-34	6.7	12.6	19.4	43.8	14.4	3.0	100.0
35 and Over	2.4	6.0	20.0	**62.4**	8.9	0.3	100.0
Total	7.3	13.2	18.8	38.8	19.7	2.3	100.0
	Canada less Quebec						
Under 20	6.8	13.2	27.1	31.6	17.3	4.1	100.0
20-24	16.8	19.7	19.2	26.0	14.3	4.0	100.0
25-29	17.4	20.2	16.3	31.2	12.7	2.2	100.0
30-34	17.5	20.4	12.9	35.2	9.7	4.3	100.0
35 and Over	7.6	14.9	11.9	**61.6**	4.0	0.0	100.0
Total	13.8	18.0	18.2	34.6	12.4	3.0	100.0
	Canada						
Under 20	6.5	12.3	25.2	34.1	17.3	4.7	100.0
20-24	14.0	18.1	19.9	27.7	17.1	3.1	100.0
25-29	13.8	18.4	14.6	33.3	18.0	1.9	100.0
30-34	13.5	17.5	15.3	38.4	11.5	3.8	100.0
35 and Over	5.9	12.0	14.5	61.9	5.6	0.1	100.0
Total	11.4	16.2	18.4	36.1	15.1	2.8	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

The age at which people form common-law unions definitely has an effect on the outcome of the union (Table 12). ***The older they are, the more likely their union will be stable but without commitment***. Among 20-24 year-olds, the proportion of such unions is 30% in Quebec and 26% in the rest of Canada. It increases steadily from one age group to the next, reaching 62% in both regions among those who begin their union after the age of 35.

Proportionately speaking, there are more substitute-marriage unions in Quebec than elsewhere in the country for all age groups except the very young (under 20), where the percentage is identical (17%). For the two regions under study, the proportion of this type of union declines from one age group to the next and evolves in a manner opposite to that of stable unions without commitment. In Quebec, it drops from 22% for 20-24 year-olds to 9% for those over 35; in Canada, it drops from 14% to 4% for the same age groups. Considering the low fertility after 35, it is remarkable to note that this category accounts for 9% of common-law unions in which the respondent was a Quebec woman over the age of 35. As the proportions indicate, the decrease in this group definitely contributes to the increase in the proportion of stable unions

without commitment. If we subscribe to the theory that these two categories include those persons who see the common-law union as a replacement for marriage, we note that their proportion rises from 52% to 71% in Quebec, and from 30% to 66% in the rest of Canada for the 20-24 and 35 and over age groups, respectively.

The proportion of unions that end within three years (unstable unions) is about the same among young people in Quebec and the rest of Canada (21% and 19% respectively for 20-24 year-olds). Among older people, the proportion varies little with age in Quebec, whereas it tends to diminish in the rest of Canada. Among those 35 and over in Quebec, one union in five (20%) ends within three years, while in the rest of Canada it is about one in eight (12%).

The corollary of these two statements is obviously that ***the proportion of common-law unions converted into marriage (prelude to marriage and trial marriage) diminishes steadily with age in Quebec, while in the rest of Canada it is high and stable until age 35***. One union in four (25%) established by young Quebeckers aged 20-24 is converted into a marriage within three years, but only one in twelve (8%) is converted among those over 35. In the rest of Canada, the proportion of unions that end in marriage remains steady at about 37% for all five-year age groups from 20 to 34. The only decrease is seen in the open age group (35 and over), but even in this group, the proportion remains high (23%) compared to Quebec.

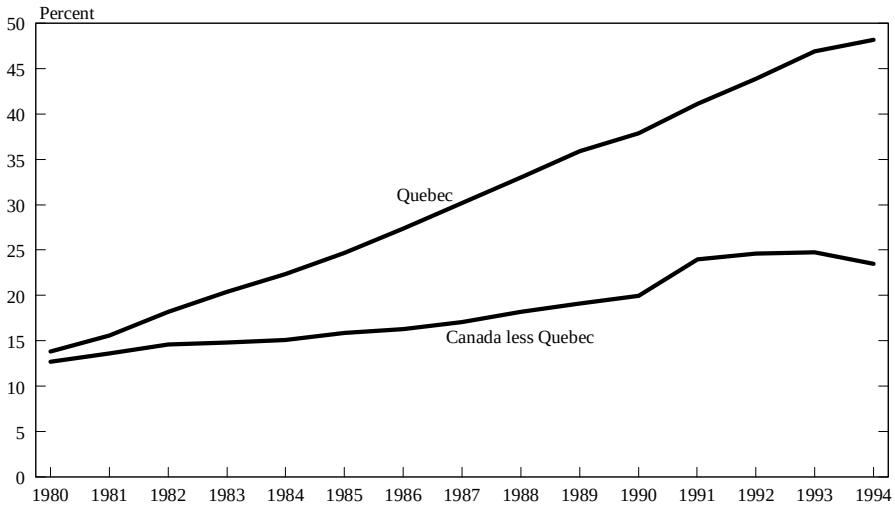
Conclusion

In France, according to Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp, "marriage is no longer a necessity. It is merely a conjugal option that can be chosen at any time" (Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1990:265). While this conclusion does not yet apply to all of Canada, it is valid for Quebec. ***The common-law union is no longer a trial period of living together, but increasingly a substitute for marriage***. If behaviour in this area in Quebec is an indicator of things to come in the rest of Canada, and if the changes in attitude toward non-marital unions observed from older to younger cohorts continue to be seen, then we are not far from the time when the common-law union will be but another conjugal choice for a majority of Canadians. The combination of recent trends would imply a continued decline in nuptiality in Canada.

FERTILITY IN COMMON-LAW UNIONS

The preceding chapters give an idea of the importance of the phenomenon and its development over time and with successive cohorts. This chapter will examine the effect of the choice of this conjugal lifestyle on fertility by means of a comparative analysis of fertility among common-law and married couples.

Figure 8. Percentage of Extramarital Births, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1980-1994



Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

From a purely demographic point of view, the value of such a study is related to the fact that, for a very long time in our society, children were rarely born out of wedlock. Age at marriage was thus an important variable, since it determined the age at which fertile life began. This is less and less true. ***With the rise of common-law unions, an increasing proportion of all births take place out of wedlock: from 13% in 1980 to 30% in 1994***[11]. In Quebec, the figure rises even more quickly. In 1980, the percentage of out-of-wedlock births was practically the same as in the rest of Canada (14% in Quebec and 13% in the rest of the country), but in 1994, it is twice as high in Quebec (48% compared to 24%) (Figure 8). This does not signify an increase in the number of births to lone-parent mothers; it is related to the increase in the number of common-law unions, which are replacing marriage with increasing frequency.

A relationship between the type of union and the fertility of the couple may nevertheless be supposed. Many people today still prefer to bring children into the world within a legal union. They will therefore choose to marry before or shortly after the child is conceived. A selection effect is most certainly at

[11] This percentage is based on births in which the marital status of the mother is known. Marital status was unknown in fewer than 1% of all births registered between 1980 and 1994 in Quebec, and between 1980 and 1990 in the rest of Canada. Beginning in 1991, however, the proportion rises rapidly to 9% in 1994 in the rest of Canada, primarily due to births registered in Ontario.

Table 13. Percentage of Persons Answering that Having at Least One Child is Very Important in Order for Them to be Happy in Life, Quebec, Canada less Quebec and Canada, 1995

	Common-Law	Married	Not in Union		Total
			Formerly Married	Single	
	Quebec				
Childless	16.7 *	21.3 *	**	17.6	18.0
Had a Child	29.5	43.7	34.4	29.0 *	40.2
Total	24.0	40.9	31.4	18.7	33.6
	Canada less Quebec				
Childless	31.8	21.9	21.0 *	20.7	22.7
Had a Child	30.1	43.7	35.7	25.0 *	41.9
Total	31.0	40.8	33.6	21.0	36.5
	Canada				
Childless	25.6	21.8	18.6 *	19.9	21.4
Had a Child	29.8	43.7	35.4	26.2	41.4
Total	27.9	40.8	33.0	20.4	35.7

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

work here, in the sense that people who choose marriage over a common-law partnership display certain characteristics that affect both their fertility and the type of union they choose.

