



Canada's Growing Housing Gap Comparing Population Growth and Housing Completions in Canada, 1972–2022

by Josef Filipowicz

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

- This research bulletin compares annual population growth in Canada with housing completions between 1972 and 2022.
- The growth of the population reached its highest point, nationally and in every province, in 2022.
- Meanwhile, housing completions have stabilized or declined. Nationally, Canada has yet to build more homes annually than it did during the 1970s. This is also the case in 9 out of 10 provinces.
- Throughout most of this period, Canada's population grew by one to three people for every housing unit completed the previous year.
- In 2022, population grew by 4.7 people for every unit completed the previous year—higher than at any other time.
- Among the provinces, this ratio ranges from 2.8 people per home completed in Quebec to 11.3 people per completion in New Brunswick in 2022.
- Without closing the wide, growing gap between housing demand (population growth) and housing supply (housing completions), Canadians' current struggles with high housing costs are likely to persist, if not worsen.

Introduction

Declining housing affordability is one of Canada's most pressing policy concerns. This issue has numerous consequences for individuals and families' economic, physical, and mental well-being, and risks jeopardizing Canada's place as a prosperous, upwardly mobile society. At its heart, this issue is driven by a large and widening gap between demand and supply. The number of home buyers and renters continues to expand at a pace well in excess of the number of homes available to buy or rent, in turn putting continued upward pressure on home prices and rents.

The following analysis joins a growing body of research showing the gap between housing demand and housing supply. It does so by comparing annual population growth—one measure of potential (that is, likely) housing demand—with annual housing completions—one measure of housing supply—across Canada and its 10 provinces between 1972 and 2022. The picture that emerges is one of historical imbalance between the growth of Canada's population and housing completions. Never in the past half-century has population growth been so much higher than housing completions in so many parts of the country than in 2022.

These findings offer a sobering reminder of the magnitude of Canada's housing shortage. They also offer a gauge of the relative effectiveness of current efforts undertaken by governments—at all levels, and in all provinces—to improve the supply of housing in the face of current population growth.

Data selection

A recent but growing body of literature documents Canada's housing shortage. Perrault (2021) estimates Canada's structural housing shortage by comparing the number of housing units per 1,000 residents among G7 nations. Notably, Canada was found to rank last, at 424 housing units per 1,000 residents, compared to the G7 average of 471 in 2020. This being the case, an additional 1.8 million housing units would be required Canada-wide simply to match the G7 average.

The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC, 2022a, 2023) further estimates the number of housing units required to restore 2003/2004 levels of affordability by 2030.¹ It does so by projecting homebuilding, demographic, and income trends forward, and estimates that beyond the 2.3 million housing units projected to be built based on current homebuilding rates, an additional 3.5 million would be required to restore broad affordability by 2030.

Provincial governments have also begun commissioning estimates of their respective jurisdictions' shortages. Ontario's Housing Affordability Task Force (2022) concluded in their final report that 1.5 million new homes would be required over 10 years—approximately double Ontario's traditional rate of construction—a target subsequently adopted by the Government of Ontario. Nova Scotia's Executive Panel on Housing in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) commissioned a report (Deloitte, 2022) that similarly recommended more than doubling housing construction in coming years.²

1 Specifically, 2003/2004 was the latest period when Ontarian households earning average incomes would have had to devote close to 40% of their disposable income to buy an average house in Ontario. It was also when British Columbian households earning average incomes would have had to devote 45% of their disposable income to buy an average house in that province. In 2021, such households would need to devote 60% of their disposable income to buy the average house (CMHC, 2022a).

2 Neither provincial report outlines a desired level of affordability that these targets would help secure, or how the targets might be otherwise tied to such levels.

The analysis that follows contributes to this body of research on housing shortages in Canada by examining the full extent of available historical data comparing population growth with housing completions. Specifically, it draws on Statistics Canada's population estimates and CMHC's starts and completions survey, extending as far back as 1971, when important updates were made to Statistics Canada's population estimates methodology.³

The annual growth of the population represents the net change in total population over a year (first-quarter population in year 2 minus first-quarter population in year 1). This metric, collected by Statistics Canada (2023a), was selected for this analysis because it offers the clearest readily available approximation of potential demand.⁴ Alternative approaches include household growth, income growth, and credit conditions, each of which offer specific insights on demand for housing.⁵ However, each require assumptions about household preferences and in some cases rely on housing-supply indicators. For example, households by definition can only form once they inhabit a dwelling. It follows that a lagging housing supply would depress growth in the number of households.

Housing completions, which the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (2022b) defines as “the stage at

which all the proposed construction work on a dwelling unit has been performed” was selected to approximate housing supply because of its availability and historical depth. Unlike earlier stages in the development process, such as housing starts, completions are a more suitable metric to compare with population growth for the purposes of this analysis because they represent the number of inhabitable units entering the market within a given time period, in this case a single year.

Completions are, however, an imperfect substitute for the growth of housing stock, which like population growth would identify the net increase in the number of homes in Canada. Without appropriate measurement of housing demolitions and conversions, completions only measure the number of new units built. Nevertheless, completions represent the vast majority of housing-stock growth in most communities.⁶ Currently, the only estimate of the housing stock available is the census, which is conducted every five years and, as the last census was in 2021, excludes the most recent trends in housing supply. Though statistical efforts to better approximate housing stock growth are underway,⁷ there is still no comprehensive annual estimate of housing stock available. This is one likely reason that some governments and analysts opt for more readily available metrics such as starts⁸ and

3 Prior to 1971, population estimates were rounded to the nearest 1,000. For more on Statistics Canada's evolving population-estimate methodology, see the methodological footnotes for CANSIM table 17-10-0009-01 (Statistics Canada, 2023a).

4 This is especially the case at the national level. At the provincial level, population growth also results from interprovincial migration, meaning this metric is more likely to be influenced by the availability and affordability of housing.

5 For more on the impacts of incomes and interest rates on housing demand, see Filipowicz, Clemens and Lau, 2017.

6 For more on the differences between census measurements of housing stock and housing construction and conversion data collected by CMHC, see Clayton and Alphonso, 2022.

7 The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation began estimating residential conversions and demolition statistics in 2017, although only for centres with populations of 50,000 inhabitants or more. As such, significant gaps over time and across more regions remain, and efforts to align or test these statistics' approximation of housing stock are still experimental.

8 Housing starts are the Ontario government's preferred method of tracking towards its goal of 1.5 million homes over a decade. This was reiterated by former Ontario Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing Steve Clark in an August 11, 2023 press conference where he stated “You'll always hear me talk about housing starts. That's the metric our government needs because you need to start that house in order to be able to build up at least 1.5 million.” (CPAC, 2023).

completions,⁹ both collected in CMHC's Starts and Completions Survey (CMHC, 2022b). It is also the reason that the analysis that follows uses completions to approximate housing supply.

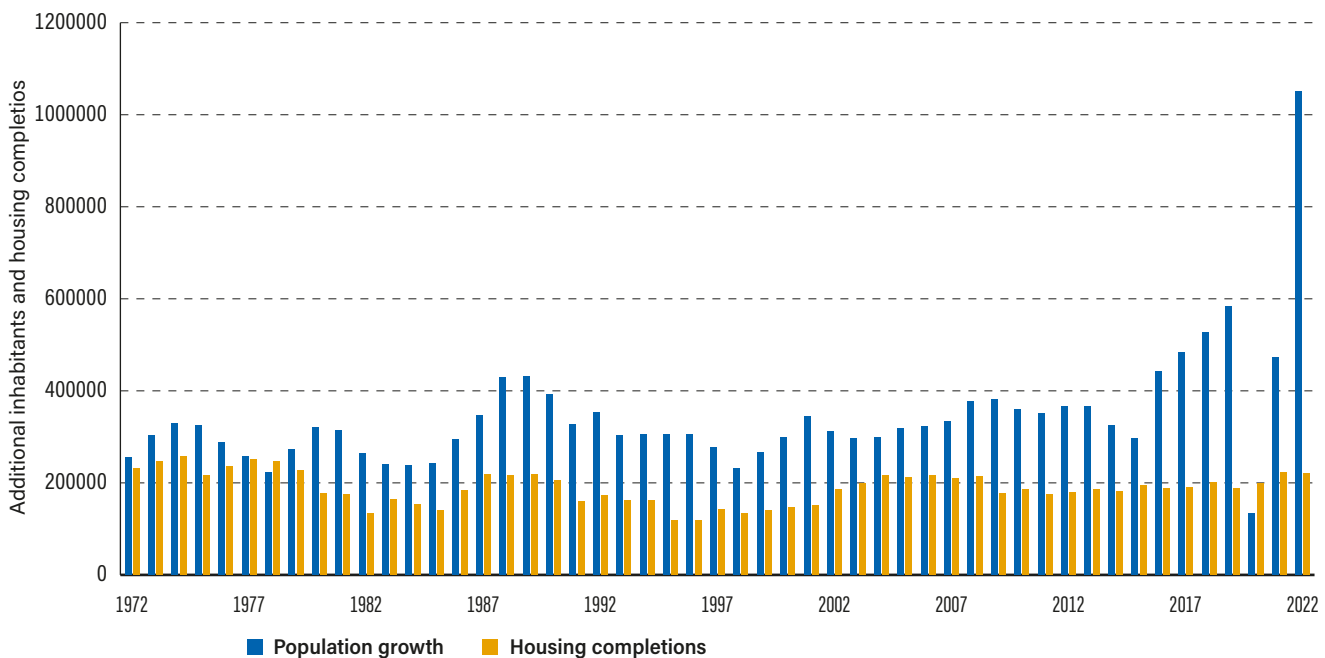
National results

This analysis presents a comparison of the annual change in population (population growth) and annual housing completions in Canada as well as in all 10 provinces between 1972 and 2022.¹⁰ It does so using the number as well as ratio of the number of additional people per housing unit completed the previous year within each geographic area.

