## The Urban Futures Institute

Research on Population, Community Change and Land Use in British Columbia

## Housing Canada's Seniors in the Next 30 Years

## By David Baxter and Andrew Ramlo



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# Housing Canada's Seniors in the Next 30 Years 

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## Summary Table: Accommodating Canada's Growing Seniors Population, 1996 to 2026

| Seniors Resident in Collective Dwellings: | 1996 | 2006 | 2016 | 2026 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Increase } \\ 1996-2026 \end{gathered}$ | Percent |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| * Hospitals | 56,000 | 82,000 | 109,000 | 135,000 | 79,000 | 141\% |
| * Care Institutions and Seniors Residences | 200,000 | 295,000 | 388,000 | 490,000 | 290,000 | 145\% |
| * Service Commercial Dwellings (hotels, motels, missions, rooming houses, | 15,000 | 21,000 | 28,000 | 33,000 | 18,000 | 119\% |
| * Communcal Non-Institional Dwellings (religious institutions and Hutterite Colonies) | 24,000 | 31,000 | 40,000 | 50,000 | 27,000 | 114\% |
| * Other (Staff, Corrective and Penal, etc.) | 4,000 | 5,000 | 7,000 | 9,000 | 5,000 | 121\% |
| Total | 299,000 | 433,000 | 572,000 | 718,000 | 419,000 | 140\% |
|  |  |  |  |  | Increase |  |
| Private Households Maintained by Seniors | 1996 | 2006 | 2016 | 2026 | 1996-2026 | Percent |
| * Ground Oriented Owner-Occupiers | 2,393,000 | 3,139,000 | 4,264,000 | 5,224,000 | 2,832,000 | 118\% |
| * Ground Oriented Rental | 232,000 | 307,000 | 413,000 | 502,000 | 270,000 | 117\% |
| * Apartment Rental | 795,000 | 1,038,000 | 1,375,000 | 1,732,000 | 937,000 | 118\% |
| * Apartment Owner Occupiers | 235,000 | 305,000 | 409,000 | 514,000 | 279,000 | 119\% |
| Total | 3,655,000 | 4,789,000 | 6,461,000 | 7,972,000 | 4,317,000 | 118\% |
|  | 1996 | 2006 | 2016 | 2026 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Increase } \\ 1996-2026 \end{gathered}$ | Percent |
| Seniors in Collective Dwellings | 299,000 | 433,000 | 572,000 | 718,000 | 419,000 | 140\% |
| Seniors in Private Dwellings | 5,800,000 | 7,591,000 | 10,262,000 | 12,506,000 | 6,706,000 | 116\% |
| Total Seniors Population | 6,099,000 | 8,024,000 | 10,835,000 | 13,223,000 | 7,125,000 | 117\% |
| Total Population | 29,698,000 | 33,373,000 | 36,720,000 | 39,522,000 | 9,824,000 | 33\% |
| Percent Seniors in Collective Dwellings | 4.90\% | 5.40\% | 5.28\% | 5.43\% |  |  |

# Housing Canada's Seniors in the Next 30 Years 

## By David Baxter and Andrew Ramlo, January 1999

## Summary

1. The Seniors Population. Canada's seniors population is projected to increase by $116 \%$ over the next thirty years, while the total population of the country is to increase by only $33 \%$. The number of people 55 years of age and older, the seniors population, will increase by 7.1 million people, from 6.1 million in 1996 to 13.2 million in 2026, doubling this age group's share of the total population from 1996's 15 percent to 33 percent by 2026 .

No matter what portion of the seniors population is considered, significant relative and absolute increases will occur. Today, 1 in 8 people in Canada are 65 years of age or older: in 30 years, they will account for 1 in 5 (and by 2036, for 1 in 4 ). 30 years ago, there were 1.5 million people in Canada 65 plus, today there are 3.6 million, and by 2026 , there will be 8 million.

The 75 plus age group increased from $2.9 \%$ of the population in 1966 to $5.0 \%$ today, and is projected to increase to $8.6 \%$ by 2026. The 1.49 million people 75 and older in Canada in 1996 was almost three times the 581,000 there were in 1966: by 2026 there will be 3.4 million people in Canada 75 and older, more than twice today's number. Even in the 85 and older population, the increase in both number and share will be impressive. In 1966, $0.5 \%$ of Canada's population was 85 plus; by 1996 the share had increased to $1.2 \%$; and by 2026 it will have increased to $2.3 \%$ of the total population. The number of people 85 plus in Canada more than tripled from 1966's 103,000 to 1996's 342,000: the number will triple again to 923,000 in 2026.
2. Seniors Housing. The popular image of a senior as someone who lives in a collective dwelling (nursing homes, hospitals, missions, care facilities, etc.) is unfounded: the majority, the overwhelming majority, live in private housing, mainly in owner-occupied, single detached, private housing. In Canada in 1996, $99 \%$ of the people aged 55 to 64 lived in private households, as did $98 \%$ of the people aged 65 to 74 , and $85 \%$ of the people aged 75 and older.

Assuming constant (1996) housing residency patterns, the demand for seniors housing in Canada will increase faster than both the population as a whole (a $33 \%$ increase) and the seniors population itself (a $117 \%$ increase) over the next 30 years. Demand for accommodation of seniors in collective dwellings will increase by $140 \%$, with 419,000 more seniors resident in such accommodation in 2026 than there were in 1996. The number of seniors in private dwellings will increase by $115 \%$, with $2,706,000$ more seniors resident in private dwellings in 2026 than there were in 1996.
a) Collective Dwellings. Of the 6.1 million seniors in Canada in 1996, 299,000 (4.9\%) resided in collective dwellings. Of the seniors who resided in collective dwellings, $86 \%$ were residents of institutional collective dwellings such as hospitals and care facilities, $5 \%$ were residents of service collective dwellings such as lodging and rooming houses, $8 \%$ resided in communal and non-institutional collective dwellings such as religious institutions and Hutterite colonies, and $1 \%$ were resident staff of institutions.

The percentage of seniors who are in collective dwellings is highly correlated with age, with the percentage increasing with increasing age: $1.3 \%$ of the males, and $1.0 \%$ of the females, aged 55 to 64 , live in collective dwellings, rates that increase to $2.3 \%$ of the males, and $2.5 \%$ of the females, aged 65 to 74 ; and to $10.1 \%$ of the males, and $17.5 \%$ of the females, aged 75 plus.

Relatively and absolutely, the most significant growth in seniors collective dwelling accommodation demand will be for residency in care facilities and seniors residences. Assuming 1996 residency rates, for every one senior in this type of accommodation in 1996, there will be 2.45 in 2026. The number of

[^0]people in these collective dwellings will increase by 290,000 more residents from 200,000 in 1996 to 490,000 in 2026, a $145 \%$ increase over 30 years. Rivaling the rate of growth of demand for care facilities and seniors residence type accommodation will be that for hospital accommodation. For every 1 senior resident in a hospital in 1996, there will be 2.41 in 2026, a 79,000 person ( $141 \%$ ) increase from 55,900 in 1996 to 134,900 in 2026.
b) Private Dwellings. Where the most significant growth in the seniors population will occur will be in private dwellings, with the number of seniors living in this type of accommodation increasing by 6.7 million people, from 5.8 million in 1996 to 12.5 million in 2026. For all practical purposes, $95 \%$ of the seniors population is, and will be for the next 30 years, in private dwellings. The seniors population in private dwellings will increase by 2.15 times ( $115 \%$ ), compared to the 2.40 times ( $140 \%$ ) increase in the seniors population in collective dwellings, the 2.17 times ( $117 \%$ ) increase in the seniors population as a whole, and the 1.33 times ( $33 \%$ ) increase in the country's population.

The participation of seniors in private housing markets is measured by household maintainer rates, the percentage of people in an age group who provide the primary financial support of the household. The percentage of males who are household maintainers is both high and relatively constant (in the range of $84 \%$ to $86 \%$ ) from the 55 to 74 age groups. Then, as would be expected from the increase in the propensity to reside in collective dwellings for males from the 75 to 79 age group on, the male household maintainer rate declines to $75 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group, and $59 \%$ in the 85 plus age group.

Female seniors household maintainer rates increase with age, from $31 \%$ in the 55 to 59 age group to $56 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group, before declining to $43 \%$ for the 85 plus age group. In the 55 to 59 age group, $30.8 \%$ of the women are maintainers of households, $0.9 \%$ are residents of collective dwellings, and $63.3 \%$ live in private households maintained by someone else. In the 80 to 84 age group, $55.7 \%$ of the women are household maintainers, $15.4 \%$ are residents of collective dwellings, and $29.9 \%$ are residents of households maintained by someone else.

Assuming constant (1996) seniors private household maintainer rates by age, sex, tenure and structure type will mean that ground oriented owner occupied dwellings will continue to dominate the private housing stock occupied by seniors. In 2026, there will be $5,224,000$ households maintained by people 55 years of age and older and living in ground oriented owner occupied dwellings, $2,831,500$ more than the 2,392,000 of 1996 (a $118 \%$ increase). The number of households maintained by seniors and living in ground oriented rental will increase by 270,100 (a 117\% increase) from 231,800 in 1996 to 501,900 in 2026. The number of rental apartment household that are maintained by seniors will increase by 936,700 dwellings (a 118\% increase) from 795,400 in 1996 to 1,732,100 in 2026. The number of owner occupier apartment households maintained by seniors will increase by 279,000 dwellings (a $119 \%$ increase), from 234,700 in 1996 to 513,700 in 2026.
c) Declining Collective Dwelling Residency Rates. The projections presented in this report assume that residency rates for both collective and private dwellings remain constant at their 1996 levels, as there is not sufficient historical data to support a mathematical projection of continuing decline in collective dwelling residency rates. It is useful to consider the impact of declines in these rates. Assuming constant residency rates for care facilities and seniors residences means an increase of 2.45 times ( 290,000 more residents), compared to an increase of 2.17 times for the seniors population as a whole, over the 1996 to 2026 period. If the increase in the number of seniors resident in these facilities in 2026 was to be $20 \%$ smaller (i.e., the number of residents increasing only at the 2.17 times rate of the seniors population), there would be 233,600 more residents in thirty years. In order for this to happen, the residency rates would have to decline by $12 \%$ from 1996 to 2026, approximately the same decline as appears to have occurred between 1981 and 1996. Such a decline still means a $117 \%$ increase in the number of seniors resident in this type of accommodation, compared a population increase of $33 \%$.

