

Older workers
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The
Aging Worker

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ECONOMICS AND RESEARCH BRANCH
DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
OTTAWA

**THE AGING WORKER
IN THE CANADIAN ECONOMY.**



Canada. **Economics and Research Branch**
Department of Labour, Ottawa,
Ottawa, July 1959.

Hon. Michael Starr
Minister

A.H. Brown
Deputy Minister

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years a great deal of interest has been shown by private and public agencies concerned with social welfare, and by leaders of public opinion across Canada, in the problems of Canada's older people. Any consideration of these problems almost invariably gives rise to questions concerning the position of older men and women in the labour market, their ability to work, the demand for their services, and the kind of work most suitable for them.

Information about the actual situation of older workers: what sort of work they are doing, how many of them there are, what they are earning, provides an indispensable background for consideration of these problems, although many other types of information would also be required for an adequate assessment of the many questions which arise in this area.

Statistical information about older people and, in particular, older workers is plentiful, but scattered. For the most part, such information is compiled as a by-product of widely different types of enquiries (censuses, vital statistics, labour force surveys, income surveys, the records kept by welfare agencies, to mention a few), and is not published in ways that enhance its usefulness for the reader interested specifically in the older worker. The object in preparing this monograph has been to assemble some of this statistical information and to present it in a manner as helpful as possible to those interested in the problems of the older worker.

When is a worker an "older worker"? Although different points of view may provide different answers to this question, the following definition is suggested: a worker may be regarded as an older worker when his employability begins to become more limited **because of his age**: either his tenure in his job or the level of income he is earning from it becomes more precarious, or he is subject to age restrictions on hiring that would limit his opportunities should he have to look for work. Obviously the age at which this state of affairs is likely to occur for an individual will vary considerably with his occupation; athletes and airline stewardesses are regarded as superannuated at a relatively early age while scholars and financiers (provided they remain in fairly good physical and mental health) come into their occupational prime relatively late in life.

In this monograph, most attention will be given to people aged 65 and over, since this group is generally regarded as old in almost any occupation. There is also a good deal of information referring to the group aged 45 to 64. It was found more difficult to make generalizations about the latter group than about the former because the statistics used are mostly national in coverage while the problems of people under but approaching the age of 65 would appear to be more peculiar to certain occupations and to vary from person to person.

Some information is included on trends in life expectancy and on the absolute and relative size of the older population. The conclusion emerges from these statistics that the growth in the proportion of older people in the population will not be as great over the next 50 years as it was in the last 50. This probably means that the task of finding employment for older persons and of providing for older people who are unable to work will not increase in magnitude in relation to the resources, both financial and professional, that will be available for these purposes.

The problems that arise for some of the older workers under the age of 65 are usually not so much a matter of age alone as of age and something else. This "something else" includes a number of things which can affect their employment and income positions. Some of these are: loss of job through no fault of their own owing to technological change; inability to cope with a demanding occupation; inability to obtain employment, even when many job opportunities are available, due to lack of education and skill; conversely, being obliged to accept work well below their abilities and skill; being barred from certain jobs by virtue of age limits; ill health; personality and family problems. On the other hand, the statistics presented here seem to indicate that the group aged 45 to 64 is, on the average, about as well off as any group in the population. It is known, however, that while many workers reach their peak performance and income levels during these years others are on the downgrade. While rates of unemployment are not high in this age group, labour force statistics indicate that the length of time unemployed people have been seeking work tends to be higher for workers aged 45-64 than for younger workers.

Caution must be used in drawing conclusions from the statistics presented here. National and regional statistics frequently obscure local problems. It is practically a truism that older workers, as they have been defined here, are the least geographically mobile part of the labour force and are thus most strongly affected by local situations. Local pockets of unemployment or poverty among older people that may constitute major problems in the areas affected, tend in national statistics to be merged in an average with more favourably situated areas.

One of the major findings of this monograph is the extent to which the employment of older workers varies in the different regions, paralleling the industrial composition of these regions. Some more detailed analysis of the situation of the older worker on a regional basis would certainly be desirable.

Chapter 1 deals with trends in the age composition of the Canadian population. In it materials from censuses and vital statistics are used to show that Canada has a relatively young population for an industrial country and that the process of population aging is proceeding at a comparatively slow pace. Chapter 2 deals with trends in the age composition of the Canadian labour force and with the status characteristics* of the older labour force. The importance of own-account activities for the employment of older workers is shown. Trends in the proportion of the older population who are members of the labour force are outlined as are

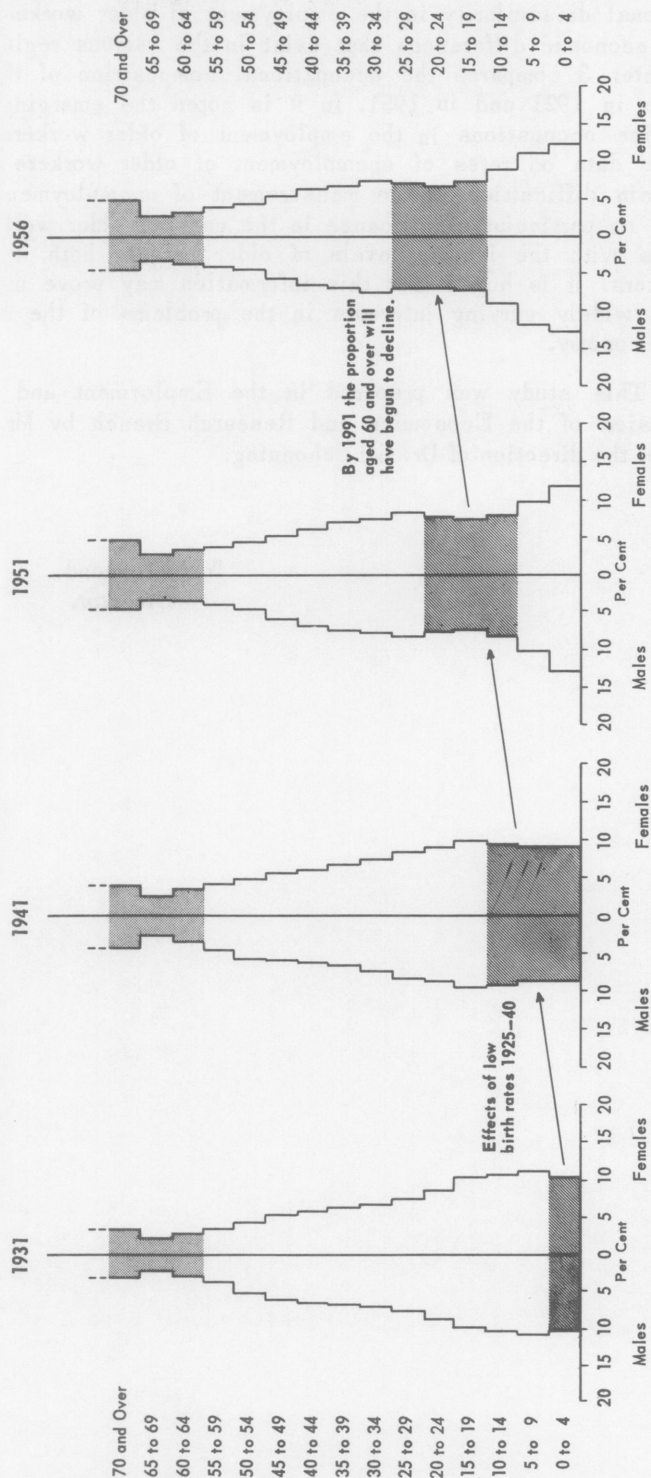
*Paid workers, own-account workers, employers, unpaid family workers.

the regional differences in these proportions. The very great regional dissimilarity in the employment of older workers is related to the economic differences that exist in the various regions of Canada. Chapter 3 compares the occupational composition of the older labour force in 1921 and in 1951. In it is noted the emerging importance of service occupations in the employment of older workers. In Chapter 4 some data on rates of unemployment of older workers are discussed. Certain difficulties in the measurement of unemployment are shown to take on particular significance in the case of older workers. Chapter 5 deals with the income levels of older people, both workers and non-workers. It is hoped that this information may prove useful to readers with widely varying interests in the problems of the aging worker in our economy.

This study was prepared in the Employment and Labour Market Division of the Economics and Research Branch by Mr. A.H. Portigal under the direction of Dr. Gil Schonning.

W.R. Dymond,
Director.

THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD 1931-56 THE PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION AGED 60 AND OVER HAS GROWN STEADILY BUT SLOWLY



Chapter 1 – THE AGE COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION

A tendency for the average age of the population to increase is regarded as normal for the industrialized parts of the world. Improved nutrition, sanitation, and medical services together with, for many, lighter and less hazardous work lead to lower death rates and longer average life expectancy. Since increasing numbers of people survive to advanced age, the proportion of older people in the population tends to grow unless the birth rate (and/or immigration of young people) also increases enough to redress the age balance. However, another characteristic of industrialized countries is that birth rates tend eventually to settle down at moderate levels. Phenomena such as wars, migrations, and variations in birth rates may also have important effects on the age composition of a population from time to time, but eventually a balance is restored of the groups of people who are either in surplus or deficit.*

The Canadian population has aged moderately over the last half century. Table 1 shows that the average age of the population rose from 27 years in 1901 to 31 years in 1951.

* This suggests that there is an equilibrium rate of population growth for a particular type of country that may be disturbed by temporary "chance" factors. History shows that these "chance" factors tend to dominate the picture most of the time.

Table 1 – Percentage of Population of Given Age and Older, 1901–1956

Age Group	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1956
Males							
0 and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15	65.9	68.5	66.3	69.1	72.6	69.4	67.3
25	46.2	49.0	49.6	50.7	54.2	54.3	53.2
45	19.2	18.6	20.4	23.1	26.0	25.9	25.1
55	10.7	9.9	10.8	12.1	15.0	15.6	14.8
65	5.0	4.4	4.7	5.5	6.6	7.8	7.6
75	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.6	2.0	2.3	2.4
Females							
0 and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15	65.2	65.3	64.8	67.6	71.9	69.9	67.7
25	45.0	46.0	47.0	48.4	52.8	54.3	53.3
45	18.8	18.8	19.1	21.5	24.6	25.1	24.7
55	10.7	10.3	10.6	11.8	14.3	15.2	15.0
65	5.1	4.9	4.8	5.7	6.7	7.7	7.8
75	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.2	2.5	2.7
Both Sexes							
0 and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15	65.6	67.0	65.6	68.5	72.2	69.7	67.5
25	45.6	47.6	48.3	49.7	53.5	54.3	53.3
45	19.0	18.7	19.8	22.4	25.3	25.5	24.9
55	10.7	10.1	10.7	12.0	14.6	15.4	14.9
65	5.0	4.6	4.8	5.6	6.7	7.8	7.7
75	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.1	2.4	2.5
Average Age	27	27	28	30	30	31	31

**Table 2 – Age Distribution of Enumerated Population in 40
Countries: Censuses Taken Between 1945 and 1954**

Country and Census Data	Percentage Distribution by Age			60 and Over as Per Cent of 15–59
	Under 15	15–59	60 and Over	
Dominican Republic 1950	44.5	50.8	4.7	9.3
Philippines 1948	44.2	51.0	4.9	9.6
Paraguay 1950	43.8	50.2	6.1	12.2
Nicaragua 1950	43.3	51.9	4.8	9.2
Costa Rica 1950	42.9	52.4	4.8	9.2
Ecuador 1950	42.5	51.8	5.7	11.0
Thailand 1947	42.3	53.5	4.2	7.9
Guatemala 1950	42.3	53.3	4.4	8.3
Venezuela 1950	42.0	53.5	4.5	8.4
Brazil 1950	41.9	53.9	4.3	8.0
Mexico 1950	41.8	52.7	5.5	10.4
Bolivia 1950	39.6	53.2	7.2	13.5
Turkey 1950	38.3	55.7	6.0	10.8
Egypt 1947	38.1	55.9	6.0	10.8
South Africa 1946	37.6	55.9	6.0	10.7
India 1951	37.4	56.9	5.7	10.0
Chile 1952	37.4	56.2	6.5	11.6
Japan 1950	35.4	56.9	7.7	13.5
Argentina 1947	30.9	62.6	6.6	10.5
Yugoslavia 1953	30.6	60.6	8.9	14.7
CANADA 1951	30.3	58.3	11.4	19.6
Finland 1950	30.0	59.9	10.1	16.9
Portugal 1950	29.5	60.1	10.5	17.5
New Zealand 1951	29.4	57.3	13.2	23.0
Netherlands 1947	29.3	60.0	10.7	17.8
Romania 1948	28.9	62.9	8.2	13.0
Ireland 1951	28.9	56.3	14.8	26.3
Greece 1951	28.8	61.0	10.1	16.6
United States 1950	26.9	61.0	12.2	20.0
Denmark 1950	26.3	60.3	13.4	22.2
Australia 1947	25.2	62.5	12.3	19.7
Norway 1950	24.4	61.8	13.8	22.3
Czechoslovakia 1947	24.3	64.2	11.5	17.9
West Germany 1950	23.6	62.7	13.8	22.0
Switzerland 1950	23.6	62.4	14.0	22.4
Sweden 1950	23.4	61.6	14.9	24.2
France 1954	23.3	59.7	17.0	28.4
Austria 1951	22.9	61.5	15.6	25.4
England and Wales 1951	22.1	61.9	15.9	25.7
Belgium 1947	20.6	63.8	15.6	24.5

Source: Adapted from the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* 1956, p. 9.

Over these years, the proportion of the population aged 65 and over declined to a low of 4.6 per cent in 1911; following this it increased gradually to 7.8 per cent by 1951. There was a slight decline from this percentage between 1951 and 1956 due to continuing high birth rates and high levels of net immigration. The projection of the population prepared for the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects indicates that the percentage of the population aged 65 and over may reach 9.3 per cent by 1980 (assuming annual immigration to be 75,000 higher than emigration). This represents a slower rate of growth after 1956 than occurred between 1931 and 1956.

Table 2 provides some international comparisons both of the percentages of older people in different countries, and the ratios of older people to people of working age. The countries are arranged according to the proportion of children under 15. At the top of the list are the less industrialized societies, with high birth rates and low life expectancies; at the bottom are industrialized countries with low birth rates and high life expectancies whose populations have, from time to time, been affected by wars and migration. It may be seen that Canada's age composition is quite favourable as compared with other industrialized countries.

A number of factors have tended to keep the Canadian population relatively young:-

(i) **A high birth rate.** Few industrial nations, perhaps only Japan, can match Canada's 1954 birth rate of 28.7 births per thousand population. Even during the depression of the Thirties, when it dropped to about 20 per thousand, Canada's birth rate was still the highest among Western industrial nations. The effects of these high birth rates on the age composition of the population have been somewhat offset in the past by relatively high rates of infant mortality, but steady improvement in infants' chances of survival has tended to produce a more youthful population in recent years. As **Table 1** shows, Canada since the turn of the century has had about 30 per cent of its population under the age of 15. This, as may be seen in **Table 2**, is exceeded only by the less industrialized countries of the world.

(ii) **Immigration.** During a large part of Canada's history, immigration has exceeded emigration. Over the period since World War II immigrants have consisted largely of adults between the ages of 20 and 40 (mostly in their twenties) and some children. There have been relatively very few older people among recent immigrants. This has tended both to slow down the aging of the population and to add to the labour force. On the other hand, emigration has probably siphoned off more young than older people.

(iii) **The urbanization and industrialization** of Canada has been relatively recent, so that these factors have not made their full impact on the aging process.