Figure 1 and **figure 2** compare annual population growth and housing completions in Canada, first as raw numbers and second as a ratio. **Table 1** summarizes population growth and housing completions as five-year averages. Throughout the 1970s, as shown in figure 1, the two metrics tracked one another relatively closely, with annual completions routinely surpassing 200,000 and annual population growth typically between 200,000 and 300,000 people. Indeed, the ratio of added population per housing unit built the previous year never exceeded 1.5 throughout the decade, and housing completions in 1978 actually exceeded population growth in 1979.

The two metrics start diverging in the 1980s, when housing completions fell below 200,000 in all but the last three

Figure 1: Population growth and housing completions in Canada, annual, 1972-2022

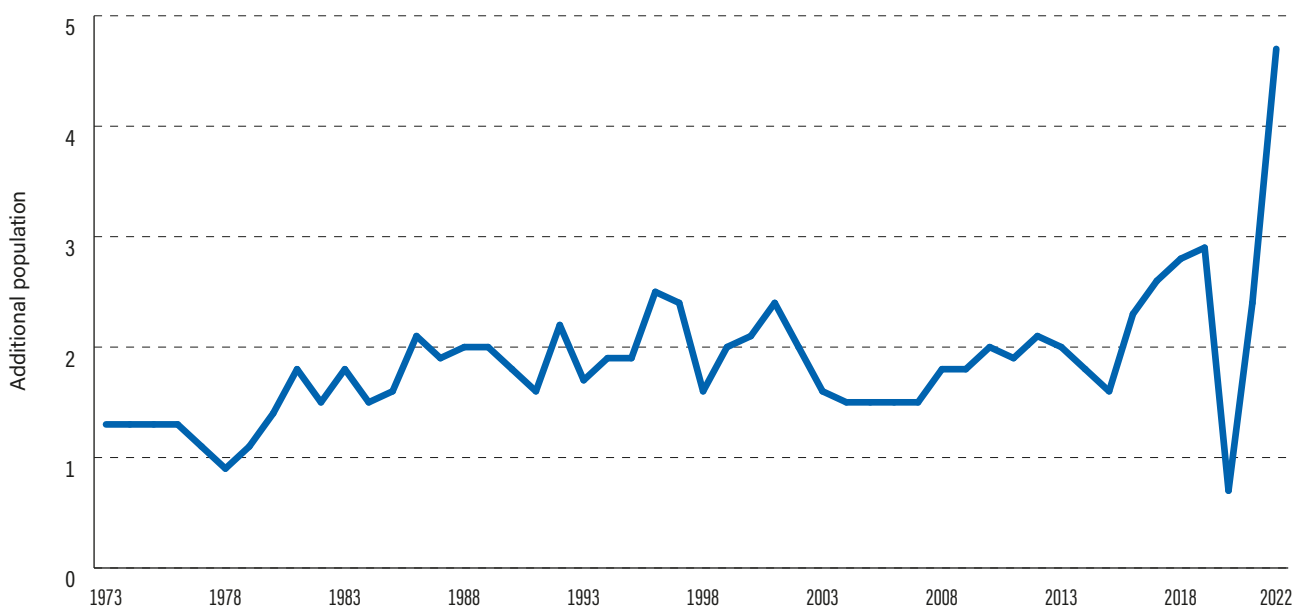


Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

9 Completions were also used by Perrault (2021), who calculates a 36-month rolling sum of completions relative to changes in population between 1984 and 2020, as well as Filipowicz and Lafleur (2023), who compare annual housing completions to a lagged measure of annual population growth in Canada.

10 Canada's three territories were not included in the completions data.

Figure 2: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Canada, annual, 1973–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

years while population growth increased to over 400,000 in 1988 and 1989. This divergence subsides slightly in the mid-2000s, when the ratio of additional people per new housing unit fell back to 1.5 for the first time since the mid-1980s, but grew markedly from the mid-2010s onward, when population growth soared without commensurate increases in housing completions.

Indeed, annual population growth exceeded 400,000 in 2016 for the first time since 1989, and has done so in every year since, barring 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic prompted border restrictions. At 1,050,110 additional people, 2022 marked the greatest single-year increase in population on record.

Meanwhile, annual housing completions remained below 200,000 from 1991 until 2004, and again from 2009 until 2018. In fact, the 1974 high point of 257,243 has yet to be surpassed. Given the relative stagnation of housing completions over the five decades examined, the marked increase in the ratio of additional population per housing unit completed in recent years is driven almost exclusively by population growth.

Table 1: 5-year average annual population growth and housing completions in Canada, 1972–2022

	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions
1972–1976	299,843	237,853
1977–1981	277,503	215,195
1982–1986	255,382	154,735
1987–1991	385,067	203,611
1992–1996	314,012	146,892
1997–2001	283,571	143,224
2002–2006	309,662	205,536
2007–2011	359,730	192,389
2012–2016	359,549	185,816
2017–2021	440,408	199,959
*2018–2022	553,568	205,762

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, 2023b.

Provincial results

Tables 2 and 3 (pp. 7–9), **figures 3a to 3j**, and **figures 4a to 4j** (pp. 10–19) present the same two metrics (annual population growth and housing completions) for all 10 provinces. As in the Canada-wide data, the 1970s were a high point for housing completions. The average annual number of completions was higher in the 1970s than during any other period in all provinces barring British Columbia, where this point was reached in recent years. Similarly, all provinces reached a single-year high point of population growth in 2022. Nevertheless, there are several regional stories.

Atlantic provinces

In the four Atlantic provinces, the 1970s marked not just a high point for housing completions, but also a (previous) high point for population growth. Until the late 2010s (or, in the case of Newfoundland & Labrador, 2022), population growth had broadly declined relative to the 1970s or even turned negative in some years, meaning these provinces lost more people from out-migration or deaths than they gained from in-migration or births. In this situation, even stagnant or declining housing completions were sufficient to maintain ratios of one or fewer additional people per housing unit completed for much of the period prior to the 2010s.

Quebec

Quebec is remarkable as the province with the lowest average annual ratio of population growth to housing completions among provinces that did not experience net population declines in any year since 1972. In fact, the two metrics track one another very closely throughout most of the past five decades, beginning to diverge meaningfully only in the late 2000s and again in the late 2010s. Even so, Quebec's 2022 ratio of population growth to 2022 housing completions was only 2.8, well below British Columbia (3.5), the province with the next lowest ratio that year.

Ontario

Ontario follows a trajectory very different from Quebec's, with population growth and housing completions tracking one another closely only in the 1970s. After the 1970s, this ratio does not fall back to 1.5 until the mid-2000s, only to resume an upward trajectory thereafter. In the 10 years from 2013 to 2022, Ontario changed from growing by two additional people per housing unit completed to more than three people per housing unit completed in 2017, and to five and a half additional people per unit by 2022. Housing completions remained relatively stable throughout this 10-year period, ranging from 57,077 to 81,158 units. Meanwhile, population growth almost quadrupled from 117,879 in 2013 to 445,495 in 2022, confirming that the growing divergence is driven primarily by historically high population growth.

Manitoba and Saskatchewan

Manitoba and Saskatchewan experienced significant declines in both population growth and housing completions throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, followed by a resumption of growth during the 2010s. In fact, annual population growth in Saskatchewan was negative, on average, in the two decades from 1987 to 2006. Manitoba and Prince Edward Island were the only two provinces to reach their highest ratio of additional people per housing unit completed in a year other than 2022 (1983 in both cases).

Alberta

Alberta had the highest average annual ratio (2.4) of population growth to housing completions of any province between 1973 and 2022. This was driven in part by Alberta's consistently robust population growth throughout most of this period. Indeed, faced with higher population growth (in absolute terms) than that of Quebec, on average, Alberta was one of only two provinces able to subsequently reach levels of homebuilding comparable to, albeit slightly lower than, its rate achieved in the 1970s.

British Columbia

British Columbia experienced relatively high population growth throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, broadly mirroring trends in the Prairie provinces. Before 2022, the largest single-year increase to British Columbia's population was in 1994. This year, along with

1993, also saw the province's highest single-year housing completions, however, while 2022 saw the lowest number of housing completions since 2017. It is for this reason that British Columbia's ratio of population growth to housing completions reached its highest (3.5) in 2022.

Table 2: 5-year average annual population growth and housing completions in the provinces, 1972-2022

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, 2023b.

Newfoundland & Labrador			Nova Scotia		
	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions		Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions
1972-1976	5,530	4,607	1972-1976	7,574	6,182
1977-1981	1,991	3,477	1977-1981	3,817	5,657
1982-1986	449	2,579	1982-1986	6,791	5,329
1987-1991	768	3,237	1987-1991	5,176	5,513
1992-1996	-4,799	2,262	1992-1996	3,009	4,636
1997-2001	-6,807	1,714	1997-2001	285	3,803
2002-2006	-2,213	2,479	2002-2006	486	4,650
2007-2011	3,176	3,017	2007-2011	1,621	4,106
2012≠2016	626	2,569	2012≠2016	327	3,656
2017-2021	-1,369	1,092	2017-2021	11,300	4,180
*2018-2022	881	1,057	*2018-2022	16,789	4,481

Prince Edward Island			New Brunswick		
	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions		Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions
1972-1976	1,231	1,330	1972-1976	9,095	6,424
1977-1981	843	775	1977-1981	2,760	4,407
1982-1986	1,019	632	1982-1986	3,952	3,313
1987-1991	435	854	1987-1991	4,241	3,388
1992-1996	1,066	601	1992-1996	1,153	3,087
1997-2001	185	566	1997-2001	-739	2,754
2002-2006	184	834	2002-2006	-757	3,985
2007-2011	1,306	757	2007-2011	2,485	3,736
2012≠2016	774	622	2012≠2016	1,468	2,661
2017-2021	3,735	1,061	2017-2021	6,926	2,240
*2018-2022	4,488	1,173	*2018-2022	11,494	2,806

Table 2 cont'd: 5-year average annual population growth and housing completions in the provinces, 1972–2022

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, 2023b.