# Housing Canada's Seniors in the Next 30 Years 

By David Baxter and Andrew Ramlo January 1999

## I. Introduction

Writing in 1965, Marshal McLuhan identified what is perhaps the single biggest problem involved in forecasting:
"When faced with a totally new situation, we tend always to attach ourselves to the objects, to the flavor, of the most recent past. We look at the present through a rear-view mirror. We march backwards into the future. Suburbia lives imaginatively in Bonanza-land., ${ }^{\text {i }}$

In linking the image of the then popular prime-time Sunday night TV series Bonanza with the explosion of suburban growth in the 1960s, McLuhan identified how the images of the past (the Ponderosa ranch) are imposed on the reality of the present (the suburban ranch house).

The imposition of the past on descriptions of the present and the future is particularly noticeable in discussion of "aging", the "elderly population", and "seniors"" housing. Our common images of people older than us were established when we are young - we were children when we formed our first image of "old". It has been a long time since we were "young", and since first images of "old" were valid. Yet the present, and future, older populations are still described in terms of these moldy images from the past. Such an attitude is shown, for example, in the comments of David Foot, co-author of Boom Bust and Echo, on housing demand of the older population:
"Yes, we are going to see dramatic growth in the number of older households, but older households need to be in retirement villages and nursing homes. Older people want more peace and quiet and you have to bring the services to them.,"ii

While this may have been a valid description of the housing of the older population elsewhere and in the past, it is not a valid description of the housing of either today's or the future's older population in Canada. In Canada in 1996:

- $99 \%$ of the people aged 55 to 64 lived in private households;
$-98 \%$ of the people aged 65 to 74 lived in private households; and
$-85 \%$ of the people aged 75 plus lived in private households.
However we define the older population, the majority, the overwhelming majority, live in private housing, and, as this report shows, mainly in owner-occupied, ground-oriented, private housing. Most older Canadians are neither in retirement villages nor nursing homes: they are living in our communities as our neighbors.

This report has two objectives. The first is to present the facts on the housing of Canada's seniors today. The second is to use these facts, and a base line population projection for Canada's population, to project the increase in the demand for housing from Canada's growing seniors population.

Figure 1: Percentage of Population Aged 55 Plus Canada, 1921 to 2026


## II. What is a Senior?

In order to discuss the housing of Canada's seniors population, it is necessary to first define a "senior". Each of us has a personal, and likely implicit, definition of what a senior is. Such definitions are usually based on functional criteria: what things people do, can do, don't do, and can't do. While personal definitions may be useful for personal decision making, they are likely neither commonly accepted nor objective: some people's definitions would exclude many that others would include, and in turn include many that others would exclude.

In order to have a generally objective definition of a senior in this report, we use a chronological definition (everyone 55 years of age and older) and then, as much as possible, present data for age groups within this larger category of seniors. If the 55 years of age threshold is seen as being too young, then information for the 65 and older, or the 75 and older, age group, may be used.

There are a number of reasons for starting with 55 year olds. Some are positive reasons: starting with age 55 conforms to the definition used in early post war census data (used then because of the short life expectancies that prevailed in the post war era); 55 is a common age for start of retirement in many pension plans (some permit retirement as early as 50 , and the CPP permits it at 60 ) and 55 marks the beginning of many age related seniors' benefits (reduced travel fares, reduced fees on chequing accounts, etc.). Some are negative: by starting with age 55, and using the most recent (1996) Census data, we will (just barely) exclude all of the post world war two baby boom generation, the oldest of whom (born in 1946) is now 52. This means that projections will show the magnitude of growth in demand as a result of the country's largest generation entering into their senior years, whether these years are seen as starting at 55,65 or 75 .

By this definition, at the time of the most recent census (1996) there were 6.1 million seniors (people 55 years of age and older) in Canada, accounting for $21 \%$ of the population (Figure 1). This is twice the number of seniors of thirty years ago: in 1966, there were 3.1 million seniors, accounting for $15 \%$ of the county's population. Over the next thirty years, the senior's population will again double, with the 13.2 million people in Canada 55 and older in 2026 accounting for $33.3 \%$ of the country's population ${ }^{\text {iii. }}$.

If one defines seniors as 65 and older, a similar increase in share is shown: in 1966, $7.7 \%$ of the population was 65 plus, in 1996 it was $12.0 \%$, and by 2026, it will be $20.1 \%$. Today, 1 in 8 people in Canada are 65 years of age or older: in 30 years, they (we) will account for 1 in 5 (and by 2036, for 1 in 4). 30 years ago, there were 1.5 million people in Canada 65 plus, today there are 3.6 million, and by 2026, there will be 8 million.

The 75 plus age group has increased from $2.9 \%$ of the population in 1966 to $5.0 \%$ today, and is projected to increase to $8.6 \%$ by 2026. The 1.49 million people 75 and older in Canada in 1996 was almost three times the 581,000 there were in 1966: by 2026 there will be 3.4 million people in Canada 75 and older, more than twice today's number.

Even if seniors are seen to be only those 85 and older, the increase in both number and share will be impressive. In 1966, $0.5 \%$ of Canada's population was 85 plus; by 1996 the share had increased to $1.2 \%$; and by 2026 it will have increased to $2.3 \%$ of the total population. The number of people 85 plus in Canada more than tripled from 1966's 103,000 to 1996's 342,000: the number will triple again to 923,000 in 2026. Out of a population of approximately 40 million people in 2026, almost one million will be 85 or older.

This represents an enormous demographic transformation. Over a 60 -year period, Canada will go from a population where one out of seven people were 55 and older to one where one out of three are seniors. This transformation is already under way: in the past 30 years we have gone from one in seven to one in five being seniors: over the next thirty we will go to one in three. The factors that will cause this shift, the long life expectancies ${ }^{\text {iv }}$ we enjoy in Canada and the aging of the post world war two baby boom make this relative growth inevitable. Increasing life expectancies (life expectancies increase by approximately one year every five years) will likely mean that the projected ratio is low: over the next thirty years we are likely to see the ratio increase to more than one in three.

## III. What is Housing?

In order to discuss the housing of Canada's seniors population, it is necessary to next define "housing". The definitions of housing used by Statistics Canada are used here, as Census data is the main source of information about housing occupancy in Canada. The basic concept of housing is that everyone (except the homeless) lives in a dwelling, a space that encloses their living quarters (essentially the space in which a person most regularly eats, sleeps and uses a bathroom).

Dwellings are grouped into two categories, private and collective. A private dwelling, be it a room or a mansion, is defined by privacy and independence. Within a private dwelling, the only sharing of space and facilities is by people who are related or otherwise specifically choose who they are sharing with. This concept is reflected in Statistics Canada's definition of a private dwelling: "a separate set of living quarters with a private entrance either from outside or from a common hall, lobby, vestibule or stairway inside the building. The entrance to the dwelling must be one that can be used without passing through the living quarters of someone else."
Private dwellings include those that are occupied by tenants or by their owners (fee simple, strata, and co-operative ownership including housing on leased land, and band housing in First Nations’ communities). They include ground oriented dwellings (single detached houses, semi-detached side by side duplex houses, row houses, apartments and suites in detached houses, dwellings attached to non-

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residential structures, mobile homes and other moveable dwellings) and apartments (dwellings in multiunit low- and high-rise buildings).

In contrast, in collective dwellings, one's living quarters are, to one extent or another, shared with individuals who one has not specifically chosen to share with (although one may have generically chosen them). While residents of collective dwellings may choose to share, the choice is not of the specific person, but rather from groups of persons (for example, in military or work camps). In the vast majority of collective dwellings, the sharing is not by choice, but rather as the result of need (hospitals) or imposition (jails). The sharing may be of bathroom facilities, of cooking and eating facilities, or even of sleeping areas.

Collective dwellings are of three types, institutional, service collective, and communal dwellings.
The major categories for institutional collective dwellings are:

- Hospitals and related institutions: Included are all hospitals (institutions providing medical or surgical diagnosis and treatment to the ill or injured, including general hospitals, children's hospitals, maternity hospitals, and institutions providing psychiatric diagnosis or treatment), and care homes and residences for the elderly and chronically ill (chronic care hospitals which provide continuous medical, nursing and professional health care supervision for long-term patients who are dependent in all activities of daily living and are unable to perform most personal care tasks, treatment centres and institutions for the physically handicapped, nursing homes and long term care facilities which provide a range of services going from moderate and periodic assistance up to regular nursing supervision for elderly residents, and residences for senior citizens which provide minimal assistance and supervision for elderly residents who are independent in most activities of daily living).
- Children's group homes and orphanages: An institution providing accommodation to orphans or children who are wards of the court.
- Correctional and penal institutions: Any federal or provincial penal institutions where residents are confined for an extended period of time and where some form of rehabilitation program exists, including young offenders facilities (an institution or home for the secure or open custody of minors who are awaiting trial, are under court order, or who have been convicted of an offence), and jails (any municipal or county institutional facility where residents are detained for a short period of time).

Within the population living in institutional collective dwellings there is one further distinction. The majority of the people living in this type of dwelling are residents (prior to 1991, the Census referred to them as inmates), with the minority being employees and staff who also live in the collective dwellings. Staff members who live in private dwellings (i.e., do not share living quarters with others) in institutional facilities are counted within the private dwelling category.

The major categories for service collective dwellings are:

- Motels, hotels and tourist accommodation (commercial establishments whose general purpose is to provide temporary accommodation for persons on business or pleasure trips).
- Lodging and rooming houses (commercial establishments, which may have been private dwellings, having furnished rooms for rent, or a private dwelling which is occupied by 10 or more unrelated persons).
- Other service commercial establishments providing accommodation to transient persons, to persons with no fixed address or no usual place of residence, or temporary accommodation for persons on pleasure trips, including YM/YWCAs, missions and hostels, campgrounds and parks, and school residences and residences for training centres (accommodating students attending an educational institution or training centre, such as boarding schools, colleges and universities, which may also accommodate non-students).

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The major categories of communal and other non-institutional collective dwellings include:

- Religious establishments (establishments such as a convent or a seminary which provides accommodation to members of a religious group) ${ }^{v}$.
- Work Camps (accommodation provided to employees of an industry such as mining, logging or hydro construction, and generally located in a remote area. Also includes racetracks, outfitter camps, carnival and circus camps, and non-religious communes. A work camp usually consists of bunkhouses, tents, trailers etc.)
- Military camps (any communal building on a military base in Canada belonging to the Canadian Armed Forces).
- Hutterite colonies (a group of people of the Hutterite religion who live in dwellings that belong to the community and use their land for general agriculture).

So after all of this defining what can we say about seniors housing? As the next two sections show, we can say that seniors are overwhelmingly living in private housing that is owner occupied and ground oriented. We can also say that, while small in absolute terms, the growth rate for housing for seniors in collective, and specifically institutional, accommodation will be greater than the growth rate of the population as a whole, of the seniors population, or of seniors demand for private housing.