Although in the very long run Canada's population will undoubtedly grow relatively older than it is at present, indications are that the process of aging will be slow during the remainder of this century. **Chart 2** shows how this is likely to happen. In 1956 there was a deficiency in the number

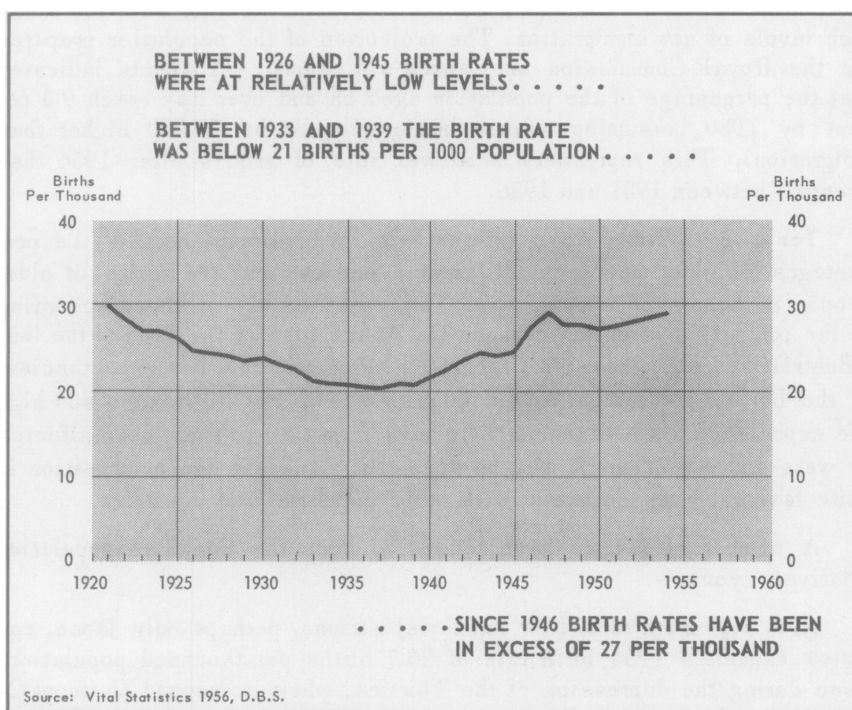


Table 3 – Average Life Expectancy at Various Ages, by Sex, 1871–1951

Age	1871	1881	1921	1931	1941	1951
Males						
0	—	—	—	60.0	63.0	66.3
17	50.3	50.5	51.6	51.6	52.3	52.6
27	42.9	42.9	43.3	43.1	43.4	44.4
47	28.0	27.8	26.6	30.3	30.1	30.7
57	20.5	20.2	18.8	18.4	18.2	18.6
67	13.7	13.6	12.0	11.8	11.6	12.1
72	11.0	10.9	9.2	9.0	8.9	9.4
Females						
0	—	—	—	62.1	66.3	70.8
17	49.9	49.4	51.8	52.4	54.5	57.3
27	42.6	42.8	43.5	43.9	45.5	47.8
47	28.3	28.5	27.2	27.2	28.0	29.4
57	20.5	21.1	19.4	19.3	19.9	21.0
67	13.7	14.3	12.5	12.4	12.8	13.6
72	10.8	11.6	9.7	9.5	9.8	10.4

Source: Canadian Vital Statistics Trends, 1921–1954 (DBS Reference Paper No. 70)

Note: Figures for 1871 are for Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Figures for 1921 exclude Quebec, Yukon, N.W.T. Figures for 1871, 1881, 1921 must be interpreted with caution.

of people aged 15-30, due to low birth rates between about 1926 and 1943. In the year 2006 the survivors from this group will make up the bulk of the population aged 65 and over and, barring anything unusual, the proportion of the population aged 65 and over will have been declining at least since 1991.

The table of average life expectancies (Table 3) shows the number of additional years that a person of a given age has an even chance of living.*

Table 3 shows that the chances for survival of males aged 57 were getting steadily worse until 1941, following which there was some improvement. As a general observation it is, of course, true that people are living longer. Table 3 shows, however, that this is because proportionally more people live from birth to middle age, not because middle-aged people have a very much better chance of living to advanced age than they used to have. This may have some relevance to the question of the potential manpower resources represented by the older population.

If it can be assumed that the larger portion of the group aged 65 and over will continue to be dependent on the productive activities of younger people, it becomes important to know something about the trend in the size of this older population in relation to the trend in the size of the labour force. Disregarding the fact that some older people will be in the labour force, one can then say that each worker supports so many older people now, as compared to some other figure in the past. To determine what this means to the "average worker" in question one would also have to know what the trends in output per worker have been, as well as the trends in other types of dependent per worker.

*This assumes that current death rates for the various ages do in fact indicate his chances of survival.

Table 4 – Trend in Population Aged 65 and over as a Percentage of the Labour Force¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1901	15.2	1952	20.9
1911	12.3	1953	21.1
1921	13.3	1954	21.3
1931	13.9	1955	21.5
1941	17.2	1956	21.3
1951	20.5	1957	20.8
		1958	20.7

¹Labour Force for 1951 on Gainfully Occupied converted to Labour Force for 1931, 1941. Gainfully Occupied for 1901-1921.

Sources: Labour Force and Gainfully Occupied figures from *The Labour Force* (DBS Reference Paper No. 58, 1958 Revision); 1951 Census Publication *Occupation and Industry Trends in Canada*; Canadian Labour Force Estimates 1931-45 (DBS Reference Paper No. 23 Revised). Population from 1951 Census Vol. 1 and Supplements to Population Estimates (DBS Reference Paper No. 40).

The figures in Table 4 come from a variety of sources and are not completely consistent from period to period. To the extent that they are reliable it appears that in 1911 there were about eight workers per older person, while in 1951 there were five workers per older person. But output per worker in 1951 was substantially greater than it had been in 1911.

Since 1951 there has been rapid growth in the labour force and the ratio of older people to workers has remained reasonably constant, reaching a peak of 21.5 per cent in 1955, and declining to 20.7 per cent in 1958. The population and labour force projections used by the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects indicate a ratio of persons aged 65 and over to the labour force of 23.5 per cent by 1980, assuming an annual net immigration of 75,000.

The same projection indicates that (granting the same immigration assumption) the number of people aged 70 and over should be double the 1955 figure by 1980.

Assuming moderately increased productivity in line with recent trends, and relatively full employment, a projected figure of the gross national product in constant dollars obtained for 1980 is almost three times the 1955 figure. Thus, considering the future older population in terms of the trend in output as well as in terms of the trend in number of workers, it would appear that, given fairly full employment, the cost of supporting the older members of the population ought to become progressively easier for the community to bear over this period.

Chapter 2 – THE AGE COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE

By and large there was little change between 1931 and 1951 in the proportion of the labour force aged 65 and over. As is shown in Table 5 a slight increase in the proportion of males aged 65 and over in the labour force was partially offset by a slight decrease in the proportion of females aged 65 and over. Both decreased between 1941 and 1951. It was noted in the previous chapter that the population aged 65 and over had been increasing faster than the rest of the population between 1931 and 1951; 88 per cent as compared with 36 per cent for the total population. (See Chart 3). On the other hand, the labour force aged 65 and over did not grow quite as fast as the total labour force, increasing by only 33 per cent.

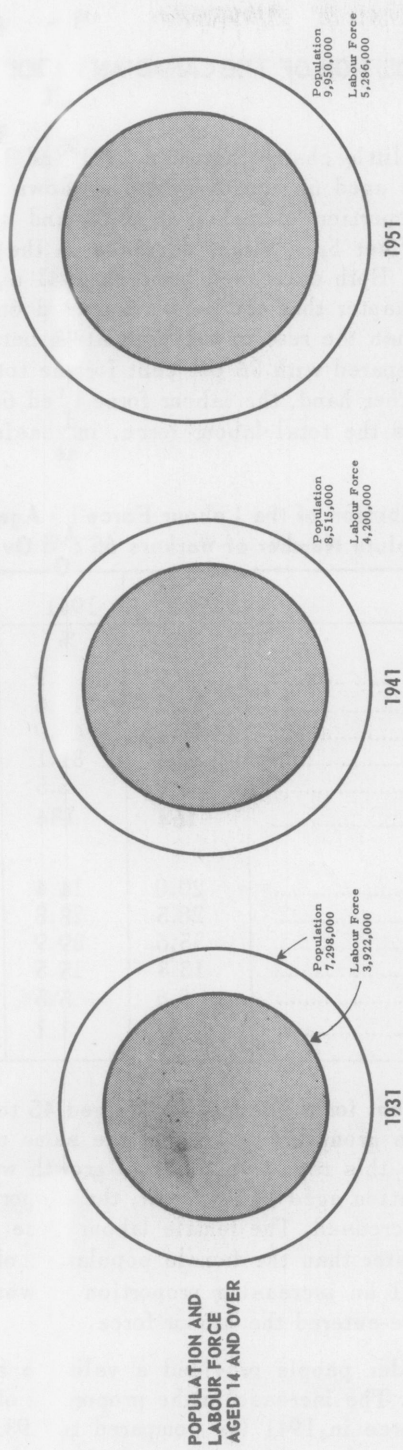
Table 5 – Percentage Distribution of the Labour Force by Age and Sex 1931–1951; and Absolute Number of Workers 65 and Over

Age Group	1931	1941	1951
Males	%	%	%
14–19	9.9	8.9	7.5
20–24	13.2	10.6	12.0
25–44	44.5	43.9	47.1
45–64	27.4	31.1	28.2
65 and over	5.0	5.5	5.2
Number (total in 000's)	164	184	212
Females			
14–19	20.0	17.4	16.9
20–24	28.5	25.8	22.1
25–44	35.6	39.9	40.2
45–64	13.3	14.5	18.4
65 and over	2.6	2.5	2.3
Number (total in 000's)	17	21	27

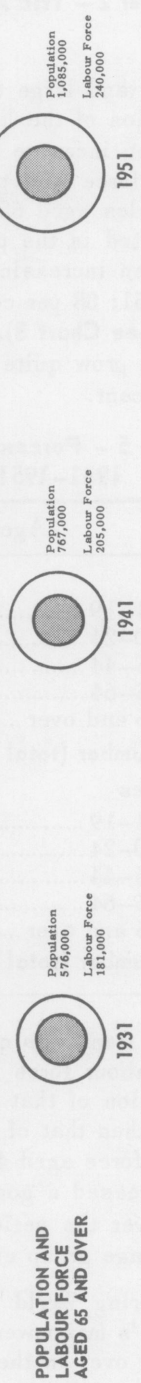
The trend was quite different for the labour force aged 45 to 64. The male labour force in that age group grew at about the same rate as the population of that age; since this rate of population growth was a little faster than that of the population aged 14 and over, the proportion of the labour force aged 45 to 64 increased. The female labour force aged 45 to 64 increased a good deal faster than the female population of the same age; over the period 1931–51 an increasing proportion of women in the 45–64 age group entered or re-entered the labour force.

During World War II, older people provided a valuable addition to Canada's manpower supplies. The increase in the proportion of men aged 45 and over in the labour force in 1941 (as compared to 1931) resulted from the military mobilization of younger men, and the consequent increase in the employment of older men in the industrial war effort. The

FROM 1931 TO 1951 THE POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE AGED 14 AND OVER GREW BY ABOUT 35%



THE POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER GREW BY 88% BUT THE LABOUR FORCE AGED 65 AND OVER GREW BY ONLY 32%



Source: Occupation and Industry Trends in Canada, 1951 Census document SP-8

highest proportion of older workers in the labour force was reached about 1944; the first labour force surveys in 1945 and 1946 still showed some of the effects of wartime employment of older men. (See Table 8).

Labour Force Status of Older Workers

Ours is said to be an "employee society". Only about one-sixth of the present-day labour force falls into the categories of "employers" and own-account workers, in contrast to the situation at the turn of the century when the proportion was probably over one-half. Employers and own-account workers are usually in a much better position than paid workers to decide when to retire, or, if working, how heavy a work program to carry. Partly because of this it is not surprising to find that among male workers the percentage of employers and own account workers is higher for the older age groups than for the younger ones.

There is another factor that is undoubtedly of considerable significance. The older people in our current population entered the labour market at a time when our economic life was by and large dominated by the farmer, the small businessman and the independent craftsman. For large segments of the population these were the ideal occupations of the era, and older people today tend to appreciate the advantages of self-employment more than the young. The relatively large proportion of self-employed workers in the older labour force may be in part the result of retirement policies filtering out the paid workers, but it is certainly also due to the fact that there were relatively more own-account workers to begin with in the group now aged 65 and over than in the labour force at present.

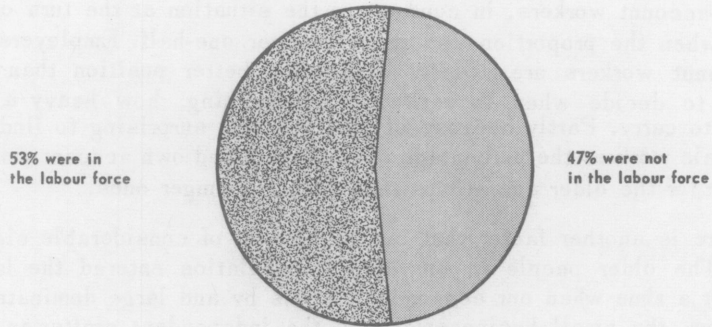
The Census shows workers according to status: (a) employers who pay one or more persons to work for them, (b) own-account workers who are self-employed, and have no employees, (c) paid workers, and (d) unpaid workers in family farms or businesses.

Table 6 shows that in 1951, for all age groups over 45, the percentage of employers and own-account workers was much higher than in the labour force as a whole. Of the male population aged 45 to 54, 94.5 per cent were in the labour force and 30.1 per cent (32 per cent of those in the labour force) were in the employer and own-account group. * Of the males aged 70 and over who were in the labour force 49 per cent were in the employer and own-account category. The significantly higher rate of employment of older males in own-account activities suggests that the decline in the farm work force and the relative decline of small unincorporated businesses in the total economy may provide one significant explanation for the declining proportion of workers in the older population of Canada.

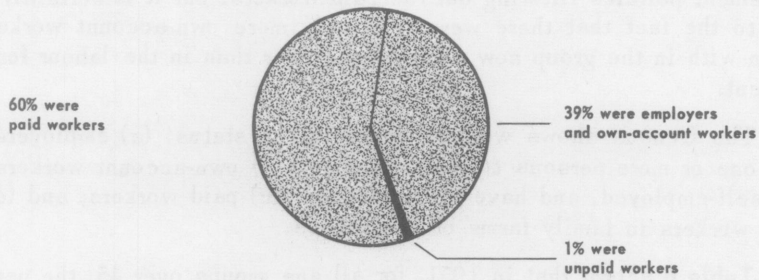
Own-account activities do not appear to have the same significance for female older workers as for males. Although the percentage of the female labour force in own-account activities was also higher for women

* 13.4 per cent were in non-farm industries and 16.7 per cent in agriculture.

