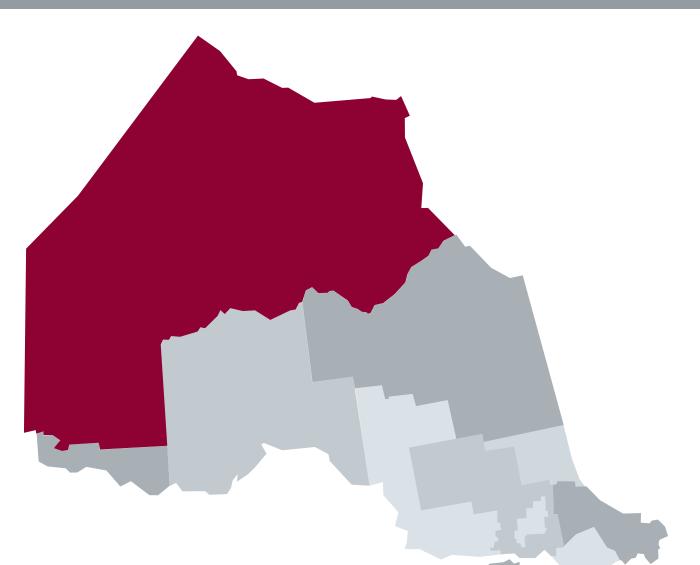
# NORTHERN POLICY INSTITUTE

INSTITUT DES POLITIQUES





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# Northern Projections Human Capital Series - KENORA DISTRICT

By James Cuddy & Dr. Bakhtiar Moazzami

# Who We Are - Northern Ontario Workforce Planning

Workforce Planning Ontario is a network of 26 Workforce Planning Boards covering four regions across the province. Workforce Planning Boards gather intelligence about the supply and demand side of the local labour market and work in partnership with employers, employment services, educators, researchers, economic development, government and other stakeholders to identify, understand and address labour market issues. This includes supporting and coordinating local responses to meet current and emerging workforce needs.

Given the unique geography and labour market issues that impact Northern Ontario, all 6 planning boards in the north have collaborated to form Northern Ontario Workforce Planning. They include: Algoma Workforce Investment Corporation (AWIC); Far Northeast Training Board (FNETB); The Labour Market Group (LMG); Northwest Training and Adjustment Board (NTAB); North Superior Workforce Planning Board (NSWPB); and Workforce Planning for Sudbury & Manitoulin (WPSM). FNETB and NSWPB are currently pilot sites for Local Employment Planning Councils (LEPC).



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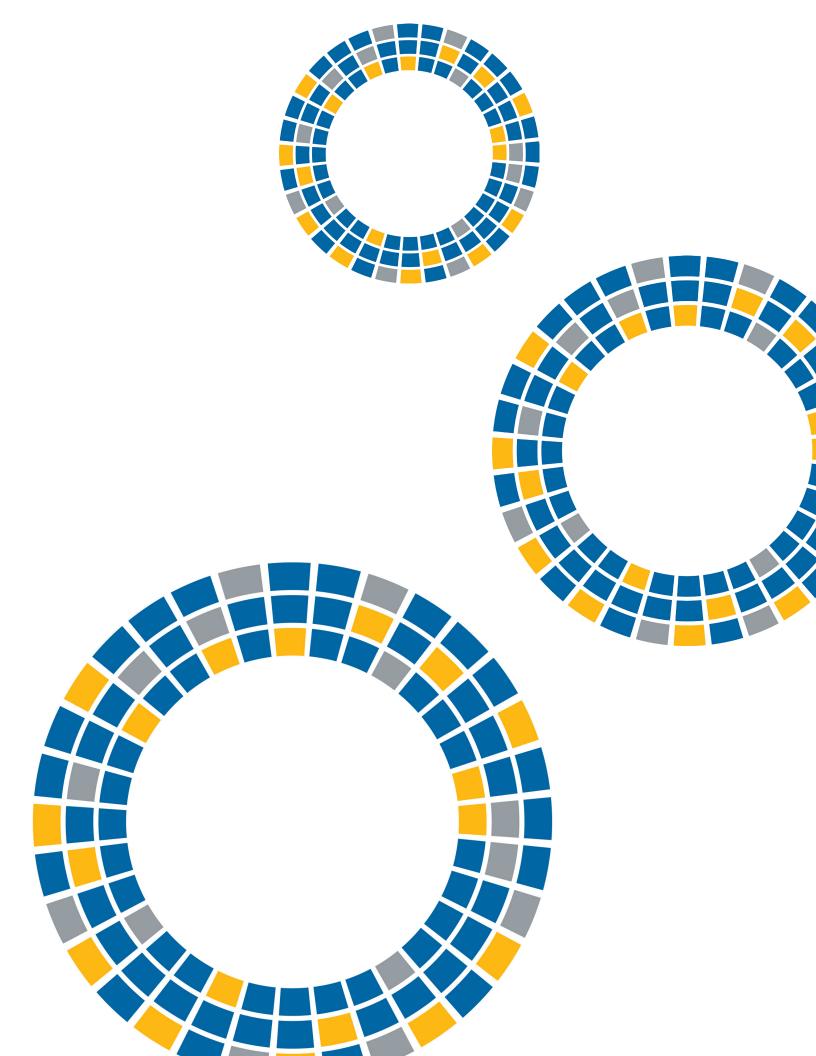