<i>Quebec</i>			<i>Manitoba</i>		
	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions		Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions
1972–1976	51,925	54,633	1972–1976	7,041	10,043
1977–1981	30,634	44,929	1977–1981	1,037	7,340
1982–1986	35,871	39,836	1982–1986	11,072	4,799
1987–1991	67,509	56,076	1987–1991	3,064	5,185
1992–1996	36,060	31,817	1992–1996	5,004	2,300
1997–2001	30,987	24,624	1997–2001	3,568	2,887
2002–2006	48,740	46,383	2002–2006	6,333	4,175
2007–2011	73,583	46,057	2007–2011	11,528	5,354
2012≠2016	45,590	39,051	2012≠2016	16,398	5,929
2017–2021	76,040	45,269	2017–2021	14,835	6,504
*2018–2022	87,391	48,750	*2018–2022	17,475	6,692

<i>Ontario</i>			<i>Saskatchewan</i>		
	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions		Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions
1972–1976	110,456	92,245	1972–1976	3,066	6,925
1977–1981	81,431	67,459	1977–1981	8,621	9,916
1982–1986	133,141	54,105	1982–1986	9,616	6,041
1987–1991	191,309	83,467	1987–1991	–5,701	3,110
1992–1996	131,650	48,075	1992–1996	3,438	1,809
1997–2001	166,818	58,780	1997–2001	–3,929	2,735
2002–2006	144,495	78,015	2002–2006	–701	3,112
2007–2011	124,099	61,861	2007–2011	15,818	5,484
2012≠2016	129,691	63,062	2012≠2016	13,810	7,477
2017–2021	193,825	70,780	2017–2021	8,400	3,796
*2018–2022	239,915	70,828	*2018–2022	11,592	3,427

Table 2 cont'd: 5-year average annual population growth and housing completions in the provinces, 1972–2022

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, 2023b.

	<i>Alberta</i>		<i>British Columbia</i>		
	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions	Average annual population growth	Average annual housing completions	
1972–1976	46,917	22,127	1972–1976	55,193	33,336
1977–1981	84,578	38,974	1977–1981	60,643	32,262
1982–1986	19,100	16,961	1982–1986	32,926	21,142
1987–1991	35,766	12,745	1987–1991	80,263	30,035
1992–1996	37,555	16,513	1992–1996	98,255	35,791
1997–2001	58,509	24,602	1997–2001	34,540	20,759
2002–2006	76,133	35,964	2002–2006	35,626	25,939
2007–2011	70,460	32,447	2007–2011	54,153	29,572
2012–2016	78,557	33,909	2012–2016	70,953	26,880
2017–2021	52,906	26,243	2017–2021	72,146	38,795
*2018–2022	75,665	26,782	*2018–2022	86,339	39,766

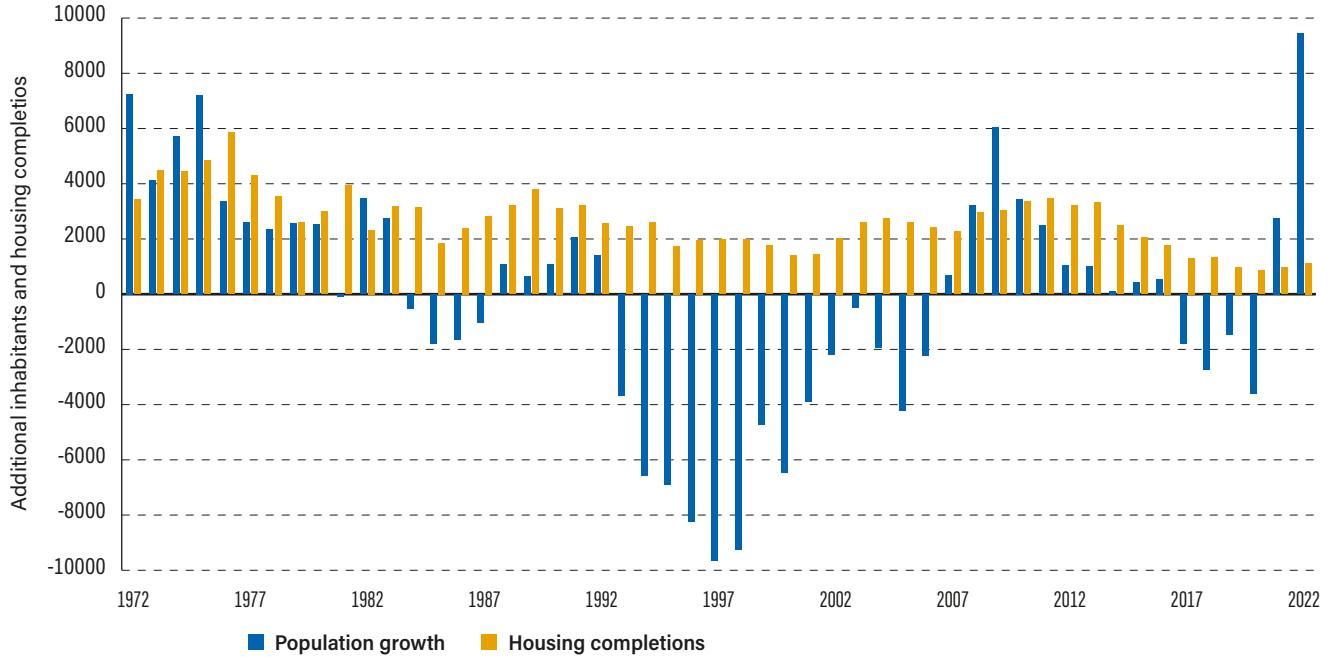
Table 3: Annual ratio of population growth to housing completion in the provinces, average 1973–2022 and 2022

	Average 1973–2022	2022
Newfoundland and Labrador	–0.3	9.7
Prince Edward Island	1.8	5.1
Nova Scotia	1.0	7.7
New Brunswick	1.1	11.3
Quebec	1.2	2.8
Ontario	2.3	5.5
Manitoba	1.8	4.6
Saskatchewan	1.1	8.2
Alberta	2.4	6.2
British Columbia	2.1	3.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, 2023b.

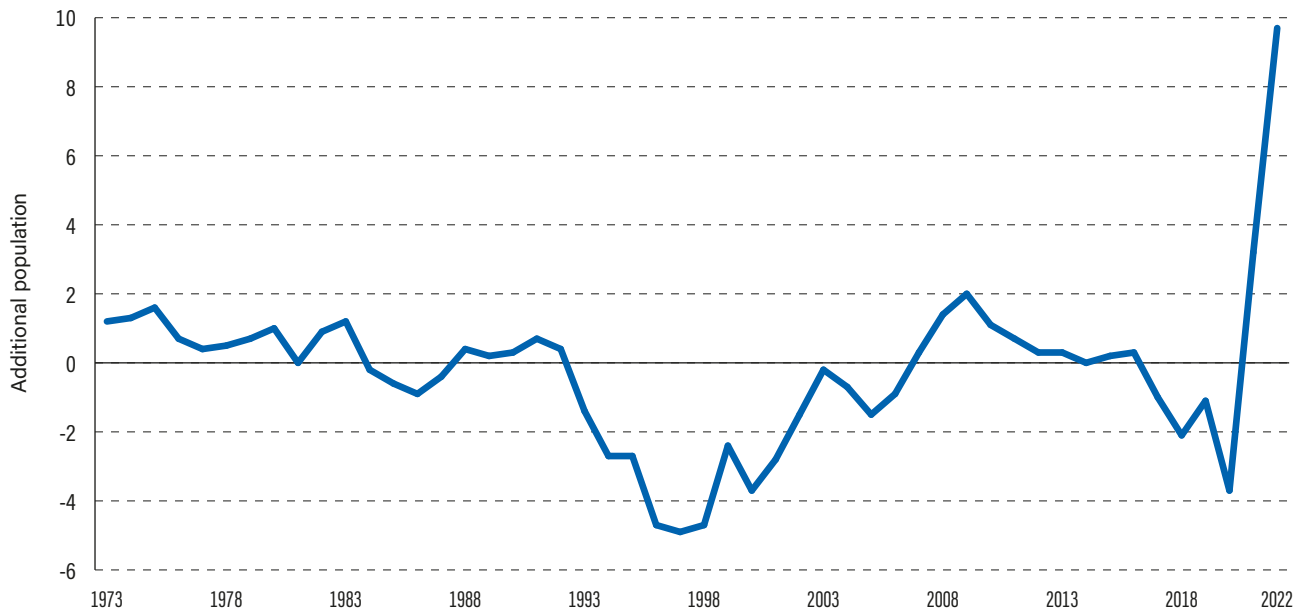
Newfoundland & Labrador

Figure 3a: Population growth and housing completions in Newfoundland & Labrador, annual, 1972–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

Figure 4a: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Newfoundland & Labrador, annual, 1973–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