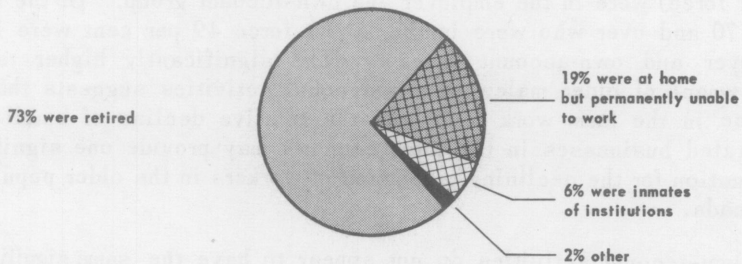
OF THE MALE POPULATION AGED 60 AND OVER IN 1951



OF THE 53% IN THE LABOUR FORCE



OF THE 47% NOT IN THE LABOUR FORCE



Source: Census of Canada 1951

**Table 6 - Percentage Distribution of Older Persons by
Labour Force Status, 1951 Census**

Labour Force Status	45-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70 and Over
Males					
Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Labour Force	94.5	89.6	81.4	60.1	23.4
Non-Agricultural	75.7	69.8	62.3	43.1	15.2
Employers and Own-Account ..	13.4	12.5	11.3	9.5	4.3
Paid Workers	62.2	57.3	50.9	33.5	10.8
Unpaid	—	—	—	1	—
Agricultural	18.8	19.8	19.1	17.0	8.2
Employers and Own-Account ..	16.7	17.8	17.0	14.7	7.2
Paid Workers	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.7	.6
Unpaid .....	.3	.3	.4	.5	.4
Not in Labour Force	4.9	9.8	18.1	39.4	76.0
Keeping House .....	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2
Going to School	—	—	—	—	—
Retired or Voluntarily Idle	1.6	4.7	11.3	29.2	57.2
Permanently Unable to Work	1.6	3.0	4.4	7.4	14.1
Other .....	.4	.5	.5	.6	.4
Inmates of Institutions	1.3	1.5	1.7	2.1	4.1
Indians on Reservations .....	.6	.6	.5	.5	.6
Females					
Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Labour Force	20.4	16.3	12.4	8.5	2.9
Non-Agricultural	19.6	15.4	11.7	8.0	2.7
Employers and Own-Account ..	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.3	.5
Paid Workers	17.4	13.5	10.0	6.6	2.1
Unpaid .....	.4	.3	.2	.1	—
Agricultural .....	.9	.9	.7	.6	.3
Employers and Own-Account ..	.4	.5	.5	.4	.2
Paid Workers .....	.1	.1	.1	.1	—
Unpaid .....	.4	.3	.2	.1	—
Not in Labour Force	79.1	83.3	87.2	91.1	96.5
Keeping House	76.5	78.7	78.5	75.4	54.0
Going to School .....	.1	—	—	—	—
Retired or Voluntarily Idle .....	.7	2.1	5.2	10.1	26.3
Permanently Unable to Work .....	.6	1.1	1.9	3.6	11.5
Other .....	.2	.3	.3	.3	.4
Inmates of Institutions	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.6	4.4
Indians on Reservations .....	.5	.4	.4	.4	.6

in the older age groups, this percentage was small for women of all ages. The significant variations in the occupational distributions of older and younger women occur within the paid workers sector of the labour force.

Status of Older Persons Not in the Labour Force

Table 6 also indicates that in 1951 the great majority of older men not in the labour force were listed as "retired", while the majority of older women were listed as "keeping house" and as "retired". In the retired group there would be people who are not interested in working, some who feel that they are unemployable for one reason or another, and some who do not feel well enough to work. * There is some indication of the incidence of serious physical and mental disabilities with increasing age in the Census categories "permanently unable to work" and "inmates of institutions". In 1951, these two categories accounted for 2.9 per cent of the male population aged 45 to 54; 9.5 per cent of males aged 65 to 69; and 18.2 per cent of males aged 70 and over. For women the percentages were 45-54: 1.6 per cent; 65-69: 5.2 per cent; 70 and over: 15.9 per cent. These figures correspond roughly with those obtained from the Canadian Sickness Survey of 1950-51.

The Percentages of the Population Suffering from some Disability were as follows:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
25-44.....	6
45-64.....	13
65 and Over.....	25

The Percentages suffering from Severe and Total Disability were as follows:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
25-44.....	2
45-64.....	6
65 and Over.....	16

Table 7 (which is derived from 1951 Census figures) shows that when a younger man is out of the labour force, it is likely to be because of physical disability or because he is an inmate of an institution. With age, the importance of these factors declines and such factors as voluntary or involuntary retirement become more important.

* The last may make up a considerable proportion in the U.S. according to studies conducted recently - see Steiner & Dorfman: *The Economic Status of the Aged*.

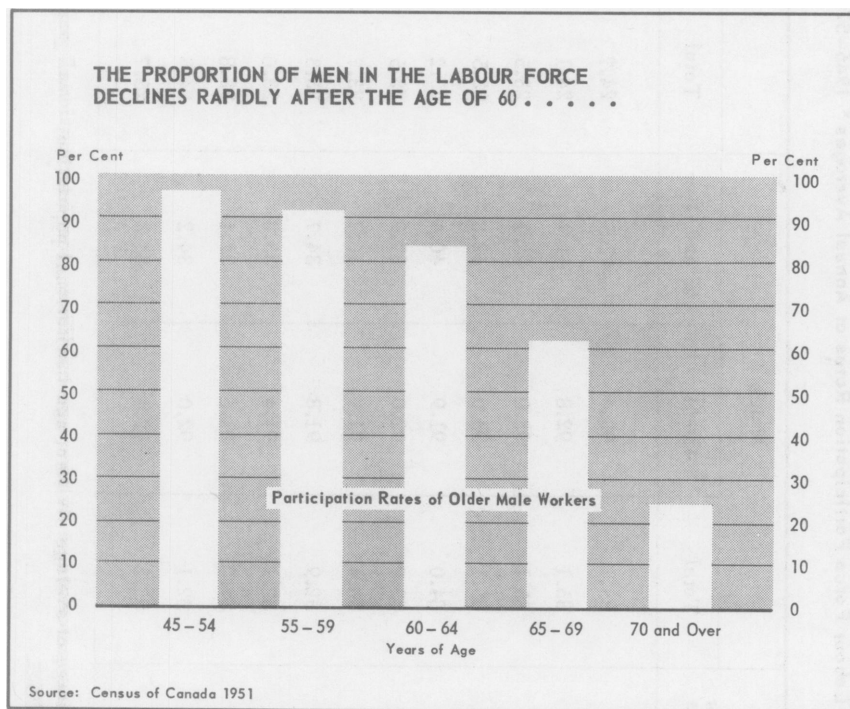
Table 7 - Persons "Permanently Unable to Work" plus "Inmates of Institutions" as a Percentage of Persons Not in the Labour Force 1951 by Age and Sex

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
35-44	67.7	1.6 ¹
45-54	59.0	2.0
55-59	46.0	3.0
60-64	34.0	4.0
65-69	24.0	6.0
70 and over	24.0	16.0

¹ The vast majority of women out of the labour force are classified as keeping house.

Labour Force Participation

The percentage of a particular age-sex group of the population in the labour force * provides a measure for comparing the intensity of economic activity at different age levels of the population, and for tracing changes in intensity through time. The participation rates shown in Table 8 ** indicate that the probability that a person will be economically active decreases as he reaches the older age groups. This probability declines gradually for women with increasing age, and rather rapidly for men after the age of 60.



The 1951 Census provides some further detail concerning the ages at which reductions in labour force activity become evident. In June of 1951 the participation rate for males aged 45 to 64 was 92.5 per cent, while for males aged 65 and over it was 40.1 per cent. ***

* Called the participation rate of that group.

** The participation rates in Table 8 are given at annual averages; that is, the average labour force for the year is given as a percentage of the average civilian, non-institutional population for the year, for each sex-age group.

*** These participation rates are from the Census, and differ slightly in their manner of compilation from the rates in Table 8, which are from the Labour Force Survey.

Table 8 - Labour Force Participation Rates at Annual Averages * 1946-57

Year	14 and Over Both Sexes	Males			Females		
		Total	45-64	65 and Over	Total	45-64	65 and Over
1946	55.0	85.1	98.4	47.5	24.7	15.3	5.0
1947	54.9	85.1	92.8	44.9	24.1	15.5	5.7
1948	54.6	85.1	93.0	44.0	23.5	16.2	5.1
1949	54.5	85.1	93.0	42.8	23.5	15.4	4.7
1950	53.7	84.0	91.9	40.4	23.2	16.4	4.2
1951	53.7	83.9	92.0	37.9	23.5	17.1	4.1
1952	53.4	83.4	91.9	36.7	23.7	17.5	3.9
1953	53.1	82.9	91.8	34.7	23.3	17.2	3.6
1954	52.7	82.1	91.4	33.3	23.6	18.1	3.7
1955	52.8	82.0	91.6	32.4	23.8	19.0	4.0
1956	53.3	82.1	92.0	34.2	24.8	20.8	4.5
1957	53.7	82.2	92.4	34.3	25.7	22.7	5.0

* Average civilian labour force as percentage of average civilian, non-institutional population.

Source: *Labour Force Survey, DBS.*

Broken down into smaller age groups, the rates appear as follows:

Table 9 – Participation Rates for Older Males, June, 1951

<u>Age</u>	<u>Rate</u>
45–64	92.5
45–64	96.3
55–59	91.5
60–64	83.3
65 and Over	40.1
65–69	61.7
70 and Over	24.5

The data from the same Census (**Table 9**) indicate that maximum participation for men occurs among those between the ages of 25 and 44; rates for the younger age groups were: males aged 25–34: 98.0 per cent and males aged 35–44: 98.3 per cent. For women maximum participation occurs between the ages of 20 and 25.

Table 8 shows a trend towards declining participation for the population as a whole over the decade following the end of World War II; this resulted from declines in male participation that were not quite offset by increased participation of females. During the period 1954–57 participation of males levelled off at about 82 per cent while increases in female participation brought the participation rate for the whole population to somewhat higher levels.

During the 1946–1957 period, the proportion of the male population aged 65 and over who were in the labour force declined steadily until 1955, returning to somewhat higher levels in 1956 and 1957. During 1958 these rates showed signs of weakening again. Females aged 65 and over have followed a trend somewhat similar to that of males of the same age group, but at much lower levels of participation, while females aged 45 to 64 have shown small but steady annual gains in participation throughout the whole 1946–57 period.

While the male population aged 65 and over has grown over the 1946–57 period, the number of men of this age in the labour force has remained virtually constant; this has resulted in the decline in participation rates already referred to. The remarkable stability of the size of this group in the labour force, which is shown in **Table 10**, is difficult to explain. It is probably the result of a number of factors influencing the labour market behaviour of older male workers, and also of the change in demand for their services.

**Table 10 – Males Aged 65 and Over in the Labour Force
1946–57, at Annual Averages, in Thousands**

1946	208	1952	201
1947	203	1953	195
1948	208	1954	191
1949	212	1955	189
1950	209	1956	202
1951	201	1957	205

Regional Labour Force Participation

There are fairly wide differences in the extent to which older persons participate in the labour force of the various regions of Canada. These differences, which are shown for 1951 and for 1931 in Tables 11 and 12, reflect differences in the type of workers required by the various industries that are basic to the economies of the regions.*

In 1951 Ontario had the highest participation rates of all the regions for men aged 65 and over, and British Columbia had by far the lowest. The rate for Ontario reflects the rapid industrial growth of the province during the postwar period, and the persistent labour shortages that have accompanied this growth. These shortages have meant that older persons willing and able to work have had a better chance of employment in Ontario than in other regions. The number of people who re-settle in British Columbia after retirement (in other provinces) may partly account for the province's low participation rates for males aged 45 and over; the importance of the mining and forestry industries in the economy of the province (along with the relative unimportance of farming) is probably another factor tending to keep the B.C. labour force young.

In 1931 the Maritime and Prairie provinces showed the highest participation rates for males aged 65 and over. This was a year of severe depression and so the competitive position of older workers in the labour market was particularly poor. The importance of own-account farming in the economies of these regions explains to a large extent why their older male residents showed a relatively high level of labour force participation in 1931.

* Age and sex composition may be another factor. For example, given the demand, a shortage of younger workers is likely to increase opportunities for older workers.

Table 11 - Labour Force Participation Rates by Age,
Sex, and Region, 1951

Age Group	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	British Columbia
Males					
14-19	46.9	56.1	50.5	48.3	46.3
20-24	93.8	92.6	94.8	95.8	94.7
25-44	97.0	97.7	98.5	98.6	98.2
45-64	91.1	92.5	93.9	93.1	88.3
65 and over	41.1	37.9	44.8	40.1	31.0
Females					
14-19	27.0	35.0	37.2	26.1	30.0
20-24	40.7	46.9	51.7	46.3	51.3
25-44	18.6	22.6	26.9	20.3	25.4
45-64	15.5	17.3	21.1	15.1	18.0
65 and over	5.0	6.2	5.8	4.3	4.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1951.

The degree of participation of older women in the various regions tends to parallel that of women of all ages. In 1951, Quebec, with its textile and clothing industries, and Ontario, with its large market for service workers, employed the largest proportion of women in all age groups.

**Table 12 – Labour Force Participation Rates by Age,
Sex, and Region, 1931**

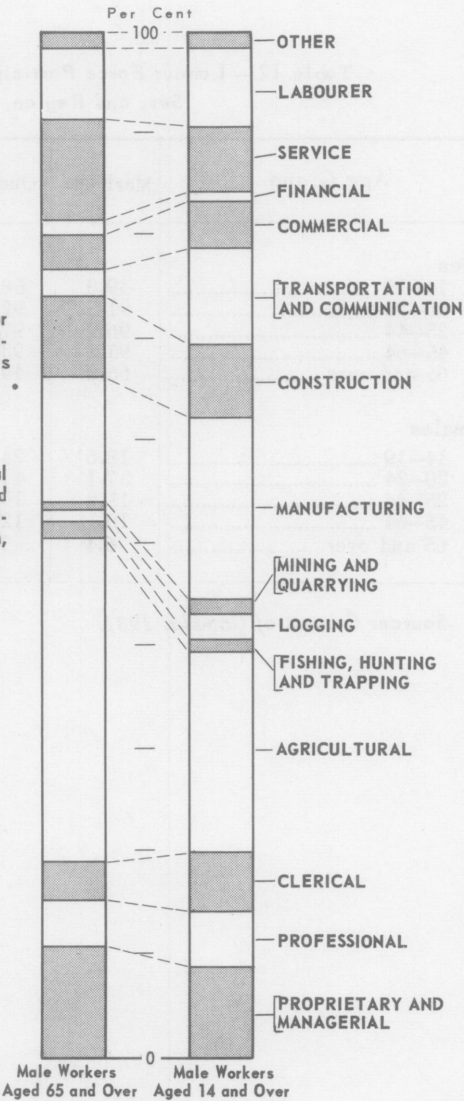
Age Group	Maritime	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	British Columbia
Males					
14–19	49.8	58.0	47.8	50.8	43.1
20–24	91.5	92.1	92.0	94.2	93.7
25–44	96.9	97.5	97.7	98.3	98.1
45–64	95.2	93.0	94.1	96.0	94.1
65 and over	65.8	49.7	54.1	59.6	56.3
Females					
14–19	18.6	24.7	24.4	15.2	22.7
20–24	37.1	41.4	47.2	37.6	47.0
25–44	15.2	19.6	19.4	13.4	17.3
45–64	10.1	12.1	11.7	9.9	10.7
65 and over	6.4	7.2	5.6	6.2	5.3