This hypothesis is supported by the data in Table 13, which compares the percentages of those who said it was very important for them to have at least one child in order to be happy in life according to conjugal status. Care was taken to separate childless couples from those with children, since they have differing perceptions. Note in particular that, compared to married couples, a much lower percentage of common-law couples feel that having at least one child is very important. In fact, among those with children, who have a better idea of what they are talking about[12], the percentage of persons in common-law unions who replied that it was very important to have at least one child is identical to the percentage among never-married persons. For people with children, there is virtually no difference, within each type of union, between Quebeckers and other Canadians.

The popularization of effective contraceptive methods has distinguished sex from procreation for some time. And with the growing number of options for sterile couples, having a child is increasingly linked to the parents' well-

[12] The question was obviously less abstract for people who already had children.

being or the benefits they will derive. Thus, fertility and the desire to have children are more and more compatible. In this context, it can be noted that people who choose to live as common-law partners are less sensitive to parenthood than married spouses. The proliferation of this new form of union leads to new questions about the fertility of common-law couples, how it compares to that of legally married couples, and its effect on fertility in general.

There is also much to be learned by comparing the evolution of fertility in both types of union over time. If the hypothesis is true that the common-law partnership is being transformed into more than a mere trial marriage and is tending to become a substitute for marriage itself, then one should observe a reduction in the difference between the fertility of married and common-law couples over time. Similarly, the observation of a reduced difference between fertility in legal and common-law unions in Quebec, as compared to the rest of Canada, would also support the hypothesis that the common-law partnership is replacing marriage in Quebec, but is only a step towards it elsewhere in Canada.

To date, there have been no studies on the fertility of women in common-law unions. Vital statistics records, which are the traditional source of data for fertility analyses, are of no help because they do not record conjugal status. With the recent exception of Quebec, birth records contain only the mother's legal marital status, which makes it possible to distinguish out-of-wedlock births, as in Figure 8, or to estimate the fertility of married women. The fertility of unmarried couples, however, cannot be measured. This is what is attempted here, based on data from the 1995 General Social Survey. First, two cross-sectional measurements provide a simple illustration of the differences in fertility between the two groups.

Percentage of Childless Persons

The lesser importance given to having at least one child by persons in common-law unions is revealed by the proportion of childless persons (Table 14). Because the age structure of persons in common-law unions is very different from that of married persons, this factor must be controlled. With such a small sample, the best one can do is separate people into two groups: under 35 and 35 and over. In the younger group, the difference in fertility between married and common-law couples is huge. Nearly two-thirds of persons under 35 in common-law unions have no children, while the percentage is less than one-third among married persons. However, because this is a broad age group, it is possible that the effect of differences in structure is not completely controlled. It is also a good idea to limit our observation to those 35 and older, who are in the later years of their fertile life. In Quebec, the percentage of childless persons 35 and over in common-law unions is two and half times greater than that of married persons in the same age group. In

Table 14. Percentage of Childless Persons by Marital Status and Age Group, Quebec, Canada less Quebec and Canada, 1995

Age Group	Common-Law	Married	Not in Union		Total
			Formerly Married	Single	
	Quebec				
15-34	56.7	22.0	**	93.7	67.9
35 and Over	26.6	10.8	11.6	76.9	18.2
Total	43.0	12.7	12.9	90.2	36.5
	Canada less Quebec				
15-34	62.8	29.3	34.2 *	93.0	66.8
35 and Over	28.3	8.6	12.4	84.3	14.7
Total	48.4	13.3	14.9	91.7	34.9
	Canada				
15-34	60.2	28.0	33.8	93.2	67.1
35 and Over	27.5	9.1	12.2	81.9	15.6
Total	46.1	13.2	14.4	91.3	35.3

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

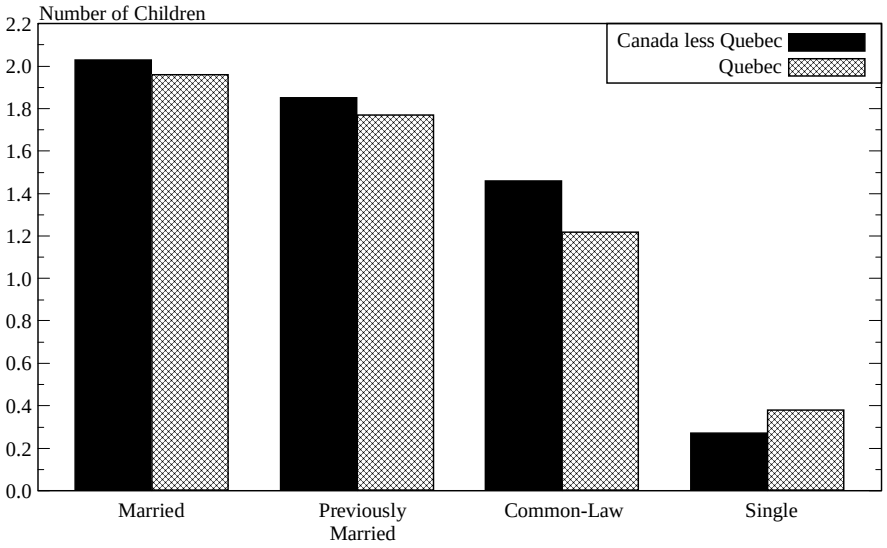
the rest of Canada, the ratio is three to one. Note that the percentage of childless persons among those in common-law unions is similar in Quebec and the rest of Canada. The possibility that younger cohorts may behave differently has not been excluded.

Number of Children at the Time of the Survey

While the fertility tempo is aging in Canada (Dumas and Bélanger, 1995), the great majority of births occur before the woman is 35. In 1994, for example, 89% of the 385,000 births were to women under 35. Figure 9 shows the average number of children born to women aged 35 to 44 at the time of the survey by conjugal status. There is little difference between the figures for married women and those who had been married. However, the average number of children born to women in common-law unions is about 25% lower than for married women.

Note also that the average number of children born to women in common-law unions at the time of the survey is slightly higher in the rest of Canada than in Quebec. So far, other indicators have led us to believe that common-law unions are seen more as a substitute for marriage in Quebec than in the rest of Canada, where it is appears to constitute the trial marriage stage. And yet, the equal percentages of childless common-law partners in both regions, and specifically the fact that the average number of children born to women

Figure 9. Mean Number of Children of Persons Aged 35 to 44 at the Time of the Survey by Marital Status, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

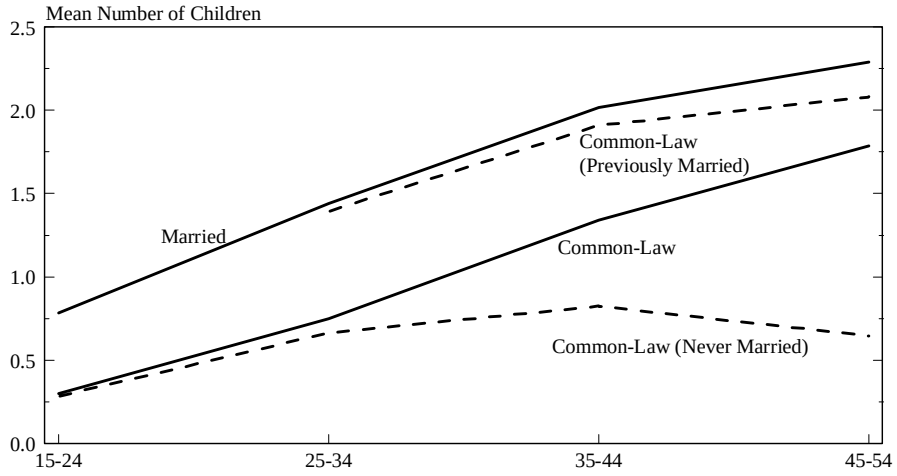


Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

35-44 is higher among common-law partners in the rest of Canada than in Quebec, lead us to the opposite conclusion, that common-law unions outside Quebec are more like marriage, at least with regard to fertility.