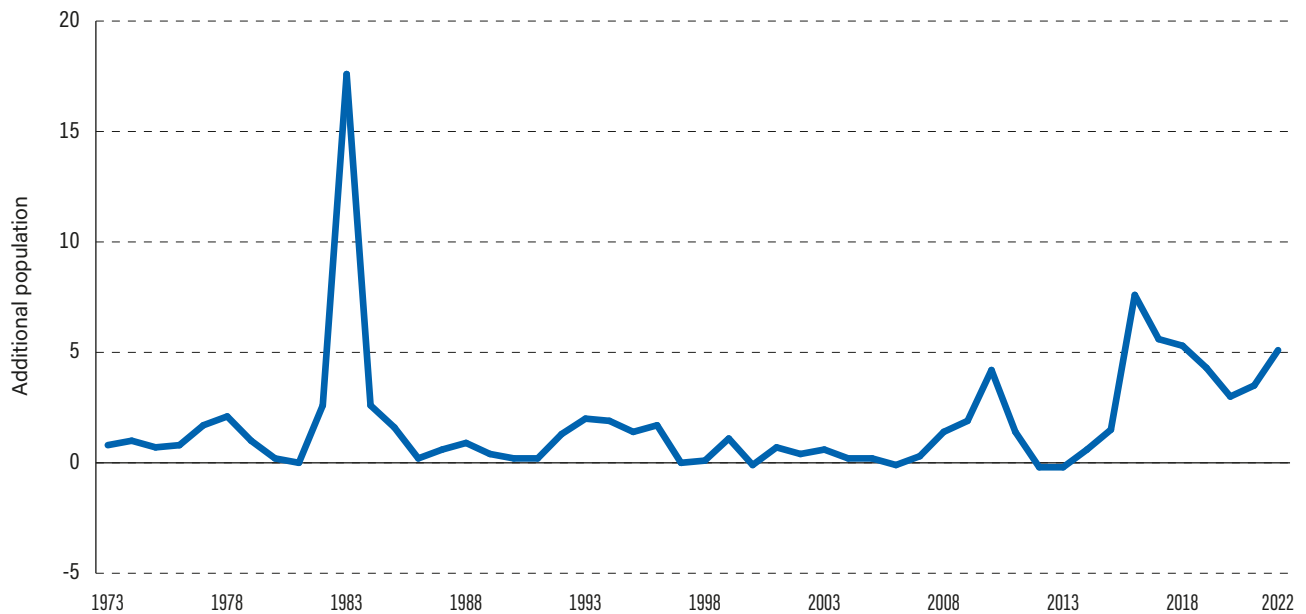
Prince Edward Island

Figure 3b: Population growth and housing completions in Prince Edward Island, annual, 1972-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

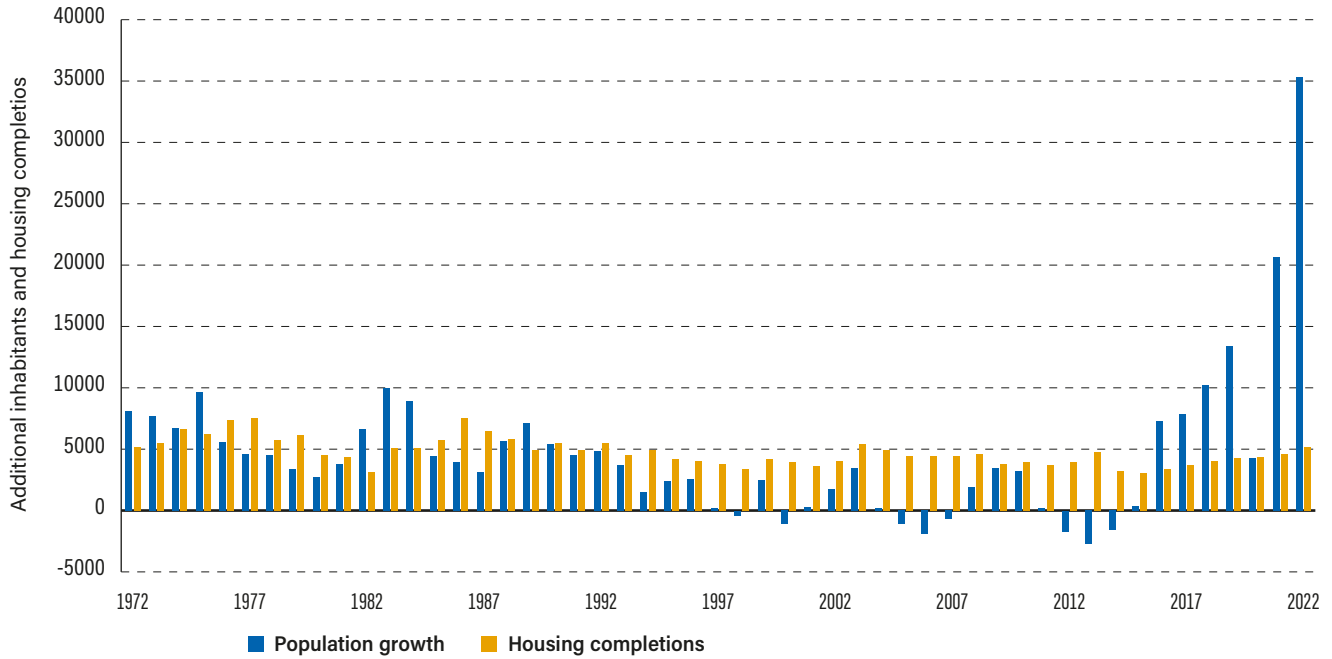
Figure 4b: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Prince Edward Island, annual, 1973-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

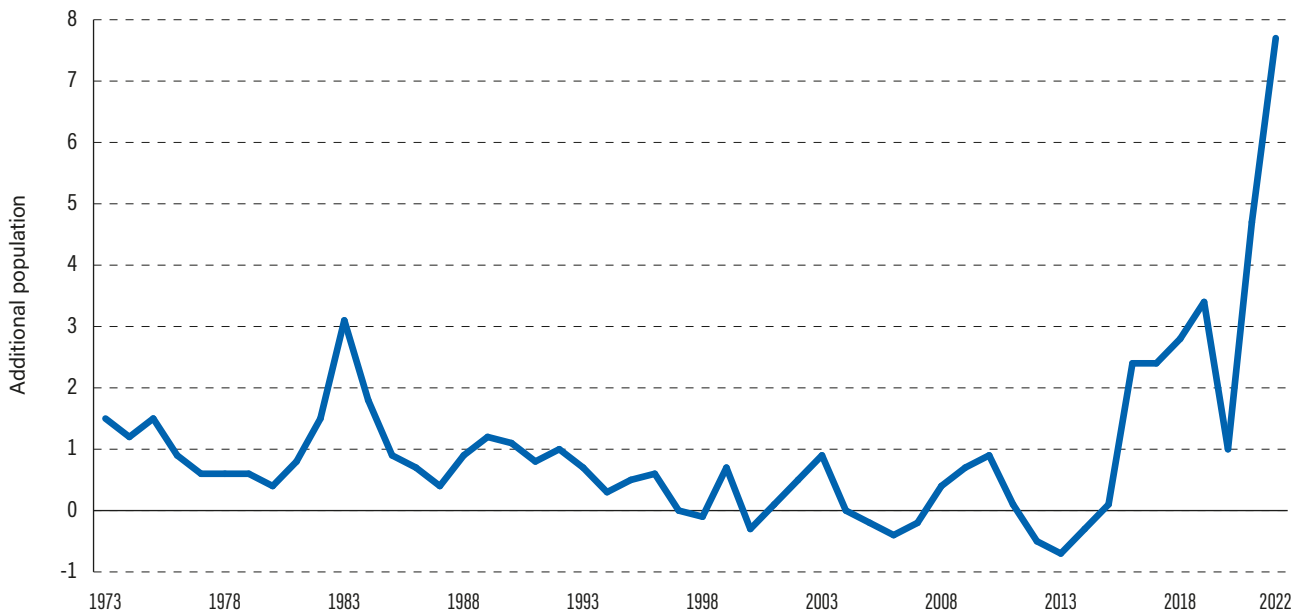
Nova Scotia

Figure 3c: Population growth and housing completions in Nova Scotia, annual, 1972–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