Source: *Census of Canada, 1931.*

OCCUPATIONS OF OLDER MEN IN 1951

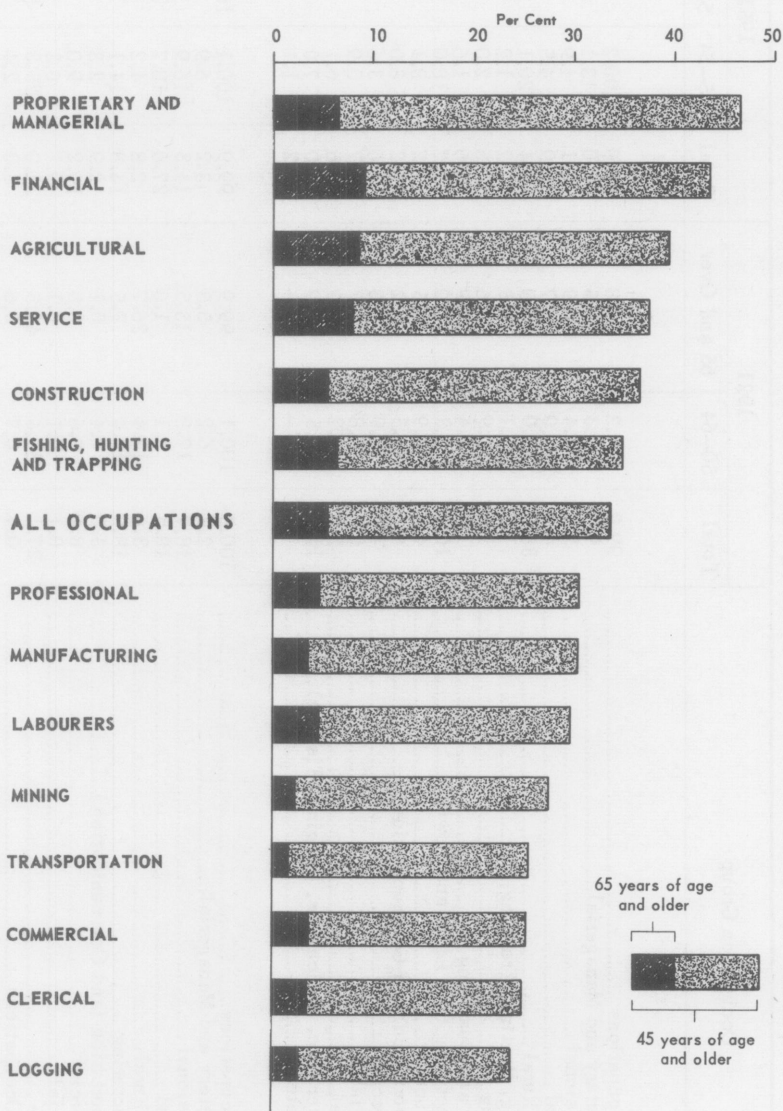
Largest proportions of the male labour force aged 65 and over were in Agriculture, Manufacturing, Proprietors and Managerial, and Service

Greatest contrasts between the total labour force and those aged 65 and over were in the proportions in Agriculture, Manufacturing, Transportation, and Service



Source: Census of Canada 1951

PERCENTAGE OF MALE WORKERS OF GIVEN AGE AND OLDER
IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS 1951



Source: Census of Canada, 1951.

Table 13 - Percentage Distribution of Labour Force for Various Ages by Occupation, 1921 and 1951

Occupation Group	1921		1951			
	Total	50-64	65 and Over	Total	45-54	55-64
MALES						
All Occupations	99.9	100.2	99.8	99.9	100.2	99.9
Proprietary and Managerial	9.3	13.3	11.5	9.0	13.1	12.4
Professional	2.9	3.4	2.9	5.1	4.9	4.4
Clerical	4.7	3.0	2.7	5.9	4.5	4.6
Agricultural	38.2	41.0	50.3	19.4	20.1	23.1
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3
Logging	1.3	0.9	0.6	2.5	2.0	1.6
Mining and Quarrying	1.8	1.4	0.9	1.6	1.6	1.1
Manufacturing (and Light and Power)	10.3	9.3	7.0	17.7	18.0	15.1
Construction	4.5	4.9	4.5	7.2	8.1	7.8
Transportation (and Communication)	6.1	4.5	2.2	9.2	8.0	7.6
Commercial	4.3	2.9	1.8	4.6	3.6	3.4
Financial	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.0
Service	3.6	3.2	3.5	6.6	6.1	8.0
Labourer (exc. Agriculture, Logging, Fishing)	11.2	10.5	9.9	8.0	7.0	7.4
Not Stated	-	-	-	1.2	1.1	1.1
FEMALES						
All Occupations	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0
Proprietary and Managerial	2.2	6.2	5.5	3.2	6.9	7.8
Professional	18.7	17.8	15.5	14.3	16.9	15.9
Clerical	18.5	3.1	1.6	27.6	18.7	13.4
Agricultural	3.6	17.4	26.7	2.8	4.2	5.3
Manufacturing	18.0	12.4	7.5	14.8	14.1	12.4
Transportation (and Communication)	3.0	0.4	0.1	2.9	2.3	1.3
Commercial	8.4	2.6	0.8	10.2	9.0	7.1
Financial	0.1	0.1	0.1	9.1	0.3	0.3
Service	27.1	39.4	41.5	21.0	25.3	34.2
Other Occupations	0.4	0.7	0.6	3.0	2.4	2.3

Source: Census of Canada 1921 and 1951.

Chapter 3 – THE OCCUPATIONS OF OLDER WORKERS

The age at which workers begin to find employers reluctant to hire them and the age at which they may, for one reason or another, be unable to continue working at their accustomed jobs or, if laid off find work in another place, * tend to vary from occupation to occupation, and between different levels of skill. The variations in retirement policy applying to different occupations and the variations in the physical demands of different types of employment may be expected to show up in the way in which older workers are distributed through the various occupations. Of course, other factors create divergences in occupational distribution as between the young and the old: one of the most important of these is the rate at which younger workers are taken into one occupation as against another. With these factors in mind, we undertake to examine the proportions of young and old workers in each occupational group in the expectation of learning something more about the employment problems of the older worker.

In this chapter the occupations of older workers will be looked at in two ways: first, in terms of the occupational distribution of older workers (that is, what proportion of all workers of a given age are working in each occupational group), and second, in terms of the concentration of older workers within each occupational group (i.e., percentage of all the workers in a particular occupation who are of a given age or older). An "index of concentration" will be used to show the extent to which the percentages of older workers in a particular occupation is above or below average for the whole labour force. This index is the percentage of workers in a given age group for a particular occupation divided by the percentage of the whole labour force that consists of workers of the same age group. Thus, if the percentage of workers of an older age range in a particular occupation is average for the labour force as a whole, the index of concentration for that occupation will be 100, if the percentage in the occupation is double that for the whole labour force the index would be 200, while if it were half that of the whole labour force the index would be 50. These same comparisons are presented visually in **Charts 7 and 10**.

Table 13 shows that in 1951 the occupations employing the largest numbers of males aged 65 and over were agricultural, manufacturing, proprietary and managerial, and service occupations. Although a large proportion of males aged 65 and over were employed in manufacturing, a substantially greater proportion of the younger age groups worked in these occupations. In agricultural, proprietary and managerial, and service occupations, the proportion of older workers was higher than the proportion of all workers. A comparison of **Table 13** with the indices of concentration given in **Table 14** shows that the occupations with the highest concentrations in the older age groups are not necessarily the

* Mobility of older workers is much lower than for the young, and this factor limits their job opportunities significantly.

Table 14 - Index of Concentration for Age by Occupation, Males, 1921 and 1951

Occupation Group	1921		1951	
	50 and Over	65 and Over	45 and Over	65 and Over
Proprietary and Managerial	138	123	139	122
Professional	112	100	91	86
Clerical	63	58	75	65
Agricultural	113	132	118	163
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping.....	107	121	104	120
Logging	62	46	72	50
Mining and Quarrying	72	49	82	41
Manufacturing and Light and Power	83	68	91	68
Construction	110	100	109	106
Transportation and Communication	64	36	76	29
Commercial	61	43	76	74
Financial	130	121	131	179
Service	89	96	112	154
Labourers	92	88	89	89
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS				
Retail Merchants.....	134	118	133	138
Builders and Contractors.....	174	191	133	136
Engineers	81	62	78	62
Physicians and Surgeons.....	146	116	125	171
Teachers	73	45	77	33
Janitors and Sextons	239	317	223	439

Source: Census of Canada 1921 and 1951.

largest employers of older workers. The financial occupations (insurance, real estate, and stock and bond brokers) had the oldest work force of any major occupational group but this industry is a relatively small employer of labour.*

The proprietary and managerial group showed a higher than average proportion of older workers, but more so for the over-45s than for the over-65s. Managerial status is usually achieved as the culmination of a career and therefore it is reasonable to expect proprietors and managers to be older than the average for their age groups. At the same time there is a tendency for officials of corporations, governments, and institutions to retire at least by the age of seventy, which probably accounts for the drop in concentration of the group aged 65 and over (for example, in 1951, from 139 to 122 for males).

The service occupations, which include hotel and restaurant workers, janitors, watchmen, laundry workers, and similar occupations were found to have a high concentration of older workers in 1951. Since this is one of the largest industries, it is the largest employer of older workers. These are typically low-paid jobs, so that, in times of "full-employment" the employer of service workers has to take whoever is available and, since they are usually low-prestige jobs as well, the applicants for work tend to be people who either are having difficulty getting placed elsewhere or are encouraged to re-enter the labour force from one of the "out of the labour force" categories.

Agriculture showed a high concentration of older workers for reasons already discussed (the own-account character of most occupations in agriculture). An additional factor is the large amount of capital required for many types of farming, which makes it difficult for young workers to enter the field. The rigours of occupations in mining, logging, and transportation have produced an extremely low concentration of older workers in these, especially of workers aged 65 and over.

The occupations that show high concentration of older male workers have certain features that differentiate them from occupations of low concentration:

(a) **Light work.** With the possible exception of construction occupations, none of the occupations with higher than average concentrations of older workers involve heavy physical labour.

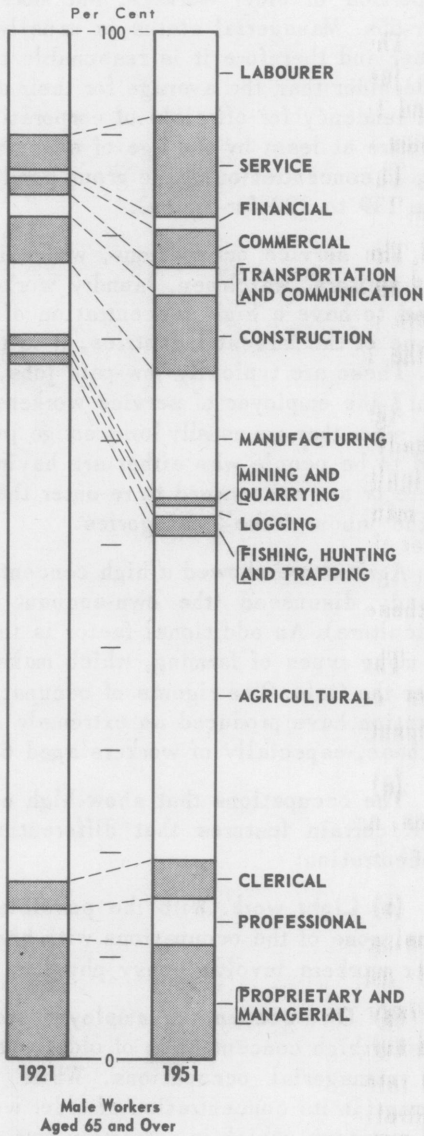
(b) **Own-account or employer status.** This is an important factor causing high concentration of older workers in financial and in proprietary and managerial occupations. While the professional group was below average in its concentration of older workers, the sub-group of physicians and surgeons, which is extremely own-account in character and into which the rate of entry of young practitioners is very low, showed a high concentration of older workers. (See "Selected Occupations" at the bottom of Table 14). Employment in small establishments is probably also associated with high concentration of older workers: this might be true for construction and for some occupations in the financial sector.

* Only 0.7 per cent of all males 45 years of age and over in 1951 and 0.1 per cent of females.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONS OF OLDER MEN FROM 1921 TO 1951

There has been some decline since 1921 in the proportion of older men in Agriculture

Over the same period there has been a marked increase in the proportion in Service occupations



Source: Census of Canada 1921 and 1951

(c) **Relatively low wages.** This would seem to be an important explanation for the high concentrations of older workers in many service occupations and in those types of manufacturing occupations in which concentrations of older workers are to be found. To the economist low wages and low productivity go hand in hand, but this assumes some degree of worker mobility. Where there is a group of workers with no place else to go, they will be available to low wage paying employers whatever their productivity as workers. Conversely, low wage levels provide the dubious advantage of securing the occupation for the most productive workers who are willing to work for low wages. Labourers receive relatively low wages, but the arduous nature of much of this work probably tends to keep down the concentration of older workers in this occupational group.

(d) **Requirements involving relatively little education or advanced training.** Older people have, on average, substantially less formal education than the younger workers. There is a growing tendency on the part of larger organizations to tie job qualifications to formal education, with high school graduation a minimum for most white-collar jobs. This is probably an important reason for the low proportion of older men in jobs in the clerical and commercial groups.

Changes in Occupations of Males between 1921 and 1951

In 1921 agricultural production represented a considerably larger fraction of total Canadian output than in 1951. Correspondingly, just over half the total male labour force aged 65 and over was in agriculture in 1921 as compared to less than a third in 1951, despite the fact that male agricultural workers were older, on average, in 1951 than in 1921. Labouring occupations had about the same concentration of older male workers in 1921 as in 1951 but, as Canadian industry was much less mechanized in 1921, labourers made up a larger proportion of the male labour force both young and old in 1921.

Apart from agricultural occupations, the most significant difference between the older labour force of 1921 and 1951 was in the service occupations. In 1921 the service occupations had a somewhat lower than average concentration of older workers, and only 3.5 per cent of the male labour force aged 65 and over had service jobs; in 1951 the service occupations showed a considerably higher than average concentration of older workers, and 10.2 per cent of the labour force aged 65 and over did work of this kind. The high immigration of the first two decades of the century, together with the existence of greater alternative opportunities for older workers in own-account activities provides a partial explanation for the relatively low concentration of older male workers in the service occupations in 1921. There are indications that since World War II there has been some movement of younger immigrant workers into some of the service occupations.