Part of this surprising observation can certainly be explained by the fact that the population in common-law unions in the rest of Canada includes a greater percentage of persons already married (34%) than in Quebec (27%). In a society where the number of unions created and dissolved continues to grow unabated, conjugal status at the time of the survey does not guarantee homogeneity within each group; in particular, it does not take into account children from previous unions. As we can see in Figure 10, the prior marital history of persons in common-law unions is an important factor of heterogeneity when considering the number of children, at least among the oldest cohorts. By separating the ever-married persons in common-law unions from those who are still never-married, we note that fertility at various ages among the former is similar to that of married women, approaching two children per woman among 45-54 year-olds. Among never-married men and women in common-law unions, the average number of children is much lower and never reaches one in any age group.

Figure 10. Mean Number of Children by Marital Status and Legal Marital Status, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Conjugal History and Fertility

Given the preceding paragraph, what we need to know is conjugal status at the time of birth. This information is not available from vital-statistics records, but it can be obtained by reconstructing the conjugal and fertility life-history of respondents in the 1995 Survey from that date. We can thus calculate the number of person-years for each conjugal situation: outside of a union, in a union and married. By comparing the appropriate births to the person-years, we obtain a measure comparable to the fertility rate by age and mother's conjugal status.

The fertility of married couples may thus be compared to that of common-law couples, and trends over time or regional differences may be observed, but a number of caveats apply. First, despite all precautions, the size of the sample limits the accuracy of the estimates. In order to reduce random fluctuations related to sample size, it is wise to calculate these rates by five-year age group and for ten-year periods. Each respondent 20 or over at the start of the period thus counts for ten person-years in the denominator, and all the children she has given birth to during the period appear in the numerator. We thus obtain a measure, comparable in meaning to a rate, averaging 10 annual rates for each group.

In addition to problems related to sample size, these estimates use a maximum of fertility and conjugal information supplied by the respondents: the further removed the period covered from the date of the survey, and the

Table 15. Mean Number of Births and Total Fertility Rate by Ten-Year Period, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, Vital Statistics and General Social Survey, 1995

Period	General Social Survey			Vital Statistics		
	Canada	Quebec	Canada less Quebec	Canada	Quebec	Canada less Quebec
	Births per Year					
1975-84	365,000	89,000	276,000	356,087	93,230	262,857
1985-94	390,000	92,000	298,000	384,456	90,693	293,763
	Total Fertility Rate[1]					
1975-84	1.64	1.55	1.67	1.69	1.58	1.68
1985-94	1.61	1.59	1.62	1.65	1.53	1.68

[1] After age 20.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, ***Births***, catalogue No. 84-210, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

older the event (e.g., a birth or the start or end of a union), the greater the risk of memory error. If we presume that the dates of births and current marriages have a high recall rate, inasmuch as such dates are often remembered at each anniversary, we may also presume less accuracy with regard to dates given for previous marriages and divorces, and the start and end of common-law episodes, as these dates are rarely recalled. Since very few people aged 15-19 live as couples (common-law or married), the estimates for this age group are both variable and relatively meaningless. The calculation therefore begins with the 20-24 age group.

Evaluation of Survey Data

By taking the number of births and the total fertility rates obtained by reconstructing the fertility history of women respondents in the survey, regardless of conjugal status, and comparing them to vital-statistics figures, we can evaluate the quality of the former data (Table 15). A slight overestimate can be observed in the number of births calculated according to the General Social Survey. This overestimate is of the order of 1.4% for the most recent period and 2.5% for the earliest period for Canada as a whole. It is of the same order of magnitude in Quebec and the rest of Canada for the 1985-1994 period, but for the earliest period an underestimate of 4.5% is observed for Quebec and on overestimate of 5.0% for the rest of Canada.

For both periods and for Canada, the total fertility rate[13] obtained by this method is below the one calculated with vital-statistics data. For the period 1975-1984, the difference between the two rates is less than 2% for the two

[13] Obtained by adding together the fertility rates from 20 to 44 years of age.

regions under study. For the most recent period, the rate obtained using the GSS is about 3.9% higher in Quebec and 3.6% lower in the rest of Canada than that obtained using vital-statistics figures. The overestimate of the number of births can be explained by a bias associated with the telephone-survey method[14], which over-samples persons living in a couple, i.e., those who, on average, are more likely to have had children.

In evaluating the quality of the estimates by conjugal status, the only source is the record of births in Quebec. For several years now, Quebec vital-statistics birth records have included common-law conjugal status, but partly because there are still a number of old registration forms in circulation and partly because the question pertaining to conjugal status is not always understood, this source is not very reliable. For example, 11,000 of the 47,000 married women did not answer this question in 1994, probably because it seemed redundant after the question on marital status, which is not a problem, and 132 said that they were married and did not live as a couple, which is a contradiction[15]. However, and more importantly, of 41,000 never-married women, 32,000 (79%) said that they lived as a couple, 6,000 said they did not live as a couple, and 3,000 did not answer the question. According to data for 1994, we can calculate that 53% of births where the conjugal status is known were to married women, 40% were to women living common-law, and 7% were to women who were not in any union. The proportions obtained from the GSS for the period 1990-1994 were 68%, 25% and 7%. It is probable that the percentage of births to common-law mothers would have continued to increase from 1990 to 1994, which would partly account for the differences between the two sources; but it nevertheless appears that the GSS overestimates births to married women and underestimates those to women in common-law unions.

Total Fertility Rates According to Conjugal Status

Table 16 compares the sums of five-year fertility rates, according to conjugal status, for Canada, Quebec and the other provinces for the periods 1975-1984 and 1985-1994. The sum of these rates is comparable to the total fertility

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[14] The more members in a household, the greater the likelihood that one of the members is home and responds to the survey when the interviewer calls. Although the rules of the survey dictate that each telephone number selected is to be called 17 times at different times of day and on different days before being dropped, there are always a certain number that the interviewer cannot contact. Each observation is weighted in terms of the size of the household, the age group, sex and province of residence of the respondent, but not in terms of the greater probability of obtaining a response in larger households. In particular, people who live alone are definitely more difficult to reach by telephone interview. The greater percentage of persons living in a couple (Table 2) in the Survey, compared to the percentage observed in the three latest censuses, tends to support this hypothesis.

[15] The answer to the question on legal marital status may be one of the following: single (never married), married, widowed, divorced, legally separated, or separated but not legally. This question is immediately followed by one about the status of the couple, with the following choices only: 1) living as a couple or 2) not living as a couple.

Table 16. Total Fertility Rate (Ages 20-44) by Marital Status, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1975-1994

Region	Married	Common-Law	Not in Union	Total
	1975-84			
Canada	2.52	1.20	0.24	1.64
Quebec	2.36	1.51	0.19	1.55
Canada less Quebec	2.57	0.93	0.26	1.67
	1985-94			
Canada	2.87	1.44	0.31	1.61
Quebec	2.92	1.58	0.34	1.59
Canada less Quebec	2.85	1.30	0.30	1.62

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

rate, but specific to each conjugal state. It is a period rate, which is more difficult to interpret than the total fertility rate. Like the latter, it represents the average number of children that a woman would have over the course of her fertile life, if she demonstrated at each age the series of age-specific fertility rates observed during the period. However, unlike the total fertility rate, an additional condition applies, i.e., she must remain in that particular conjugal status throughout her fertile life, which is even more unrealistic. For example, based on these calculations, the Canadian rate for 1985-1994 is 2.87 children per married woman, which means that if a woman remained continuously married from the age of 20 until the age of 44, and demonstrated throughout her life the fertility observed for married women in 1985-1994, she would have an average of 2.87 children. The rate is 1.44 for women in common-law unions and 0.31 for women not living in a couple.