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This project is funded in part by the Government of Canada and the Government of Ontario.



### Who We Are

### Some of the key players in this model, and their roles, are as follows:

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Author's calculations are based on data available at the time of publication and are therefore subject to change.

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# Contents

| Partners  | 2  |
|---|----|
| Who We Are  | 4  |
| About the Authors   | 5  |
| Summary of Findings   | 6  |
| Introduction  | 7  |
| Demographic Change: The Past Three Decades  | 8  |
| Demographic Change: The Next Three Decades  | 12 |
| Kenora District's Labour Force: Past, Present and Future Trends   | 17 |
| Productivity and the Human Capital Composition of the Workforce in Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario | 22 |
| The Consequences of Shifting the Composition of the Employed Labour Force in Kenora District                | 29 |
| Recommendations   | 31 |
| Related Research  | 33 |

# About the Authors James Cuddy



James Cuddy is a market analyst at the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). He has over 5 years of experience conducting research on various economic issues, with a particular focus on labour market and socioeconomic analysis and regional and urban economics.

Prior to his role at CMHC, Cuddy served as Northern Policy Institute's in-house Economist, where he played the role of principal in-house researcher who helped to expand and implement research priorities and assist in quality control.

James is a graduate of Carleton University with a B.A. in Economics (2013) and the University of Ottawa with a M.A. in Economics (2015).

### Dr. Bakhtiar Moazzami



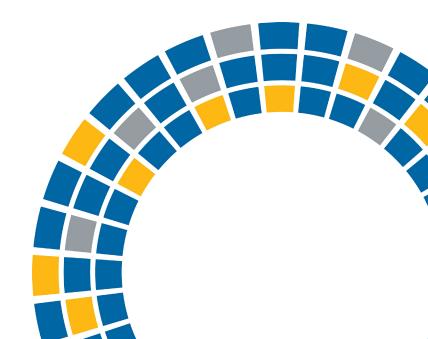
Dr. Moazzami has taught Economics and Econometrics at Lakehead University since 1988. He is well known for his research activities particularly related to Northern Ontario. He has written many reports on Northern Ontario's economic development challenges and opportunities. He was commissioned by the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines to undertake a comprehensive study of Northern Ontario's economy as a part of the research conducted for the Growth Plan for Northern Ontario. Included in the study were the identification of growing, declining and emerging industrial clusters in the region. Professor Moazzami has also written extensively on Northern Ontario's Aboriginal people and Northern Aboriginal economy. Dr. Moazzami's expertise and influence reaches beyond Lakehead University and Northern Ontario. He has been a regular guest speaker at the University of Waterloo's Economic Development Program.

# **Summary of Findings**

The Kenora District, like its neighbour the Rainy River District, stands out from national and global trends in that it is a stubbornly rural region. Some 73.3 percent of the Kenora District's population live in rural areas. Moreover, the rural population increased between 2001 and 2011, while the urban population declined slightly and these trends continued into 2016<sup>1</sup>. In 2011, only 1 percent of the Kenora District's rural population were reported to live in areas with a close link to an urban centre, while 24 percent live in areas with a moderate link to an urban centre, with 53 percent living in areas with a weak link to an urban centre, and 20 percent living in remote regions. This has important implications for an economy increasingly dependent on highly educated workers, service based business and a global knowledge exchange.