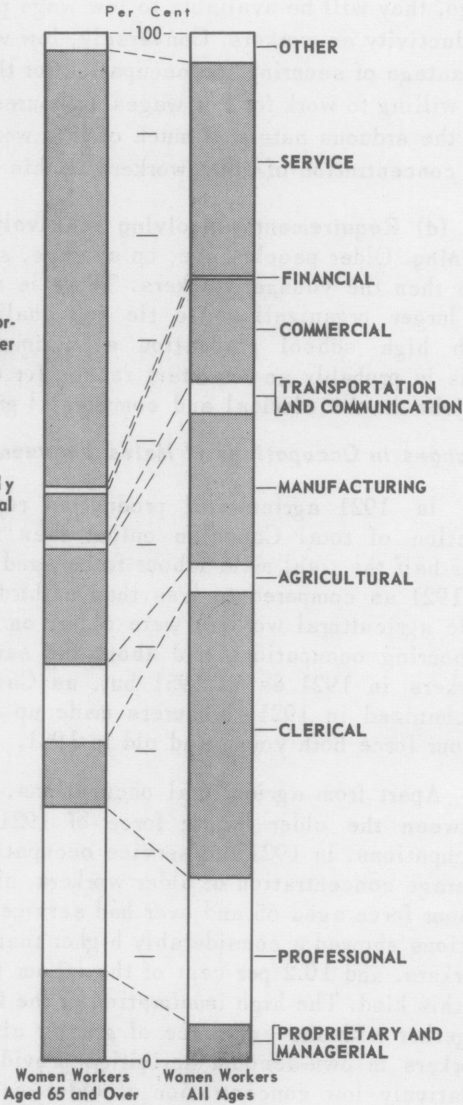
Occupations of Older Women

In 1951 the largest occupational groups for women aged 65 and over were service, professional, manufacturing, and proprietary and managerial occupations. Compared with the female labour force as a whole, these

OCCUPATIONS OF OLDER WOMEN IN 1951

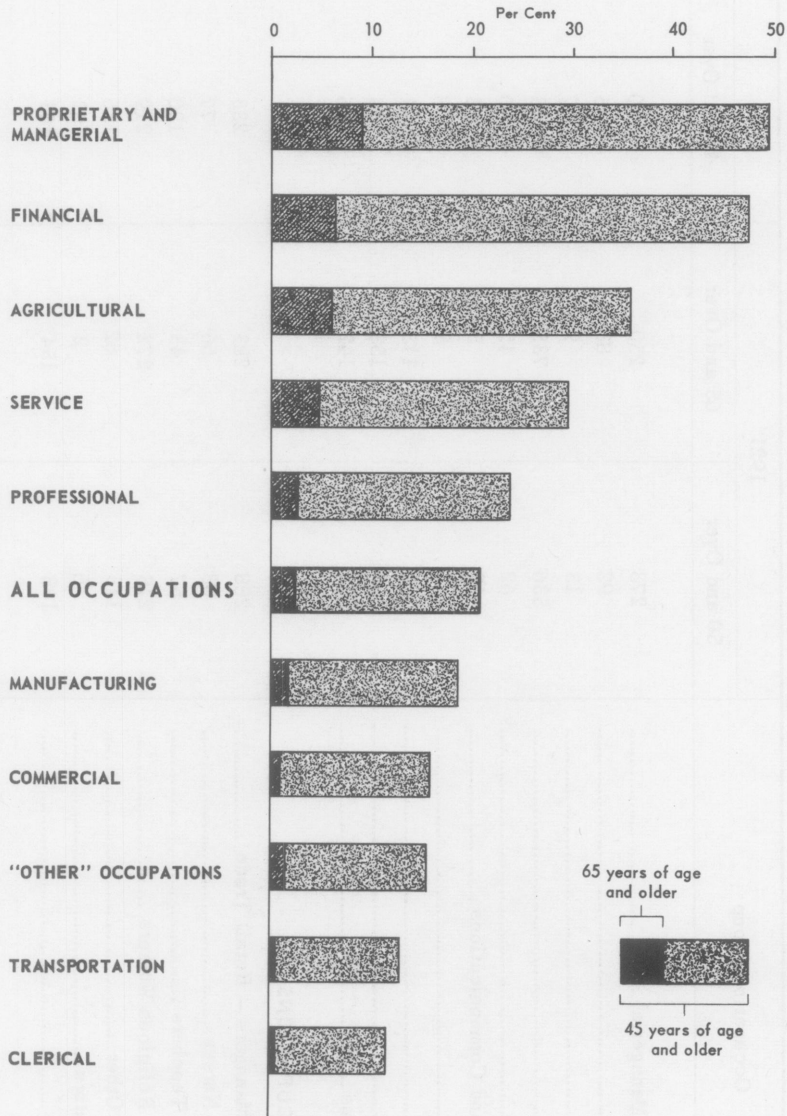
In 1951 a considerable greater proportion of older women than younger women were in Service occupations

. while a considerably smaller proportion were in Clerical occupations



Source: Census of Canada 1951

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE WORKERS OF GIVEN AGE AND OLDER
IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS 1951



Source: Census of Canada, 1951.

Table 15 - Index of Concentration for Age by Occupation, Females, 1921 and 1951

Occupation Group	1921		1951	
	50 and Over	65 and Over	45 and Over	65 and Over
Proprietary and Managerial.....	273	250	230	271
Professional	92	83	115	112
Clerical	15	9	57	23
Agricultural.....	536	733	173	258
Manufacturing	62	42	90	79
Transportation and Communications	10	5	63	23
Commercial	26	9	78	44
Financial	180	115	241	396
Service	147	153	143	204
Other Occupations	156	142	76	60
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS				
Proprietors and Managers - Retail Trade	288	283	233	290
Professionals - Nurses	88	66	77	65
Teachers	57	43	120	61
Religious Workers	215	272	219	550
Other.....	113	62	126	141
Telephone Operators	5	2	62	20
Personal Service.....	148	154	143	205

Source: Census of Canada 1921 and 1951.

older women were much more involved in service occupations, and much less in clerical, commercial, and communications occupations. As was also the case for men, the financial, proprietary and managerial, agricultural, and service occupations had higher than average concentrations of older women workers, while clerical occupations and transportation, including communications which, in this case, means chiefly employees of telephone companies, had the lowest concentrations. The professional group had a somewhat higher than average concentration of older women workers, but, as may be seen from an examination of the "selected occupations" at the bottom of Table 15, this arises largely from the inclusion of religious workers in the professional group. Manufacturing would also be somewhat lower in concentration of older female workers except for the inclusion of own-account seamstresses and dressmakers in the group.

The occupations that employ older women fall within the group in which women of all ages tend to be employed, and also have some of the following characteristics:

(1) **Low wages.** Women in service occupations are for the most part at the bottom of the female wage scale; and the female wages are on the average lower than those of male workers. (The low prestige of domestic service may be as important as low-wage levels in determining the age composition of this occupation.) In agricultural occupations women are almost entirely unpaid workers on family farms.

(2) **Own-account status or employment by a small concern.** This is the pattern for the service occupations, for financial occupations, and for sub-groups in manufacturing in which older women are most numerous. The retirement policies of large employing organizations may partly account for the low concentration of older female workers in teaching* and nursing.

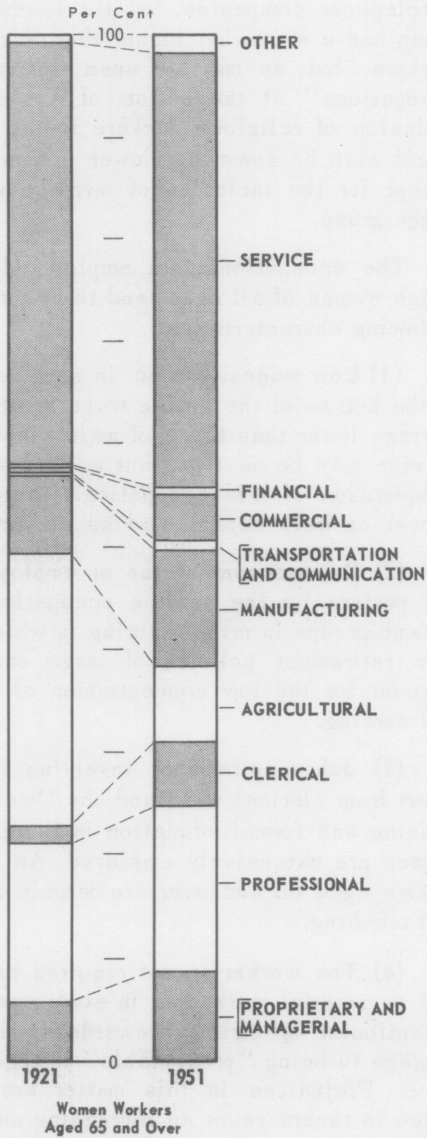
(3) **Job requirements involving little training or formal education.** Apart from clerical work and the "women's" professions, a minimum of training and formal education is required in those occupations in which women are extensively employed. As may be seen in Tables 13 and 15, women aged 65 and over are largely absent from clerical work, nursing and teaching.

(4) **The worker is not required to deal with the "public".** In sales and secretarial work (and in some special occupations such as those of receptionist or airline stewardess) there is a definite competitive advantage to being "presentable" in the sense of having a youthful appearance. Prejudices in this matter are apparently weakening somewhat, since in recent years an increasing number of women over 45 have been finding employment in sales work for department stores. However, given adequate supplies of younger females, this preference does tend to keep down the average age of employees in these occupations.

*There is a fairly high concentration of female teachers aged 54 and over, but a low concentration of those aged 65 and over. This would appear to result from retirement age policies.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONS OF OLDER WOMEN FROM 1921 TO 1951

The most striking change between 1921 and 1951 was the decrease in the proportion of older women working in Agriculture



Source: Census of Canada 1921 and 1951

Changes in Older Women's Occupations Between 1921 and 1951

In 1921 there was a considerably larger proportion of older women than in 1951 listed as employed in agricultural occupations, and the concentration of older female workers in agriculture was also much higher. This difference may be in part a statistical phenomenon, due to different criteria of employment used in 1921 and 1951, but there is also another probable explanation. In 1921 not many married women (apart from those in extreme low-income families) participated in the labour market except as unpaid family workers. Thus the labour force included unmarried women (mostly young), married women from low-income families working in service and manufacturing occupations, wives of farmers and small businessmen (mostly older women), and a sprinkling of other married women of various ages. Because on the average married women were older than single women, and because farmers' wives formed a large proportion of married women in the labour force, they also formed a substantial proportion of the older women in the labour force, and agricultural occupations had higher than average concentrations of older women workers.

The shift in the proportion of older women workers in agriculture so dominates the changes in age distribution between 1921 and 1951 that it is difficult to discover very significant changes in other occupational areas. The proportion of the older female labour force in clerical and manufacturing activities increased over the 1921-51 period, but the concentrations of older workers in these occupations increased only slightly.

Industrial Distribution and Concentration of Older Workers

Because the industrial distributions and concentrations show about the same patterns as do the occupations, the data are not discussed in detail, and are given in the Appendix rather than in the text (Appendix, Tables A, B, C.) The figures given are for 1931 and 1951, and caution must be exercised in making comparisons of the two years because of the extremely low demand for labour that prevailed in 1931. In 1951 the industries that employed the greater part of the older male labour force were agriculture, manufacturing, service, and trade. Industries with high concentrations of older male workers were agriculture, finance, insurance and real estate, service, and fishing, hunting and trapping.

The great majority of older women workers were employed in the service industries, with fairly substantial proportions also in manufacturing and trade. Concentrations of older women workers were highest in the agricultural and service industries. A few industries within manufacturing showed fairly high concentrations of older workers: the leather products industry indicated a rather high concentration of older men (due largely to the inclusion of shoe repairs in this industry) and clothing manufacture had fairly high concentrations of both men and women - though in the case of women, seamstresses and dressmakers increased the concentration a good deal.

In general, industries with a high own-account component (agriculture, hunting, fishing and trapping, finance, insurance and real estate) and

industries with a need to keep wages low because of the high labour content of output (clothing manufacture, personal service) tended to have high concentrations of older workers in 1951. Low-wage industries probably tend to show their highest concentration of older workers in time of labour shortages. Because of the frequently observed difficulty of men over 40 in becoming re-established after losing a job, it is possible that the layoffs which occur from time to time in many manufacturing industries may account in part for the low concentration of older male workers in manufacturing. Other factors that play a part in keeping down the average age of workers in manufacturing would be technological change, and employer preference for younger workers in occupations that involve high speed operations. An opposing tendency to these factors would be seniority provisions which tend to favour older workers in time of layoffs.

Chapter 4 – UNEMPLOYMENT OF OLDER WORKERS

The term "unemployment" can be interpreted in a number of ways. Two measures of unemployment that are useful in labour market analysis are (1) the number of people who are available for work, and (2) the number of people who are actively seeking work. There are a number of reasons why some people may be available for, but not actively seeking work: for example, in a small labour market, people may be aware that there are no vacancies; where jobs are in short supply, some workers may feel that the applications of others will be given priority and so do not actively seek work; an available person may have particular requirements (as to type of job or remuneration) that tend to reduce his or her work-seeking activities; the receipt of welfare or other payments may be contingent on the worker's availability for work, which, in the case of Canadian Unemployment Insurance benefits, is established when the claimant registers with the National Employment Service. In addition, the stigma sometimes attached to unemployment may lead some available workers to take refuge in the respectable statuses of the retired or the housewife (some of these may not even admit to having sought work).

There are a number of reasons why older persons who are out of jobs may be less likely than other persons to actively seek work, even though some may be available for work, given the right opportunities.

As long as there is little opportunity for work they may consider themselves as retired, even when some demand for labour exists they may feel that younger workers will be preferred, or they may be unemployable in the occupations that they followed most of their lives, and unwilling to work at anything else. Most persons laid off from a firm for indefinite periods will seek employment elsewhere, but some, especially older persons, may temporarily retire waiting and hoping to be recalled.

Table 16 – Persons Without Jobs and Seeking Work (as Measured by the Labour Force Survey) Shown as Percentages of the Labour Force, by Sex and for Selected Ages

	Total	Males	Males 45–64	Males 65 +	Females	Females 45–64
1953 February	3.4	3.9	2.7	2.7	1.8	0.5
August	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	0.5
1954 February	6.0	6.9	5.0	5.0	2.8	2.2
August	3.1	3.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	0.9
1955 February	7.0	8.0	6.8	6.8	3.5	2.6
August	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.2
1956 February	5.6	6.5	5.2	5.3	2.7	2.0
August	1.7	1.8	1.5	0.9	1.6	0.7
1957 February	5.7	6.8	5.4	5.8	2.2	1.3
August	2.8	3.1	2.4	2.2	2.0	1.3

Source: DBS Labour Force Survey.

Table 17 - Registrations at NES Offices as Percentage of Labour Force,
by Sex and Age-Group, Quarterly 1953-57

	Males					Females					All Ages Both Sexes	
	Total	Under 20	20-44	45-64	Over 65	Total	Under 20	20-44	45-64	Over 65		
1953	1st Quarter	7.7	10.1	7.3	6.8	15.8	6.4	5.9	6.7	6.3	7.1	7.4
	2nd Quarter	5.8	7.1	5.6	4.9	10.7	4.8	4.1	5.1	4.5	6.8	5.6
	3rd Quarter	2.6	3.1	2.8	2.1	7.3	4.3	4.4	4.5	3.8	5.2	2.9
	4th Quarter	2.7	4.6	3.3	2.8	8.2	5.1	4.7	5.3	4.6	7.0	3.8
1954	1st Quarter	10.8	13.9	10.8	8.8	17.8	8.7	7.9	9.1	7.9	9.0	10.3
	2nd Quarter	9.0	10.2	9.4	7.0	13.8	7.3	6.4	7.6	6.8	7.6	8.6
	3rd Quarter	4.2	4.6	4.1	3.4	9.0	6.2	5.6	6.6	5.9	7.1	4.6
	4th Quarter	4.4	5.3	4.3	3.7	10.0	6.3	5.2	6.9	5.4	6.1	4.9
1955	1st Quarter	11.5	15.2	11.5	9.7	19.1	9.8	8.4	10.4	9.0	10.0	11.1
	2nd Quarter	9.2	11.1	9.3	7.4	15.5	9.0	6.5	8.6	7.1	9.5	8.9
	3rd Quarter	3.0	3.7	2.6	2.5	8.7	5.6	5.1	6.0	4.8	10.0	3.6
	4th Quarter	3.2	4.0	2.9	2.7	9.5	5.4	4.1	5.9	4.7	6.3	3.7
1956	1st Quarter	9.4	13.1	8.9	8.2	17.5	8.5	7.2	9.0	7.8	9.6	9.1
	2nd Quarter	7.2	9.9	7.0	5.9	13.1	6.8	5.8	7.4	6.0	9.6	7.1
	3rd Quarter	2.3	3.0	2.0	1.8	6.9	5.1	4.7	5.5	4.3	5.6	3.0
	4th Quarter	2.5	3.4	2.2	2.1	7.4	4.7	3.8	5.2	3.7	4.5	3.0
1957	1st Quarter	10.3	14.6	10.0	8.8	17.5	8.4	7.4	9.1	7.0	9.2	9.9
	2nd Quarter	8.5	11.8	8.4	6.9	13.7	6.8	5.8	7.6	5.6	6.1	8.1
	3rd Quarter	3.7	4.8	3.5	2.8	7.2	5.9	5.5	6.6	4.5	6.5	4.2
	4th Quarter	4.8	7.0	4.8	3.8	9.2	5.9	5.5	6.5	4.5	5.9	5.1

Sources: Registrations from *UIC Publication No. 8004 (Preliminary)*
Labour Force from *DBS Labour Force Survey*.

