

# Are single industry towns diversifying?

## A look at fishing, mining and wood-based communities

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The early history of forestry and mineral resource exploitation in Canada is synonymous with the term "company town." Isolated, small and completely controlled by one company, many of these settlements were temporary while others became a permanent feature of the Canadian landscape. Today, few communities are the sole property of a single company. But, for many towns, a single industry continues to be the main employer. These communities are the subject of this study.

Though some single industry towns are dependent on tourism, government administration, defence, agriculture, or textile industries for employment, this study focuses only on three types of resource-based communities: fishing and fish processing, mining and refining, and wood-based activities (see [Single sector communities study group](#)). The objective is to examine some of the labour force and industry changes that have taken place in these towns since 1971, and to assess whether these settlements have become more dependent or more industrially diversified.

The 1981-82 recession had an adverse impact on employment in resource dependent towns across Canada, which has refocused attention on the future of many of these communities. At issue is their long-term sustainability. If the economic base of a single industry town is in any way threatened, whether by market fluctuations (domestic or international), resource depletion, product substitution, technological change or any other factor, the future of the entire settlement can be at risk.

The labour force in the study communities is examined in three ways to evaluate changes in industrial structure and concentration. Although the focus of change covers 1981 and 1986 (the most recent period for which detailed data are available), it should be emphasised that all the study communities had at least 30% of their labour force in a single sector in 1971.

## Changes in industry concentration

A Herfindahl Index, [\(6\)](#) which measures industrial concentration or economic specialization in a community, is used to compare the relative concentration of the labour force across industries from 1981 to 1986. This "specialization" index shows, for each community or group of communities, the level of industrial concentration at a point in time. The closer the index is to 1.0 the more concentrated the industrial structure of the community. In this study a community is considered specialized if the index is equal to or greater than 0.3.

An index value was calculated for each community, and for the three groups of communities, for 1981 and 1986 to see if there was any shift in the overall concentration of the labour force by industry. [\(7\)](#)



## Table 1 Herfindahl Index by community type and size of labour force, 1981 and 1986.\*

Sources: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada

\* Based on the size of the labour force in 1981.

All three types of communities were still highly specialized industrially in 1981, and there was little if any change in their industrial concentration over the 1981 to 1986 period ([Table 1](#)). Small fishing communities with a labour force below 1,000 were, by far, the most specialized. This group was the only one to show a marginal increase in industrial concentration over the five-year period; all other community groups experienced a marginal decrease in industrial concentration. The most notable change was in small mining communities where the index dropped from 0.50 to 0.41. It is not apparent from the index, however, if the difference is the result of a decrease in the primary industry labour force, or an increase in the labour force of the other industry groups.

## Changes in the labour force by industry

Proportional changes in the labour force by industry over the 1981 to 1986 period are examined to determine specific areas of change. At the aggregate level for the three groups it is possible to identify only minor changes in the labour force distribution by industry. It is a decline in the primary activity's labour force rather than significant changes elsewhere that seems to have brought about the apparent relative decrease in specialization among the communities, particularly among mining and wood-based towns ([Table 2](#)). The only industry groups that showed notable increases over the five-year period were public administration, and community, business and personal services. The expanding service sector in these communities mirrors the trend for Canada as a whole. However, the increase in public administration is not evident in the total economy. It may represent an increase in government services in

some communities in response to the need for additional job creation. The proportion of the labour force in manufacturing (excluding those manufacturing industries included in the three primary sectors), remained the same or fell from 1981 to 1986.



## Table 2 **Distribution of labour force by industry, 1981 and 1986.**

*Sources: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada*

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This appears to reinforce the premise that there has been relatively little change in the industrial composition of the labour force in these communities over time. But this observation is based on aggregate-level data only.

Another way of examining change is to see what proportion of the total labour force in each community has remained in fishing, mining or wood-based industries over time. For each community, the percentage of the labour force in the dominant industry was estimated for 1981 and 1986 ([Table 3](#)).



## Table 3 **Distribution of study communities by the percentage of the labour force remaining in the dominant industry.\***

*Source: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada*

*Source: In 1971, all the study communities had 30% or more of their labour force in a single sector, referred to here as the dominant industry.*

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As of 1986, fishing communities appeared to be the most stable in terms of the proportion of the workforce remaining in the industry: of the 38 communities in the study, 34 still had 30% or more of their labour force in fishing in 1986, compared with 33 communities in 1981; only 4 or 5 communities saw their fishing labour force reduced to a proportion below 30%, and in no case had the proportion fallen below 15%.

