

Employment and industrial development in the North

Lee Grenon

Over the past century natural resource industries have transformed the North. Its economy has expanded beyond fishing, hunting, trapping and independent prospecting to include resource-based industries and a broad service sector. Today, most independent operators have given way to large corporations and to unionized miners and engineers. Many other workers are also migrating to the area as its economy diversifies.

This study compares economic and employment trends in the Yukon and Northwest Territories with those in the rest of the country. The accompanying study in this issue, "Northern earnings and income," compares northern earnings and income trends with those elsewhere in the country (see *Data sources* and *Definitions*).

The northern economy

Boom-to-bust cycles have produced considerable variation in northern economic performance during the past decade, particularly in the Yukon. Mining makes up a large share of the Yukon's gross domestic product (GDP). As a consequence, movements of this indicator have been relatively volatile because of changing conditions in the industry. For example, from 1985 through 1987, GDP increased by 57% with the re-opening of the Faro lead-zinc mine, and by 12% between 1991 and 1992 following a labour dispute in 1991 (Chart A). Because mining suffered a major decline in 1993, GDP dropped by 19% between 1992 and 1994. When the industry recovered in 1995, economic output rebounded

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Data sources

Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS)

For information on this survey see *Data on the Aboriginal population*.

Census of Canada

The census is held every five years, and provides labour force and demographic information such as industry, occupation, age, sex, ethnic origin and length of residency. Data from the 1996 Census will begin to be released this year. For further information see Statistics Canada (1996a).

The 1991 Census introduced a change in the definition of the Census population. Comparisons of 1991 data and those from earlier censuses should be made with caution.

Labour Force Survey (LFS)

The Labour Force Survey, conducted by Statistics Canada each month, produces official employment and unemployment statistics for Canada (excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories). Winter figures cited in Table 1 of this article are three-month averages (January to March).

Labour Force Survey in the Yukon

Since 1992, Statistics Canada has conducted a special labour force survey for the Yukon. The Yukon Bureau of Statistics releases data from this survey on a three-month average basis.

Neighbourhood Income and Demographic file (taxfilers database)

This file is produced by Statistics Canada's Small Area and Administra-

tive Data Division based on the T1 income tax form. Statistics on taxfilers' income and demographic characteristics are available for detailed geographic areas.

Northwest Territories Labour Force Survey

During February and March 1994, the N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics conducted a labour force survey of over 12,000 persons aged 15 years and over. Surveys were also conducted in December 1984 and in 1989 (January to March).

The Public Institutions Division

Statistics Canada produces estimates of public sector employment and wages and salaries. Coverage does not include universities, lay and religious residential care facilities, Newfoundland school boards, or First Nations and Inuit administrations.

Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours (SEPH)

SEPH is the largest survey of businesses in Canada, and the only source of current weekly earnings at a detailed industry level.² Comparable historical estimates are available from 1983 on.

System of National Accounts

Estimates of provincial and territorial gross domestic product (GDP) by industry are produced by the Industry Measures and Analysis Division of Statistics Canada. Estimates of provincial and territorial GDP at factor cost by industry are available from 1984 on.

by 11%. (At the end of 1996, the Faro mine suspended operations.)

Between 1984 and 1989, economic growth was weaker in the Northwest Territories than in the

rest of Canada. Its GDP grew by just 10%. Gold mining, petroleum production, and oil and gas exploration generated moderate economic growth in the late 1980s. Then, in the early 1990s, oil and

Definitions

Average income is the aggregate income for a population divided by the population count. **Median income** is the amount that splits the income distribution into halves. Median and average income calculations include individuals with either positive or negative income.

Total income is annual income received from all sources for the reference year: **employment income (earnings)** includes wages, salaries, commissions, net income from unincorporated non-farm business and/or professional practice, and net farm self-employment income; **government transfer payments** include Old Age Security and Guaranteed Income Supplement, Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits, Employment Insurance benefits, Family Allowance, Federal Child Tax Credit, and other income from government; **other income** includes investment income, retirement income, and other money income such as alimony, child support, severance pay and strike pay.