There is much to be learned from this table. As expected, the number of children per woman is higher for married women than for those in a common-law union or those not in any union. ***In Canada*** as a whole, for the two periods, ***the rate for married women is nearly double that of women who have spent their entire fertile life in a common-law union: 2.87 compared to 1.44 for 1985-1994, and 2.52 compared to 1.20 for 1975-1984***. Also as expected, there is less of a difference between the total fertility rates for the two groups of women in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. ***In Quebec, the fertility of married couples is 60% to 90% higher than that of common-law couples but in the rest of Canada it is 120% to 180% higher***.

While there is little difference in fertility between married women in Quebec and the rest of Canada, the gap is significant for women in common-law unions. ***During the period 1975-1984, common-law couples were 60% more fertile in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (1.51 children per woman, compared to 0.93)***. Between the two periods, the fertility rate has remained relatively stable for common-law unions in Quebec (5% increase), while the

fertility rate of common-law couples in the rest of Canada has increased strongly, by 40%. ***In the more recent period, the difference between the two is thus smaller, but common-law couples in Quebec are still more fertile***.

However, the hypothesis that the fertility rates of married women and women in common-law unions will converge over time is not entirely supported by these results. The expected convergence was to have resulted from an increase in the fertility of common-law couples, but such an increase was observed only in Canada not including Quebec. Furthermore, the hypothesis did not allow for an increase in ***the fertility of married couples***, and yet it ***increased in both Quebec and the rest of Canada from one period to the next. This unexpected increase in "legitimate" fertility is no doubt due to a selection effect by which increasingly couples choosing marriage are also those most likely to have children***.

Fertility outside of either union is insignificant in both regions and for both periods (0.19 to 0.34 children per woman). There is no appreciable increase from one period to the next, nor are there any major differences between the two regions, which corroborates the impression stated at the very beginning of this chapter, that the spectacular increase in the number of births outside of marriage is caused by the increase in the number of common-law unions.

The situation presents another interesting example of Simpson's paradox, resulting from the changing composition of a population. The number of children per married woman has definitely increased from one period to the next, by 24% in Quebec and by 11% in the rest of Canada. In common-law unions, the number of children per woman has increased slightly in Quebec (5%), but has risen strongly in the rest of Canada, by 40%. And yet, the number of children per woman for the overall population, regardless of conjugal status, has gone down from one period to the next in the rest of Canada. In Quebec, the slight increase observed (3%) for all conjugal statuses is lower than that observed for married women or women in common-law unions. This paradox cannot be explained by low fertility outside of any conjugal union, especially since it increases slightly between the two periods. Rather, it is due to the significant increase in the number of women in common-law unions, which changes the relative weight of both populations within the whole.

Conclusion

Two changes are thus occurring at the same time: fertility is declining and common-law unions are on the rise. Both appear to obey a certain fundamental logic. However, one must be wary of seeing a cause and effect relation between them, since it is highly likely that other factors are influencing both the conjugal choice and the number of children wanted and being born.

Another possible implication of these results concerns the evolution of the number of single-parent families. Common-law unions, even fertile ones, are less stable than legal marriages (Desrosiers and Lebourdais, 1996), and the number of couples choosing a common-law relationship over marriage continues to increase. If common-law unions continue to be less stable than legal marriages, the increase in the fertility and number of such unions will be additional factors in the increase in the number of single-parent families.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FIRST UNIONS[16]

The growing popularity of the common-law union as a first union leads to questions about the dynamics of their formation. In particular, it would be interesting to know the social characteristics associated with the choice of one form of union over the other. The retrospective nature of the General Social Survey provides the information necessary to analyse the transition from one conjugal state to another. The data are presented here to help determine what leads to the establishment of first common-law unions. The objective is to pinpoint the demographic and socio-demographic characteristics that are more likely to lead to a common-law union rather than a marriage as a first union.

Several of these characteristics are well known, as are their effects on the type of union chosen, e.g., cohort, place of residence, mother tongue and religious practice. A number of tables presented in the preceding chapters provide a good indication of the effect of these variables on the choice of conjugal lifestyle among the population observed in the study. From the start, we can hypothesize, without any great risk of error, that younger cohorts, Quebec residents and less religious persons are more likely to establish a first common-law union than are older cohorts, Canadians in provinces other than Quebec, and more devout individuals.

Unfortunately, one of the weaknesses of cross-tabulation is that it does not reveal causes and does not control for possible concurrent effects. For example, when discussing the establishment of a first common-law union, we might posit that the group of cohorts to which people belong partly explains the variation in risk observed between individuals. The same can be said with regard to degree of religious practice, or the fact that someone lives in Quebec as opposed to another province. But at the same time, religious practice tends to decline from one cohort to the next in Canada, and the differences from one cohort to the next in this regard are greater in Quebec than elsewhere. It is therefore very difficult, without any other tools, to determine what part of the relationship observed between each of these variables and the decision to live in a common-law union is attributable to that variable, and what part should

[16] The following text was written in collaboration with Pierre Turcotte.

THE ANALYTICAL TOOL: EVENT-HISTORY ANALYSIS

Event-history analysis is a time-honoured technique in medicine, biology and engineering. The parametric variants of these models are rarely used in the social sciences because it is necessary to specify the effect of time on the risk being studied, which is often impossible in this field where experimental research is rare. Not until Cox (1972) developed the theory for a less restrictive semi-parametric model did the first social-science applications appear. This model, known as the proportional-hazards model, deals with the problem of the effect of time on hazard by proposing that the hazards for any two individuals have a constant ratio over time. Now that statistical software such as SAS and SPSS, which make it easier to estimate the parameters of the model, have become widely available, more applications of this kind of analysis have been developed.

Its growing popularity can be explained by the fact that it combines two familiar tools of analysis: attrition tables and regression.[1] The dependent variable in these analytical models is a measurement comparable to the probability in a life table: the probability of a transition from one state to another, but conditional on the fact that the individual is still at risk of experiencing the transition. The use of conditional probabilities is necessary to obtain an unbiased estimator when there is the possibility of censorship, such as when only one part of the history is known.

Unlike the classic regression model, the parameters of this model are not determined by the least-squares method, but by the maximum-

be attributed to another. Creating sub-populations and increasing the number of cross-tabulations results in more cells in the table and the increased risk that many of them will contain numbers too small to analyse. This chapter reports the results of an event-history analysis (see Sidebar). The advantage of the results from such an analysis is that they are easy to interpret in terms of the effect of the variables on the establishment of a common-law union, and that they take into consideration the effect of other variables included in the analytical model.

Data Sources

The analysis is limited to first unions for two reasons. As already mentioned, the first union occupies a special place in a person's life. Furthermore, for

likelihood method. Nevertheless, as with the coefficients obtained by the least-squares method, we can estimate the standard error associated with the distribution of each coefficient, and compare it to the normal distribution in order to establish a statistical significance test (Student's-t test). For this analysis, we have used the 5% threshold most often used in the social sciences. That means we are prepared to be wrong one time out of twenty by inferring a relationship that does not really exist. Another important difference compared to the classic regression model is the possibility of easily integrating explanatory variables that vary over time. This analysis has three such variables: the presence of a child prior to the union, student status and the obtaining of a full-time job. Note also that the objective of the event-history-analysis model is not to explain the relation between duration and the transition rate, since this is eliminated by using a semi-parametric model, but rather to estimate the effect of each of the independent variables on the differences observed between respondents holding constant the effects of all the other independent variables included in the model.