Mining communities showed more change. In 1981, 42 of the 54 communities still had 30% or more of their labour force in mining, but by 1986 that number had dropped to 24. By 1986, less than half of these communities could be considered predominantly mining. In 22 towns, the proportion lay between 15% and 29%, while in 8 communities, less than 15% of the labour force remained in the mining sector.

In 1981, 52 of the 80 wood-based communities still had 30% or more of their labour force in the industry. By 1986, the comparable figure was 37 communities. Half of the communities, however, still had between 15% and 29% of their labour force in wood-based industries.

It is tempting to conclude that in communities where the resource-sector labour force dependency dropped, industrial diversity increased. Certainly the proportional distribution of the labour force has changed, but from such a simple calculation, one cannot conclude that these communities have diversified their industrial base. [\(8\)](#)

## Changes in the community labour force

A proportional reduction in an industry's labour force relative to the total community labour force can occur for many reasons. For example, it may imply that new industry has come into a community, that other existing industries have expanded, or that the major industry has reduced its actual labour force.

A simple sorting procedure (see [The framework](#)) more clearly identifies the direction of change in a community's labour force by industry. It indicates whether the total industrial labour force in a community has increased or decreased, and whether the labour force in the major resource sector (fishing, mining or wood-based) has similarly increased or decreased. Each community can be placed in one of four categories based on the changes in its labour force from 1981 to 1986. The framework helps to establish which of the study communities have potentially diversified, or remained stable or grown, and which may be more vulnerable because of a declining industrial labour force or an increasing dependence on a single sector. [\(9\)](#)

## Fishing communities

In 1977, Canada extended its fisheries jurisdiction from 12 to 200 miles. The outcome for the Atlantic fisheries was increased employment, investment, capacity and incomes. There was a major financial crisis in the industry caused by the 1981-82 recession, coupled with spiralling interest rates, high debt exposure, rising oil costs, and weak product prices. Major fish processing firms found themselves in serious financial difficulty but, largely with government assistance, the industry was able to refinance and restructure between 1983 and 1985 ([DFO](#), 1989).

The number of fish plants in Atlantic Canada almost doubled from about 500 in 1977 to over 900 in 1988 ([DFO](#), 1988). [\(10\)](#) Employment in fish processing in Atlantic Canada increased rapidly after 1977, declined in 1983 with the rationalization of the major processing plants, but resumed expansion in the mid-1980s, to peak at the equivalent of about 31,000 full-time jobs in 1988 ([APEC](#)).

This employment growth appears to be reflected in the study data which indicates that in 32 of the 38 fishing communities (84%) the total community labour force either remained stable or increased in the

1981 to 1986 period ([Figure 2](#)).



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## Figure 2 Labour force change in 38 fishing communities, 1981-1986.

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In 7 of these communities, the labour force in fishing declined slightly over the period, but in only 2 was the dependency on fishing less than 30% of the total labour force (Quadrant 1).

Of particular note is that 25 of the communities increased both their total labour force and their labour force in fishing over the 1981 to 1986 period (Quadrant 2). In only two instances did the labour force in fishing fall below 30% in 1986. In all other communities the proportion was at least 30% and in the majority of cases it was higher in 1986 than in 1981. For most of these towns, therefore, single sector labour force dependency increased.

Only 6 of the fishing communities recorded a net decline in the total labour force over the period; sector dependency did not fall below 30% for any of these.

In the 38 study communities, there was little change in the labour force dependency on fishing between 1981 and 1986. The vast majority still had 30% or more of their labour force in the industry; moreover, the bulk of community labour force expansion over the 1981 to 1986 period appears to have occurred in the fishing industry.

Dependence on fishing continues to be a major concern in Atlantic Canada, where the industry still accounts for over 10% of all jobs, directly employing over 100,000 people in more than 1,300 communities ([APEC](#)). Since 1989, the industry has faced another cycle of low fish prices, declining fish stocks and overcapacity in both the harvesting and processing sectors. Reduced quotas in 1989 and 1990 forced a number of large fish processing plants to close or gear down leaving thousands out of work.