The census and the APS collect information on income from persons aged 15 years and over. Estimates of total income for taxfilers include all income reported by individuals on income tax returns.

Income is presented in constant dollars, adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Income data from the census (1990 dollars) and taxfiler income data (1994 dollars) are adjusted with the Canada annual average of the CPI.

The definition of **employed** used in the Census of Canada, the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Labour Force Surveys and the Neighbourhood Income and Demographic file is broader than that of paid employee used in the Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours. Employed persons in the census, APS and LFS include persons

aged 15 years and over who reported receiving wages, salaries, commissions, or self-employment income. The taxfilers database includes all persons who reported income from employment or self-employment.

Paid employee refers to a person receiving pay for services rendered (including paid absences), and for whom the employer is required to complete a Revenue Canada T-4 Supplementary Form. Included are full- and part-time employees, as well as working owners, directors, partners and other officers of incorporated businesses. Estimates for paid employees are from the SEPH. Statistics are not collected for self-employed persons with unincorporated businesses.

Those who **worked full year full time** were employed in 1990 for 49 to 52 weeks, and worked 30 hours or more a week for most of the year.

The official definition of **unemployed** refers to persons available for work during the reference week: who were without work and had actively looked for work in the previous four weeks; or who had been on temporary layoff and expected to return to work; or who had definite arrangements to start working within the next four weeks.

An alternative definition of unemployment used in the N.W.T. Labour Force Survey includes "persons who wanted a job... *but had not looked for work because they perceived no jobs to be available.*" This alternative definition is similar to the concept of "discouraged worker" used by Canada's Labour Force Survey.

The **experienced labour force** consists of people who were in the labour force the week preceding the census (that is, they were employed or unemployed) and, if unemployed (that is, on temporary layoff or looking for work),

had worked at some time since January 1 of the year preceding the census.

Occupation refers to the kind of work performed. If a person was employed the week before the census, that occupation was assigned; otherwise, the job of longest duration since January 1 of the preceding year was used in the analysis.

Industry estimates are based on the 1980 Standard Industrial Classification.

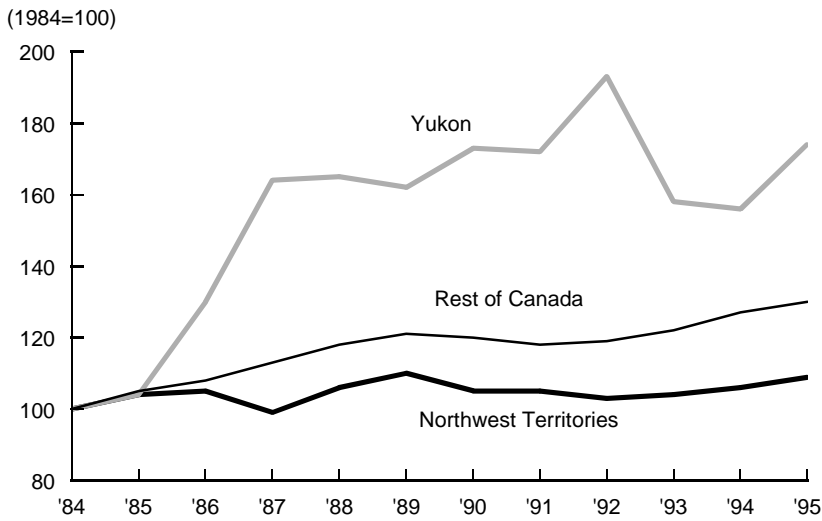
Estimates of **gross domestic product** (GDP) at factor cost by industry for provinces and territories have been revised for 1984 to 1991, and are preliminary for 1992 to 1995. All are in 1986 dollars. Estimates for years prior to 1984 may not be directly comparable owing to a change in methods used to estimate provincial and territorial GDP by industry.