## IV. Seniors in Collective Housing

For purposes of the discussion, the housing of Canada's seniors population will follow the split between private and collective housing used in the Census data. As was indicated earlier, the overwhelming majority of Canada's seniors live in private housing, including:
$-98.8 \%$ of the males, and $99.0 \%$ of the females, aged 55 to 64 ;
$-97.7 \%$ of the males, and $97.5 \%$ of the females, aged 65 to 74 ; and
$-89.9 \%$ of the males, and $82.5 \%$ of the females, aged 75 plus.
The mirror image of this is the population that live in collective dwellings (Figure 2):
$-1.3 \%$ of the males, and $1.0 \%$ of the females, aged 55 to 64 ;
$-2.3 \%$ of the males, and $2.5 \%$ of the females, aged 65 to 74 ; and
$-10.1 \%$ of the males, and $17.5 \%$ of the females, aged 75 plus.
There are two reasons that the percentage (residency rate) of women 75 and older living in collective housing is significantly higher than it is for males. The first is that there are proportionately more women in oldest age groups than there are males, and it is in these age groups that the highest propensity to live in collective dwellings occurs. The second is that many of the males in older age groups live, with their wives, in private housing. Upon the death of the male (men have significantly shorter life expectancies than women do), the private dwelling is often vacated by the surviving (female) spouse, who relocates to a seniors' facility. Thus women in the older age groups have a higher propensity to be in collective dwellings than males of the same age.

Figure 2: Seniors in Collective Dwellings, Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group


As
outlined in the preceding section, there are four housing groups within the collective housing category: staff living in institutional dwellings; residents in institutional dwellings; residents in service collective dwellings; and residents in communal non-institutional collective dwellings.

Of the $6,017,310^{\text {vi }}$ people 55 years of age and older in Canada counted in the 1996 Census, 294,210 ( $4.9 \%$ ) resided in collective dwellings. Of the 294,210 seniors who resided in collective dwellings, $256,325(86 \%)$ were residents of institutional collective dwellings such as hospitals and care facilities, $14,950(5 \%)$ were residents of service collective dwellings such as lodging and rooming houses, 22,935 ( $8 \%$ ) resided in communal and non-institutional collective dwellings such as religious institutions and Hutterite colonies, and 2,690 (1\%) were resident staff of institutions.

There is a distinct age pattern to the distribution of seniors within these types of accommodation (Figure 3 ), with the percentage who are residents of institutions increasing with age. About one half ( $0.63 \%$ of the total of $1.2 \%$ ) of the population aged 55 to 64 in collective dwellings are residents of institutions, with $0.29 \%$ in service collective dwellings, $0.22 \%$ in communal dwellings, and $0.02 \%$ being staff resident in institutional dwellings.

Of the $2.4 \%$ of the 65 to 74 age group who reside in collective dwellings, three quarters ( $1.79 \%$ out of $2.4 \%$ ) are residents of institutions, with $0.34 \%$ in communal non-institutional dwellings, $0.21 \%$ in service collective dwellings, and $0.03 \%$ as resident staff. In the 75 plus age group, the percentage in institutions increases further: of the $14.8 \%$ of the people in this age groups who reside in collective dwellings, more than 9 out of 10 ( $13.7 \%$ of the $14.8 \%$ of the 75 plus population) are residents of institutions, with a further $0.72 \%$ of the total residents of communal non-institutional dwellings, $0.24 \%$ in service commercial dwellings, and $0.10 \%$ staff resident in institutions.

Figure 3: Seniors in Collective Dwellings, Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group


It is from this last age group that the mistaken impression that the older population lives in institutions stems. There is no question that the 75 plus age group accounts for the largest proportion of the institutional population: $63 \%$ of the people who are residents of institutional collective dwellings are 75 years of age and older. What is important to note is that of the total population 75 and older, only $14 \%$ are residents of institutions: $86 \%$ are residents of private dwellings. This overwhelming majority of the 75 plus population does not conform to the stereotype of the senior: the typical senior, not being in the institutional population, is not seen, and hence the stereotype persists.

As each of these four housing categories are quite different in terms of both reasons for seeking the type of accommodation, and the type of accommodation, they will be considered separately.
a) Staff Resident in Institutions. The first group to be considered is the smallest, the resident staff of institutions. Essentially all of these people are employees of hospitals and related care institutions: only 55 work in children's group homes and correctional institutions, not a sufficient number to warrant consideration, or even to suggest statistical validity. The remaining 2,635 (down from 3,300 in 1991) work in hospitals and related care facilities, particularly in special care homes for the elderly and for the chronically ill.

As with the overall rate of dwelling in institutions, the highest propensity to be a senior resident as a staff member in a hospital or related institution is in the 75 and older age group, where $0.120 \%$ of the women, and $0.072 \%$ of the men, fall in this category (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Seniors Resident as Staff in Hospitals and Related Institutions in Canada, 1996
Percentage of Age Group


Figure 5: Seniors Resident as Staff in Care Homes and Seniors Residences in Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group


The resident staff rates for seniors are determined by care facilities: the $0.102 \%$ of the 75 plus age group who are resident staff in hospitals and related institutions is comprised of $0.092 \%$ who are staff in care homes and seniors' residences, and $0.01 \%$ staff in other institutions (Figure 5).

The real issue of seniors' collective housing is not about staff but about residents: of the 294,210 people 55 and older who resided in collective dwellings in 1996, 291,520 (99\%) of them were residents. There were three general types of dwellings that they lived in: institutions ( $253,635,87 \%$ ), service collective dwellings $(14,950,5.1 \%)$, and communal and other non-institutional collective dwellings ( $22,935,7.9 \%$ ).
b) Seniors Resident in Institutions. Institutional residents are people living in hospitals and related care institutions, orphanages and youth homes, and penal and correctional institutions. As the following discussion shows, when we talk of seniors residing in institutions, we are essentially talking about health and care institutions, not about either children's group homes and orphanages, or penal and correctional institutions. As might be expected, the numbers of seniors who are residents of orphanages and children's group homes are so small as to be statistically insignificant and hence will not be considered here.

The numbers of seniors in correctional and penal institutions are statistically significant, although they are not numerically significant: incarceration is for the young, and particularly for young males. The 960 people ( 930 of them males) 55 and older who are residents of these institutions account for only $4 \%$ of the incarcerated population of 23,095 , and the 230 people ( 220 males) 65 and older account for only $1 \%$. While $0.153 \%$ of all males in Canada ( 1 out of every 652 ), and $0.01 \%$ of all females ( 1 out of every $10,000)$ are incarcerated, the rates for seniors is much lower: only $0.058 \%$ of the males, and $0.002 \%$ of the females, in the 55 to 64 age group are in penal and correctional institutions (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Seniors Resident in Correctional and Penal Institutions in Canada, 1996,
Percentage of Age Group
Males
0.153\%


While these rates are exceedingly low, it is important to note that incarceration rates have been rising rapidly. In 1981 only $0.023 \%$ of the males in the 55 to 64 age group were in these institutions: by 1991, this rate had increased to $0.0352 \%$, and the $0.058 \%$ incarceration rate for this age group in 1996 was twice the rate for 1981 . The $0.020 \%$ prison incarceration rate for males in the 65 to 74 age group in 1996 was more than twice 1981 's $0.0082 \%$. While the numbers are not large, the number of people (read males) 55 and older in Canada's penal and correctional institutions tripled, from 315 to 960 , in the 15 years from 1981 to1996.

Examining the population of seniors in hospital and related institutions is to turn from insignificant numbers to highly significant numbers: of the 253,635 seniors in institutional dwellings, $99.6 \%(253,540)$ were in hospital and related institutions in 1996. $4.2 \%$ of the country's population aged 55 and older were residents of such institutions.

There is a very strong age pattern to rates for residency in these types of facilities (Figure 7). The 0.6\% residency rate (percent of people in an age group resident in a type of dwelling) for the 55 to 64 age group are a third of the $1.8 \%$ rates for the 65 to 74 age group, which are in turn between a fifth (for males, compared to the $9.4 \%$ ) and a tenth (for females, compared to the $16.3 \%$ ) rates for the 75 and older age group. One out of every six women, and one out of every eleven men, 75 plus are resident in hospitals and related care institutions.

Figure 7: Seniors Resident in Hospital and Related Institutions in Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group


There are a number of aspects of the rates shown on Figure 7 that warrant consideration. The first is the jump in the rate from the 65 to 74 age group to the 75 plus age group. This is not the result of a rapid and dramatic change in health, but rather the result of aggregating data for the 75 and older population into one age group. While data for smaller age groups are not published from the 1996 census, they are from the 1991 census $^{\text {vii }}$ : these data (as do those from the 1971 and 1981 Censuses) show a gradual increases in rates within the 75 plus age group (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Percent of Age Group Resident in Hopsitals and Related Care Institutions, Canada


In 1991, $1.4 \%$ of the people in the 65 to 69 age group were residents in a hospital or related care institutions; the rate in the 70 to 74 age group was $2.7 \%$; in the 75 to 79 age group was $6.1 \%$; in the 80 to 84 age group was $13.9 \%$; in the 85 to 89 age group $28.0 \%$; and in the 90 plus age group was $48.1 \%$. As a general pattern, the percentage of people in an age group resident in hospital and related care institutions doubles for each older five year age group from the 65 to 69 age group. Thus there is an increasing need for hospital and related care as one ages, but it does not become a characteristic of an age group until the 90 plus age group is reached.

A second aspect of this data is the pattern in which residency rates for hospital and related care institutions have changed over the past twenty five years (Figures 9 and 10). For the 55 to 64 and 65 to 74 age group, for both males and females, there has been as steady, if not dramatic, decline in hospital and related care institutions residency rates over the past quarter century. In contrast, for the 75 and older age group, there was a very significant (30\%) increase in these rates between 1971 and 1981, with the rate for males increasing from $8.94 \%$ of the population in the age group, to $11.69 \%$, and for females from $13.61 \%$ to $18.16 \%$. Since 1981 , however, these rates have been declining, with the $9.41 \% 1996$ rate for males in this age group almost back to 1971 's level, and the $16.26 \%$ rate for women half way back.

Within the classification of hospitals and related care institutions, most seniors are resident in seniors residences and special care homes, rather than in hospitals. There is the same age related pattern for residency in both facilities, but differences with respect to gender (Figure 11 and 12).