In response to the crisis in the industry, the federal government announced, in May 1990, a five-year \$584 million Atlantic Fisheries Adjustment Program aimed at ensuring a viable fishery in the long term for Atlantic Canada. A full \$90 million (15%) of this aid is targeted for providing alternative employment opportunities and economic diversification within fisheries-dependent communities ([Government of Canada](#), 1990).

## Mining communities

From 1981 to 1986, the total community labour force remained stable or increased in just over a third (19) of the 54 mining communities ([Figure 3](#)). While the mining labour force declined in 13 of these communities, only 8 saw the dependency on mining fall below 30% (Quadrant 1). In 6 communities, both the mining and the total labour force remained stable or increased; in 2 cases, however, mining no longer accounted for 30% or more of the total labour force by 1986 (Quadrant 2).



### Figure 3 Labour force change in 54 mining communities, 1981-1986.

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Those 10 communities which have seen an increase in their total labour force (Quadrant 1 and 2) but now have less than 30% of their labour force in mining have potentially diversified.

The predominant situation in the 54 mining communities, however, has been one of decline in the total labour force. Two-thirds of the mining communities had a smaller total labour force in 1986 than in 1981. In 31 of these communities (close to 60% of the study group), the labour force in mining also dropped, and in 19 cases was below 30% of the total labour force (Quadrant 3).

The 1981-82 recession had a devastating impact on employment in mining communities. "At the height of the recession in late 1982, close to half of the Canadian mining sector was shut down temporarily for periods varying from a few weeks to several months ... The recession also precipitated the permanent closure of the main employer in some communities, resulting in severe social readjustment and relocation for most of their residents and businesses" ([EMR](#), 1985).

A number of communities have shifted their primary employment dependence to another resource base. They have moved from being predominantly mining communities to communities largely dependent on wood industries for employment (for example, Atikokan and Ear Falls in Ontario, and Fraser Lake and Granisle in British Columbia). In some cases there is now a dual resource dependency, with wood-based industries being the major employer.

Although the 1981-82 recession was a major cause of employment decline in some communities, other factors need to be considered. For example, technological development in the mining sector has also changed the demand for labour. Even though an industry remains economically important to a community, an increased substitution of capital for labour can reduce the number of employed workers and limit future employment growth.

Mining will undoubtedly remain a boom and bust industry and there is much concern within the mining sector regarding the future planning and growth of communities. A number of arrangements have

evolved, ranging from fly-in/fly-out sites with no permanent settlement, to fully planned centralized communities serving a number of mines and having a larger population base for service provision, and a more diversified employment structure.

## Wood-based communities

Wood-based industries also suffered during the recession of the early 1980s. In the forestry industry, for example, employment fell from over 300,000 in 1980 to below 260,000 in 1982 ([Statistics Canada](#), 1984).

Of the 80 wood-based communities in this study, over half had a stable or slightly higher total labour force in 1986 than in 1981 ([Figure 4](#)). In 24 of these settlements, the labour force in wood-based industries declined; in 17 cases it accounted for less than 30% of the total labour force (Quadrant 1). This development may represent the most significant change towards diversification among the three types of single industry communities examined in this study.



### **Figure 4 Labour force change in 80 wood-based communities, 1981-1986.**

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In a further 18 communities the labour force increased both in total and in the wood-based industries; but in 9 of these, the wood-based industries no longer accounted for at least 30% of the total labour force by 1986 (Quadrant 2).

In 38 communities, the total labour force fell during the 1981 to 1986 period. In 17 of these communities, the wood-based labour force accounted for less than 30% of the total labour force.

Increased capitalization and rationalization are responsible for some of the labour force changes in wood-based industries. The wood products industry in particular has undergone considerable restructuring in order to remain competitive in the marketplace and to accommodate increasing environmental controls. In this process some communities have benefited while others have suffered.

In some wood-based communities, increased diversity has also resulted in a dual dependence on wood and mining. For example, the town of Marathon in Ontario, long associated with pulp and paper, is now likewise dependent on gold mining.

It has been stated that the forestry industry "has had to accept far more constraints than perhaps any other

sector in the economy because of the multiple values attached to its raw material source" (**Bull**). Though many adjustments have already taken place, fluctuating world markets, GATT negotiations, the Free Trade Agreement and increasing environmental concerns provide this sector with a dynamic background for further adjustments and re-structuring in the coming years.