The **North** and **northern Canada** refer to the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Most comparisons are between the Yukon or Northwest Territories and the rest of Canada; however, because of data limitations, some comparisons are with all of Canada. (For general facts about the North, see Appendix).

Recent migrants are adults 15 years and over who lived in the Yukon or Northwest Territories at the time of the 1991 Census, and lived in a different province, territory or country at the time of the 1986 Census. **Longer-term residents** are persons 15 years and over who resided in the same territory (either the Yukon or the Northwest Territories) during both censuses.

An **urban area** has a population of at least 1,000 people and a population density of at least 400 people per square kilometre, as of the previous census.

Chart A
The Yukon's GDP is relatively volatile.



Source: Industry Measures and Analysis Division

Note: The Faro lead-zinc mine in the Yukon re-opened in 1985. In the summer of 1991, a strike took place. In the summer of 1993, mining operations were suspended. At the end of 1994, activity resumed. In December 1996, mining operations were again suspended.

1983 to 1995 (Chart B). Despite greater fluctuations in its GDP, the North's annual average paid employment increased from 25,800 to 35,700, exceeding its pre-recession peak. In contrast, paid employment in the rest of Canada remained below its 1990 high point.³

Both employment and unemployment rates are higher in the North (Table 1)⁴ – the result of a relatively mobile workforce and young population. For example, persons who moved to the North from elsewhere or from one territory to another between 1986 and 1991 made up 28% of northern workers in 1991. Among the working-age population (that is, 15 years and over), the percentage aged 15 to 64 years in 1995 was 95.8% in the Northwest Territories and 93.9% in the Yukon. It was just 84.9% in the rest of Canada.

Since Statistics Canada's definition of unemployment may not be a satisfactory measure of joblessness

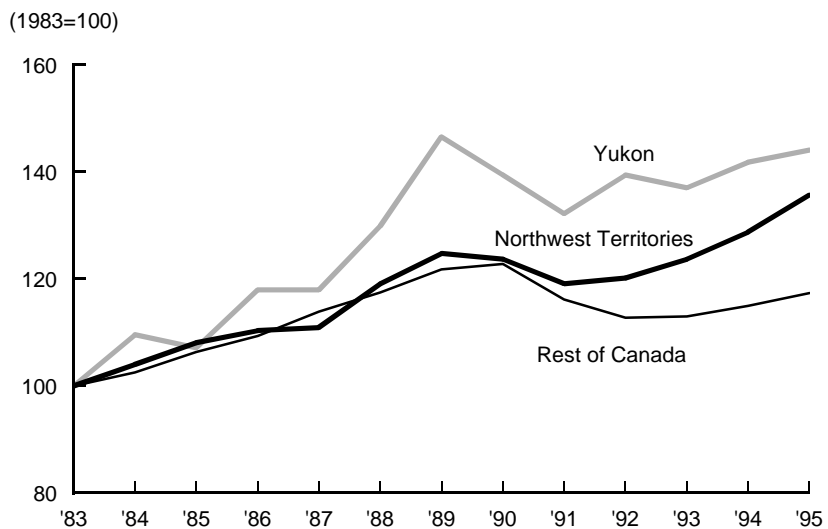
gas exploration and resource industry construction declined, while gold mining suffered from mine closures and labour disputes. Consequently, GDP fell by 6% from 1989 to 1992. Thanks to renewed activity in mining, by 1995 economic output had nearly returned to its pre-recession peak.

In contrast, from 1984 to 1989 Canada's GDP grew by 21%. Despite declines and weak growth in the early 1990s, the Canadian economy was 7% larger in 1995 than it had been in 1989. The Northwest Territories' GDP was still 1% below its 1989 peak, and the Yukon's was 10% below its 1992 level.

Employment in the North

Northern Canada's overall rate of paid employment growth was double that of the rest of Canada from

Chart B
Employment growth has been stronger in the North.