[1] For a simple description of the advantages of these models compared to classic regression models, and the interpretation of results, see Allison (1984) and Laplante (1995). For details on the statistical theory supporting the models, see Kalbfleisch and Prentice (1980), Lawless (1982), Blossfeld, Hamerle and Mayer (1989), or Courgeau and Lelièvre (1989).

consistency's sake, it is necessary to analyse first unions separately from other unions, because the explanatory factors are often different from those that lead to subsequent unions. In particular, conjugal history (age at first union, number and duration of previous unions, etc.) must be taken into account when analysing subsequent unions; with first unions, there is obviously no conjugal history to consider.

The 1995 General Social Survey identified 8,680 first unions, including 6,204 marriages and 2,476 first common-law unions. While it was relatively easy for respondents to recall the sequence of events, it was sometimes difficult for them to remember the exact date when each episode of conjugal life began, particularly with regard to common-law unions and even more to remember the date of the first one for those who had experienced several such unions.

As a general rule, respondents had little trouble recalling the year the first union began: only 104 (1.7%) could not remember the year of their first marriage, while 105 (4.2%) forgot the year their first common-law union began. These 209 cases were excluded from the analysis. The duration of exposure to risk is measured in tenths of a year in this analysis, which means the month in which the union began must also be known, and the rate of recall was much lower for this variable. With regard to first marriages, 270 people, or 4.4% of the 6,204, could not remember the month. More serious was the fact that nearly one-quarter (576 persons, or 23.3%) of the respondents whose first union was common-law had forgotten the month in which that first union began. Excluding all these cases might have seriously biased the results; therefore it was considered preferable to keep them on the assumption that, on average, such unions had begun in the middle of the year.[17]

Hypotheses Tested[18]

The multivariate statistical analysis of first-union formation has as its goal the estimation of the effect of each independent variable (or explanatory variable) on the difference observed between respondents in experiencing one or the other type of first union (the dependent variable), while controlling for the effect of the other variables included in the model. The dependent variable is thus the probability of entering a first union (common-law or marriage) at a given age among respondents who have not yet been in any union. Marriage and common-law unions are considered to be competing events, because each respondent can have only one first union, either common-law or legal. There are thus two possible kinds of censorship: either the person has not yet been in a first union at the time of the survey, or the person's first union is the competing risk, that is, the person marries and leaves the population likely to have a first common-law union, or conversely, the person establishes a common-law union and thereby leaves the population likely to marry. This section presents the arguments justifying the introduction of the different independent variables into the model.

The recent proliferation of common-law unions is often linked to many other social changes that have also influenced conjugal behaviour and fertility. Increased education among women and the great numbers of them in the labour market have promoted their economic independence and diminished the benefits traditionally derived from marriage. The dissociation of sexuality

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[17] This hypothesis minimizes the average duration between the (unknown) month in which the event really happened and the month attributed. The effect of this attribution on the model results was tested by comparing them with results obtained with two other hypotheses, one assuming that all unions with unknown starting dates began at the start of the year, and the other assuming they began at the end of the year. The model appears robust since, despite the considerable number of cases in which months were unknown, the comparison revealed no significant differences.

[18] The analysis in this chapter is limited to women.

from marriage and of fertility from marriage, the decline in religious practice, and the redefinition of roles and expectations within the couple, have all changed the model of conjugal history for younger cohorts. The General Social Survey data allow us to measure the effect of some of these factors on the establishment of common-law unions in Canada.

Common-law relationships have only recently become socially acceptable, and for many Canadian cohorts, there was no real alternative to marriage at the time they reached the age when people tend to establish a first union. Given the relative novelty of this type of union, we should expect that the younger the cohort, the greater the likelihood the respondent will have chosen it. Four variables grouping birth cohorts (women born before 1951, born 1951-1960, born 1961-1970, and born 1971-1980) allow the measurement of the effect of period of birth. The reference group is women born between 1961 and 1970.

There are also a number of cultural characteristics associated with the likelihood of establishing a first common-law union. The model takes into account the higher incidence and more rapid spread of common-law unions in Quebec, in combination with mother tongue. Geographical region is defined based on the respondent's place of residence at the time of the survey. It would have been preferable to use the region of residence at the time the union was established, but this information is not available, since no data were collected on respondents' migratory history. However, mobility between Quebec and the rest of Canada is proportionately low[19] and the inaccuracy of the measurement probably has a negligible effect on the risk ratios. The French-mother-tongue group includes persons who answered that French was their only mother tongue; it is compared to all other linguistic groups combined. This variable allows the behaviour of Francophone Quebeckers to be isolated and compared to that of other linguistic groups in the province and elsewhere in Canada, as well as with Francophones outside Quebec. We can thus examine the effect of region of residence in interaction with mother tongue, and thereby determine whether, with regard to conjugal behaviour, Francophone Quebeckers are different from other linguistic groups in the province and from Francophones outside Quebec.

To the extent that religions value institutions, religious people are inclined to respect the precepts of their faith, but a measurement of religious practice is preferable to the mere naming of the religion declared by the respondent since it offers a better indication of an individual's beliefs and his or her attachment to the behaviour valued. The fact that most Quebeckers are baptized in the Catholic religion no longer guarantees their obedience to the rules of

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[19] In 1994, for example, the 26,000 persons from other provinces who settled in Quebec represented 0.4% of the Quebec population, and the 40,000 persons from Quebec who left to live elsewhere in Canada represented 0.2% of the population of the other provinces.

the Church. On the other hand, there is probably little difference between a Protestant fundamentalist and a practising Catholic with regard to what they consider acceptable conjugal and family life. Individual conservatism or liberalism concerning the acceptance of common-law unions and the forsaking of marriage is more likely to be related to the frequency of religious practice than to the religious label by which a person chooses to be identified. Religious practice is measured by the number of times respondents said they attended services during the year preceding the survey. Respondents were divided into three groups: practising (attended mass or other religious services[20] at least once a week over the previous 12 months), non-practising (did not attend any mass or other services in the previous 12 months), and intermittent (had attended mass or other services at least once in the year but less often than once a week). We would obviously expect that the probability of establishing a common-law relationship will be inversely correlated with religious practice.

Another variable attempts to measure the possibly varying attraction of marriage for new Canadians and native-born Canadians, taking into account the country of birth (Canadian or foreign-born). Immigration law does not consider common-law unions a substitute for marriage. In fact, a couple must be married for a spouse to be admitted.

Family history can have an influence on an individual's later conjugal behaviour. Other studies have shown that people who, as children, experienced the separation of their parents tend to leave home earlier and are more likely to form a non-traditional family (single-parent, common-law). A dichotomous variable measures the effect of parental divorce on the probability of marrying or establishing a first common-law union. This variable is constructed based on the answer to a question in the General Social Survey concerning changes in the parents' conjugal situation during the respondent's childhood.

Entering the labour market and having a first child are transitions that occur in early adulthood in interaction with the establishment of a first union. Two variables in the model take into account the effect of these transitions on the probability of establishing a first common-law union or first marriage. They are dichotomous variables that vary over time, that is, they come into play only from the moment the transition has occurred (i.e., the person has a child or begins a full-time job).

Income, occupation and education are approximate measures of socioeconomic status, and in that sense, one or another must be included to take into account the possible differences in behaviour between socioeconomic groups. It seems more relevant to measure these variables at the time the union is established, rather than at the time of the survey, but none was the

[20] Respondents were asked to count attendance at regular services only, not including special events such as weddings, funerals and baptisms.