## Conclusion

This very preliminary look at 172 communities identified as single industry or single sector towns in 1971 appears to show slightly more change in the industrial composition of the labour force in mining and wood-based communities than in fishing communities. In fact, over the 1981 to 1986 period, some fishing communities increased their labour force dependency on a single resource. In all three sectors, those communities which experienced major growth or decline stand out clearly; for the remainder the changes are more subtle.

The recent recession has again brought hard times to many of these small resource-dependent communities. What lies in the future for them? There appears to be a growing concern for community sustainability C which in the long term implies some element of economic diversification. For many of these communities though, diversification and alternative employment opportunities may be hampered by their small size and remoteness. Planning for economic diversification continues through the work of local municipalities, the Canadian Association of Single Industry Towns (CASIT), the Community Futures Program (part of Employment and Immigration Canada's Canadian Jobs Strategy), and other government and organizational initiatives. Many single industry communities are examining alternatives to continued dependence on one resource and are seeking new ways to ensure a long-term future. The success of these initiatives will be crucial to maintaining the economic viability of these towns. Data from the 1991 Census will provide important information to further examine trends in employment by industry in single sector communities.

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## Single sector communities study group

Type of community	Number of communities
All communities	172
Fishing and fish processing	38



SIC\*: fishing 041;  
fishery services 045;  
fish products 102

**Mining and refining** 54

SIC\*: metal mines 051-059;  
mineral fuels 061, 064;  
non-metal mines 071-079;  
quarries and sand pits 083, 087;  
services incidental to mining 096-099;  
primary metal\*\* 291, 294, 295;  
petroleum and coal products 365, 369

**Wood-based** 80

SIC\*: logging 031; forestry services 039;  
wood 251-259;  
furniture and fixture 261-268;  
paper and allied 271-274

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\* Lists major industry groups and 3-digit 1970 SIC codes assigned to these groups. See [note 4](#).

\*\* Includes iron and steel mills, iron foundries, and smelting and refining.

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The 38 fishing communities studied are all in the Atlantic provinces, the majority (26) in Newfoundland. The 54 mining communities and the 80 wood-based communities are more widely scattered, but most are in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. (See [Appendix](#) for a list of the study communities.) In 1971, most of the communities were relatively isolated, that is, few were close to alternative employment opportunities in large urban areas.

The communities selected for the study had a maximum population of 20,000 in 1976. [\(5\)](#) However, the average size of the communities in the final study group was just under 3,400 that year. The median population sizes for all three types of communities lay between 1,000 and 2,000; close to 40% of all the communities were in this range.

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# The framework



Figure 1 **Labour force change, 1981-1986.**

## Quadrant

1. This quadrant represents an increase in the total community labour force and a decrease in the single sector labour force. Included in this group are communities that have diversified.
2. Quadrant 2 shows communities that have sustained an increase in both their total labour force and their single sector labour force. Depending on the relative sizes of the respective increases, some of these communities may have either diversified or increased their dependency on a single sector.
3. A decrease in both the total community labour force and the single sector labour force is shown in Quadrant 3. Depending on the relative sizes of the respective decreases, some of these communities may have increased their dependence on a single sector or they may have diversified. In either case, they have a declining total labour force.
4. Communities in Quadrant 4 have experienced a decrease in their total labour force but an increase in their single sector labour force. The relatively few communities in this group may have become more dependent on a single sector despite a reduction in their total labour force.

The most solid case for increased industrial diversity appears to be found among those communities where the total community labour force has increased, but the labour force in the major resource sector has decreased to less than 30% of the total (in Quadrant 1).

## Definitions [\(1\)](#)

This article looks at single sector communities identified in a study undertaken by the former Department of Regional and Economic Expansion ([DREE](#), 1979). The communities selected had 30% or more of their labour force in a single industry or sector, according to the 1971 census.[\(2\)](#), [\(3\)](#)

**A single industry community:** is a population centre with 30% or more of its labour force assigned to a single standard industrial classification category (SIC).[\(4\)](#)

**A single sector community:** is economically dependent on one resource but carries out activities within

an industry sector which combine a number of related SIC categories (for example, the wood-based sector includes logging, sawmills, and pulp and paper mills).