Source: Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours

Table 1
Labour force activity of persons aged 15 years and over

	1986 Census	Winter 1989	1991 Census	Winter 1994
	%			
Northwest Territories				
Participation rate	70	70	73	73
Employment rate	60	59	63	61
Unemployment rate	14	16	13	17
Yukon				
Participation rate	79	..	82	75
Employment rate	69	..	72	65
Unemployment rate	13	..	12	14
Rest of Canada				
Participation rate	66	66	68	64
Employment rate	60	61	61	56
Unemployment rate	10	8	10	12

Sources: Northwest Territories Labour Force Survey, 1989 and 1994; Yukon Bureau of Statistics, 1994; Labour Force Survey, 1989 and 1994; Census of Canada, 1986 and 1991. For details, see Data sources.

The growing service sector's requirement for public and commercial facilities has promoted employment in the construction industry. Natural resources have also made a major contribution to employment. On the other hand, manufacturing remains relatively small and narrowly based, which has limited the growth of the goods-producing workforce. The latter peaked at the height of mining, oil and gas activity in the late 1980s (Table 2), then lost ground early this decade.

The public sector⁶ continues to make a major contribution to the northern economy. In 1995, it employed 44% of all employees in the Northwest Territories and 39% in the Yukon. In the rest of Canada,

in small remote communities, an alternative measure of unemployment is also used by the Northwest Territories.⁵ It includes people who want to work but have not looked for work because they believe no jobs are available. This rate is considerably higher than the official rate, attesting to the difficulty of finding employment in northern rural areas.

Diversification of the paid workforce

In 1995, 84% of paid employment in the North was in the service sector, compared with 77% in the rest of Canada. The North's higher concentration in service jobs has persisted over the past decade. While the service sector's output has not yet fully recovered from the early 1990s recession, its paid workforce has exceeded the pre-recessionary peak. From 1983 to 1995, service sector employment expanded most in education (106%), retail and wholesale trade (69%), accommodation, food and beverage services (50%), and health and social services (48%).

Table 2
Annual average paid employment

		1983	1989	1995
Industrial aggregate *	N.W.T.	17,400	21,700	23,600
	Yukon	8,400	12,300	12,100
Goods sector	N.W.T.	3,400	3,600	3,700
	Yukon	1,200	2,000	1,700
Construction	N.W.T.	400	700	1,400
	Yukon	400	800	700
Service sector	N.W.T.	14,000	18,100	19,800
	Yukon	7,300	10,300	10,300
Public administration	N.W.T.	4,900	6,200	5,800
	Yukon	1,900	2,900	2,700
Retail and wholesale trade	N.W.T.	1,500	2,100	2,900
	Yukon	1,100	1,800	1,500
Education	N.W.T.	1,400	2,100	2,600
	Yukon	400	500	1,100
Health and social services	N.W.T.	1,100	1,500	2,200
	Yukon	1,000	1,400	900
Accommodation, food and beverage services	N.W.T.	1,100	1,600	1,300
	Yukon	700	1,100	1,400
Transportation and storage	N.W.T.	1,400	1,500	1,500
	Yukon	1,100	1,400	700

Source: Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours

* The industrial aggregate includes employment in businesses that do not have an industry classification. Military personnel are not included in paid employment estimates.

Table 3
Distribution of employees by sector

	Northwest Territories	Yukon	Rest of Canada
		%	
All employees	100	100	100
Private sector	56	61	76
Public sector *	44	39	24
Government business enterprises	1	1	3
Government	43	38	21
Federal (including military)	6	8	3
Provincial and territorial	30	27	9
Local	7	3	8

Sources: Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours; Public Institutions Division, 1995
* See note 6.

24% of all employees worked in the public sector (Table 3).

Two occupational groups in particular have experienced rapid growth: managerial and adminis-

trative positions, and the social sciences (Table 4). These occupations accounted for one-quarter of the increase in northern employment from 1971 to 1991.

Aboriginal labour force

Three broad populations of Aboriginal people live in the North: Inuit, Métis and North American Indian (see *Data on the Aboriginal population* and Appendix). Regional differences in population density, economic activity and access to education and training are reflected in their respective employment and unemployment rates (Table 5).