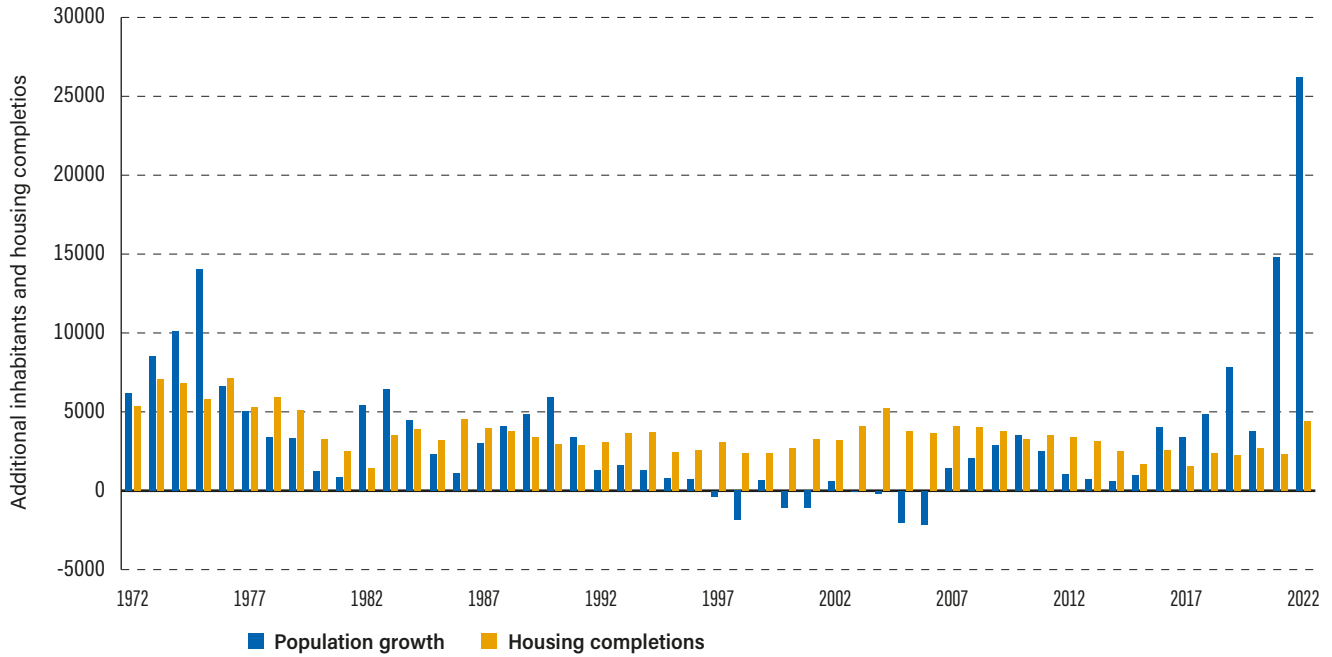
Figure 4c: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Nova Scotia, annual, 1973–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

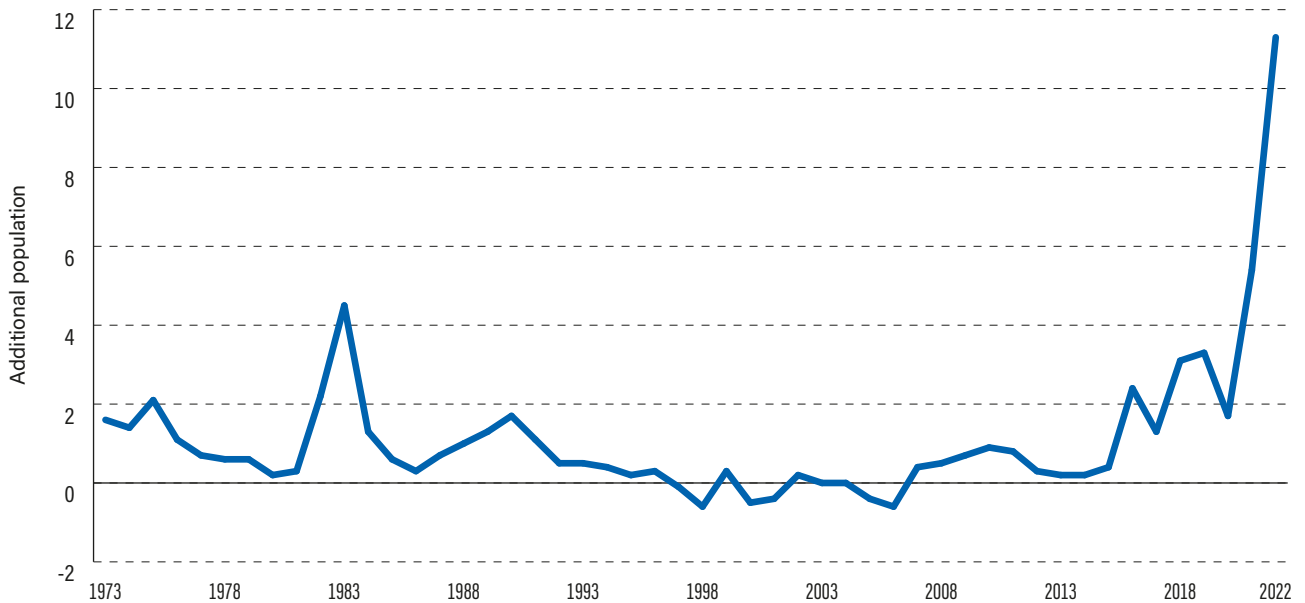
New Brunswick

Figure 3d: Population growth and housing completions in New Brunswick, annual, 1972-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

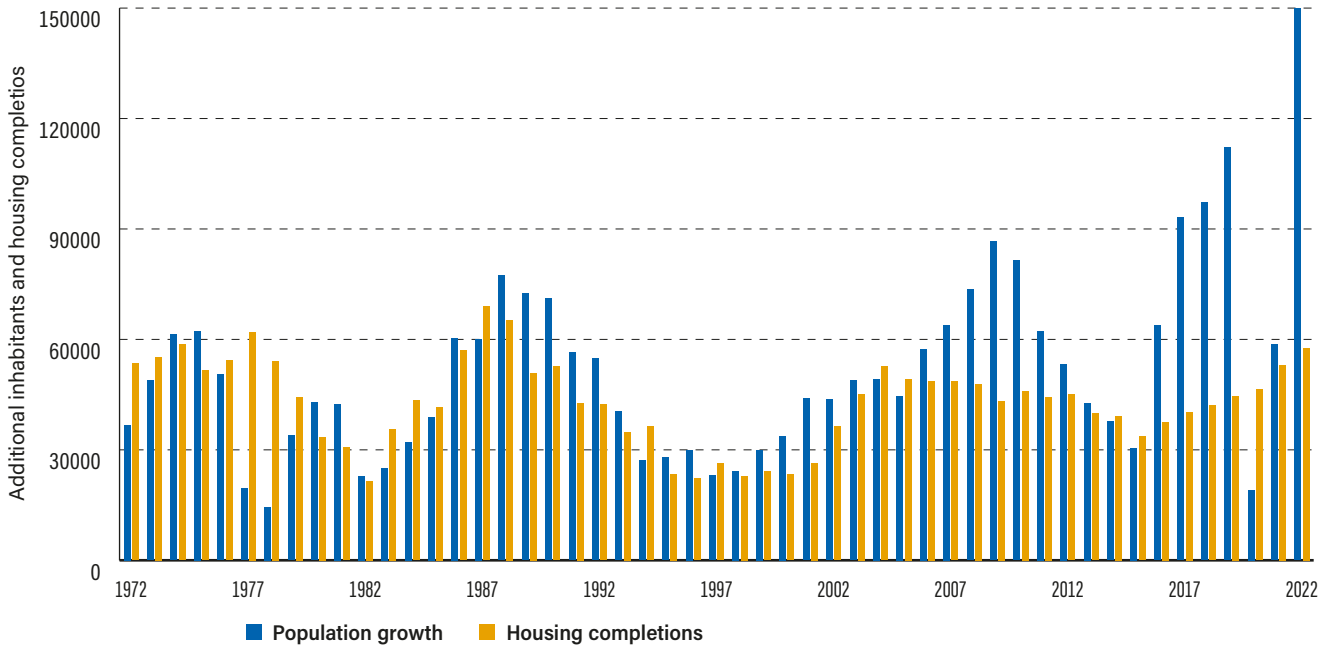
Figure 4d: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in New Brunswick, annual, 1973-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

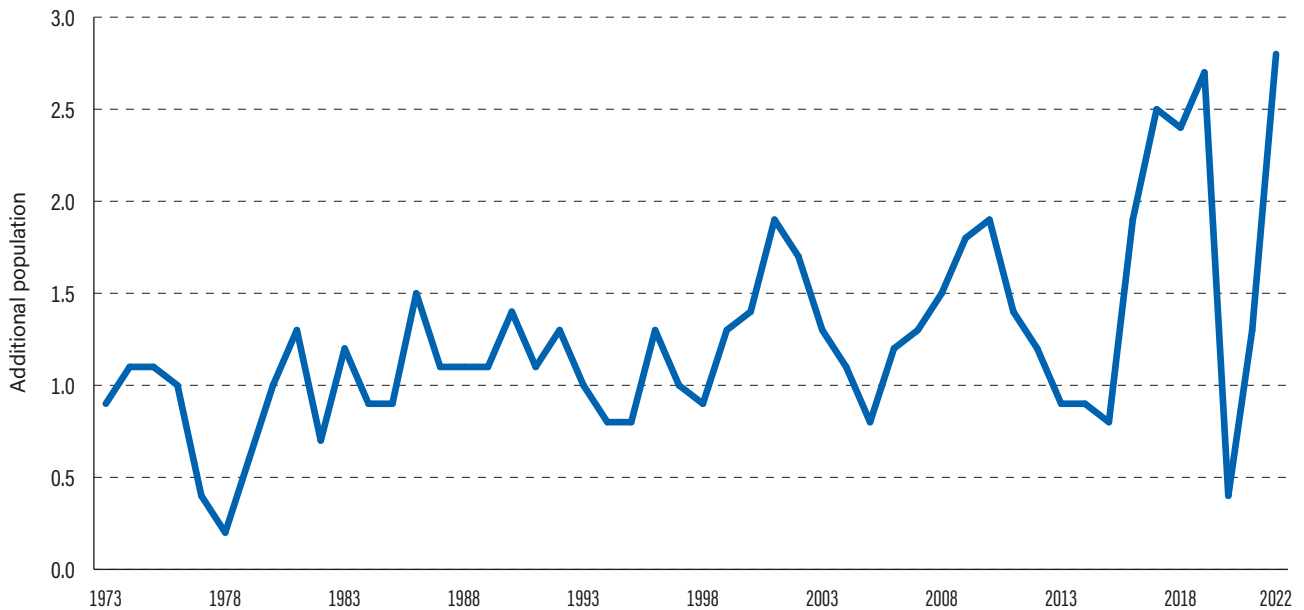
Quebec

Figure 3e: Population growth and housing completions in Quebec, annual, 1972-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