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## Notes

**Note:** *An early version of this study was presented at the "Rural and small town Canada: economic and social reality conference" held in Ottawa in October 1990.*

### *Note 1*

There is an extensive literature on single industry towns which encompasses a great variety of definitions ([Robson](#)). The common characteristic generally recognised as describing a single industry town is the reliance on a single, dominant economic activity C but the method of dependence measurement for community identification and analysis varies from study to study. Early studies on the subject include the work of [Walker](#), [Robinson](#) and [Lucas](#). Walker describes single enterprise communities as follows: "the company (or other single authority) is the sole employer and owns and controls all the physical properties." This definition reflects the period during which Walker's study was undertaken, when "company towns" were the rule for resource-based settlements. Robinson defines new resource towns as typically one-industry communities, located beyond the continuously settled area of southern Canada. Implicit in his definition is a notion of isolation, or at least distance from major areas of settlement. Lucas uses a more quantifiable definition: "communities with a population of less than 30,000 in which at least 75% of the working population serves a single industry and its supporting services."

### *Note 2*

This refers to the industry or sector in which an employed person 15 years and over was currently working at the time of the Census. In the case of an adult who was unemployed or not in the labour force at the time of the Census, the industry or sector assigned was the one related to the job of longest duration held during the 17 months preceding Census day.

### *Note 3*

The communities were selected from the DREE study which contained population figures and other data for each community for 1976. For this article, the community data were checked using 1971 Census data to see if 30% or more of their labour force was also in a single sector at that date. The 1976 Census did not contain industry data that would have permitted this type of verification.

### *Note 4*

The Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) is a coding system used to identify the economic sector in which an individual works (for example, manufacturing, fishing, retail trade). The coding system, which

is updated at regular intervals, contains over 300 basic "3-digit" categories which are rolled up into major groups and divisions. The data in this article are based on the 1970 SIC to permit comparison over time.

**Note 5**

The standard geocoding system of the Census was used to operationally define community boundaries.

**Note 6**

The Herfindahl Index is a measure of concentration. It was originally designed to measure the market shares of sales volume. In the present context it is used to measure the degree of economic specialization in a community. For each community, the index is calculated by taking the square root of the sum (across all industries) of the squares of the proportion of the labour force in each industry class. The maximum value for the index is 1.0, which represents the highest possible industrial concentration. In the former DREE study, communities with a score of less than 0.3 were not considered to be specialized.

$$HI_i = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^n (LF_{ij} / LF_i)^2}$$

where  $LF_{ij}$  = labour force in community  $i$ ,  
industry  $j$  ( $j=1, 2, 3, \dots n$ )

$LF_i$  = total labour force in community  $i$

and  $HI_i \leq 1.$

**Note 7**

The calculation of the index was based on the following 12 industry groups: fishing; mining and refining; wood-based; other primary (includes agriculture, hunting and trapping); manufacturing; construction; transportation, communication and other utilities; trade; finance, insurance and real estate; community, business and personal services; public administration; and other (includes employment descriptions that could not be coded into an industry group).

**Note 8**

Diversification is defined here as an increase in employment in a community through the introduction of new industry or through the expansion of an existing industry other than the single sector industry.

**Note 9**

The framework is used only as a simple sorting device since the allocation to each category is based on the direction of change in a community's labour force and does not provide any indication of the magnitude of change. For some communities, the magnitude of change is so small that the community could be classed as stable. Where the community labour force was the same for both years the

community was placed in the plus category; if the single sector labour force was stable, it too was placed in the plus category. In all cases, however, at least one of the two elements changed.

### **Note 10**

This number includes licensed fish processing plants in the province of Quebec.

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## Appendix

### The study communities

#### Fishing and fish processing communities:

##### Newfoundland

Arnold's Cove - Southern Harbour

Bay de Verde

Belleoram

Bonavista

Burin

Burnt Islands - Rose Blanche

Catalina

Change Islands

Englee

Fermeuse - Renews - Port Kirwan

Ferryland  
Fogo  
Fortune  
Gaultois  
Grand Bank  
Harbour Breton  
Isle aux Morts  
Joe Batt's Arm  
L'Anse au Loup - Forteau  
La Scie  
Marystown  
Port Hope Simpson  
Port Saunders  
Ramea  
Trepassey  
Wesleyville