The Labour Force Survey provides a measure of persons without jobs who are actively seeking work. When people are being interviewed for the Survey, they are asked what they or members of their household did mostly during the survey week. When the response is something other than that the person in question worked or looked for work, the enumerator tries to determine whether or not the person has a job and, if not, whether he or she is permanently unable to work, kept house during the survey week, went to school, was retired or voluntarily idle, or was out of the labour force for some other reason. There is probably some tendency for an older man not working to say that he is retired (or for someone else to make that statement for him) even where some effort may have been made to find employment, such as registering with the National Employment Service. The Survey uses the availability concept in one respect: persons who did not look for work because they believed that no work was available are listed as seeking work. This last category of persons is probably a difficult one for which to get accurate responses.

The statistics of the number of persons registered with the National Employment Service provides a measure of available manpower not at work. A large proportion of those registered with local offices of the Service receive Unemployment Insurance benefits, and are therefore required by law to be available for work. Most of these will actively seek work; the remainder, largely made up of some seasonal workers, some women and older workers, will assume a more passive attitude towards finding employment. This is one of the reasons why the total number of persons registered at NES offices is higher than the Labour Force Survey estimate of persons without jobs and seeking work; and the discrepancy is usually greater on this account for older men and women, who may, in some instances, be more-or-less retired, although registered for work.

The contrast between the two series, as may be seen by comparing Tables 16 and 17, is particularly apparent for males aged 65 and over. In the Labour Force Survey data, the percentage of the male labour force aged 65 and over who are without jobs and seeking work is consistently lower than the percentage of all male labour force members without jobs and seeking work. On the other hand, when registrations at National Employment Service offices are expressed as percentages of the labour force for the various age groups (Table 17), males aged 65 and over show higher percentages than any other group. The proportions of males aged 45 to 64 in the labour force who are without jobs and seeking work (as measured by the Labour Force Survey) and who are registered at NES offices, both tend to be lower than the same proportions for the total male labour force, and are lower in about the same degree.* Thus, while more male workers aged 45 to 64 register than actively seek work, comparison of the two series does suggest that the vast majority of workers in this age group are both available for work and are "seeking work", in contrast to the 65 and over group.

*The proportion of older workers unemployed (either series) falls in recessions and rises in periods of prosperity.

Table 17 also indicates that women aged 65 and over tend to have slightly higher unemployment rates (in terms of availability) than women in general. Since there are only a relatively small number of women aged 65 and over in the labour force, the Labour Force Survey cannot supply an estimate of the numbers or proportions actively seeking employment, because of problems of sampling variability. Women aged 45 to 64 tend to have the lowest incidence of unemployment of all the age-sex groups, by either measure of unemployment.

Chapter 5 – THE INCOME POSITION OF OLDER PEOPLE

It is well known that the incomes of people aged 65 and over tend on the average to be lower than the incomes of the rest of the adult population; this is mainly, but not entirely, due to the fact that fewer of the older group work for a living. The occupational distributions shown in Chapter 3 suggest a certain amount of clustering of the older labour force in the lower paid occupations. Tables 18, 19, and 20 show the extent of differences in income level for the different age groups.* Table 18 shows the distribution of incomes for individuals. It is seen that median income** was highest for men aged 30–39 and for women aged 20–29. Median income for persons aged 65 and over was \$938 for men and \$411 for women in 1954 (including transfer payments and investment income as well as wages and salaries). These median incomes were each 72 per cent below the median income levels of \$3,371 for men aged 30–39 and \$1,465 for women aged 20–29, the highest levels shown in the table.

For those whose major source of income was wages or salaries, the disparity in incomes of young and old was not so great as in the population at large. Table 19 shows that the median incomes of wage earners aged 65 and over of \$2,433 for men and \$1,499 for women were only 29 per cent and 3 per cent below the median income levels of \$3,414 for men aged 30–39 and \$1,548 for women aged 20–29 (which were the highest median incomes). Thus it appears that while older people in general had incomes considerably lower than those of the rest of the population, older people who were able and willing to work enjoyed incomes that were (especially in the case of women) not appreciably different from those of other groups.

The incomes of older people are augmented, to some extent, by the earnings of other members of their families. Table 20, which gives the income distribution of families by age of head, shows that the highest median family incomes were obtained by families with male head aged 40–49; median individual incomes were somewhat lower for males aged 30–39. The family with male head aged 40–49 often has additional working members whose incomes tend to offset the lower median earnings of

*The data are from the DBS annual survey of incomes of non-farm families for 1954. There is a good correspondence between the incomes estimated from the survey and the personal income section of the National Accounts for 1954, except for investment income, which is 38 per cent lower in the survey than in the Accounts. Since interest, dividends, and net rental income may make up a larger proportion of the incomes of older than of younger individuals, these tables must be interpreted with a certain amount of caution. See: *Distribution of Non-Farm Incomes in Canada by Size, 1954*. DBS Reference Paper No. 66.

**For income data the median is a more useful measure of central tendency than the average, which tends to be dominated by the incomes of the highest income groups. The median divides the survey population in half, with 50 per cent receiving higher incomes and the other 50 per cent receiving lower incomes.

Table 18 - Percentage Distribution of Individuals, by Income Groups, and by Age and Sex, 1954

Income Group	All Incomes		19 and Under		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-64		65 and Over	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Percentage														
Under \$500	9.4	35.1	40.0	43.1	5.8	17.7	2.5	24.0	2.8	27.0	5.4	37.5	27.6	60.9
\$500-\$ 999	9.2	18.7	23.0	23.8	7.5	13.0	3.2	16.3	4.2	18.5	7.1	19.2	25.5	23.7
\$1,000-\$1,499	8.0	15.4	14.5	18.2	8.7	20.7	5.0	16.5	5.0	17.0	8.4	14.1	13.0	7.5
\$1,500-\$1,999	8.2	11.4	9.1	10.1	12.3	18.1	6.5	13.1	7.6	13.9	7.5	10.8	6.5	2.9
\$2,000-\$2,499	10.6	9.1	6.9	4.1	14.9	18.2	8.6	13.6	10.3	7.3	12.2	6.1	7.4	2.1
\$2,500-\$2,999	11.6	5.1	4.9	..	13.2	7.5	12.2	9.4	12.8	7.1	14.0	4.9	6.6	1.0
\$3,000-\$3,499	12.6	3.0	1.1	.7	15.7	3.6	16.3	4.6	14.7	5.0	12.6	3.1	4.1	.8
\$3,500-\$3,999	9.3	.8	.5	-	10.1	.4	14.2	.7	11.4	2.3	8.5	1.4	2.3	.5
\$4,000-\$4,499	7.1	.5	-	-	5.0	.3	12.3	1.3	9.3	1.1	6.5	.4	2.1	.1
\$4,500-\$4,999	4.0	.3	-	-	3.2	.3	5.5	.4	5.6	.4	4.6	.3	1.1	.2
\$5,000-\$6,999	6.3	.3	-	-	2.8	.2	9.3	.1	9.7	.2	8.2	1.6	1.7	.1
\$7,000-\$9,999	2.0	.1	-	-	.5	-	2.6	-	3.8	.2	2.2	.3	.9	.2
\$10,000 and Over	1.7	.1	-	-	.3	-	1.8	-	2.8	-	2.8	.3	1.3	.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	100.0	100.0
Average Income	\$ 2,922	1,161	930	776	2,562	1,478	3,580	1,410	3,633	1,325	3,330	1,158	1,676	736
Median Income	\$ 2,696	898	717	645	2,531	1,465	3,371	1,294	3,247	1,130	2,835	826	938	411

Source: *Distribution of Incomes of Families and Unattached Individuals in Canada, 1954. DBS Reference Paper, No. 80.*

.. Percentages too small to be expressed.

family heads. Workers other than the head of the family contribute somewhat to the income of families with male head aged 65 and over; these families have incomes 52 per cent below the highest income level (families with male head aged 40-49). For individual incomes the drop from the highest income level to that earned by males aged 65 and over, as previously mentioned, was 72 per cent. Thus contributions to family income of other family members tend to a small degree to diminish the effects of differences in the distribution of incomes as between young and old. In fact, differences in *per capita* family income between families with male heads aged 40-49 and those with male heads aged 65 and over were probably slight in view of the larger average number of members in the families with the younger heads (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ members for families with male head aged 40-49 as against $2\frac{1}{2}$ members for families with male head aged 65 and over in 1951).

To say that in 1954 persons aged 65 and over had incomes considerably below the national average does not necessarily imply that at any particular time after the age of 65 these people experienced a drastic reduction of their incomes. There have been quite remarkable gains in real personal income during the postwar period which a large proportion of the group aged 65 and over may simply never have shared in. In 1931 male wage earners aged 45 to 54 (who would make up a fairly large proportion of persons aged 65 and over in 1954) earned average incomes of \$1,202. After adjusting for price changes, this would be about \$2,440 in 1954 dollars; this is below the \$2,836 average income of male wage earners aged 65 and over in 1954, but substantially higher than the \$1,676 average income of the total group of males aged 65 and over (workers and non-workers).

In 1941 male wage earners aged 55 to 64 averaged an income of \$1,176 which would be about \$2,140 in 1954 dollars. It appears, therefore, that while, as a group, men aged 65 and over in 1954 experienced some decline in income during the ten or so previous years, this decline was not nearly as great as a comparison with the 1954 incomes of younger people would suggest. Those persons who were working and past the age of 65 in 1954 experienced, on the average, some slight improvement in real income as compared with 1931 and 1941.

To appraise the level of living of older people, more than the current income must be examined. For example, the saving by living in a wholly-owned home does not appear as income in income statistics, yet, in order to obtain an adequate picture of the level of living of a family, one should add at least \$500 to current income where a home is wholly owned. Drawing on savings and dependence on relatives are two other sources of income which could make the personal consumption of older people higher than current income figures suggest.

Home ownership is one of the main factors offsetting the lower incomes of older people. Data from the DBS survey of incomes, assets, and liabilities indicate that in March 1956 over two-thirds of families with heads aged 65 and over owned their homes, and that over 85 per cent of these had the homes fully paid for. In general, the debts of these families were found to be low and their assets were high compared to those of

Table 19 — Percentage Distribution of Individuals whose Major Source of Income is Wages and Salaries,
by Income Groups and by Age and Sex, 1954

Income Group	All Incomes		19 and Under		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-64		65 and Over	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Percentage														
Under \$500	5.2	19.7	38.2	42.0	4.3	13.1	1.3	16.8	1.6	16.2	2.2	17.2	3.0	16.1
\$500- \$999	6.2	17.0	23.5	23.9	7.8	13.3	2.4	16.1	3.1	16.7	5.3	18.7	8.9	25.0
\$1,000-\$1,499	7.0	19.7	15.1	18.7	9.1	21.7	4.5	18.3	4.3	20.2	5.8	18.4	12.4	8.9
\$1,500-\$1,999	8.5	16.1	9.3	10.4	12.3	19.3	6.5	14.1	7.0	17.7	6.2	16.9	13.1	14.3
\$2,000-\$2,499	11.1	13.5	7.1	4.2	14.8	19.7	8.8	15.6	10.2	9.8	11.6	8.7	14.5	21.4
\$2,500-\$2,999	13.2	7.3	5.1	..	13.9	8.0	11.9	11.0	13.5	8.2	16.9	9.0	16.3	1.8
\$3,000-\$3,499	14.9	4.1	1.2	.8	16.7	3.5	17.6	5.1	15.5	6.0	15.0	5.7	10.7	7.1
\$3,500-\$3,999	11.4	1.1	.5	—	10.6	.5	15.8	.9	13.1	2.6	10.4	2.1	6.8	5.3
\$4,000-\$4,499	8.1	.7	—	—	4.7	.3	13.1	1.4	10.2	1.6	7.3	.3	5.3	—
\$4,500-\$4,999	4.7	.3	—	—	3.3	.4	6.0	.5	6.3	.6	5.6	..	2.4	—
\$5,000-\$6,999	6.8	.4	—	—	2.6	.2	9.5	.2	9.7	.2	8.9	2.4	3.3	—
\$7,000-\$9,999	1.8	.1	—	—	.3	—	2.1	—	3.7	.2	2.3	.6	1.5	—
\$10,000 and Over	1.1	—	—	—	.1	—	.5	—	1.8	—	2.5	—	1.8	—
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	100.0	100.0
Average Income	\$ 3,071	1,433	954	791	2,568	1,560	3,488	1,561	3,617	1,566	3,517	1,579	2,836	1,550
Median Income	\$ 2,953	1,337	750	667	2,580	1,548	3,414	1,464	3,329	1,422	3,066	1,384	2,433	1,499

Source: *Distribution of Incomes of Families and Unattached Individuals in Canada, 1954. DBS Reference Paper, No. 80.*

.. Percentages too small to be expressed.

families with younger heads. However, families with heads aged 65 and over whose incomes were less than the median level for this age group did not have enough in the way of those assets (about which information was collected in the survey) to permit any appreciable supplementing of income through drawing on savings. There is no information available as to the extent to which older people may benefit from the income of relatives who do not live with them.