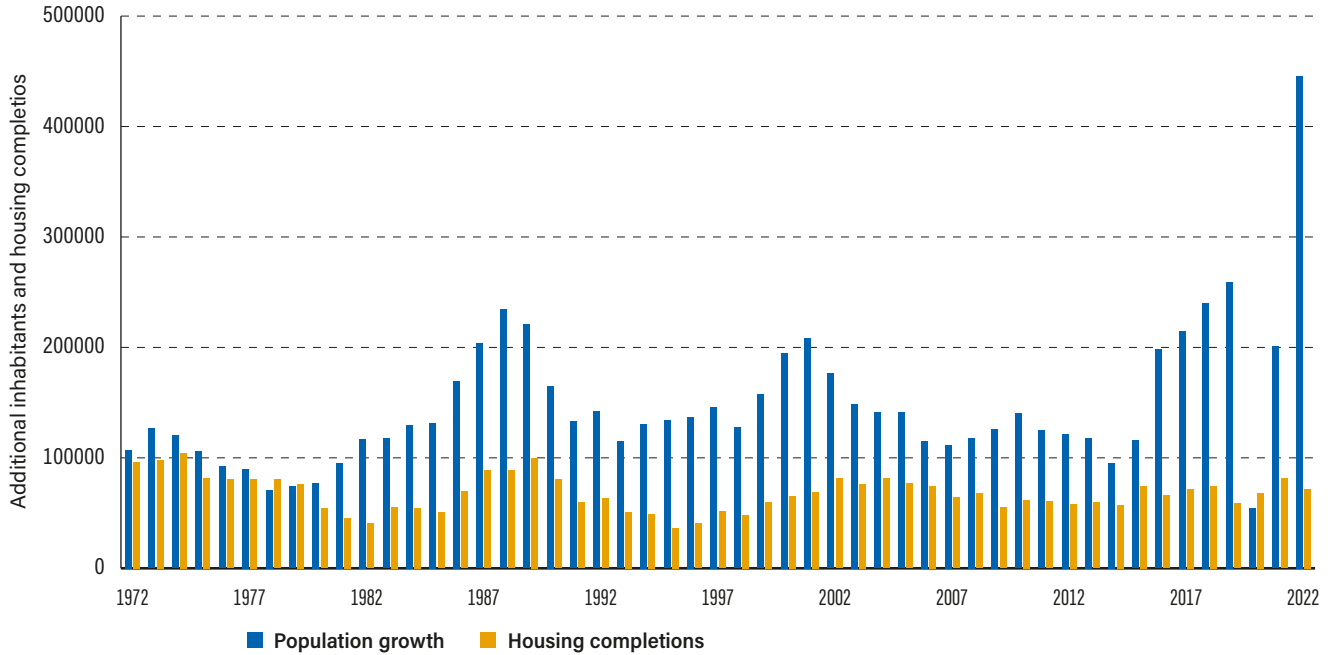
Figure 4e: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Quebec, annual, 1973-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

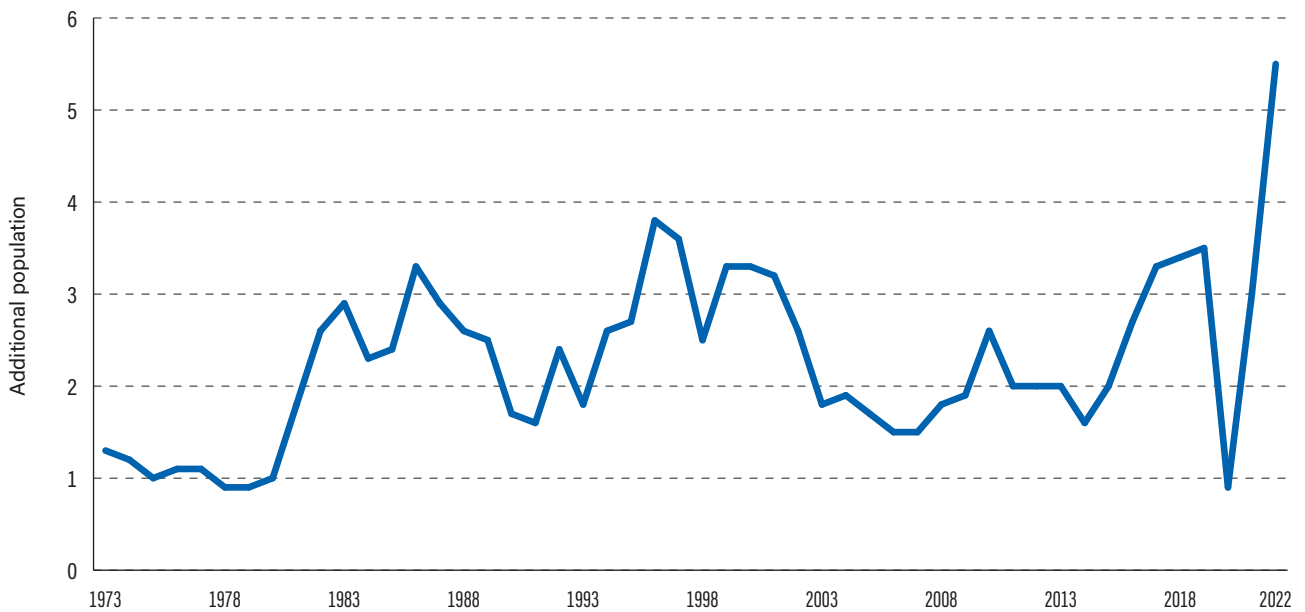
Ontario

Figure 3f: Population growth and housing completions in Ontario, annual, 1972-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

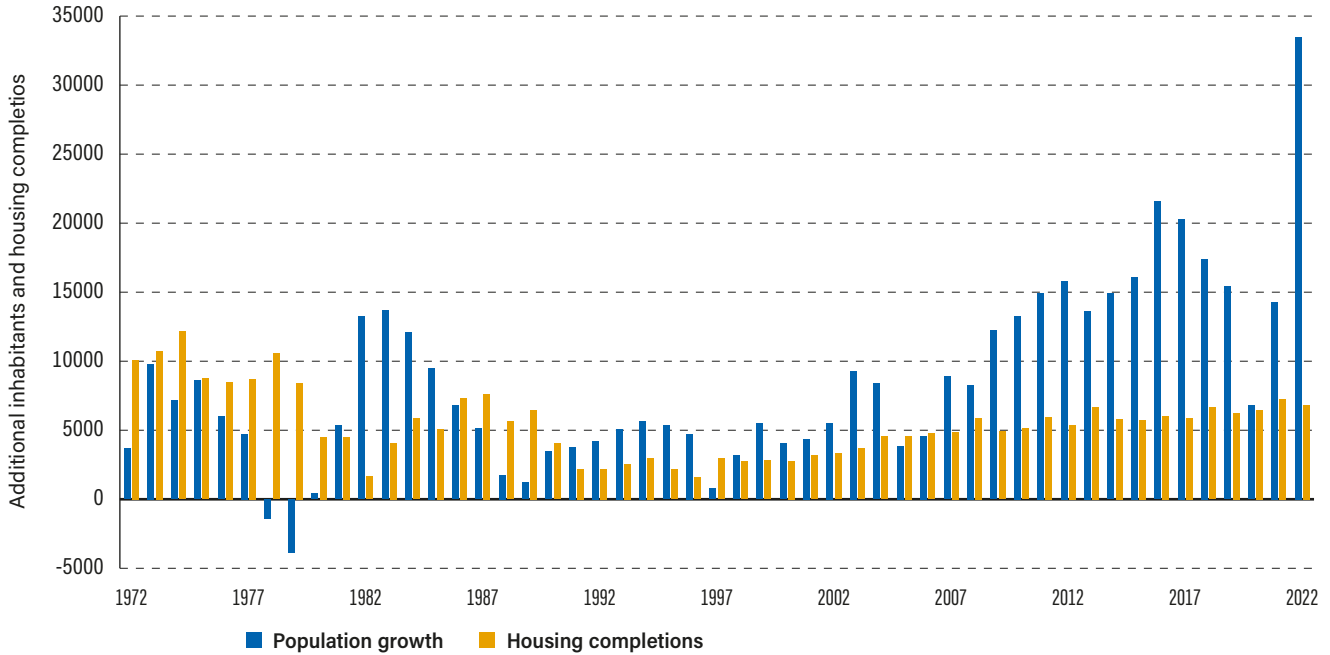
Figure 4f: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Ontario, annual, 1973-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