### **Prince Edward Island**

Souris  
Tignish

### **Nova Scotia**

Canso  
Clark's Harbour  
Lockeport  
Louisbourg

### **New Brunswick**

Bas-Caraquet  
Blacks Harbour  
Cap-PelJ  
Grand Harbour  
LamPque  
Shippagan

### **Mining and refining communities:**

### **Newfoundland**

Baie Verte  
Buchans  
Daniel's Harbour  
Labrador City

## **Quebec**

Asbestos  
Contrecoeur  
East Broughton Station  
Fermont  
Gagnon  
Havre-Saint-Pierre  
Malartic  
Matagami  
Murdochville  
Saint-Joseph-de-Coleraine  
Schefferville

## **Ontario**

Atikokan  
Ear Falls  
Elliot Lake  
Ignace  
Manitouwadge  
Onaping Falls  
Pickle Lake  
Red Lake - Balmertown  
Temagami  
Virginiatown (McGarry)  
Wawa (Michipicoten)

## **Manitoba**

Flin Flon  
Leaf Rapids  
Lynn Lake  
Snow Lake  
Thompson

## **Saskatchewan**



Esterhazy

## **Alberta**

Blairmore (Crowsnest Pass)

Fort McMurray

Fox Creek

Grande Cache

Swan Hills

## **British Columbia**

Ashcroft

Cassiar

Elkford

Fernie

Fraser Lake

Fruitvale

Granisle

Kimberley

Kitimat

Logan Lake

Montrose

Port Hardy

Sparwood

Stewart

Trail

## **Yukon**

Faro

## **NWT**

Pine Point

## **Wood-based communities:**

## **Nova Scotia**

Hantsport

## **New Brunswick**

Canterbury  
Charlo  
Chipman  
Dalhousie  
Doaktown  
Eel River Crossing  
Kedgwick  
Nackawic  
Plaster Rock  
RiviPre-Verte  
Saint-Quentin  
Sainte-Anne-de-Madawaska

## **Quebec**

Barraute  
Belleterre  
Bromptonville  
Chandler  
Clermont  
Crabtree  
Daveluyville  
DJgelis  
Dolbeau  
Donnacona  
East Angus  
Ferme-Neuve  
Forestville  
Fort-Coulonge  
Girardville  
La Tuque  
Lac-au-Saumon  
Laurier-Station  
Lebel-sur-QuJvillon  
Marsoui  
Mont-Rolland  
New Richmond  
Notre-Dame-de-la-DorJ  
Parent  
Portage-du-Fort  
Price

Saint-FranHois-d'Assise  
Saint-Michel-des-Saints  
Saint-Pamphile  
TJmiscaming  
Thurso

## **Ontario**

Beardmore  
Dryden  
Espanola  
Field  
Geraldton  
Hearst  
Iroquois Falls  
Kapuskasing  
Longlac  
Marathon  
Mattawa  
Nipigon  
Red Rock  
Schreiber  
Smooth Rock Falls  
Terrace Bay

## **Saskatchewan**

Hudson Bay

## **Alberta**

Hinton

## **British Columbia**

Campbell River  
Chetwynd  
Duncan  
Fort St. James  
Gibsons - Port Mellon  
Gold River  
Golden  
Houston

Ladysmith  
Lake Cowichan  
Mackenzie  
Nakusp  
Port Alberni  
Port Alice  
Powell River  
Quesnel  
Squamish  
Tahsis

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Table 1

**Herfindahl Index by community type and size of labour force, 1981 and 1986\***

	Labour force			
	All communities	Under 1,000	1,000-4,999	5,000-9,999
<b>Communities</b>				
<b>Fishing</b>				
1981	0.50	0.54	0.45	...
1986	0.50	0.55	0.43	...
<b>Mining**</b>				
1981	0.47	0.50	0.46	0.49
1986	0.44	0.41	0.43	0.46
<b>Wood-based</b>				
1981	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.44
1986	0.43	0.44	0.43	0.43

*Sources: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada*

*\* Based on the size of the labour force in 1981.*

*\*\* Fort McMurray is the only settlement in the study that had a labour force greater than 9,999 by 1986. It is included in the total only.*