Figure 9: Percent of Age Group Resident in Hopsitals and Related Care Institutions, Canada Males, 55 and Older, 1971 to 1996


Figure 10: Percent of Age Group Resident in Hospitals \& Related Care Institutions, Canada Females, 55 and Older, 1971 to 1996


Figure 11: Seniors Resident in Hospitals in Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group


Figure 12: Seniors Resident in Special Care Homes and Residences in Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group


Only $0.23 \%$ of the people aged 55 to 64 were residents of hospitals in 1996 , compared to the $0.4 \%$ who were residents of special care homes and residences for the elderly and chronically ill. The difference becomes much greater in the 65 to 74 age group, where only $0.33 \%$ were residents of hospitals compared to $1.5 \%$ in homes and residences, and in the 75 plus age group, where only $1.05 \%$ were resident in hospitals, compared to $12.7 \%$ in care homes and senior residences. The pattern for these homes shows the almost $50 \%$ greater residency rate for women 75 and older than for men. The pattern for hospitals, however, shows age specific residency rates for men and women that are essentially the same. Thus the difference in institutional residency rates for men and women stems largely from housing and care requirements rather than hospitalization.

Published data on residency in hospitals and care facilities is only available for 1981, 1991, and 1996: it shows that hospital residency rates have not changed significantly over the past 15 years, although there are signs of a slight decline that might be substantiated by future data (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Percent of Age Group Resident in Hospital, Canada Population 55 and Older, 1981 to 1996


The data do show a decline in residency rates for seniors in care homes and seniors residences, particularly in the 75 plus age groups (Figure 14). In 1981, 14.23\% percent of the 75 plus population were resident in care homes and seniors residences: by 1996, the rate had declined by $12 \%$ to $12.66 \%$ of the 75 plus population. The rate for the 55 to 64 age group declined by $32 \%$, and for the 65 to 74 age group by $24 \%$. The declines in rates for seniors in health and related institutions is the result of declines in the rates for care facilities and seniors residences, rather than from declines in hospitalization.
c) Service Collective Dwellings. In contrast to most other forms of collective housing, residency of seniors in hotels, motels, rooming and lodging houses, missions and other accommodation for "transients" is one where rates for males are higher than they are for females, and where the difference in rates between males and females narrows, rather than widens, with increasing age (Figure 15). $0.43 \%$ of the males in the 55 to 64 age group reside in service collective dwellings, almost three times the $0.15 \%$ rate for women in the same age group. Both of these rates decline by about a third in the 65 to 74 age group, to $0.32 \%$ for males and $0.12 \%$ for females.

Figure 14: Percent of Age Group Resident in Care Facilities and Residences, Canada Population 55 and Older, 1981 to 1996

0.43\% Figure 15: Seniors Resident in Service Collective Dwellings in Canada, 1996,


The trend of declining residency rates for service collective dwellings appears to continue into the 75 plus age group, as the rate for males in the 75 plus age group is lower again, at $0.28 \%$ of the people in the age group. The rate for women, however, is higher, at $0.21 \%$, quite close to the rate for males, and well above the $0.16 \%$ average rate for all women.

Turning to the 1991 detailed age group data, it is apparent that the aggregation of data into the 75 plus category masks a pattern of change (Figure 16). Residency rates in service collective dwellings for both men and women decline with age from the 55 to 59 age group to the 70 to 74 age group, and then climb significantly for both men and women. As there are so few men in the 80 and older age group relative to the 75 to 79 age group, the aggregated rate for men in the 75 plus category does not represent the specific pattern of increase: the rate for women does.

Figure 16: Percent of Age Group Resident in Service Collective Dwellings, Canada Males and Females, 55 and Older, 1991


What causes this increase with age is an increasing propensity for both males and females to be resident in lodging and rooming houses, with a decline for both hotels and motels and for mission and other types of transient accommodation (Figure 17), with $0.13 \%$ of the people aged 75 plus in lodging and rooming houses in 1996, compared to only $0.08 \%$ of those aged 65 to 74 .

The propensity for seniors to reside in service collective dwellings has declined dramatically over the past 25 years, with the percentage of people in this type of dwelling in every age group dropping by a half or more between 1971 and 1996 (Figures 18 and 19). The declines in the 75 and older age group have been very large. In 1971, $1.63 \%$ of the males and $1.07 \%$ of the females, resided in service collective dwellings: in 1996, only $0.028 \%$ of the males, and $0.021 \%$ of the females lived in this type of dwelling. Even the number has declined substantially. In 1971, there were 29,120 people aged 55 or older living in service collective dwellings: in 1996, there was almost half this number, with only 14,950 seniors residing in this type of dwelling. Even in the past 5 years the numbers have declined, from 18,190 in 1991 to 14,950 in 1996. In the 75 and older age group, the decline was from 4,520 to 3,450. Note, however, that most of the decline occurred prior to 1991.

Figure 17: Seniors Resident in Service Collective Dwellings in Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group by Typeof Dwellings


Figure 18: Percent of Age Group Resident in Service Collective Dwellings, Canada Males, 55 and Older, 1971 to 1996



Figure 19: Percent of Age Group Resident in Service Collective Dwellings, Canada Females, 55 and Older, 1971 to 1996

d) Communal and Other Non-Institutional Collective Dwellings. This category is both wide and varied, including as it does everything from circus, work and military camps to Hutterite colonies and religious institutions. In terms of the seniors population, however, it is comprised almost entirely of people who live in religious institutions and Hutterite colonies. There were 22,935 people 55 years of age and older living in communal and non-institutional collective dwellings in 1996: 20,190 (88\%) lived in religious institutions, $2,485(11 \%)$ lived in Hutterite colonies, and $260(1 \%)$ lived in other types of housing in this category.

Again we find a strong age related pattern in the residency rates for seniors in this type of housing, with the rates in the 75 plus age groups being three times those for the 55 to 64 age group, and the rates for females being three times those for males (Figure 20). $0.94 \%$ of the women aged 75 and older in Canada, and $0.35 \%$ of the men, were residents of religious institutions and Hutterite colonies in 1996: $96 \%$ of these were residents of religious institutions, with only $4 \%$ residents of Hutterite colonies.

As with other types of collective dwelling, there has been a slight decline in the percentage of the seniors population who reside in this type of dwelling (Figures 21 and 22). The decline has been most noticeable in the case of the 55 to 64 and 65 to 74 age groups, where 1996 rates were almost one half of their 1981 levels. The only exception was the increase in the male residence rate for the 75 plus age group, which increased from $0.29 \%$ in 1981 to $0.37 \%$ in 1991 , and then declined to $0.35 \%$ in 1996 .

Figure 20: Seniors Resident in Communal and Other Non-Institutional Collective Dwellings Canada, 1996, Percentage of Age Group
$0.94 \%$ Females


Figure 21: Percent of Age Group Resident in Communal \& Other Non-Institutional, Canada Males 55 and Older, 1981 to 1996


Figure 22: Percent of Age Group Resident in Communal \& Other Non-Institutional, Canada Females, 55 and Older, 1981 to 1996

e) Conclusions. The data on collective dwellings in Canada clearly show that the majority of Canada's seniors, even into the 90 plus age group, do not live in collective dwellings, but rather live in private residences just like everyone else. They also show that rates for living in collective dwellings have been generally stable or slightly declining over the past fifteen to twenty five years.

In order to project demand for collective dwellings, residency rates are multiplied by the projected future population to estimate the total number of people resident in each type of accommodation. Accepting the population projection, it is necessary to determine what residency rates to use. In the projections presented in section VI of this report, it is assumed that the rates will remain constant at their 1996 level. It assumes the rates, while declining in the past, have reached a long term stable level. This is a conservative approach to projection, intended to establish a baseline projection that shows the effects of demographic change alone will bring to demand for accommodation in collective dwellings. Assumptions about further declines, or increases, in residency rates can be tested against this demographic base scenario.

The values that will be used in the projections are the 1996 residency rates that have been presented in this section. In order to ensure that the high residency rates of the older aged parts of an age group are not applied to growth in the younger parts of the 1996 data aggregates ( 55 to 64,65 to 74 and 75 plus), rates for each five year age group were estimated for each type of collective dwelling by allocating the 1996 larger age group rates to component five age group using the 1991 distribution by five year age groups within each larger age group. The resultant estimates of five year collective dwelling residency rates are shown on Figure 23.

The seniors housing demand projections are to be for both collective and private housing. The next section examines the age specific pattern of housing demand from the vast majority of seniors who live in private housing.

Figure 23: Estimated Percentage of Age Group Resident in Collective Dwellings, Canada Males and Female, 55 and Older, 1996


Figure 24: Estimated Percentage of Age Group Resident in Private Dwellings, Canada


## V. Seniors in Private Housing

The percentage of seniors in private housing, shown on Figure 24, is the mirror image of Figure 23: in every age group the majority of seniors live in private housing, with over $90 \%$ of the people in every age group up to age 80 living in private dwellings, over $85 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group, over $70 \%$ in the 85 to 90 age group, and $50 \%$ in the 90 plus age group.
a) Household Maintainer Rates. A residency rate (the percentage of people in an age group resident in a type of collective dwelling) was used to tabulate data for the population in collective dwellings. For the population in private dwellings, a household maintainer rate that focuses on the structure type of dwelling is used. A household maintainer rate is the percentage of people in an age group who are maintainers of households living in a private dwelling of a particular type. In the census questionnaire used to gather data on housing, each group of people living together in a dwelling unit (a household) is asked to indicate the age (and other attributes) of the person they consider to be primarily responsible for the financial support of the household. This person is referred to as the (primary) household maintainer: the percentage of people in each age group who are household maintainers is referred to as the household maintainer rate.

The household maintainer rate for the seniors population is the highest of all age groups (Figure 25). $57 \%$ of the people in the 55 to 59 age group are maintainers of households, $1 \%$ are residents of collective dwellings, and $42 \%$ live in private households where someone else has been designated as the household maintainer. As the population ages, the percentage that is household maintainers increases, to reach its highest value in the 75 to 79 age group. In this age group, $66 \%$ of the people are household maintainers, $6 \%$ are residents of collective dwellings, and $28 \%$ are residents of private dwellings maintained by someone else. With the significant increase in the institutional residency rates over the age of 80 , we see a decline in the private household maintainer rate to $63 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group, and $48 \%$ in the 85 plus age group (data for the 85 to 89 and 90 plus age groups is not available).

Figure 25: Age Specific Household Maintainer Rates, Canada, 1996


Figure 26: Age Specific Household Maintainer Rates, 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


The household maintainer rate for males remains relatively constant in the range of $84 \%$ to $86 \%$ being household maintainers from the 55 to 74 age groups (Figure 26). Then, as would be expected from the increase in the propensity to reside in collective dwellings for males from the 75 to 79 age group on, the male private household maintainer rate declines to $75 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group, and $59 \%$ in the $85+$ age group.