Table 17. Risk Ratios[1] for Models of Entering a First Union (Common-Law and Marriage) for Specified Socio-Demographic Variables, Women, Canada, 1995

Independent Variables			Marriage	Common-Law
Cohort	-1971-1980		0.46	1.33
	-1961-1970		1.00	1.00
	-1951-1960		1.88	0.70
	-1950 and Before		2.11	0.13
Region / Mother Tongue	-Quebec	-French	1.00	1.00
		-Other	1.36	0.62
	-Canada less Quebec	-French	1.53	0.82[2]
		-Other	1.54	0.61
Birthplace	-Canada		1.00	1.00
	-Outside Canada		0.94[2]	0.52
Religious Practice	-Never		0.86	1.45
	-Sometimes		1.00	1.00
	-Once a Week		0.93[2]	0.52
Divorce of Parents	-Yes		1.01[2]	1.77
	-No		1.00	1.00
Education	-Less than Secondary		1.13[2]	0.88[2]
	-Secondary or Vocational		1.00	1.00
	-University		0.83	1.18[2]
Student	-Yes		0.49	0.68
	-No		1.00	1.00
Employed	-Yes		0.87	1.66
	-No		1.00	1.00
Presence of Child	-Yes		1.22	1.45
	-No		1.00	1.00

[1] The risk, relative to that of the reference group (1.00), of entering a first union, holding constant the other independent variables in the model.

[2] The difference of these risk ratios from the reference category is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

subject of a retrospective question. Nevertheless, at the cost of a few hypotheses regarding average age at graduation, and taking into consideration provincial differences, it is possible to retrace the educational history of survey respondents. We thus create a variable, the value of which varies over time in accordance with these standard histories and the highest level of education at the time of the survey.

Results

The results of the multivariate statistical analysis of the establishment of first unions are presented in Table 17 and pertain to the female population[21] only. The dynamics of establishing a first union differ sufficiently from those

[21] The parameters were estimated using the SAS/STAT PHREG procedure.

of subsequent unions, in particular with regard to tempo, to justify a separate analysis. Results for men are not presented, but the results obtained for men are not significantly different from those observed for women.

Risk ratios[22], rather than regression coefficients, are routinely presented. They are simply the value of the exponent of the coefficient and have the advantage of being easy to interpret. We are therefore presenting the risk ratios. In this form, the influence of each variable is considered in direct comparison to the reference group. A variable will have a risk ratio equal to one, if, in comparison to the reference group, it has no effect on the transition rate; the risk ratio will be greater than one if it has a positive effect, and less than one (but greater than zero) if the effect is negative. As we see on the first line, for example, the risk ratio of the 1971-1980 group of cohorts is 1.33 for the formation of a first common-law union and 0.46 for a first marriage. The interpretation is that, independently of the effect of the other variables in the model, a woman born between 1971 and 1980 is 33% more likely to have a common-law relationship as a first union than a woman born between 1961 and 1970 (the reference group), and about half as likely (46%) to have a marriage as a first union.

We note right away that, with only three exceptions, all the coefficients are significant at the 5% threshold for the model applied to first common-law unions, which means that it is justified to assume that the effect measured is real. However, in four cases (less than secondary education, parents' divorce, place of birth and weekly religious practice), the results do not allow conclusions to be drawn about their influence on the establishment of a first marriage. These variables are maintained for the purpose of comparison between the model applied to first unions by common-law unions and that applied to first unions by marriage. The only valid interpretation of these variables is that they have no significant effect on the probability of forming a first union, whether a marriage or a common-law union as the case may be.

The Effect of Period of Birth

Notwithstanding the effect of the other variables in the model, the effect of period of birth remains important. As expected, compared to older cohorts, more people among younger cohorts choose common-law unions as a first union and fewer choose marriage. It is instructive to compare the evolution of risk ratios for the two types of union for different groups of cohorts. Women born between 1951 and 1960 are slightly less likely (1.88 / 2.11 = 0.89) to form a first union by marriage than older cohorts (women born before 1951), but they are more than five times as likely to form a first union by a common-

[22] Risk ratios measure the probability that the members of the group experience the event compared to that of the members of the reference group. They are net measures in that they hold constant the effect of the other variables included in the model.

law union (0.70 / 0.13 = 5.38). This latter ratio is obviously exaggerated by the fact that common-law unions were a marginal phenomenon for older cohorts. When one starts from next to nothing, even the slightest increase in popularity results in a relatively important difference. At this stage, the likelihood of forming a first common-law union thus increases without any major effect on the likelihood of forming a first marriage. A comparison of the risk ratios for the next two groups of cohorts shows that the popularity of common-law unions continues to rise, but now clearly at the expense of marriage. Compared to women born ten years earlier, women born between 1961 and 1970 are almost 50% (1.00 / 0.70 = 1.43) more likely to form a first union that is a common-law union, and half as likely to choose marriage (1.00 / 1.88 = 0.53). Comparing the risk ratios for the two youngest groups of cohorts, we note a reduced increase in common-law unions, and the continued decline of marriage. Compared to women born between 1961 and 1970, those born between 1971 and 1980 are 33% more likely to choose a common-law union as a first union, but they are just under half as likely (0.46) to choose marriage. It would appear, therefore, that at first marriage did not lose its appeal, despite the appearance of the common-law union. As time goes on, there seems to be a kind of compensation between the two types of union, with the relative gains won by common-law unions about equal to the losses suffered by marriage. Among the youngest cohorts, marriage is less and less popular as a first union, but the advances made by common-law unions, which were already popular among women born between 1961 and 1970, are relatively less important than among the two preceding groups of cohorts, which is not at all surprising, since we are looking at proportions.

Comparing the first and last groups of cohorts, we note how quickly the change occurred as regards to the popularity of one type of union over the other as first conjugal choice. The vast majority of women born before 1950 formed their first union before the mid-1970s, that is, before the common-law union was widely accepted as an alternative to marriage. ***All other things being equal, within about 30 years, the risk of forming a common-law relationship as a first union was multiplied by 10 (1.33 / 0.13 = 10.23) and the risk of choosing marriage as a first union among younger cohorts is about one-fifth that of the older ones (0.46 / 2.11 = 0.22)***.

The Culture Effect

The variable combining region of residence and mother tongue reveals the existence of differences between Quebec Francophones and the members of the other linguistic communities living in the province in terms of entering a first common-law union or marriage, but also substantial uniformity among non-Francophones in the two regions under study. ***Quebec Francophones are the group most likely to choose a common-law union as a first union and least likely to choose marriage as a first union***. The behaviour of

Francophones outside Quebec in terms of a common-law union as a first union does not differ significantly from that of Quebec Francophones, but they are more inclined than the latter to form a first union by marriage. Non-Francophones, on the other hand, show more traditional conjugal choices and are more alike in the two regions. These observations reflect the more rapid development of common-law unions in Quebec, due in part to the fact that the phenomenon is more widespread among Francophones, and indicate that ***the cultural effect, measured by mother tongue, is more important in explaining the difference between groups than mere region of residence***.

Religious practice has a greater effect on the risk of forming a common-law union as a first union than on the risk of marrying. ***Women who said they had not attended religious services at all during the 52 weeks preceding the survey are 2.79 times more likely to form a first common-law union than those who attended services weekly***. However, they are only 8% less likely (0.86 / 0.93 = 0.92) to choose marriage as a first union than those who attended services regularly. Furthermore, the only significant differences between the three groups (no attendance, occasional attendance and weekly attendance) are with regard to the establishment of a first common-law union. We could say, then, that the risk of forming a common-law union as a first union decreases with religious practice. Women who attend services regularly are just as likely to choose marriage as those who attend occasionally; the only difference is with those who do not attend at all.

Women born in Canada are almost twice as likely as immigrant women to choose a common-law union as a first union, although being born in Canada or outside the country has no effect on the choice of marriage as a first union.

The Effect of Parental Separation

The separation or divorce of one's parents is significant for those who experience the event as children. The results of Table 17 show the influence of separation on the child's later conjugal behaviour: ***women whose parents separated before they were 15 are about 77% more likely to form a common-law union as a first union than those whose parents did not separate***. However, the likelihood that they will marry first is not significantly different from that of women whose parents did not divorce when they were children. As explanation, it can be suggested that, having experienced a separation often more difficult for the child to accept than the parents, the notion that a marriage is more stable than a common-law union is excluded from the conception the child forms of life as a couple. Marriage thus loses one of its theoretical advantages over common-law relationships; but we would then expect that the likelihood of choosing a legal marriage as a first union would be lower for women whose parents separated, which is not confirmed. Often, however,

the parents themselves choose to live common-law with another spouse following the break-up of the marriage. Even if they marry a second time, this second marriage is almost inevitably preceded by dating, which becomes more intimate over time, and to a child or teenager appears no different than a common-law union. It may therefore be possible that the children choose common-law unions in imitation of the behaviour of their separated parents.