Table 2

**Distribution of labour force by industry, 1981 and 1986**

Industry	Single sector communities								
	Canada		Fishing		Mining		Wood-based		
	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986	
<b>All industries</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Fishing and fish processing	0.8	0.8	44.0	43.8	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.6	
Mining and refining	3.1	2.5	0.8	0.5	38.7	31.4	1.5	2.0	
Wood-based	3.8	3.5	0.7	0.7	3.5	4.3	33.4	29.6	
Other primary*	3.9	3.8	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.2	
Manufacturing	13.3	12.2	3.6	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.6	
Construction	6.1	5.6	3.7	3.3	4.9	4.1	4.7	3.6	
Transportation, communication and other utilities	7.6	7.3	4.7	4.8	5.2	5.6	5.8	6.5	
Trade	16.0	16.0	12.2	11.4	11.4	12.1	13.1	13.2	
Finance, insurance and real estate	5.1	5.1	1.3	1.4	2.7	2.5	2.9	2.8	
Community, business and personal services	27.7	30.2	17.7	18.0	21.3	25.2	23.8	25.8	
Public administration	7.2	7.2	5.1	6.9	4.3	5.4	4.8	4.8	
Other†	5.4	5.9	6.0	6.1	4.7	5.9	6.1	7.2	

*Sources: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada*

*\* Consists of agriculture, hunting and trapping.*

*\*\* Excludes industries included in the three primary sectors.*

*† Includes persons that could not be coded into an industry group.*

Table 3

**Distribution of study communities by the percentage of the labour force remaining in the dominant industry\***

Communities	Number	Percent of labour force in dominant industry**		
		Under 15%	15%-29%	30% or more
<b>Fishing</b>				
1981	38	-	5	33
1986	38	-	4	34
<b>Mining</b>				
1981	54	1	11	42
1986	54	8	22	24
<b>Wood-based</b>				
1981	80	1	27	52
1986	80	3	40	37

*Sources: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada*

*\* In 1971, all the study communities had 30% or more of their labour force in a single sector, referred to here as the dominant industry.*

*\*\* Refers to the dominant industry only, for example, the percent remaining in the fishing industry in fishing communities.*