The reasons for the increase in the percentage of people who are household maintainers as the population ages is that males have a higher mortality rate. Consider the 80 to 84 age group in comparison to the 55 to 59 age group. In the 50 to 59 age group, $83.7 \%$ of the males are household maintainers, $1.2 \%$ are in collective dwellings, and $15.1 \%$ are resident in a households maintained by someone else. In the 80 to 84 age group, $74.7 \%$ of the males are household maintainers, $10.0 \%$ are in collective dwellings, and $15.2 \%$ are resident in households maintained by someone else. The decline in male household maintainer rates with age is the result of the increasing collective dwelling residence rates, not the result of males increasingly being in households maintained by someone else, which remains at a relatively constant $15 \%$ of the males.

If this is the case, why do female maintainer rates increase with age, from $31 \%$ in the 55 to 59 age group to $56 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group, before declining to $43 \%$ for the 85 plus age group? The reason is that when the male spouse dies, the female spouse becomes the maintainer of a one person household. While male household maintainer rates remain constant, they generally apply to a two person household, and to the ever-diminishing male share of the total population in each successive age group. Female maintainer rates, in contrast, increase as the surviving spouse generally goes from being a person residing in a household maintained by someone else to being the maintainer of a one-person household.

This is shown in the comparison of household maintainer rate for women in the 55 to 59 age group with the rate for the 80 to 84 age group. In the 55 to 59 age group, $30.8 \%$ of the women are maintainers of households, $0.9 \%$ are residents of collective dwellings, and $63.3 \%$ live in private households maintained by someone else. In the 80 to 84 age group, $55.7 \%$ of the women are household maintainers, $15.4 \%$ are residents of collective dwellings, and $29.9 \%$ are residents of households maintained by someone else. The increase in female maintainer rate from $30.8 \%$ in the 55 to 59 age group to $55.7 \%$ in the 80 to 84 age group is the result of the decline from $63.3 \%$ of the women in the younger age group living in households
maintained by someone else to only $29.9 \%$ of them doing so in the older one. Thus it is the earlier death of males that leads to the increase in female maintainer rates with increasing age.

Published data that demonstrate how these maintainer rates have changed over time is not available, as most historical censuses aggregate data to a single, 65 plus, age group. The three data points that are available are for 1981, 1991, and 1996, but only for the 55 to 64,65 to 74 and 75 plus age groups. These show (Figure 27) a slight increase in maintainer rates for females, and a slight decline for males, in the 55 to 64 age group. As the residency rates for collective dwellings for both males and females in this age group declined from 1981 to 1996, the changes in maintainer rates in this age group reflect a slight increase in the propensity of women, and a slight decline in the propensity for men, to be household maintainers.

Figure 27: Household Maintainer Rates by Sex, 55+ Population, Canada, 1981, 1991, 1996


The maintainer rates for the 65 to 74 remained essentially constant over the period. The increase in private household maintainer rates for both males and females in the 75 plus age group reflects a increase in the propensity of people in this age group to maintain private households, as expected from the decline in the residency rates for collective dwellings over the past 15 years.
b) Tenure. The pattern of household maintainers by tenure (owner-occupier or renter household) also demonstrates a strong pattern in the older population (Figures 28 and 29). The decline in maintainer rates for males is the result of a decline in the rates for owner-occupied housing. From a peak of $70 \%$ of the males in the 65 to 74 being the maintainers of owner occupancy households, this tenure specific rate declines steadily to reach $39 \%$ of the males in the 85 plus age group. This decline is slightly offset by an increase in the rental household maintainer rate from $15 \%$ of the males in the 55 to 59 age group, to $20 \%$ in the 80 to 84 and 85 plus age groups.

Figure 28: Age and Tenure Specific Household Maintainer Rates, Male 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


Figure 29: Age and Tenure Specific Household Maintainer Rates, Female 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


The rates for females demonstrate a remarkably different pattern. Owner-occupier maintainer rates climb significantly from $19 \%$ in the 55 to 59 age group to $30 \%$ in the 75 to 79 group, before declining, as they do for males, in the 80 and older age groups. The percentage in rental housing also climbs significantly, from $12 \%$ of the women in the 55 to 59 age group to $28 \%$ in the 80 to 84 group, before declining to $23 \%$ in the 85 plus group. The pattern of women taking over the maintenance of the owner-occupancy household upon the death of a spouse, as well as an increasing propensity to be in either rental or collective housing, is shown in this data.
c) Structure Type. Turning to households by structure type (Figures 30 and 31), we see the pattern by structure type very similar to that for tenure. This is the result of the very strong correspondence in Canada between owner occupancy and ground oriented accommodation, and rental tenure and apartment

[^1]accommodation. To show the full age related pattern of tenure and structure type, therefore, it is necessary to consider the four combinations of tenure and structure type together (Figures 34 and 35). Before doing so, however, it is important to review what types of housing make up the ground oriented and apartment categories (Figures 32 and 33).

Figure 30: Age and Structure Type Household Maintainer Rates, Male 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


Figure 31: Age and Structure Type Household Maintainer Rates, Female 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


Household maintainer rates for males are primarily rates for single detached houses (Figure 32). 60.2\% of the males in the 55 to 59 age maintain households living in this type of dwelling, compared only $10.3 \%$ who maintain households living in other forms of ground oriented housing (semi-detached duplex, $3.6 \%$; suites and flats in detached houses, $2.4 \%$; row houses, $2.8 \%$; mobile and moveable dwellings, $1.2 \%$; and dwellings attached to non-residential buildings, $0.3 \%$ ). The $13.3 \%$ of males in the 55 to 59
age group who mainatin households living in apartments is comprised of $4.4 \%$ whose dwellings are in buildings of 5 or more storeys, and $8.9 \%$ who are in buildings of less than five storeys.

Figure 32: Age \& Detailed Structure Type Maintainer Rates, Male 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


The decline in maintainer rates for males with increasing age is the result of a decline primarily in single detached houses, but which also occurs in each of the other ground oriented structure type categories. In contrast, the increase in apartment rates is in both the high rise and low rise sector. By the time the 85 plus age group is reached, single detached maintainer rates for males have dropped to $33 \%$ of the males in the age group, with rates for all other ground oriented structure types also at their lowest level (semidetached duplex, $1.5 \%$; suites and flats in detached houses, $1.4 \%$; row houses, $1.6 \%$; mobile and moveable dwellings, $0.7 \%$; and dwellings attached to non-residential buildings, $0.1 \%$ ).

The rates for apartments in both high rise and low rise buildings increases for each age group from 55 to 59 to 80 to 84 . The $10.4 \%$ of the males in the 80 to 84 age group who maintain apartment households in buildings of five or more storeys is more than twice the $4.4 \%$ rate for the 55 to 59 age group, and the $11.9 \%$ rate for dwellings in low rise buildings is a third higher than the $8.9 \%$ rate of the 55 to 59 age group. The $10.7 \%$ maintainer rate for males 85 and older in high rise buildings is the highest for this type of housing for the seniors age groups: the $10 \%$ rate for those in low rise buildings is lower than it was in the three preceding younger age groups.

The structure type specific maintainer rates for females are almost balanced between ground oriented and apartments (Figure 33). 14.6\% of the women in the 55 to 59 age group maintain households living in single detached dwellings, with a further $5 \%$ in other forms of ground oriented accommodation (semidetached duplex, $1.4 \%$; suites and flats in detached houses, $1.3 \%$; row houses, $1.8 \%$; mobile and moveable dwellings, $0.5 \%$; and dwellings attached to non-residential buildings, $0.1 \%$ ). The $11 \%$ of the women in this age group who maintain households in apartment buildings is comprised of a $7.2 \%$ rate for units in low rise buildings and a $3.8 \%$ rate for units in high rise buildings.

Figure 33: Age \& Detailed Structure Type Maintainer Rates, Female 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


Unlike the patterns for males, female household maintainer rates for all structures types increase to the 75 to 79 age group, and then increase for both apartment types into the 80 to 84 age group, before declining for all structure types upon reaching the 85 plus age group. Of all of the women in the 85 plus age group, $19.7 \%$ are maintainers of households living in ground oriented accommodation: $15.8 \%$ are maintainers of households living in single detached housing, $1.1 \%$ of households in semi-detached duplexes, $1.2 \%$ in suites and flats in detached structures, $1.3 \%$ in row houses, $0.2 \%$ in mobile homes, and $0.1 \%$ in dwellings attached to non-residential property.

The $23 \%$ of the women in the 85 plus age group who maintain household living in apartments are relatively evenly divided between $11.2 \%$ for dwellings in low rise buildings, and $11.8 \%$ for dwellings in high rise buildings.

There is a high degree of substitutability between the detailed structure types within the broad category of ground oriented and apartment, and only a small percentage of households are in non-single detached ground oriented. Thus while the data are available to carry out projections at the detailed structure type level, in this report only the two higher levels of aggregation (ground oriented and apartment) will be considered. This will permit a focus on the combination of tenure and structure type.
d) Tenure and Structure Type. The decline in male ground oriented household maintainer rates with age is tied to the structure type, not the tenure (Figure 34). In the cases of both ground oriented rental and ground oriented owner occupier households, there is a steady decline in male maintainer rates from $4.4 \%$ (rental) and $65.4 \%$ (owner occupancy) in the 65 to 69 age group to $3.7 \%$ and $34.6 \%$, respectively, by the time the 85 plus age group is reached.

Figure 34: Age, Tenure \& Structure Type Maintainer Rates, Male 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


Figure 35: Age, Tenure \& Structure Type Maintainer Rates, Female 55 Plus Population, Canada, 1996


Similarly, the increase in apartment maintainer rates is tied to the structure type, not to tenure, as the rates for both rental and owner-occupied apartments increases with age, from $9.5 \%$ for rental apartment and $3.7 \%$ for owner occupied apartments for males aged 50 to 59 to reach their peak values for males in the 80 to 84 age group ( $16.1 \%$ for rental and $6.2 \%$ for owner occupancy). The rates for all four of the structure and tenure combinations then decline into the 85 plus age group, the result of the significant increase in collective dwelling residency rates, particularly for care facilities and seniors residences, that occurs in this age group.

The pattern of change in household maintainer rates structure type by tenure for women aged 55 and older is also primarily determined by structure type rather than tenure (Figure 35). Rates for all four structure type and tenure combinations increase for women from age group 55 to 59 up to 75 to 79 . In the 55 to 59 age group, $16.8 \%$ of the women maintain households living in owner-occupied ground oriented, $3.0 \%$ in rental ground oriented, $8.7 \%$ in rental apartments, and $2.3 \%$ in owner occupied apartments.