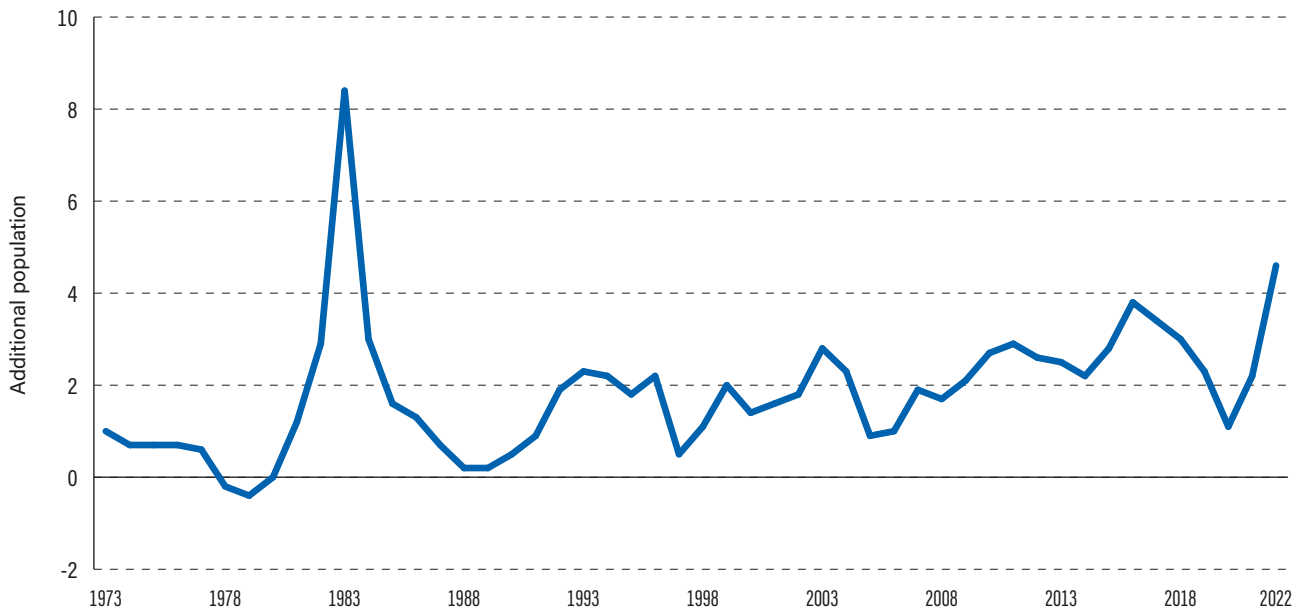
Manitoba

Figure 3g: Population growth and housing completions in Manitoba, annual, 1972-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

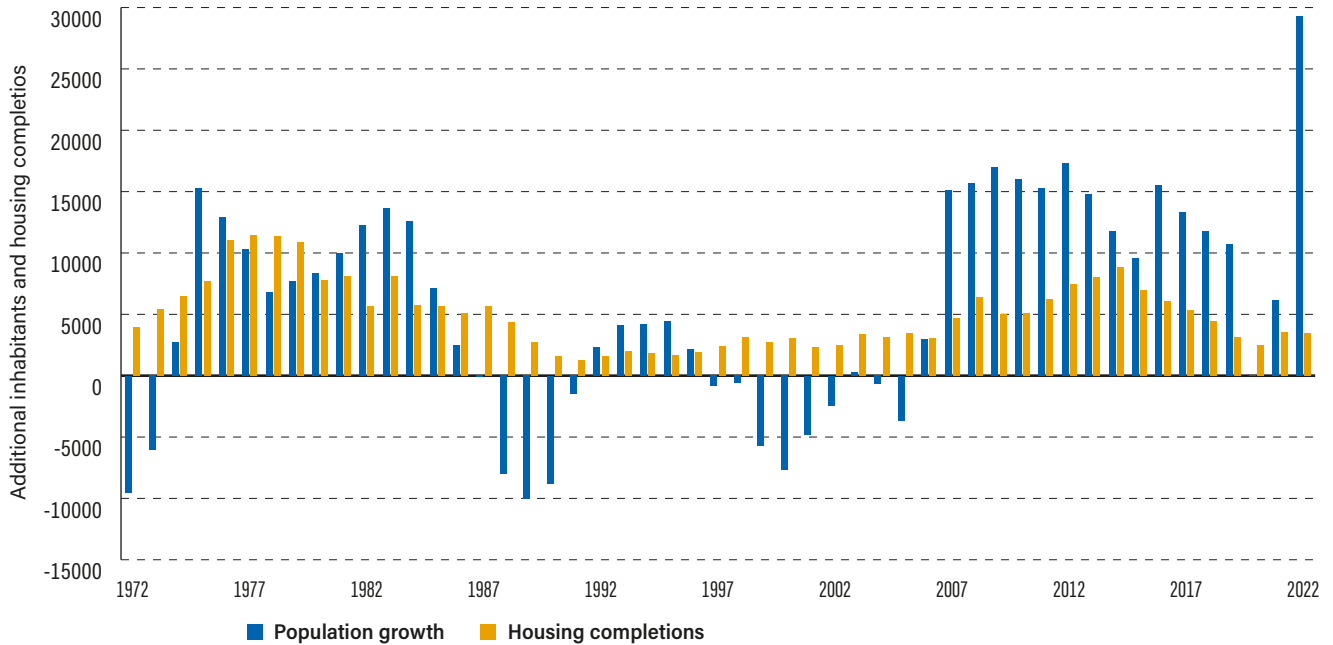
Figure 4g: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Manitoba, annual, 1973-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

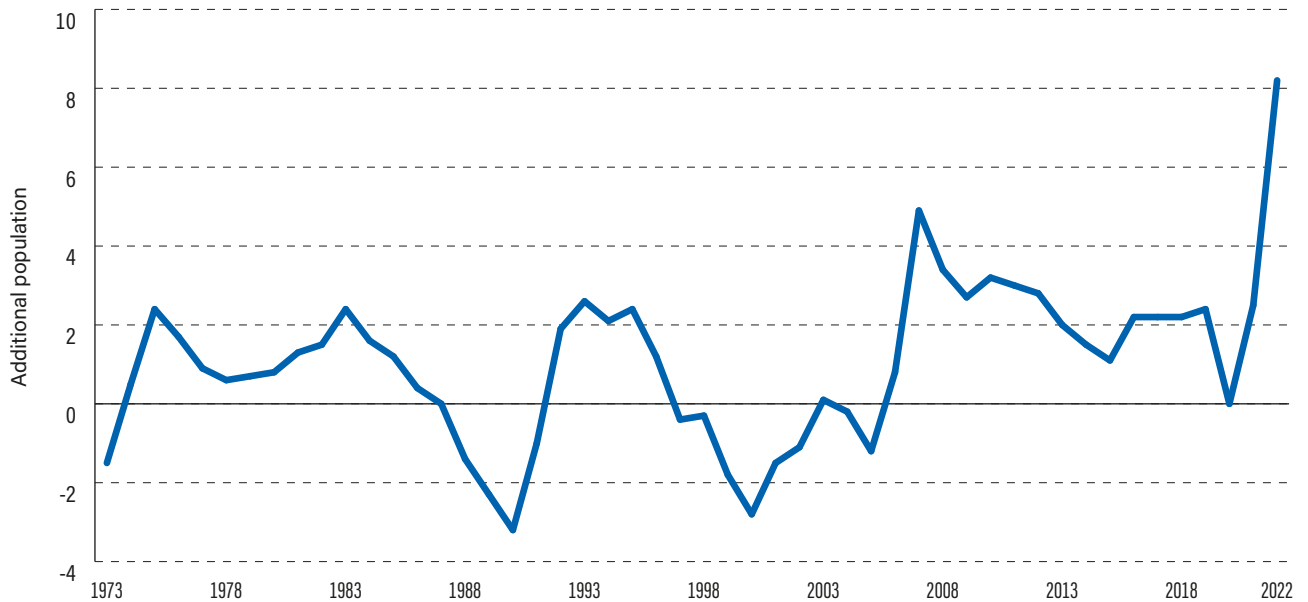
Saskatchewan

Figure 3h: Population growth and housing completions in Saskatchewan, annual, 1972–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

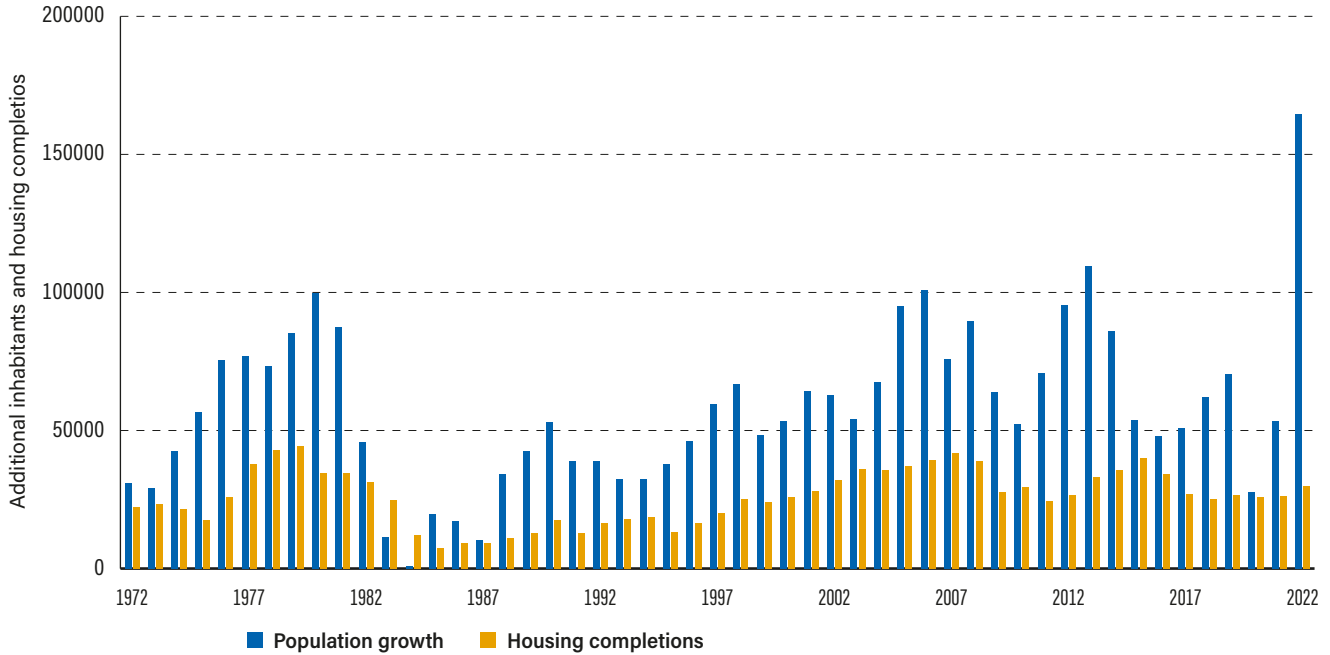
Figure 4h: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Saskatchewan, annual, 1973–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