In contrast to non-Aboriginal people, who tend to live in urban areas (63% in 1991), most Aboriginal people in the North live in rural areas (75% in 1991) with limited opportunities for employment or postsecondary education. Consequently, just 59% of adults with Aboriginal origins participated in the labour force in 1991, compared with 87% of non-Aboriginal adults.

Table 4
Distribution of experienced labour force * by occupation **

	Northwest Territories			Yukon			Rest of Canada		
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
			%						
Experienced labour force	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managerial and administrative	4.0	9.7	13.6	3.6	8.4	12.1	4.3	6.8	9.0
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.5	4.1	4.0	2.7	3.4	4.0
Social sciences	1.1	2.3	3.6	0.8	2.3	3.3	0.9	1.6	2.1
Religion	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2
Teaching	5.0	5.7	6.2	3.2	3.7	4.3	4.0	4.1	4.2
Medicine and health	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.3	2.6	3.0	3.8	4.3	4.9
Artistic, literary and recreational	1.0	2.0	2.6	0.9	1.3	1.6	0.9	1.4	1.6
Clerical	11.3	16.7	16.7	13.5	17.6	16.6	15.9	18.2	17.4
Sales	4.2	4.7	4.6	6.4	6.7	6.7	9.5	9.6	10.0
Services	14.4	14.6	14.7	14.3	13.4	13.1	11.2	11.9	12.7
Farming, horticultural and animal husbandry	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.8	1.1	5.9	4.2	3.7
Fishing, hunting and trapping	3.3	1.1	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
Forestry and logging	0.8	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.6
Mining and quarrying, including oil and gas	3.8	3.4	2.1	4.4	3.8	1.7	0.7	0.6	0.4
Processing	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.8	1.2	1.1	3.9	3.9	2.8
Machining	1.5	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.8	2.6	1.8
Product fabricating, assembling and repairing	4.6	5.1	3.2	7.2	5.5	4.1	7.4	7.8	6.0
Construction	7.4	9.0	8.8	9.6	9.4	9.9	6.6	6.4	5.7
Transport equipment operating	4.8	5.6	5.0	6.8	5.4	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.4
Material handling	2.4	2.1	1.3	2.1	1.7	0.9	2.4	2.0	1.5
Other crafts and equipment operating	2.3	1.5	1.0	1.7	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.2	1.0
Other occupations	2.4	2.6	2.8	0.9	1.7	2.5	1.9	1.5	2.3
Not stated	17.0	4.5	3.3	14.2	7.1	6.9	8.5	3.5	4.1

Source: Census of Canada
* See Definitions.
** Based on the 1971 Occupational Classification Manual.

Data on the Aboriginal population

Characteristics of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons are estimates based on the 1991 Census. Its question on ethnic or cultural origins provided information about North American Indian, Métis, or Inuit origins, elicited either as a single response or mentioned in combination with other origins. Another census question collected information on persons who were registered Indians as defined by the *Indian Act of Canada*.

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS), conducted between October 1991 and January 1992, was a follow-up survey to the 1991 Census. A large-scale survey of a sample of those who had reported having Aboriginal origins and/or being registered under the act, the APS provided a portrait of those who identified with those origins, that is, considered themselves to be North American Indian, Métis, or Inuit.

In the North, most persons with Aboriginal origins also identify with their Aboriginal ancestry. Among the 25,725 persons who reported those origins and/or were registered under the act, 92% or 23,795 persons identified themselves as North American Indian, Métis or Inuit.¹

Comparison of 1986 and 1991 Census data on ethnic origin

The ethnic origin question asked in the 1991 Census differed slightly from that of the 1986 Census. In 1991, respondents were asked: "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?" The 1986 Census question had asked: "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong?" The phrase "do you" was removed to clarify the intent of the question, which was to measure the origins of respondents. In addition,

a note explained the purpose and intent of asking a question on ethnic origin.