The apartment maintainer rates for women in the 75 to 79 age group are twice those of the 55 to 59 age group, and the ground oriented rates are twenty five percent higher: $25.9 \%$ of the women aged 75 to 79 are maintainers of households living in ground oriented owner occupied housings, $3.8 \%$ in rental ground oriented, $20.4 \%$ in rental apartments, and $4.2 \%$ in owner-occupied apartments.

Between the 75 to 79 age group and the 80 to 84 age group, the female maintainer rates for ground oriented owner occupancy, ground oriented rental, and apartment owner occupancy all decline, with only the rate for rental apartments increasing. Between the 80 to 84 and 85 plus age groups, female household maintainer rates for all types of private housing decline, as collective housing, specifically seniors residences and care facilities, begins to play a significant role in housing the seniors population.
e) Conclusions. The rates shown on Figures 33 and 34 will be used in the projection of seniors private housing demand by structure type. Given the lack of comparable data to establish the pattern of long term historical change in tenure and structure type maintainer rates by detailed age group and sex, it is not appropriate to attempt to apply trends to these rates in preparing projections.

This is consistent with the use of constant collective dwelling residency rates. Combined, these two sets of housing occupancy rates provide the inputs for a demographically determined projection of seniors housing demand in Canada over the next three decades. As the occupancy rates will be held constant at their 1996 levels, it will be the population projection that will determine the pattern of housing demand: the final step before presenting the housing projections is to examine the characteristics of the population projection.

## VI. A Growing Seniors Population

The magnitude of future growth in the seniors population in Canada was briefly mentioned in an earlier section of this report: over the next thirty years, this country's seniors population will double, with the 13.2 million people in Canada who are 55 and older in Canada in 2026 accounting for $33.3 \%$ of the

[^2]country's population compared to the $21 \%$ that today's 6.1 million seniors account for. The Statistics Canada Baseline Population Projection for Canada referenced earlier shows the country's population growing by $33 \%$, from today's population of 30 million people to 40 million, by 2026. Of the projected increase of $9,825,000$ people, $2,700,000$ will be in the under 55 age groups, and $7,125,000$ will be in the 55 and older age groups.

The under 55 age group is projected to increase by $11 \%$ (from 1996's $23,599,000$ to $26,298,000$ in 2026). As this increase will be dependent upon the level of births and of immigration in Canada over the next three decades, one may anticipate some variance in the magnitude of the increase. The 55 plus population is projected to increase by $117 \%$ (from 1996's $6,099,000$ to $13,223,000$ in 2026). There is very little risk that this number will not be attained: there are currently $13,500,000$ people in Canada between the ages of 25 and 55 , almost all of whom will be 55 and older in 2026. There is no question that Canada's population over the age of 55 is going to more than double over the next three decades.

The current age structure of Canada's population (Figure 36) permits us to project not only how much the older population is going to grow, but when this will occur. The front edge of the baby boom was 49 years of age in 1996: we can anticipate a significant increase in the 55 year old population in 2002, the 65 year old population in 2012, the 75 year old population in 2022, and the 85 year old population in 2032, as the front edge of the baby boom ages.

Figure 36: Canada's Population by Age, 1996


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Simply by aging today's population, we can conclude that the number of 55 year olds will continue to increase until the typical boomer, who was 33 in 1996, turns 55 in 2018: after that, the number of people aged 55 will decline. The population of 65 year olds will increase from 2012 and 2028, when today's typical Canadian turns 65; the population of 75 year olds will increase from 2022 to 2038, and of 85 year olds from 2032 and 2048.

These conclusions are born out in Statistics Canada's baseline population projection. Figure 37 show the projection growth of the 55 and older population, aggregated into 10 year age groups, referenced to the number of people in the age group in 1996. The total population of Canada is projected to increase by $33 \%$ from 1996 to 2026, with there being 1.33 people in the country in 2026 for every 1 that there was in 1996. The rate of increase for the 55 to 64 age group turns up in 2002 with the entry of the front edge of the baby boom into this age group. The high rate of increase for this age group continues until 2012, when the front edge of the baby boom ages out of it and into the 65 to 74 age group. As the second, and largest half, of the baby boom continues to enter the age group, it continues to increase, albeit at a slowing rate, until 2022, when the peak of boomers age out of the age group 55 to 64 age group, and its size begins to decline.

Figure 37: Population Growth Indices, Seniors Population, Canada, 1996 to 2026, $1996=1.0$


The same pattern, lagged by a decade is shown for the 65 to 74 age group, whose growth takes off in 2012 as the front edge of the boom have their $65^{\text {th }}$ birthday, and whose growth continues to 2032. The 75 to 84 age group, in turn lagged by another decade, follows the same path. Note that the patterns are not precisely tied to the Post War Generations' milestone birthdays: the boom in births started during the war and tapered off in the late 1960s, so there is a transition period before and after the baby boom generation. Also, increasing life expectancies mean that people in the age group before the baby boom generation are living longer than their predecessors, and hence smoothing the transition. The effect of today's longer life expectancies, for example, is clearly shown in the fact that the greatest percentage growth will be in the relative small oldest ( 85 plus) population.

Figure 38: Increase in Canada's Population by Age Group, 1996 to 2026


The pattern of absolute increase in the number of people in each age group (Figure 38) follows that of the relative increase shown on Figure 37. The largest increment in the seniors population over the 1996 to 2006 period will be in the 55 to 59 age group, as the first of the boomers age into the age group.
Between 2006 and 2012, the largest increment will be in the 60 to 64 age group (as the first of the boomers age into this age group), followed by the 55 to 59 , whose continued growth will be caused by the aging of the last of the boomers into the age group, offset to some extent by the aging of the first of the boomers out of it. From 2012 to 2016, the front edge of the baby boom will be pushing into the 65 to 69 age group, which will then have its five years of having the largest increment of growth, as will the 70 to 74 age group from 2017 to 2021, the 75 to 79 age group from 2022 to 2027 , and 80 to 84 age group from 2028 to 2032.

By 2021, the last of the baby boomers, today's 30 to 34 year olds, will be aging out of the 55 to 59 age group. With the generation behind the baby boom being about $8 \%$ smaller than the baby boom generation, there will not be enough people aging into the age group to replace the boomers aging out, and the number of people in the 55 to 59 age group will decline for a decade, as will the 60 to 64 age group starting in 2026.

This pattern will have a significant impact on the age composition of the seniors population (Figure 39). From 1997 to 2009, there will be an increasing portion of the seniors population in the 80 and older age group (as a result of the aging of the post world war one baby boom), and in the 55 to 64 age group (as a result of the aging of the post world war two baby boom). As a result of the increase in the share of the 80 plus population, we can anticipate the demand for housing in collective dwellings to increase faster than the population of seniors during this 10 year period. Once the smaller "birth dearth" 1930's generation reaches the 80 plus age group in 2011, its share of the seniors population will decline until 2020, and then will begin to increase again, a path that will be followed by the demand for accommodation in collective dwellings.

Figure 39: Increase in Canada's Seniors Population by Age Group, 1996 to 2026 90+


The pattern of growth and change within the seniors population will be essentially the same for the male and female population (Figures 40 and 41). As females have longer life expectancies than males, there are now, and will be in the future, more females than males in every seniors age group. Having said that, given that male life expectancies have been increasing faster than female life expectancies over the past twenty-five years, the increase in the number of males in these age groups will be relatively faster than for females. For example, in 1996, there were 407,000 women aged 75 to 79 : there will be 858,000 in 2026, representing a 2.1 times increase. In 1996 there were 281,000 males in the same age group: this number is projected to increase to 689,000 by 2026, a 2.5 times increase.

Given the age specific nature of both collective dwelling residency rates and private household maintainer rates, the pattern of growth in the seniors population will have a distinct impact on seniors' housing demand. Even without a formal projection, it is apparent that the growth of Canada's older population over the next thirty years will have its greatest absolute impact on the private housing market, as collective dwelling residency rates do not become significant until age 85 and older, which the first baby boomer will not reach for 30 years, and the typical boomer will not reach this age for 50 years. Having said this, the fact that the 85 plus population is projected to have the greatest relative growth over the next thirty years means that we can anticipate demand for collective accommodation to increase faster than for private accommodation, both of which will increase faster than the population as a whole. The seniors housing demand projection presented in the next section shows these anticipations to be correct.

Figure 40: Number of Females by Age Group, 1996 and 2026, Canada


Figure 41: Number of Males by Age Group, 1996 and 2026, Canada


## VII. Housing Canada's Seniors in the Next Three Decades

The projection of additional housing that will be required to accommodated Canada's growing seniors population is relatively straightforward, as it requires multiplying the projected number of people of each sex in each age group by the collective dwelling residency rates discussed in Part IV of this report to estimate the number of people resident in collective dwellings in the future, and by the household headship rates presented in Part V to estimate the number of private dwelling units that will be maintained by people aged 55 and older. The results of this mathematical operation are discussed in the following sections of this Part of the report.
a) Collective Dwellings. Assuming constant 1996 collective dwelling residency rates, the population of seniors in collective dwellings will increase from $299,000{ }^{\text {viii }}$ to 718,000 over the next thirty years (Figure 42). This increase of 419,000 additional seniors resident in collective dwellings represents a $140 \%$ increase over the next 30 years, compared to a $116 \%$ increase in the number of seniors, and a $33 \%$ increase in Canada's population. This also means an increase in the percentage of the seniors population who live in collective dwellings, from 1996's $4.9 \%$ to $5.4 \%$ in 2026. Following the relative share of the seniors population that is 80 plus, the collective residents share of the total seniors population increases to $5.4 \%$ by 2004 , remains at that level until 2012, and then decline to $5.2 \%$ in 2020, before returning to $5.4 \%$ by 2026 . Even with $140 \%$ increase in the number of seniors in collective dwellings over the next thirty years, essentially $95 \%$ of seniors will live in private housing.

Figure 42: Projected Seniors Population In Collective Dwellings, Canada, 1996 to 2026


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Given the insignificant number of seniors resident as staff, as inmates of penal and correctional institutions, and in orphanages, these are not considered in the projections. The focus here will be on the overwhelming majority of seniors in care facilities and senior's residences, and in hospitals, service commercial and non-institutional communal dwellings (Figures 43 and 44).