Table 20 - Percentage Distribution of Unattached Individuals and Families, by Income Groups and by Age and Sex of Head, 1954

Income Group	All Individuals and Families	Age of Head				
		29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-64	65 and Over
Percentage						
All Individuals and Families						
Under \$500	5.6	6.3	1.8	2.8	5.7	14.2
\$500- \$999	7.5	7.7	3.0	2.9	5.8	20.7
\$1,000-\$1,499	7.8	9.3	4.5	5.2	7.0	14.4
\$1,500-\$1,999	6.9	8.6	5.3	5.7	5.9	8.6
\$2,000-\$2,499	8.9	12.7	8.8	7.6	8.1	7.6
\$2,500-\$2,999	9.7	10.0	10.6	9.2	9.5	7.8
\$3,000-\$3,499	10.3	12.0	12.3	11.6	8.8	5.2
\$3,500-\$3,999	9.6	10.4	14.4	9.7	7.6	3.9
\$4,500-\$4,999	8.1	7.5	11.9	9.2	6.3	5.0
\$5,000-\$6,999	5.4	5.1	7.2	7.7	5.6	2.9
\$7,000-\$9,999	12.5	8.2	14.3	17.9	16.5	5.0
\$7,000-\$9,999	5.0	1.6	4.2	6.8	8.4	2.7
\$10,000 and Over	2.7	.6	1.7	3.6	4.9	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Income	3,654	2,886	3,892	4,199	4,191	2,480
Median Income	3,174	2,754	3,629	3,755	3,456	1,544

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 20 - Percentage Distribution of Unattached Individuals and Families, by Income Groups and by Age and Sex of Head, 1954 - Continued

Income Group	All Individuals and Families	Age of Head				
		29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-64	65 and Over
Male Head						
Percentage						
Under \$500.....	3.2	3.9	1.0	1.3	3.3	10.1
\$500- \$999.....	5.0	5.5	1.6	2.0	3.5	19.0
\$1,000-\$1,499.....	6.0	6.9	3.7	3.9	5.5	14.6
\$1,500-\$1,999.....	5.9	7.7	4.9	5.2	5.2	8.4
\$2,000-\$2,499.....	8.6	11.6	7.9	7.7	8.0	9.0
\$2,500-\$2,999.....	9.6	10.5	10.7	8.5	9.4	8.5
\$3,000-\$3,499.....	11.1	13.4	13.0	12.2	9.5	5.2
\$3,500-\$3,999.....	10.8	12.6	15.4	10.0	8.7	4.5
\$4,000-\$4,499.....	9.3	9.2	12.5	10.2	7.1	5.6
\$4,500-\$4,999.....	6.7	6.0	7.6	8.4	6.3	3.3
\$5,000-\$6,999.....	14.9	10.0	15.4	19.4	18.2	6.4
\$7,000-\$9,999.....	5.6	2.0	4.6	7.4	9.3	3.0
\$10,000 and Over	3.1	.7	1.8	3.9	6.0	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Income	\$ 3,962	3,207	4,060	4,436	4,617	2,760
Median Income	\$ 3,527	3,145	3,734	3,959	3,821	1,875

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 20 - Percentage Distribution of Unattached Individuals and Families, by Income Groups and by Age and Sex of Head, 1954 - Concluded

Income Group	All Individuals and Families	Age of Head				
		29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-64	65 and Over
Percentage						
Female Head						
Under \$500.....	17.2	16.4	11.3	15.1	16.1	23.9
\$500- \$999	18.4	17.0	19.8	10.8	15.9	25.0
\$1,000-\$1,499.....	15.4	19.7	14.7	15.9	13.4	13.9
\$1,500-\$1,999	10.2	12.7	10.2	10.3	9.0	9.1
\$2,000-\$2,499	10.1	17.3	18.6	7.3	8.3	4.1
\$2,500-\$2,999	9.2	7.9	9.6	15.1	10.2	5.9
\$3,000-\$3,499	5.7	6.1	4.0	6.9	5.6	5.5
\$3,500-\$3,999	3.1	.9	2.3	7.8	3.2	2.5
\$4,000-\$4,499	2.5	..	5.1	1.3	2.9	3.6
\$4,500-\$4,999	2.1	1.5	3.4	2.2	2.2	1.1
\$5,000-\$6,999	3.7	.6	1.1	5.2	8.8	1.6
\$7,000-\$9,999	2.0	-	-	1.7	4.1	2.3
\$10,000 and Over .....	.4	-	-	.4	.2	.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Income..... \$	1,936	1,539	1,880	2,203	2,304	1,732
Median Income..... \$	1,465	1,420	1,707	1,895	1,756	1,040

Source: *Distribution of Incomes of Families and Unattached Individuals in Canada, 1954, DBS Reference Paper No. 80.*

.. Percentages too small to be expressed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The information that has been presented here permits only the most limited generalizations about the position of older workers and older people in Canada. The actual incidence of problems tends to become obscured by the use of averages and total groupings of parts of the population across Canada. Here are a few of the more obvious observations emerging from the analysis:

Persons Aged 65 and Over

(1) It is certainly true that the absolute number of older people is increasing; the same is true for the younger age groups. The important question is whether the proportion of older people in the total population is tending to increase or decrease, because changes in this proportion can also alter the income distribution of the population. While there is some tendency for the proportion of older people in the Canadian population to increase, it is not increasing at a very rapid rate, nor is the proportion as high at present as in many other Western countries. In all probability, the age composition of Canada will not change appreciably in the next half century, and, if the more optimistic forecasts of Canada's economic future are realized, the task of safeguarding the welfare of elderly people should become relatively easier.

(2) For some years now the percentage of persons (especially men) aged 65 and over who are economically active has been declining. It may be that this age group is becoming more dependent on other age groups both for financial support, to the extent that they receive transfer payments and/or other forms of assistance, and for goods and services to the extent that they are not themselves producers. On the other hand, an increasing number of those retiring are better off than those who did so some years ago because of more and better pension plans and because of workers' increasing ability to save for old age.

(3) Compared with other age groups, male workers aged 65 and over are quite heavily concentrated in own-account activities and in the service occupations. Although the data do not show this, there is probably a good deal of movement of older workers from other occupations into service occupations.*

(4) Unemployment among male workers aged 65 and over appears to be somewhat dissimilar in character to unemployment among younger male workers. There are probably a considerable number of older men who would like to work, but who, for a number of reasons, do not actively compete for jobs. When they do, it is usually in a much more limited

*British studies have shown that service occupations provide a major source of openings for older workers in that country who have left their customary type of employment.

labour market than is likely to be the case for younger men. It is quite probable that the average duration of unemployment tends to be longer for the older age groups. This seems to be very definitely the opinion of most employment service officials, but it is very difficult to obtain statistics that will cast much light on this question.

(5) On the basis of the data presented in **Chapter 5** (which in some respects are seriously incomplete) it would appear that a problem of income maintenance exists for a number of people in the group aged 65 and over. If it were possible to extend the employment of people in this age group (without greatly depressing wages in the small labour market in which elderly people appear to operate), the income maintenance problem would be eased.

(6) Such an extension of employment would depend on there being a fairly large proportion of the group aged 65 and over, who are not now in the labour force, available to take advantage of expanded employment opportunities. The few statistics presented on the incidence of disabilities in Canada's older population suggest that the addition of workers from this source might be quite modest in size. For women aged 65 and over a lack of recent work experience would probably be a serious limiting factor to recruitment into paid employment. Recent increases in the proportion of women aged 45 to 64 who are working should tend to develop a supply of experienced female workers aged 65 and over in future years.

Workers Aged 45 to 64

Employment and income problems of workers under, but approaching 65 years of age have not received the attention here that they deserve. The following comments are offered, some of which emerge out of the data presented, and some of which are speculations:

(1) An examination of age ceilings on 'help wanted' advertisements in newspapers is sufficient to indicate that the worker in this age group who for some reason is obliged to seek employment, is likely to find his opportunities considerably limited in some occupations.

(2) The material on occupational concentrations in **Chapter 3** indicates that a tendency towards a division of labour by age, that is so apparent for workers aged 65 and over, becomes increasingly a factor in the occupational distribution of the group aged 45 to 64.

(3) Despite the progressive narrowing of job opportunities with age, the proportion of persons in this age group who are labour force members does not fall much below the maximum levels for men until about the age of 60, while the proportion of women aged 45 to 64 who are labour force members has been continually increasing, and is now almost up to the level of women aged 25 to 44.

(4) The incidence of unemployment among workers aged 45 to 65 is among the lowest of all the age groups for both sexes using either of the measures of unemployment used in this study.

(5) The median income of this group does not appear to be significantly lower than that of younger people. However, many workers in

their 40's or 50's have passed the age of maximum earnings, although this tends to be offset by other workers whose earnings increase until the age of retirement. Also, it is important to recall that for many workers family and other responsibilities reach a peak in this age group. This situation makes the problem for those whose income is falling, particularly critical.

(6) It seems quite clear from the statistics presented that no very major welfare problem (such as may exist for persons aged 65 and over) is to be found for persons aged 45 to 64 as a group. On the other hand, the data on occupational distribution and concentration suggest that, for a substantial minority of workers in this age range (45 to 64), some sort of occupational readjustment has to take place. The precise nature of the occupational problems faced by workers in their 40's, 50's, and early 60's has not been studied in detail. It is probable that in the future they will receive an increasing amount of attention from public and private agencies devoted to education, placement and rehabilitation.

In order to better understand older worker problems, it is useful to examine some of the main causes which gave rise to these problems. For example, workers reaching 60 years of age and over since World War II had started their careers some 40 years before or between 1905 and 1915. Few industrialized nations have expanded so rapidly and changed so fundamentally as Canada has since the beginning of this century. These changes have drastically altered the industrial composition and the occupational characteristics of the economy. For example, at the beginning of the century an estimated 40 per cent of the country's labour force were in agriculture; in 1958 less than 13 per cent were on farms. About 30 per cent held jobs in the tertiary or service industries compared with about 50 per cent in 1958. Similarly, only 15 per cent were in manufacturing industries compared with some 25 per cent in 1958. Apart from these changes, the labour force increased from about 2 million at the turn of the century to over 6 million in 1958.

During this period of rapid expansion which changed the industrial composition so markedly, the importance of various occupations also changed. Some expanded, some remained relatively stable, others declined, very few remained unchanged in terms of skill requirements. Some changes, especially those which reduced physical labour, helped workers who were growing older. But other changes demanding either retraining in the same or other occupations, or change of industry or location, worked against those growing older.

Similarly, the composition of the work force according to paid workers, those working for themselves, etc., shifted drastically, principally because of the withdrawal from agriculture but also because of the substantial growth of large business corporations. Workers in the own-account group (those without paid employees) have been particularly affected by these changes. There are no early records of the proportion of own-account workers in the total labour force; however some indication of their diminishing importance is suggested by the fact that since World War II they have declined from an estimated 20 per cent to 10 per cent of the labour force. It is felt that this factor has played a significant role in reducing the proportion of older workers in the labour force.

The progressive narrowing of job opportunities for the aging worker may be due in part to irrationality in the part of employers: if so, then the above abbreviated analysis suggests that irrationality takes on very definite patterns. Why does the employer in the Electrical Apparatus industry discriminate against the older worker, while the employer in the Leather Products industry apparently does not? Although discrimination against the older worker just because he is getting old may be a significant barrier in many cases, this study suggests that a number of other barriers may exist. These are institutional factors that are a reflection of economic change and the inability of some workers who are growing older to make necessary adjustments to changing opportunities in the labour market. Part of the solution, then, is to attack prejudice; the other part and probably the more important one is to assist the aging worker in making these readjustments.

By and large, therefore, the problem of job opportunities for older workers in the future will be determined to a large extent by the pace and character of future economic changes and the ability of workers to adjust to these changes. A society aware of these developments and their impact on workers growing older, can do much to help them adjust to change; and can do much to help create opportunities more in line with the contributions that these people are able to make.

A great many people and organizations — especially those engaged in welfare work and in the placement service of the Unemployment Insurance Commission — have shown a great deal of concern about the problem of the aging worker. To help in this work the Department of Labour established in 1953 an interdepartmental committee on older workers for the purpose of promoting research and publicity. Three major research studies have been carried out since the inception of that committee. The first study, called *Pension Plans and the Employment of Older Workers*, published in 1957, sought to provide information as to the way in which pension plans affect both hiring and retention of employment of older workers. *The Aging of the Worker in the Canadian Economy* constitutes the second published study. A third study, which examines the older worker in two large department stores, is almost ready for publication.

These three studies do not claim to tell the whole complex story about the problems of the aging worker, but they go some way towards enabling the public to better understand them. More research is needed and will undoubtedly be undertaken to further understanding of these people, especially of those in the working population who are unable to adjust to the rapid pace of industrial and technological change, or whose job opportunities are limited because of social attitudes.

A P P E N D I X

Appendix: Table A- Percentage Distribution of Workers of Various Ages by Industry, 1931 and 1951

Industry	Males all Ages		45-54		55-64		65 and Over	
	1931	1951	1931	1951	1931	1951	1931	1951
Agriculture	33.8	19.2	31.1	19.9	37.4	22.7	49.2	30.5
Forestry and Logging	1.5	3.1	1.3	2.7	1.1	2.2	0.8	1.8
Fishing, Hunting and Trapping	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.9	1.5
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.5	1.7	1.9	1.1	1.3
Manufacturing	18.4	26.3	18.0	25.7	15.7	22.4	11.6	19.6
Construction	7.6	8.4	9.1	8.5	8.6	8.1	7.4	8.8
Transportation, Storage, Communication	7.8	8.6	8.9	8.9	7.1	9.5	3.6	3.0
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.7	1.4	0.8	1.5	0.6	1.5	0.4	1.1
Trade	9.3	12.1	9.5	11.5	8.4	10.5	7.1	11.2
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.2	1.6	2.3	1.4	2.7
Service	10.0	14.0	11.6	14.3	11.5	16.3	10.8	16.8
Not Specified	5.1	1.3	4.2	1.2	4.6	1.2	4.6	1.5
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.8	99.9	99.9	99.8
Females								
Agriculture	3.6	3.0	10.0	4.3	17.6	5.5	26.7	7.5
Forestry and Logging	—	.2	.1	.2	—	.2	—	.1
Fishing, Hunting and Trapping .....	.1	—	.1	—	.2	—	.3	—
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells .....	.1	.2	—	.1	—	.1	—	.1
Manufacturing	18.4	23.6	12.4	19.4	9.7	14.9	6.9	11.1
Construction .....	.2	.5	.2	.5	.1	.3	.1	.3
Transportation, Storage, Communication	3.4	4.2	1.5	3.2	.9	2.3	.5	.8
Electricity, Gas, Water .....	.3	.5	.2	.3	.1	.3	—	.1
Trade	12.8	18.2	9.8	17.8	6.9	14.9	4.9	11.1
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	3.7	5.5	1.6	3.3	.9	2.7	.3	1.9
Service	56.8	43.0	63.6	50.0	63.3	57.9	60.0	66.0
Not Specified .....	.5	1.1	.4	.8	.4	.9	.3	.9
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9

Source: Census of Canada 1931 and 1951

Appendix: Table B - Index of Concentration for Age by Industry - Males 1931 and 1951

Industry	45 Years and Over		50 Years and Over		65 Years and Over		70 Years and Over	
	1931	1951	1931	1951	1931	1951	1931	1951
Agriculture	106	117	122	130	145	159	162	183
Forestry and Logging	76	77	66	68	51	58	39	39
Fishing, Hunting and Trapping	103	104	114	111	131	120	143	94
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells	85	84	69	68	48	52	36	39
Manufacturing	91	90	78	83	63	75	54	69
Food and Beverages	84	90	73	83	58	72	46	67
Tobacco and Tobacco Products	90	109	87	92	75	58	56	56
Rubber Products	59	87	45	68	28	41	19	33
Leather Products	108	116	116	120	125	142	133	150
Textile Products (except Clothing)	76	78	73	68	62	62	52	61
Clothing (Textile and Fur)	90	99	79	99	61	109	52	122
Wood Products	104	95	102	95	95	107	87	100
Paper Products	73	73	57	77	38	47	28	33
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	82	88	75	91	62	103	56	117
Iron and Steel Products	105	94	93	89	77	89	68	84
Transportation Equipment	79	87	61	73	39	51	27	42
Non-ferrous Metal Products	75	77	58	58	40	42	33	43
Electrical Apparatus and Supplies	64	68	45	56	29	47	17	36
Non-metallic Mineral Products (including Products of Petroleum and Coal)	91	88	75	78	57	62	44	61
Chemical Products	88	86	76	71	58	50	52	50
Miscellaneous and Not Stated	90	92	81	93	74	104	63	107
Electricity, Gas, Water	114	105	108	102	98	81	84	53
Construction	96	101	76	100	47	105	32	89
Transportation, Storage, Communication	98	96	81	87	62	35	54	28
Trade	95	92	86	89	77	93	72	100
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	84	119	75	126	68	138	68	161
Service	115	110	113	118	109	120	104	128
Community	122	128	133	138	133	161	128	183
Government	127	87	127	93	129	72	124	67
Recreation	88	118	79	131	70	163	62	172
Business	109	107	106	121	110	149	115	188
Personal	104	133	92	141	78	153	73	156
Not Specified	87	95	91	104	91	114	83	100

Source: Census of Canada 1931 and 1951.