These changes do not affect the comparability of 1986 and 1991 data. The reporting of ethnicity is affected, however, by the social environment and by personal factors, including awareness of family background, length of time since immigration, and confusion with other concepts such as citizenship, nationality, language or identity. Between 1986 and 1991, increases in acknowledgement of Aboriginal origins and Canadian origins, and a decrease in that of English ancestry, are likely the result of social and personal considerations. The percentage of the population reporting Aboriginal origins increased in the Northwest Territories from 59% in 1986 to 62% in 1991, and in the Yukon from 21% in 1986 to 23% in 1991.

Their official unemployment rate was considerably higher than that of the latter: 24.5% versus 6.2% (Table 6). Even in urban areas and among postsecondary graduates, Aboriginal people were less likely to be employed and more likely to be unemployed (Table 7).

Recent migrants

As with differences between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal populations, recent migrants to the North or between territories tend to have higher rates of employment and lower rates of unemployment than do longer-term residents (Table 8). Many transient workers tend to come to the area only if they have jobs lined up and stay only as long as they have employment. The relatively high unemployment rate in 1991 among the Yukon's recent migrants was likely due to a mining labour dispute.

Greater participation of women

Women's participation in the northern labour force increased from 41% in 1971 to 71% in 1991. The

rate among men grew more slowly, from 77% to 81%. Similarly, in the rest of Canada, women's participation in the labour force increased from 40% to 60%, while men's remained steady at 76%.⁷

Table 5
Labour force activity of persons in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, by Aboriginal origin

	Participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Worked in 1990 or 1991
	%			
Aboriginal population	61.9	46.7	24.5	73.4
Single origin	59.3	43.6	26.3	70.9
Multiple origins	73.8	60.9	17.9	84.5
Inuit *	57.3	42.8	25.3	70.2
Single origin	56.1	41.7	25.6	69.2
Multiple origins	67.0	51.9	23.2	78.9
Métis	74.1	62.5	16.0	83.9
Single origin	71.9	59.3	17.9	80.5
Multiple origins	76.8	66.4	14.0	87.9
North American Indian	64.2	47.5	26.0	74.7
Single origin	60.9	43.1	29.1	71.3
Multiple origins	74.4	60.8	18.3	85.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

* Most Inuit live in the sparsely populated eastern Arctic.

Table 6
Labour force activity in the North, by area and ethnic origin

	Northern adults	
	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
	%	
All areas		
Participation rate *	59.0	86.6
Worked in 1990 or 1991 **	73.4	92.6
Employment rate	46.8	81.6
Unemployment rate	24.5	6.2
Urban areas		
Participation rate *	68.6	86.5
Worked in 1990 or 1991 **	81.7	92.5
Employment rate	57.0	81.9
Unemployment rate	18.6	5.8
Rural areas		
Participation rate *	55.8	86.6
Worked in 1990 or 1991 **	70.7	92.7
Employment rate	43.4	81.0
Unemployment rate	26.8	7.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1991
 * Experienced labour force (see Definitions).
 ** Adults who worked any time from January 1, 1990 to the 1991 Census reference week regardless of their labour force status in the reference week.

The employment rate among northern women also increased significantly – from 39% in 1971 to 62% in 1991. In contrast, northern men's dropped from 73% to 69%. Among women in the rest of Canada the rate rose from 36% to 52%, while among men it decreased from 71% to 67%.

Northern women increased their share of employment in managerial and administrative occupations from 14% in 1971 to 43% in 1991. Their share of jobs in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics grew from 3% to 20%.

The majority of women, however, continue to be concentrated in several occupational groups. In 1991, among women in the experienced labour force, 30% were in clerical occupations, 18% in service jobs, and 13% in managerial and administrative positions. Men were more evenly distributed across occupations: 16% in construction, 13% in managerial and administrative work and 11% in service jobs.