Figure 43: Projected Seniors Population in Collective Dwellings by Type, Canada, 1996 to 2026


Figure 44: Projected Growth of Seniors Population in Collective Dwellings


Relatively and absolutely, the most significant growth in seniors collective housing demand will be for residency in care facilities and seniors residences. Assuming 1996 residency rates, for every one senior in this type of accommodation in 1996, there will be 2.45 in 2026 . The number of people in these

[^3]collective dwellings will increase from 200,000 in 1996 to 490,200 in 2026, a $145 \%$ increase over 30 years. The increase of 290,200 more residents will mean constructing this type of accommodation for an average of 9,700 more seniors every year. During the first two and one half decades, annual additional demand will be in the 8,500 to 10,100 range (Figure 45 ): with the growth of the 75 plus population after 2021, this will move up into the 10,800 to 11,900 range for the last five years of the projection period (and beyond).

Figure 45: Projected Annual Increase in Number of Seniors in Collective Dwellings By Type,


Rivaling the rate of growth of demand for care facilities and seniors residence type accommodation will be that for hospital accommodation. For every 1 senior resident in a hospital in 1996, there will be 2.41 in 2026, a $141 \%$ increase. The 79,000 person increase in seniors resident in hospitals, from 55,900 in 1996 to 134,900 in 2026, will average 2,600 additional seniors in hospitals each year. There will be more variance around this average than there will be for care facilities and seniors residences, with a range from 2,100 to 3,100 prevailing during the 30 year projection period.

Given the close relationship between hospital and care facilities, it is useful to aggregate these two categories into seniors in health related institutions. In this larger format, we can anticipate increments of demand to accommodate in the range of 10,500 to 14,000 additional seniors in health related facilities each year for the next quarter century, with the number increasing to the range of 13,000 to 15,000 per year after 2021.

The number of seniors in service commercial (hotels, motels, rooming and lodging houses), and in communal non-institutional (religious institutions and Hutterite colonies) will increase at about the same rate and path as that of the seniors population as a whole. The $117 \%$ ( 2.17 times) increase in the number of seniors will be accompanied, assuming constant 1996 residency rates, by a $119 \%$ ( 2.19 times) increase in the number who are resident in communal non-institutional dwellings, and a 1.14\% (2.14 times) increase in the number resident in service commercial dwellings. There will be 50,500 seniors resident in communal non-institutional dwellings in 2026, 26,900 more than the 23,600 there were in 1996 (an average increase of 900 more each year). There will be 33,200 seniors resident in religious institutions and Hutterite colonies in 2026, compared to 15,200 in 1996, an increase of 18,000 residents ( 600 more each year).

These increases are determined by demographic change alone, given the assumption that collective dwelling residence rates remain at their 1996 levels. This assumption was made in spite of the fact that these rates declined significantly from 1981 to 1991, and slightly from 1991 to 1996: if a continuing decline were assumed, the resultant projected increases in demand would have been somewhat lower. There were a number of reasons why a continuing decline was not assumed. The first is that there are simply not enough data points (only three) to provide a solid base for establishing trend lines. It is not possible from the existing data to argue that changes are constant between these three points: it may be that rates bottomed in between 1991 and 1996 and are now on the increase. Residency rates for hospitals and related institutions increased from 1971 to 1981, with their 1991 values roughly equal to their 1971 levels.

The second reason was that declines stop at some point: to project continuing declines in rates is based on the assumption that it will be as easy to reduce them in the future as it has been in the past. As the data shows, the greatest decreases occurred prior to 1991. As the easiest reductions are generally those that occur first, it is likely that any future declines will be much smaller than those which occurred over the past decades.

This leads to the third reason, which is that projection of continuing declines in rates is often used as a reason not to deal with issues, particularly issues concerning publicly funded services, which would with constant rates require a significant change in how these services are funded and provided. As base line projection, assuming constant 1996 rates, clearly identifies the magnitude of growth that will occur in the demand for accommodating seniors in hospitals, care facilities and seniors residences if utilization rates do not decline. It allows us to prepare for what might happen, while working to reduce residency rates so that it does not.

Certainly developments in medical technology that keep people alive, but needing care, longer, may well lead to an increase in residency rates. But it is more likely in the future that, on the positive side, a fitter, healthier, and more active seniors population will have lesser requirements for collective accommodation, and on the negative side, there will be a relative decline in public funding for such dwellings. Combined, these may well lead to a reduction in collective dwelling residency rates, and a matching increase in private household maintainer rates.

It is therefore useful to briefly consider the impact on demand for accommodation in collective dwellings of declines in residency rates. As the vast majority of seniors in collective dwellings are in care and seniors residence facilities, this type of accommodation will be used as an example. Assuming constant residency rates means an increase of 2.45 times ( 290,000 more residents), compared to an increase of 2.17 times for the seniors population as a whole. If the increase in the number of seniors resident in these facilities in 2026 was to be $20 \%$ smaller, growing only at the rate of the seniors population (i.e., 2.17 times), there would be 233,600 more residents in thirty years. In order for this to happen, residency rates for this type of dwellings would have to decline by $12 \%$ from 1996 to 2026, approximately the same decline as occurred between 1981 and 1996. This is a feasible decline, which still means a $117 \%$ increase in seniors resident in this type of accommodation, compared a population increase of $33 \%$.

## b) Private Dwellings

Where the most significant growth in the seniors population will occur will be in private dwellings, with the number of seniors living in this type of accommodation increasing by 6.7 million people, from 5.8 million in 1996 to 12.5 million in 2026 (Figure 46). For all practical purposes, $95 \%$ of the seniors population is, and will be for the next 30 years, in private dwellings. The seniors population in private dwellings will increase by 2.15 times ( $115 \%$ ), compared to the 2.40 times $(140 \%)$ increase in the seniors population in collective dwellings, the 2.17 times ( $117 \%$ ) increase in the seniors population as a whole, and the 1.33 times ( $33 \%$ ) increase in the country's population.

Figure 46: Projected Seniors Population In Private Dwellings, Canada, 1996 to 2026


Percentage of Seniors in Private Dwellings


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Even with the simplifying assumption of constant 1996 age, sex, structure type and tenure maintainer rates, the factors affecting the pattern of seniors demand for private dwelling accommodation are relatively complex. On the demographic side, the projection that the male proportion of the seniors population will increase as a result of the continuing convergence of male and female life expectancies means that, as they do today, male household maintainer rates will continue to dominate housing demand patterns. As the majority of the seniors population growth over the next 30 years will be in the under 75 population where male maintainer rates are relatively stable, the housing demand pattern of the future will also be similar to that of today.

This stability in demand will be complemented by behavioural factors. As female rates in the under 85 population increase to more than offset the corresponding declines in male rates, overall housing demand will functionally move with the growth of the seniors population. This means that it will increase slightly faster than the seniors population as a whole until population growth shifts into the 80 and older age groups where overall maintainer rates decline. And finally, the fact that female maintainer rates increase for all dwelling and structure type combinations until the oldest age group is reached, means that the patterns of increases in demand for all types of housing will be quite similar over the next thirty years.
In 1996, there were $3,655,000$ households in private dwellings that were maintained by people 55 years of age or older. Assuming constant 1996 maintainer rates, this will increase 2.18 times to reach $7,972,000$ private dwellings, an increase of $4,317,000$ dwellings ( $118 \%$ increase).

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The increase will be proportionately shared between ground oriented and apartment structure types (Figure 47). In 1996, seniors maintained 2,625,000 ground oriented dwellings and 1,030,000 apartment dwelling units. Both of these will more than double (increasing 2.18 times), reaching 5,726,000 ground oriented, and 2,246,000 apartment units, maintained by seniors in 2026. This means an increase of $3,100,000$ household in ground oriented dwellings, and $1,217,000$ in apartment dwellings, that are maintained by people 55 and older in Canada over the 30 year period.

Figure 47: Projected Number of Seniors Maintaining Private Dwellings by General Structure Type, Canada, 1996 to 2026


In 1996, $37.6 \%$ of seniors household maintainers were women. With the slight shift in the composition of the seniors population towards males in the future, the percentage of senior household maintainers who are women will decline very slightly to $35.8 \%$ in 2017, before increasing (as a result of higher male mortality rates in the older age groups) to reach $36.5 \%$ by 2026 . Women accounted for $30.3 \%$ of the seniors who maintained ground oriented households, and $56.3 \%$ of those who maintained apartment households, in 1996: over the next three decades this will change slightly, to $29.3 \%$ and $54.8 \%$ respectively, following the same "decline followed by increase" pattern for their share of all maintainers.

Housing demand by tenure (Figure 48) will follow the same pattern as that by structure type. The number of owner occupier households maintained by seniors will increase from 2,628,000 in 1996 to $5,738,000$ in 2026, an increase of $3,110,000$ households ( $118 \%$ ). The number of rental households maintained by seniors will also increase by $118 \%$, from $1,027,000$ rental households in 1996 to 2,234,000 in 2026, an demand increase of $1,207,000$ households. Women will continue to account for approximately the $29 \%$ of the seniors maintaining owner occupier housing, and $55 \%$ of those maintaining rental accommodation, that they did in 1996.

Figure 48: Projected Number of Seniors Maintaining Private Dwellings by Tenure, Canada, 1996 to 2026


Turning to the detailed structure and tenure type combinations, its is apparent that ground oriented owner occupancy will continue to dominate the private housing stock occupied by seniors (Figure 49). In 2026, there will be $5,224,000$ households maintained by people 55 years of age and older and living in ground oriented owner occupied dwellings, $2,831,500$ more than the $2,392,000$ of 1996 (a $118 \%$ increase). The number of households maintained by seniors and living in ground oriented rental will increase by 270,100 (a $117 \%$ increase) from 231,800 in 1996 to 501,900 in 2026.

The number of rental apartment household that are maintained by seniors will increase by 936,700 dwellings (a $118 \%$ increase) from 795,400 in 1996 to $1,732,100$ in 2026. The number of owner occupier apartment households maintained by seniors will increase by 279,000 dwellings (a $119 \%$ increase), from 234,700 in 1996 to 513,700 in 2026.

Under the constant headship rate assumption, women will continue to account for $60 \%$ of the seniors maintaining households living in rental apartments, $45 \%$ of those maintaining households living in rental ground oriented units, $44 \%$ of those in owner-occupier apartments, and $29 \%$ of seniors maintaining households residing in ground oriented owner occupier housing.

The preceding discussion of the number of households living in private housings that are maintained by seniors focused on the stock, the total number of dwellings by type, at a point in time. A distinct pattern of change in this stock is shown by examining the additions to the stock of households maintained by seniors over this thirty year projection period (Figure 50). During the 1997 to 2001 period, the number of seniors maintained households added to the housing stock each year will be in the range of 80,000 to 100,000 additional households per year. Once the front edge of the baby boom reaches age 55, the number of seniors households added to the housing stock each year increases dramatically, with between 125,000 and 160,000 more each year during the 2002 to 2011 period.