Figure 2

**Labour force change in 38 fishing communities, 1981-1986**

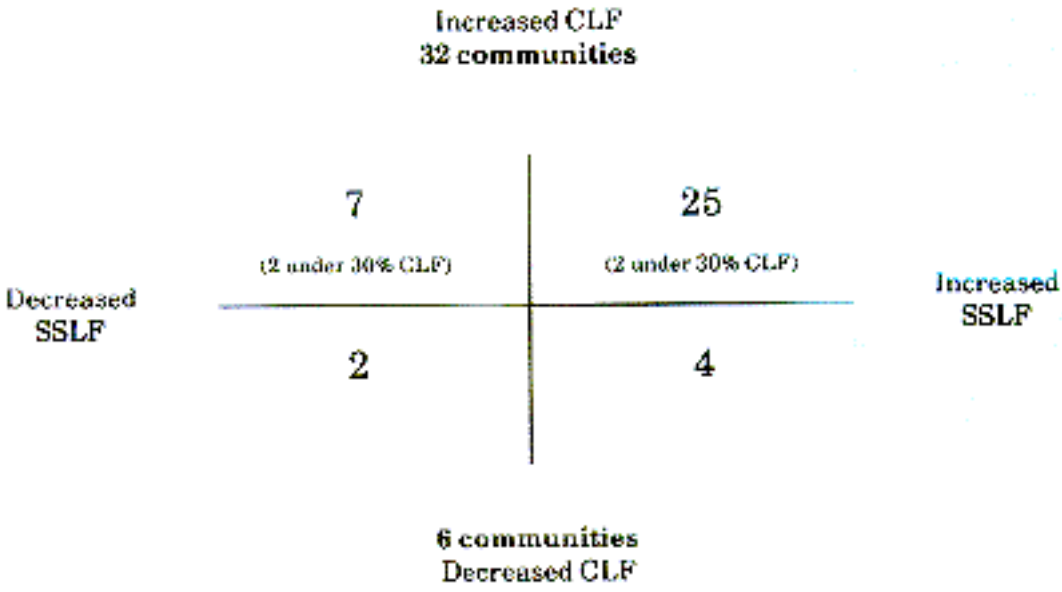




Figure 3

**Labour force change in 54 mining communities, 1981-1986**

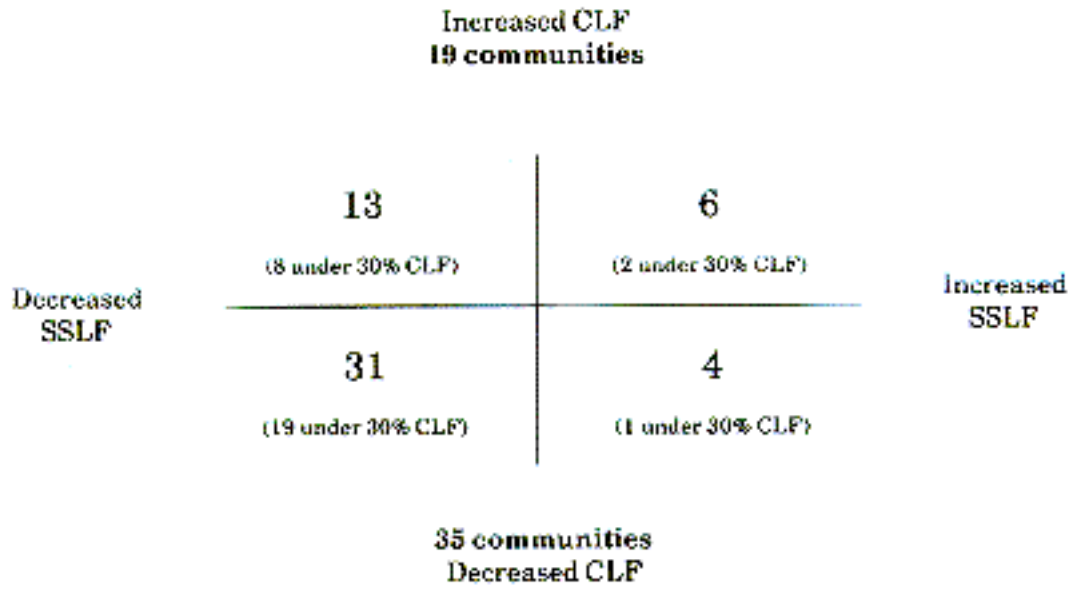
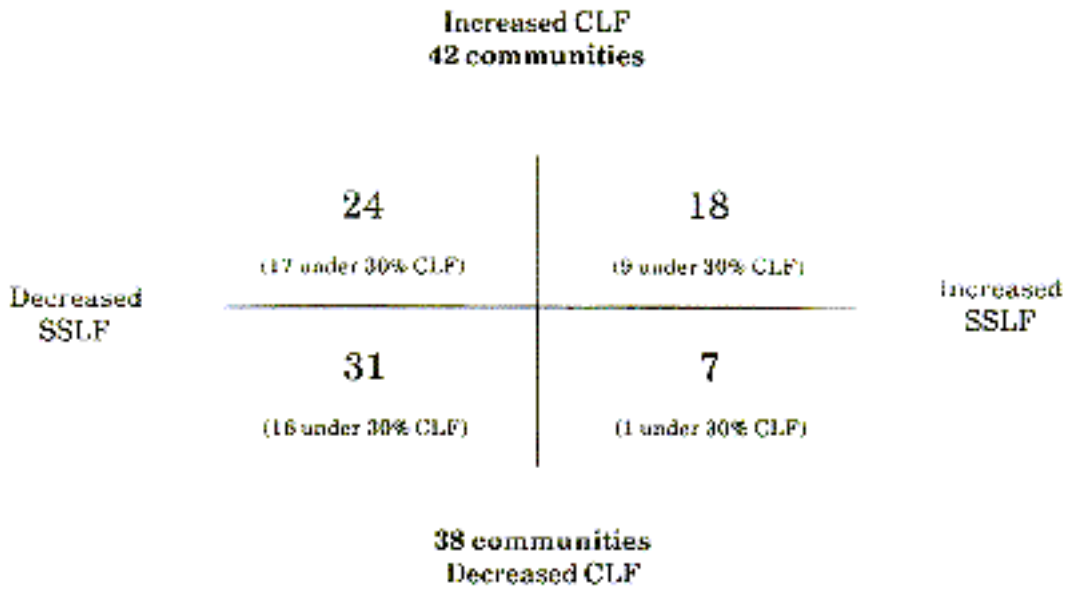


Figure 4

**Labour force change in 80 wood-based communities, 1981-1986**



## The framework

Figure 1

### Labour force change, 1981-1986