Fewer opportunities for youths

Labour market conditions have worsened for young people across Canada, but especially in the North, where their unemployment rate increased from 8.0% in 1971 to 25.4% in 1991. In fact, since 1981 the rate has been higher in the North than in the rest of Canada (Table 9). This may be related to lower school attendance. During the 1990-91 school year, the percentage of youths attending school was 43% in the Northwest Territories, 56% in the Yukon, and 62% in the rest of Canada. Many non-students were probably looking for work.

Older workers

The labour force participation rates of older men and women are higher in the North than in the rest of the country. In 1991, the rate for

Table 7
Labour force activity of persons with postsecondary qualifications * in the Yukon and N.W.T., by area and ethnic origin

	Northern adults	
	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
	%	
All areas		
Participation rate **	81.8	91.5
Worked in 1990 or 1991 †	92.4	95.4
Employment rate	67.5	86.8
Unemployment rate	19.3	5.4
Urban areas		
Participation rate **	83.9	91.8
Worked in 1990 or 1991 †	93.5	95.4
Employment rate	72.5	87.7
Unemployment rate	14.4	4.8
Rural areas		
Participation rate **	80.9	91.0
Worked in 1990 or 1991 †	91.8	95.3
Employment rate	65.2	85.5
Unemployment rate	21.5	6.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

* Includes trade certificates, college/CEGEP diplomas, and university certificates and degrees.

** Experienced labour force (see Definitions).

† Adults who worked any time from January 1, 1990 to the 1991 Census reference week regardless of their labour force status in the reference week.

northerners aged 55 to 64 was 62%, compared with 52%. Among persons 65 and over, the rates were also higher (16% versus 9%), probably because of the smaller proportion of retired persons in the North.

The lower employment rate among older northern men reflects the trend in the rest of Canada. The rate for northern men aged 55 to 64 declined from 70% in 1971 to 61% in 1991. Similarly, employment for other Canadian men in this age group dropped from 76% to 59%.

Wildlife harvesting

For many people, working in the North involves more than paid employment. Wildlife harvesting (that is, fishing, hunting and trapping) is important for many residents. The 1994 Northwest Territories Labour Force Survey reported that in 1993, 27% of persons aged 15 and over hunted or fished, 14% produced crafts, and 6% trapped animals.

Wildlife harvesting is especially important to Aboriginal people. According to the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, over 30% of respondents participated in unpaid land-use activities to support themselves or their families. As well, 26% received money for participating in land-use activities.

Fishing, hunting and trapping activities are largely outside the northern market economy. Fishing and trapping (excluding tourism) contribute less than 1% to the total market economy of the North, and have dropped in value from \$6.6 million in 1989 to \$2.7 million in 1995 (1986 dollars).

Land of opportunity

The Yukon and Northwest Territories have offered solid employment opportunities over the past decade in several industries and occupations. Paid employment in construction and education has more

Table 8
Labour force activity by migration status

	Northwest Territories		Yukon	
	Recent migrants	Long-term residents	Recent migrants	Long-term residents
	%			
Participation rate	90.0	68.0	86.9	79.3
Employment rate	84.7	56.8	77.2	69.9
Unemployment rate	5.8	16.5	11.2	11.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

Table 9
Labour force activity of persons aged 15 to 24 years

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991
	%				
Yukon and N.W.T.					
Participation rate	53.6	61.4	64.1	62.3	63.5
Employment rate	49.3	54.5	51.0	45.8	47.4
Unemployment rate	8.0	11.5	20.6	26.3	25.4
Rest of Canada					
Participation rate	57.4	61.4	69.0	69.6	70.7
Employment rate	48.6	52.8	55.6	55.1	55.3
Unemployment rate	15.3	13.9	19.4	20.9	21.9

Source: Census of Canada

than doubled since the early 1980s. Employment in the goods sector increased substantially in the 1980s, but declined early in the 1990s. Renewed job growth in this sector owes much to new development and to the re-opening of several mines, as well as to continuing growth in the construction industry. Canada's first diamond mine, at Lac de Gras in the Northwest Territories, is expected to be operating by 1998. With revenue of \$500 million a year expected over the 25-year life of the mine (Haliechuk, 1995), the North seems poised for another mineral "rush."