The Effect of Education and Employment

Level of education may have an effect on the age at which people establish their first union. The years following the end of formal schooling are the ones during which people are most likely to form a union, and those who do not continue their education enter the marriage (or conjugal) market sooner than others. For those who continue their studies, the first years of exposure to risk correspond to the time when they are finishing high school and beginning university; the likelihood of their forming a union is thus reduced. It is therefore necessary to take into account not only the final level of education, but also student status at the time the union is established. In this model, student status is another dichotomous variable that varies over time. As expected, ***women who are still students are less likely to form a union, either common-law or legal***, holding constant the other variables in the model. Compared to those still studying, women who are no longer students are one and a half times as likely to form a first common-law union (1.00 / 0.68 = 1.47) and twice as likely (1.00 / 0.49 = 2.04) to marry.

For those who subscribe to neo-classical economic theory, the decline in nuptiality is partly the result of women's increasing level of education and their participation in the labour market, which increases their financial autonomy and also reduces the benefits they might derive from marriage. Liberated from their dependence on marriage, women may choose a less restrictive, less constraining form of union. The results of our model support this hypothesis only partially. Level of education does not reveal significant differences with regard to the risk of forming a first common-law union. We do note, however, that ***women who went to university are less likely to choose marriage as a first union***. Also, working women are more likely to form a common-law union as a first union, while women who are not employed are more likely to form a first union by marriage.

Births Prior to the Union

The birth of a child increases the likelihood of establishing a first union. Data available do not reveal whether this first spouse is also the father of the child born before the union is established, but since this is the first union, it is reasonable to assume that a good number of these births in some way forced

the establishment of a union. All other things being equal, ***women who gave birth to a child before forming their first union are 45% more likely to choose a common-law union and 22% more likely to marry than women without children***.

Unions in Quebec and the Rest of Canada

The preceding analysis shows the importance of considering the difference between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The effect of region of residence is significant and the associated risk ratio sizable. We have seen that the spread of common-law unions is more advanced in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. Recently-formed unions there are more often common-law unions than marriages. Common-law unions may even have become the norm, in particular with regard to the first union, while in the rest of Canada, the phenomenon is less widespread. The variables that explain the exception may lose their significance when the exception becomes the rule. To test this hypothesis, the same model was applied to two separate samples: respondents in Quebec and respondents in the rest of Canada. The analysis seeks to verify whether the effect of the independent variables is the same in both populations. We are thus looking for differences between the two regions rather than for the effect of the different independent variables on the risk of forming one or the other type of first union.

Table 18 shows the risk ratios for the two sub-populations. The parameters presented here are not directly comparable between the two regions since the risk ratios must be interpreted in comparison to the reference group. For example, in Quebec, compared to the reference group (cohorts born between 1961 and 1970), cohorts born 1951-1960 are just over half as likely (0.60) to begin conjugal life with a common-law union, whereas the ratio between the two groups in the rest of Canada is three-quarters (0.74). Based on the results presented in Table 18, no inference can be made with regard to the relative risk of forming a common-law union in Quebec, compared to the risk of doing so in the rest of Canada, since the reference groups are not the same, but it is possible to determine if the effect of each variable is statistically different in the two regions.

In fact, the effect of the different variables is statistically the same in Quebec and the rest of Canada. The variables that have a positive effect (a risk ratio greater than one) on the establishment of one type of first union in one region, also have a positive effect in the other, and vice versa. Furthermore, for each variable, the confidence intervals calculated for each region overlap. These observations thus justify the analysis undertaken of Canada as a whole. However, a more refined analysis, in particular with regard to the size of the risk ratio, reveals several qualitative differences for one of the explanatory factors in the model.

Table 18. Risk Ratios[1] for Models of Entering a First Union (Common-Law and Marriage) for Specified Socio-Demographic Variables, Women, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Independent Variables		Quebec		Canada less Quebec	
		Marriage	Common-Law	Marriage	Common-Law
Cohort	-1971-1980	0.41	1.13 [2]	0.47	1.44
	-1961-1970	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-1951-1960	2.05	0.60	1.83	0.74
	-1950 and Before	2.41	0.08	2.04	0.17
Mother Tongue	-French	0.85 [2]	1.66	0.99 [2]	1.38
	-Other	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Birthplace	-Canada	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-Outside Canada	1.25 [2]	0.49	0.92 [2]	0.53
Religious Practice	-Never	0.81	1.31	0.87	1.54
	-Sometimes	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-Once a Week	0.86 [2]	0.59	0.97 [2]	0.50
Divorce of Parents	-Yes	0.52 [2]	1.44	1.07 [2]	1.89
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Education	-Less than Secondary	0.99 [2]	0.95 [2]	1.19	0.79 [2]
	-Secondary or Vocational	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-University	0.84 [2]	1.26 [2]	0.84	1.19 [2]
Student	-Yes	0.43	0.64	0.51	0.70
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Employed	-Yes	0.63	1.39	0.98	1.87
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Presence of Child	-Yes	1.38 [2]	1.16 [2]	1.16	1.59
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

[1] The risk, relative to that of the reference group (1.00), of entering a first union, holding constant the other independent variables in the model.

[2] The difference of these risk ratios from the reference category is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

The Generation Gap is Wider in Quebec

In Quebec, cohorts born between 1971 and 1980 (these are the youngest in the sample, aged 15-24 at the time of the survey) are not statistically different from the preceding group of cohorts (1961-1970) with regard to the relative risk of choosing a common-law relationship as a first union; but in the rest of Canada, younger cohorts show a relative risk that is 44% higher (statistically significant) than the preceding group of cohorts. This observation supports the hypothesis that, in Quebec, common-law unions as first unions have reached maximum intensity within successive cohorts, and that the increase observed from one period to the next in the proportion of persons living in common-law unions in the overall population can be attributed to aging, while in the rest of Canada, the phenomenon is still spreading and the trend toward common-law unions continues to grow from one group of cohorts to the next.

We also note that in Quebec, the relative risk of women in older cohorts forming a common-law union first is much lower, compared to cohorts born

between 1961 and 1970, than it is between the same cohorts in the rest of Canada. For example, in Quebec, the relative risk among the oldest cohorts is a twelfth that of the 1961-1970 cohorts (8%), while in the rest of Canada, the ratio is only a sixth (17%). This is ***an indication of the greater gap between older and younger cohorts of Quebec women, as regards their interest in common-law unions***; the generation gap between cohorts who grew up prior to the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and those who grew up during and after it appears greater than elsewhere in Canada, where social change occurred more slowly.

Conclusion

In summary, the comparison of risk ratios applied to common-law unions and marriages allows us to classify the different variables in the model in three categories. Factors in the first category have an opposite effect on the two types of unions, factors in the second category have a similar effect on both types of unions, and factors in the third category affect only the establishment of common-law unions and have no measurable effect on the establishment of a legal marriage. ***Cohort, place of residence, mother tongue, religious practice and employment status are all variables that have an effect on the probability of forming a common-law union that is opposite to their effect on the probability of forming a marriage. The birth of a child prior to the establishment of a union increases the probability of forming a union, while student status reduces that probability, regardless of the type of union chosen. Finally, place of birth and parental divorce affect only the establishment of common-law unions***.