Figure 49: Projected Number of Seniors Maintaining Private Dwellings


Figure 50: Projected Additional Number of Households Maintained by Seniors, by Tenure and Structure Type, Canada, 1996 to 2026


As the larger, second half of the baby boom reaches age 55 in 2012, the number of additional private households maintained by seniors will continue to increase, with between 175,000 and 185,000 added each year from 2012 to 2020. The annual additional number of seniors households will be somewhat smaller after 2020, as the first of the baby boomers will have reached 75, and the last of the boomers will have reached 55. Part of the slowing of growth will be the result of the slowing of the growth of the seniors population, as all of the boomers will be seniors and the following generation, while adding to the seniors population, will add many fewer than the baby boom generation did. The other part will be the

[^4]result of the first of the boomers reaching the age where private maintainer rates begin to decline, and collective residence dwelling residence rates begin to increase.

Annual additions to the stock of households maintained by seniors by specific dwelling type will all follow this general pattern. The number of seniors households living in ground oriented owner occupied dwellings will increase by 50,000 to 65,000 per year from 1996 to 2001 ; by 90,000 to 110,000 per year from 2002 to 2011; by 115,000 to 125,000 per year from 2012 to 2020 ; and by 70,000 to 90,000 per year from 2021 to 2026. The number of rental ground oriented seniors households will increase by between 5,300 and 6,700 per year from 1996 to 2001 ; in the 8,800 to 10,500 range from 2002 to 2011 ; in the 10,500 to 11,600 additional households per year range from 2012 to 2020 ; and in the 6,900 to 8,600 range from 2021 to 2026.

The number of households maintained by seniors and living in rental apartments will increase in the 19,500 to 22,700 additional households per year range from 1997 to 2001 ; in the 26,900 to 32,800 per year range from 2002 to 2011 ; in the 34,900 to 40,200 additional households per year from 2012 to 2020; and in the 32,000 to 34,900 per year range from 2021 to 2026.

While a relatively small portion of the growth in housing demand from seniors is in owner occupier apartments, this growth is significant for this type of household. In 1997, both rental ground oriented and owner occupied apartment demand from seniors are projected to increase by 5,300 households. In 2026, seniors households living in ground oriented rental is projected to increase by only 6,900 households, while the number in owner occupied apartments is projected to increase by 8,800 households. During the 1997 to 2001 period, the number of additional seniors households living in owner occupied households will increase in the range of 5,300 to 6,400 per year; in the range of 7,900 to 10,100 more per year from 2002 to 2011 ; in the range of 10,800 to 12,400 per year from 2012 to 2020 ; and in the range of 8,800 to 10,400 more per year from 2021 to 2026.

This is a base line housing demand projection, linking Statistics Canada's medium population projection with seniors private household maintainer rates, assumed to remain constant at the 1996 level. Without more empirical evidence, which is not published, alternative trend projections are not appropriate. Discussion of how maintainer rates by structure and tenure type might change, however, is appropriate.

The same factors that might lead to reduction of collective dwelling residency rates may also lead to an increase in private household maintainer rates. Positively, an increasingly fit, active and able seniors population may mean a greater propensity of seniors to be in private households. Negatively, fiscal downloading and reductions in public sector support for seniors collective housing, and reduction in transfer payments to seniors, might limit the ability of many seniors to obtain accommodation in collective dwellings.

One of the issues that will have to be dealt with in respect to the very significant increase in the number of seniors in private dwellings, primarily as a result of the increase of the seniors population, but perhaps augmented by a decline in collective dwelling residency rates, will be a very significant increase in the goods and services required to assist this population. The demand for emergency alert and response services, assisted transportation, meals on wheels, home visiting services, cleaning and nursing services, will all grow at the rate of increase in the demand for private housing, which will be in the range of 2.18 times (assuming constant 1996 rates) or more (if collective residency rates declines).
Current trends indicate a number of changes that might be anticipated in household maintainer rates within the private housing stock. As these trends are often in the opposite direction, no one clearly identifies the path that may be experienced in the future. A fitter, more active and more able seniors population may not only lead to a reduction in collective dwelling residency rates, but to an increase in ground oriented household maintainer rates, as seniors will be able to have the benefits of remaining in the family home and working in the garden longer than they have in the past. Offsetting this trend is the
fact that the seniors population of the future will have had a much more urban lifestyle than to today's seniors, and hence a greater propensity to have been apartment dwellers during their working years, and hence may remain so during their retirement.

Clawbacks of benefits, wealth and income eligibility tests, and reductions of services that may (will) occur in the future as fiscal constraints continue to reduce government transfers will also have an affect on seniors housing patterns. Seniors who are wealthy in terms of owning their own home, but income poor, will increasingly have to look at selling the home to fund their retirement and health care. In some cases, realizing the equity in their home will push people into the apartment market, either as owner occupiers or tenants, thereby reducing the ground oriented maintainer rates and increasing apartment maintainer rates. In other contexts, they may become "equity refugees", relocating to markets where they can buy "their house" in a small town or rural community for much less than they sold it for in an urban area.

## VIII. Conclusions

The demand for senior accommodation in Canada will increase faster than both the population as a whole (which will increase by $33 \%$ ) and the seniors population itself (which will increase by $117 \%$ ) over the next 30 years. Assuming constant residency and household maintainer rates, the demand for accommodation in collective dwellings will increase $140 \%$, with 419,000 more seniors resident in such accommodation in 2026 than there were in 1996. The number of seniors in private dwellings will increase by $115 \%$, with $2,706,000$ more seniors resident in private dwellings in 2026 than there were in 1996.

The demographic change that underlies these projections will also lead to a change in the composition of the seniors population, in both the collective and private dwelling sectors. In the case of collective dwellings, the 90 and older age group will increase as a percentage of the population in collective dwellings while the other age groups will decline (Figure 51). In 1996, 17.9\% of the seniors population in collective dwellings were 90 plus: with constant residency rates, this age group will increase to account for $26.3 \%$ in 2026.

The shares for all other age groups will decline. The 85 to 89 age group, currently having the largest percentage of the seniors in collective dwellings with $21.2 \%$, will decline to second place with a $19.9 \%$ share in 2026, with the 80 to 84 age group which has today's second largest share ( $20.5 \%$ ) dropping to third place with a $17.3 \%$. The 75 to 79 age group will continue to be in fourth place, with its current share of $14.0 \%$ declining to $12.9 \%$ by 2026 . Overall, the 75 plus population will increase from $73.6 \%$ of the seniors in collective dwellings in 1996 to $76.4 \%$ in 2026.

Figure 51: Projected Age Distribution of Seniors in Collective Dwellings, Canada, 1996 to 2026


Figure 52: Projected Distribution of Senior Household Maintainers, Canada, 1996 to 2026


The 75 plus age group accounted for only $24.5 \%$ of the seniors maintaining private households in 1996 (Figure 52). The largest share of this population of seniors maintaining households living in private
dwellings was the 55 to 59 age group ( $20.6 \%$ ), followed by the 60 to 74 age group (19.2\%) in second place, the 65 to 69 age group ( $18.8 \%$ ) in third place, and the 70 to 74 age group ( $16.7 \%$ ) in fourth place.

Demographic change will increase the 75 plus age group's share of the population of seniors maintaining private households to $26.1 \%$ by 2026, the result of the increase in the 75 to 79 age group's share from $12.4 \%$ in 1996 to $13.0 \%$ in 2026, and the 90 plus age group's share from $4.5 \%$ in 1996 to $5.6 \%$ in 2026 .

The 70 to 74 age group will remain in fourth place, with its share declining slightly from $16.7 \%$ in 1996 to $16.3 \%$ in 2026. The 65 to 69 age group will move up from third to second place, as its share increases from $18.8 \%$ in 1996 to $19.3 \%$ in 2026, while the 55 to 59 age group will drop to third place from first place, with its share dropping from $20.6 \%$ to $18.3 \%$. The 60 to 64 age group will account for the largest share of the seniors population, with its share increasing from $19.2 \%$ of the seniors maintaining private households in 1996 to $19.9 \%$ in 2026.

It is clear that the demand for seniors accommodation will increase dramatically over the coming three decades, with the demand for collective accommodation increasing at twice the rate, and for private accommodation at more than one and a half times the rate, of the county's population. Reductions in the rate of residency in collective dwellings may slow the rate of increase in the demand for collective dwellings, but as $95 \%$ of seniors live in private dwellings, the overall demand for seniors accommodation will be a major element of growth in Canada's housing market over the next thirty years.

Endnotes:
${ }^{\text {i }}$ Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, The Medium is the Massage, Bantam Books, 1967, page 74-75.
${ }^{\text {ii }}$ David Foot, as quoted in the Vancouver Sun, April 22, 1997, page D1.
iii All projections of Canada's population are from a baseline projection for the 1995 to 2095 period prepared by Statistics Canada commissioned by The Urban Futures Institute: the characteristics and assumptions of this projection are described in Demographics and The Future of Housing Demand In Canada (The Urban Futures Institute, 1997), and in Population Projections for Canada, 1993 to 2016 (Statistics Canada, 1994).
${ }^{\text {iv }}$ For a detailed discussion of life expectancies, see What Can You Expect? Life Expectancy in Canada, 1921 to 2021, The Urban Futures Institute, 1998.
${ }^{v}$ We have classified religious institutions with communal non-institutional such as Hutterite colonies, as their value based structure seems to place them in this group, rather than with hospitals, which is where Statistics Canada puts them.
${ }^{\text {vi }}$ This is slightly lower than the 6.1 million total population presented earlier as the total population of seniors. The difference is the adjustment of the census figure upward to capture those missed in the Census count. This undercount adjustment means that census data will also total to something slightly less than the total population. Unless otherwise noted, all data are from Statistics Canada Census of Canada for the referenced year.
vii Gordon Smith, The Population in Collective Dwellings: Canada, 1971 to 1991, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, 1996.
viii Applying the collective dwelling residency rates to the population projection results in a estimate of 299,000 seniors living in collective dwellings in 1996: this compares to the Census count of 294,210 seniors living in this accommodation (Page 6). Use of the projection means a higher base population figure, as the population projection is adjusted upwards for the Census undercount.


[^0]:    The Urban Futures Institute
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[^1]:    The Urban Futures Institute
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[^2]:    The Urban Futures Institute Research on Population, Community Change and Land Use

[^3]:    The Urban Futures Institute
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