Appendix: Table C - Index of Concentration for Age by Industry, Females 1931 and 1951

Industry	45 and Over		55 and Over		65 and Over	
	1931	1951	1931	1951	1931	1951
Agriculture	415	167	570	199	732	250
Forestry and Logging	142	105	115	85	-	57
Fishing, Hunting and Trapping	245	97	320	109	430	74
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells	48	53	15	38	-	28
Manufacturing	58	72	47	59	38	47
Food and Beverages	33	72	24	60	16	39
Tobacco and Tobacco Products	32	69	19	43	9	25
Rubber Products	20	51	12	27	-	16
Leather Products	36	76	24	60	14	42
Textile Products (except Clothing)	29	59	21	44	13	28
Clothing (Textile and Fur)	103	99	92	90	77	88
Wood Products	77	65	84	49	105	34
Paper Products	26	57	18	40	9	22
Printing, Publishing and Allied Products	47	91	28	77	14	66
Iron and Steel Products	32	58	18	42	13	25
Transportation Equipment	22	43	13	28	10	15
Non-ferrous Metal Products	24	54	15	38	-	27
Electrical Apparatus and Supplies	15	35	5	20	-	11
Non-metallic Mineral Products (including Products of Petroleum and Coal)	27	51	15	33	11	20
Chemical Products	36	67	24	50	16	29
Miscellaneous and Not Stated	43	64	34	56	28	49
Construction	61	76	35	59	39	59
Transportation, Storage, Communication	34	64	22	46	13	20
Electricity, Gas, Water	48	63	22	52	11	28
Trade	63	89	48	77	38	61
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	30	54	16	45	8	34
Service	111	126	109	140	106	154
Community	101	128	94	137	86	145
Government	116	116	96	112	74	80
Recreation	70	101	48	100	33	88
Business	32	80	14	67	-	54
Personal	121	133	126	160	126	199
Not Specified	64	74	64	79	45	83

Source: Census of Canada 1931 and 1951.

Appendix: Table D - Population of Canada by Age and Sex 1901-1951

Age Group		1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Males	0-14	935,569	1,202,178	1,525,470	1,659,014	1,619,299	2,168,058
	15-24	543,317	744,852	756,899	989,514	1,083,168	1,069,715
	25-44	742,770	1,161,979	1,323,636	1,485,873	1,665,000	2,014,740
	45-54	234,714	333,767	433,312	589,275	648,369	728,169
	55-64	156,425	208,606	275,362	356,315	493,791	556,888
	65-74	94,344	116,139	151,624	209,400	273,669	388,474
	75 & Over	44,569	54,474	63,340	85,150	117,240	162,829
	Total	2,751,708	3,821,995	4,529,643	5,374,541	5,900,536	7,088,873
Females	0-14	911,014	1,174,372	1,497,881	1,622,762	1,579,252	2,082,659
	15-24	529,104	652,463	761,146	962,058	1,069,293	1,076,898
	25-44	686,131	922,530	1,182,404	1,345,089	1,581,935	2,026,909
	45-54	213,268	286,111	365,891	485,178	578,481	679,166
	55-64	147,802	184,468	245,704	305,632	420,252	519,954
	65-74	88,996	110,098	138,596	193,507	251,156	360,095
	75 and Over	43,292	54,606	66,684	88,019	125,750	174,875
	Total	2,619,607	3,384,648	4,258,306	5,002,245	5,606,119	6,920,556
Both Sexes	0-14	1,846,583	2,376,550	3,023,351	3,281,776	3,198,551	4,250,717
	15-24	1,072,421	1,397,325	1,518,045	1,951,572	2,152,461	2,146,613
	25-44	1,428,901	2,084,509	2,506,040	2,830,962	3,246,935	4,041,649
	45-54	447,982	619,878	799,203	1,074,453	1,226,850	1,407,335
	55-64	304,227	393,074	521,066	661,947	914,043	1,076,842
	65-74	183,340	226,237	290,220	402,907	524,825	748,569
	75 and Over	87,861	109,080	130,024	173,169	242,990	337,704
	Total	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429

Source: Census of Canada 1951, Vol. 1.

Appendix: Table E – Labour Force Status of Older Persons, Census 1951

Labour Force Status	45-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70 and Over
Males					
Population	726,839	292,184	263,945	227,845	322,864
Labour Force	686,992	261,810	214,941	136,965	75,434
Non-Agricultural	550,258	204,002	164,519	98,234	49,090
Employers and Own Account	97,782	36,574	29,931	21,653	13,983
Paid Workers	452,273	167,309	134,463	76,425	34,962
Unpaid Workers	248	118	122	154	144
Agricultural	136,734	57,808	50,422	38,731	26,344
Employers and Own Account	121,617	52,101	44,788	33,532	23,242
Paid Workers	13,012	4,878	4,695	3,963	1,869
Unpaid Workers	2,105	829	939	1,236	1,233
Not in Labour Force	35,634	28,762	47,743	89,829	245,429
Keeping House	580	293	303	386	644
Going to School	34	—	—	—	—
Retired or Voluntarily Idle	11,399	13,803	29,784	66,525	184,663
Permanently Unable to Work	11,547	8,812	11,739	16,766	45,677
Other	2,902	1,424	1,883	1,406	1,359
Inmates of Institutions	9,172	4,430	4,534	4,746	13,086
Indians on Reservations	4,213	1,612	1,261	1,051	2,001
Females					
Population	678,475	277,878	241,661	205,294	329,313
Labour Force	138,658	45,289	30,064	17,528	9,660
Non-Agricultural	132,657	42,899	28,341	16,398	8,748
Employers and Own Account	11,563	4,752	3,667	2,581	1,772
Paid Workers	118,334	37,391	24,247	13,557	6,848
Unpaid Workers	2,751	756	427	257	128
Agricultural	6,001	2,390	1,723	1,130	912
Employers and Own Account	2,391	1,323	1,090	782	756
Paid Workers	852	259	164	112	52
Unpaid Workers	2,758	808	469	236	104
Not in Labour Force	536,490	231,416	210,615	186,958	317,804
Keeping House	518,973	218,576	189,587	154,767	177,734
Going to School	537	6	—	—	—
Retired or Voluntarily Idle	4,793	5,964	12,456	20,794	86,507
Permanently Unable to Work	4,362	3,120	4,647	7,351	37,789
Other	1,350	719	693	678	1,255
Inmates of Institutions	6,475	3,031	3,232	3,368	14,519
Indians on Reservations	3,327	1,173	982	808	1,909

Appendix: Table F - Labour Force by Occupation and Age, 1921 and 1951

Occupation	1921		1951			
	Total	50-64	65 and Over	Total	45-54	55-64
Males						
All Occupations.....	2,683,019	421,658	125,167	4,121,832	686,987	476,747
Proprietary and Managerial	249,262	55,880	14,340	369,934	89,666	59,084
Professional	78,619	14,334	3,681	210,735	33,674	21,096
Clerical	125,923	12,687	3,426	243,900	30,724	21,982
Agricultural	1,023,661	172,771	62,969	797,874	138,118	110,170
Fishing, Hunting and Trapping	29,241	4,699	1,644	50,679	8,303	6,187
Logging and Forestry	34,745	3,623	742	101,020	13,868	7,658
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells	48,212	5,924	1,094	65,273	11,112	5,456
Manufacturing (incl. Light and Power)	277,626	39,251	8,785	730,573	123,412	72,030
Construction.....	121,360	20,610	5,669	298,713	55,322	37,315
Transportation, Storage and Communication	164,677	18,918	2,783	379,617	55,048	36,277
Trade	115,262	12,121	2,306	189,776	24,583	16,328
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	15,742	3,261	890	30,755	5,956	4,662
Service	97,397	13,393	4,372	271,743	41,999	38,310
Labourer (exc. Agriculture, Logging and Fishing).....	301,292	44,186	12,377	330,267	47,775	35,062
Not Specified	-	-	-	50,973	7,427	5,130
Females						
All Occupations.....	490,150	41,217	12,738	1,164,321	138,649	75,353
Proprietary and Managerial	10,821	2,554	702	37,257	9,531	5,869
Professional	91,623	7,327	1,976	165,945	23,382	11,992
Clerical	90,576	1,297	207	321,809	25,889	10,110
Agriculture	17,883	7,154	3,406	32,567	5,756	3,968
Manufacturing (incl. Light and Power)	88,077	5,100	955	172,413	19,548	9,320
Transportation, Storage and Communication	14,943	148	18	33,690	3,221	976
Trade	41,011	1,063	100	118,795	12,489	5,364
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	268	45	8	1,550	372	257
Service	132,869	16,249	5,289	245,039	35,133	25,792
Other Occupations.....	2,079	280	77	35,254	3,328	1,705

Source: Census of Canada 1921 and 1951.

Appendix: Table G - Labour Force by Industry and Age - Males 1931 and 1951

Industry	1931				1951			
	All Ages	45-54	55-64	65 and Over	All Ages	45-54	55-64	65 and Over
Agriculture.....	1,103,899	176,460	120,609	80,516	791,931	136,734	108,230	64,715
Forestry and Logging.....	49,709	7,347	3,589	1,274	127,488	18,449	10,539	3,967
Fishing, Hunting and Trapping.....	47,274	7,731	3,106	3,106	50,174	8,168	6,208	3,093
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells.....	71,608	12,441	5,588	1,738	101,520	17,103	8,853	2,723
Manufacturing.....	601,086	102,332	50,639	18,999	1,085,911	176,622	106,597	41,732
Food and Beverages.....	70,997	11,678	5,638	2,071	117,818	19,079	11,833	4,389
Tobacco and Tobacco Products.....	3,868	625	356	145	3,828	805	476	115
Rubber Products.....	10,688	1,338	565	152	16,539	2,892	1,547	343
Leather Products.....	25,975	4,575	2,871	1,625	26,130	4,907	3,344	1,899
Textile Products (except Clothing).....	26,711	3,601	2,099	825	51,959	7,558	4,230	1,674
Clothing (Textile and Fur).....	32,478	5,662	2,850	989	45,788	7,519	5,034	2,576
Wood Products.....	72,812	13,449	7,609	3,466	136,904	21,670	14,233	7,526
Paper Products.....	36,963	5,601	2,440	704	78,523	14,177	8,271	1,864
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries.....	31,917	4,882	2,566	991	46,901	6,703	4,619	2,496
Iron and Steel Products.....	99,953	20,181	9,927	3,884	181,572	29,977	18,687	8,357
Transportation Equipment.....	104,361	16,945	7,535	2,022	177,105	29,824	17,117	4,621
Non-ferrous Metal Products.....	16,218	2,546	1,062	330	45,112	7,296	3,384	985
Electrical Apparatus and Supplies.....	18,322	2,541	962	270	52,182	7,028	3,625	1,273
Non-metallic Mineral Products (including Products of Petroleum and Coal).....	25,913	4,700	2,147	738	44,597	7,340	4,362	1,427
Chemical Products.....	12,920	2,199	1,086	378	39,675	6,633	6,674	1,048
Miscellaneous.....	10,990	1,859	976	409	21,278	3,214	2,161	1,139
Construction.....	248,423	51,493	27,778	12,173	344,889	58,294	38,780	18,729
Transportation, Storage and Communication.....	254,947	50,446	22,925	5,976	353,945	61,159	45,195	6,404
Electricity, Gas, Water.....	23,620	4,590	2,122	736	56,472	10,127	7,300	2,848
Trade.....	302,911	54,169	27,179	11,684	498,125	79,082	50,146	23,822
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate.....	67,375	10,822	5,282	2,284	80,027	15,040	11,120	5,694
Service.....	324,999	66,051	32,284	17,722	576,805	98,113	77,840	35,698
Community or Public.....	77,143	15,030	10,207	5,138	136,962	27,159	20,206	11,386
Government.....	98,413	17,143	10,207	5,138	136,962	27,159	20,206	11,386
Recreation.....	21,942	3,399	1,207	6,399	250,244	34,248	29,612	9,299
Business.....	15,357	2,580	1,258	542	21,655	3,795	2,914	1,822
Personal.....	23,030	2,377	1,266	1,266	40,462	6,254	3,131	1,060
Not Specified.....	111,056	22,058	10,932	4,377	127,482	16,657	20,071	3,211
	165,520	24,045	14,878	7,579	54,545	8,106	5,939	3,211
Total.....	3,261,371	567,977	322,507	163,787	4,121,832	686,987	476,747	212,396

Source: Census of Canada 1931 and 1951.

Appendix: Table H - Labour Force by Industry and Age - Females 1931 and 1951

Industry	1931				1951			
	All Ages	45-54	55-64	65 & Over	All Ages	45-54	55-64	65 & Over
Agriculture	24,255	5,609	5,753	4,634	35,099	6,001	4,113	2,042
Forestry and Logging	243	34	20	1	2,344	332	145	31
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping	508	76	65	57	145	42	32	7
Mining, Quarrying and Oil Wells	355	23	2	2	2,328	175	64	13
Manufacturing	122,849	6,949	3,171	1,203	274,751	26,840	11,229	3,021
Food and Beverages	13,230	466	184	54	32,663	3,141	1,439	300
Tobacco Products	3,656	131	44	9	4,652	488	149	27
Rubber Products	3,228	74	24	6	5,156	423	106	19
Leather Products	6,637	261	94	24	12,187	1,280	597	119
Textiles (except Clothing)	18,123	545	228	62	29,463	2,444	947	193
Clothing	43,614	4,157	2,128	878	74,757	9,356	4,389	1,543
Wood Products	2,548	149	91	70	8,725	799	305	70
Paper Products	4,603	131	52	11	11,449	959	342	58
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	7,741	417	138	28	16,067	1,925	850	246
Iron and Steel Products	5,091	177	51	17	18,866	1,507	558	104
Transportation Equipment	2,424	61	18	6	9,867	639	212	35
Non-ferrous Metals	1,116	30	11	2	6,123	481	168	38
Non-ferrous Metal Products	4,075	81	13	2	18,332	1,017	283	46
Electrical Apparatus and Supplies	1,418	46	12	4	5,141	397	127	24
Non-metallic Mineral Products	2,924	117	40	12	11,473	1,095	427	77
Chemical Products	2,421	106	43	18	10,680	889	400	122
Construction	1,576	110	26	16	6,007	628	231	83
Transportation, Communication	22,653	855	296	79	48,762	4,462	1,764	225
Electricity, Gas, Water	1,790	109	24	5	5,342	453	209	35
Trade	85,062	5,471	2,242	854	211,643	24,649	11,254	3,026
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	24,965	897	247	50	63,968	4,600	2,022	590
Service	377,882	35,563	20,658	10,414	500,660	69,369	43,635	17,941
Community or Public	138,725	12,629	6,624	3,621	234,786	33,952	20,349	7,938
Government	15,476	1,747	815	299	54,030	7,628	4,321	1,005
Recreation	2,425	184	66	21	7,048	817	480	144
Business	9,369	385	86	10	18,416	1,955	852	232
Personal	211,887	20,618	13,067	6,960	186,380	24,987	17,633	8,622
Not Specified	3,721	198	134	44	13,012	1,098	655	252
Total	665,859	55,894	32,638	17,359	1,164,321	138,649	75,353	27,186

Source: Census of Canada 1931 and 1951.