GENERAL COMMENTS

The enthusiasm for common-law unions, or more precisely the disenchantment with marriage in Canada at the end of the 20th century, is not a chance occurrence. This disaffection appeared at the same time as the number of divorces began increasing because both phenomena result from the same thinking. After all, if legal authorities in Western societies, in particular those that have been marked by Catholicism, can agree to end a marriage and thus cancel the provisions associated with it, why would they not recognize couples that have not been formally legitimized?

The tendency to reject marriage as a conjugal choice is evidently part of a social revolution —one of a series of rejections of institutions founded on a social order that is falling out of fashion. The origins of the institution of marriage date back to rudimentary and empirical concepts about the passing on of life, to which was added the passing on of assets. Throughout the ages, marriage has always been an expression of civic and moral values based on the knowledge of the era in which it emerged. The institution relied for support

on premises that became obsolete under the influence of major scientific discoveries—and the techniques associated with them—in many fields, particularly biology, and specifically reproduction. In some ways, marriage is a social commodity that combined legal considerations with religious traditions to the satisfaction of most people, until now. But it was predictable that, cut off from its roots, the institution would run into trouble. The easy availability of contraceptives, which offered control over reproduction and severed its link to sex, dealt a heavy blow to a social order based largely upon the obligations that reproduction entailed. Ultimately, marriage was created because family demanded it; it was built into an institution to which anyone who wished to live as a couple had to submit, whether they wanted children or not. In the days when the term "society" encompassed a more limited reality, marriage, by assigning rights and obligations to the members of the basic family unit, established a highly effective form of order. This led to the assignment of roles and duties, assuring a spousal complementarity that is now tending to disappear.

Similarly, marriage, at its height testified to people's implicit capacity to procreate. Consequently, annulment, and in some cases the repudiation of the wife, could be contemplated if the union did not bear fruit. Marriage also attested to the possibility of taking charge of a family. Young people of marriageable age had to be marriageable, that is, they had to have no defects or handicaps that could prevent them from assuming the responsibilities marriage implied. Here again, the development of science and the resulting moral standards have made it possible for many individuals to be married, by lightening the load of direct responsibilities. Married people, on the other hand, have gradually lost some of the respectability that privileged status once conferred. Not that long ago, a woman who was unmarried at 20 was called an "old maid" and society questioned the maturity of a man who was unmarried at 30. But solidarity among members of a more populous society has allowed for the emergence of systems to protect and assist individuals by means of anonymity and equality, reducing the important role once played by marriage. The use of contraceptives to control fertility freed women from the home, where most were traditionally confined. This allowed them to seek education and paid employment. Roles within the couple changed as spouses were no longer tied by a relationship of dependence and, in some cases, the validity of marriage itself was questioned.

Seen in this way, marriage is a union that can be annulled at any time without serious consequences. It is not surprising that, under such conditions, we have seen the spread of the unsolemn union that can only result from mutual consent and imprecise commitments. From 1981 to 1995, the number of persons in common-law unions in Canada rose from 700,000 to about two million. At the start of the period, one couple in every sixteen was not married; by the end, it was one in seven.

It is evidently in the interest of the partners in a common-law union to protect themselves by making a contract. This involves more complex legal

formalities than marriage, which automatically includes many of the same provisions. However, there is no denying that some of those provisions were not acceptable to the parties concerned.

Like most changes in social mores, the common-law union was introduced primarily by younger cohorts. A society that had grown more permissive first tolerated "trial marriages," a move made easier by the fact that the growing number of divorces were highlighting the undesirable aspects of a marriage concluded in haste. But an ever-increasing number of young people allowed their trial marriages to endure, then realized that legalizing the union would not change anything, not even if they were to have children. The continuing growth of this minority of young couples caused older people, in particular those whose first experience had been unsuccessful, to reflect on the pros and cons of marriage. In this way, the common-law union, initially introduced by the young, found further support among older cohorts, who began seeing it as a viable conjugal option.

However, such a change in moral standards in a country like Canada involves the very cultures and legal systems that the earlier mores produced, leading to situations that seem at first glance paradoxical. It would be simplistic to believe that all common-law unions are the result of legal considerations. They may be created for many other reasons, but they are particularly widespread in Quebec, where the Civil Code does not recognize them, and leaves the partners unprotected should they break up. Compare this to the rest of Canada, where, under certain conditions, the common-law considers such unions equivalent to marriage with regard to family law. One explanation may be found in Quebec law, which stipulates that all assets acquired during the marriage (acquests) must be shared by the couple in the case of divorce. When two people are considering living together, the one who believes he or she has the greater potential for wealth will obviously be less inclined to choose an option that would make him or her the "loser" if the relationship were to end. Choosing a common-law union avoids such a situation. By comparison, the partners in a consensual union under common-law are considered more like married people: they do not have the alternative Quebeckers do, and are probably less reluctant to marry, knowing that even in a common-law union they would be considered married partners and have to share the acquests if the relationship were to break up.

It is also probable that, in a society long influenced by the Church, many people now freed from clerical restraints are eschewing marriage, confusing the religious commitment with the legal consequences it has always had. However, it is primarily the social acceptability of cohabitation that is causing many couples to simply leave things as they are, and continue enjoying the happy times of a new relationship, without formally legalizing it. For the time being, Quebeckers, in particular young Quebeckers, are far more likely to live together than to marry, and this study shows that Canadians in the rest of the country are following in their footsteps.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon is still recent, and notwithstanding the analysis of who chooses to live in a common-law union, how many unions they have, how long the unions last, how they end, etc., the important question will be how the situation evolves. We can certainly expect that things will change and that equity between individuals will be a priority, with our laws being modified accordingly. We cannot preclude the possibility of amendments to the Civil Code in Quebec that might recognize the rights, privileges and obligations of common-law partners. There may also be changes in how other provinces handle certain cases under the common-law. Nor can we predict how coming generations will view the society in which they are the main characters, or to which values they will subscribe. As far as the immediate future is concerned, all signs point to a continued increase in common-law unions, although this may not be as rapid as it was in the recent past. Centuries-old customs leave certain habits in a society's subconscious that have a strange way of accommodating the contradictions created as knowledge changes. In all likelihood, both types of union will continue to coexist for some time, with many people experiencing one or the other, depending on the interests at stake in each case. The "marriage crisis" provoked by the growing popularity of the common-law union as a viable substitute is certainly not the first society has ever known, and it would be premature indeed to declare *Delenda Carthago*.

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Appendices

Table A2.1. Population (In Thousands) Aged 15 and Over by Marital Status and Age Group, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Age Group	Common-Law	Married	Ever Married	Single	Total
	Quebec				
15-19	**	**	**	479	496
20-24	103	**	**	330	473
25-29	179	140	**	201	530
30-34	195	301	**	124	655
35-39	145	364	62 *	90	661
40-44	107	360	72 *	56 *	595
45-49	60 *	355	82	40 *	537
50-54	48 *	267	87	**	432
55 +	53 *	897	423	85	1,458
Total	907	2,718	775	1,437	5,837
	Canada less Quebec				
15-19	**	**	**	1,445	1,477
20-24	203	197	**	1,141	1,561
25-29	246	722	90 *	646	1,705
30-34	208	1,296	138 *	358	2,000
35-39	116 *	1,449	180	182	1,927
40-44	142 *	1,205	225	139 *	1,711
45-49	83 *	1,171	180	97 *	1,531
50-54	64 *	891	167	**	1,163
55 +	83 *	2,862	1,224	183	4,352
Total	1,176	9,796	2,225	4,231	17,427
	Canada				
15-19	**	**	**	1,925	1,973
20-24	306	231	**	1,471	2,034
25-29	425	862	100	848	2,235
30-34	403	1,598	172	482	2,656
35-39	261	1,814	242	272	2,588
40-44	249	1,565	297	195	2,306
45-49	143	1,526	261	137	2,068
50-54	112	1,158	255	70 *	1,594
55 +	136	3,759	1,647	268	5,810
Total	2,082	12,514	3,000	5,668	23,264

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.
** Estimate is too variable to be published.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995.

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