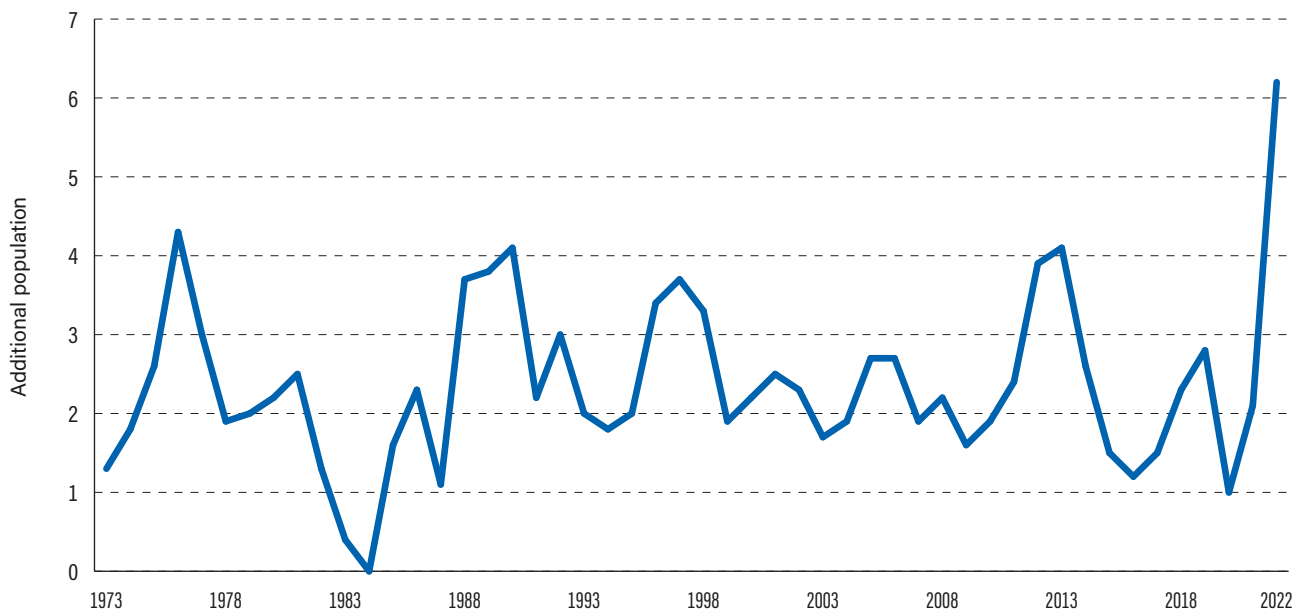
Alberta

Figure 3i: Population growth and housing completions in Alberta, annual, 1972–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

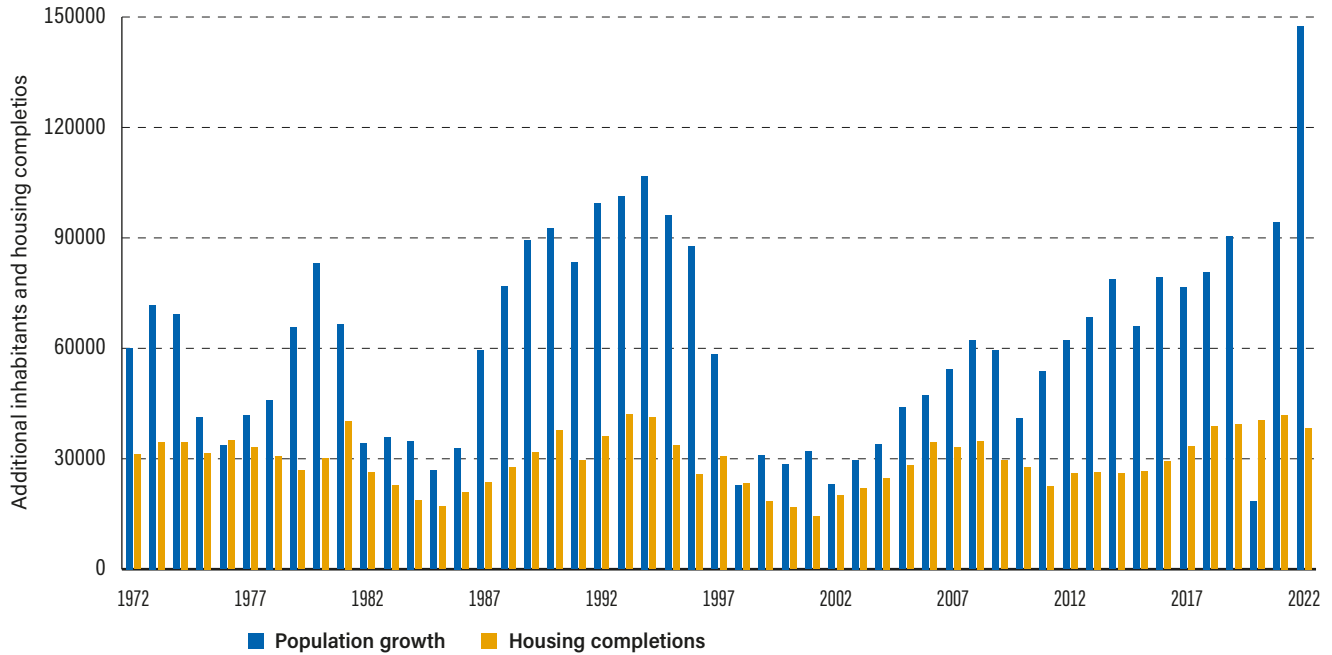
Figure 4i: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in Alberta, annual, 1973–2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

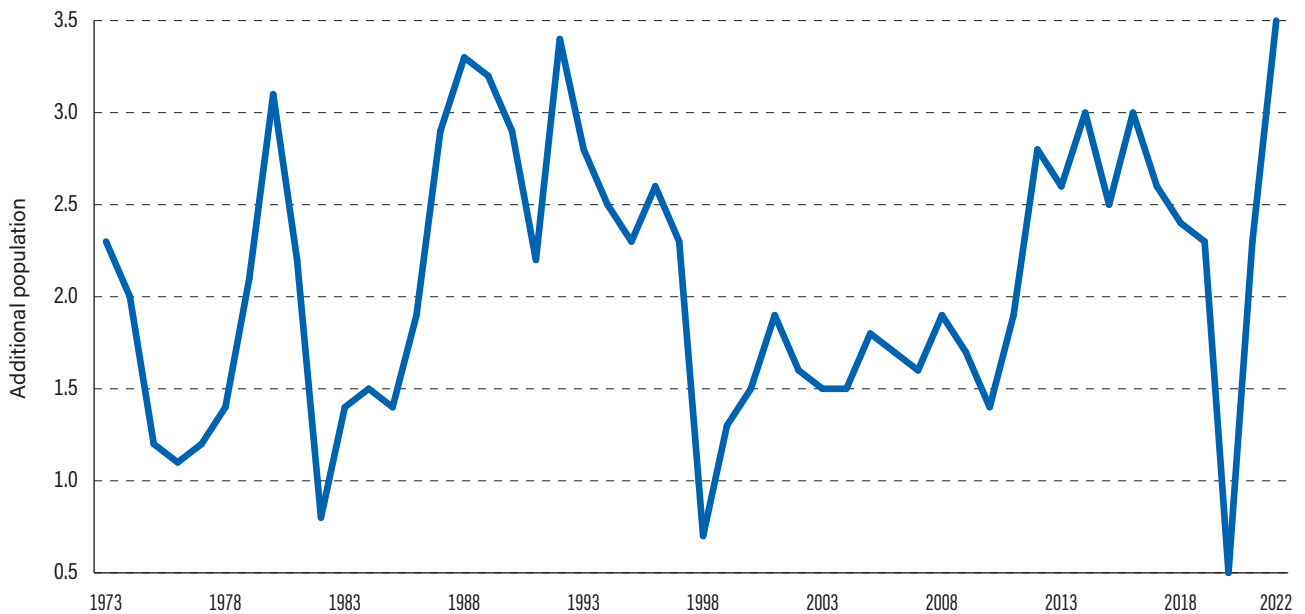
British Columbia

Figure 3j: Population growth and housing completions in British Columbia, annual, 1972-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

Figure 4j: Additional population per housing unit built the previous year in British Columbia, annual, 1973-2022



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a, table: 17-10-0009-01; Statistics Canada, 2023b, table: 34-10-0126-01.

Conclusion

Never in the past five decades has Canada faced a greater divergence between the number of people gained, and the number of housing units completed annually than it does now. All provinces have experienced accelerated population growth in recent years, and indeed their greatest single-year population increase on record in 2022. Meanwhile, all but one

province built more housing, on average, during the 1970s than in any other decade since.

These dual trends offer further evidence of a significant, growing gap between housing demand and housing supply, with important ramifications for housing affordability Canada-wide.

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