While much of the North's fortune still remains with mines and oil wells, the growing service sector will likely provide greater stability to the area. As in the rest of Canada, this sector has had more

sustained employment growth and less cyclical variation than the goods sector. The continued development of the public sector, as well as the creation of Nunavut (Stout, 1997) and the reorganization of the western portion of the Northwest Territories (as yet unnamed) may lead to increased employment in services.

The growth in employment has taken place largely in urban areas, where opportunities have sometimes exceeded those in many southern cities. Meanwhile, northern rural areas have among the lowest employment rates in the country. These disparities are clearly reflected in the distribution of earnings. The accompanying article in this issue, "Northern earnings and income," elaborates on these issues. □

■ Notes

1 In the Northwest Territories, 97% of persons who reported Aboriginal origins also identified with their ancestry. The proportion in the Yukon was 70%.

2 Two other sources of earnings data are the Census of Canada and the Survey of Consumer Finances. The SCF does not provide estimates for the Yukon or Northwest Territories.

3 The Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours shows a 1990 peak in the annual average estimate of paid employment. According to the Labour Force Survey, the figure for all workers (including employees, self-employed and unpaid family workers) has surpassed that peak.

4 Labour force estimates include paid workers, self-employed workers, unpaid family workers, and unemployed persons.

5 The alternative measure of unemployment for the Yukon was not available for this analysis.

6 The public sector includes employees working for federal, territorial or local government, agencies or other government bodies, government business enterprises, or publicly owned institutions such as hospitals or schools.

7 Historical comparisons are based on definitions of labour force activity used in the 1971 Census, which have remained fairly consistent. For further information on concepts used in the 1971 Census, 1991 Census and monthly Labour Force Survey, see Statistics Canada, 1992.

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Appendix General facts about the North			
	Northwest Territories	Yukon	Canada
Geography			
Area in square kilometres	3,426,320	483,450	9,970,610
% of Canada	34.4	4.8	100
Persons per 100 square kilometres (July 1, 1996p)	2	7	301
People			
% of Canada (July 1, 1996p)	0.2	0.1	100
% in urban areas (1991)	36.7	58.8	76.6
Women as a % (July 1, 1996p)	48.0	48.7	50.5
Population distribution (%) by age (July 1, 1996p)			
Under 15 years	32.3	23.6	20.0
15 to 64 years	64.6	71.9	67.8
65 years and over	3.1	4.5	12.2
% with mother tongue other than English or French			
1951	72.6	23.9	11.8
1991	42.3	8.1	14.2
% with Aboriginal origins and/or Indian registration in 1991			
	61.8	23.4	3.8
Aboriginal population in 1991			
Single origin	29,415	3,780	470,615
Multiple origins	5,975	2,610	532,060
Inuit			
Single origin	18,430	60	30,090
Multiple origins	2,925	110	19,170
Métis			
Single origin	2,315	165	75,150
Multiple origins	2,000	400	137,500
North American Indian			
Single origin	8,670	3,550	365,375
Multiple origins	2,430	2,320	418,605
Fertility rate (1994) (live births per woman)	2.74	1.73	1.66
Infant mortality rate (1994) (per 1,000 live births)	15.6	2.3	6.3
Median age on July 1, 1996p	25.7	32.5	35.2
Life expectancy in years (1994)	73.6	74.9	78.2
Population			
Circa 1898 (Dawson)			
1921	8,100	4,100	8,787,400
July 1, 1996p	66,570	31,450	29,963,630
Capital cities:			
Whitehorse, Y.T. (June 1996)	...	23,540	...
Yellowknife, N.W.T. (June 1991)	15,180
Iqaluit, * Nunavut (June 1991)	3,550
<i>Sources: Census of Canada, Demography Division, Health Statistics Division, Yukon Bureau of Statistics, Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics, Natural Resources Canada, The Canadian Encyclopedia.</i>			
* This community has been named capital of the new territory, which attains its official status in 1999.			