Despite being a highly sought after vacation location, the District of Kenora has not translated this attractiveness into a growth in permanent residents. In terms of net migration flows, the District has experienced modest intraprovincial out-migration for the last decade and a half. Intraprovincial migration refers to the movement of individuals to another region within the province. Interprovincial migration, known as the movement of individuals from one province to another, has also been negative during this period.

With an overall population that is aging and shrinking, the Indigenous population's share of the total District's population is expected to increase from 30 percent in 2013 to 39 percent in 2041. The share of working-age Indigenous people (those ages 20 to 64) is expected to increase from 28.8 percent in 2013 to 43.5 percent in 2041. Since the Indigenous labour force will account for a significant and growing share of the District's future workforce, it is vital for the social and economic viability of the region to adopt education policies that enable this segment of the labour force to meet the requirements of the future labour market.



<sup>1</sup> According to Census 2016, the urban population in Kenora District was 15,096 persons in 2016, a slight decrease from 15,348 persons in 2011. The rural population was 50,437 persons, up from 42,259 in 2011.

# Introduction

The objective of this report is to examine past and present trends and characteristics in the Kenora District's economy and to forecast its future challenges and opportunities. The report focuses primarily on the supply side of the economy. The authors examine the region's labour market including its human capital composition, employment trends, the shifting occupational composition of the employed workforce, the shifting of the region's industrial composition from goods-producing to services-producing sectors, the declining share of the private sector, the region's rising dependency on the public sector, and declining labour income and gross domestic product (GDP). The report begins by examining demographic change in the Kenora District over the past three decades and by defining and estimating various dependency indicators.

The study looks into the future and provides projections for the total and Indigenous populations of the Kenora District over the next three decades. From these population projections, the study estimates past, present and future trends in the size and composition of the regional labour force.

In the following section, the study defines and quantitatively measures the human capital composition of the District's workforce in the coming years. This section also discusses the implications of the growing application of technology in the production process and, accordingly, the future skill requirements of the workforce.

The report then moves on to discuss the consequences of shifting the composition of the employed labour force in the District from goods-producing, dominated by private businesses, to services-producing, predominantly financed by the public sector. The study also examines the shifting occupational composition of the employed workforce, and the implication thereof for total regional income and GDP in the Kenora District.

The study concludes with a summary and discussion of some policy implications.

### Data Sources

Most of the data used in this report are based on detailed information regarding individual census subdivisions (CSDs) in the Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario obtained through special tabulations from Statistics Canada. Except for the population data, the 2011 data are based on the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS). Total population forecasts is based on data made available by the Ontario Ministry of Finance. Census 2016 data are being released in stages between February, 2017 and November 2017. At the time of publication, only population and dwelling count data had been released. Population figures have been added to this publication, where applicable, however, the vast majority of the data presented in this publication rely on Census 2016 data that will be released later in 2017. Thus, the majority of the data presented in this report are based of the 2011 National Household Survey.

### **Population Groups Studied**

The report provides information on the following four population groups:

- the total population;
- the Francophone population, defined as individuals who report their mother tongue to be French;
- the Indigenous population, defined by Statistics Canada as persons who reported identifying with at least one Indigenous group – that is, North American Indian, Metis or Inuit – and/or those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act, and/or those who reported they were members of an Indian band or First Nation; and
- the immigrant population defined as persons who are, or have ever been, landed immigrants in Canada.

# The Geographical Specification of Northeastern Ontario

Northern Ontario is subdivided into Northwestern and Northeastern Ontario. The three most western Census Districts - namely Rainy River, Kenora and Thunder Bay - constitute Northwestern Ontario. The region that lies north and east of Lakes Superior and Huron constitutes Northeastern Ontario. It is defined to include the following census divisions: Cochrane, Timiskaming, Algoma, Sudbury, Nipissing, Manitoulin, Parry Sound and Greater Sudbury. The federal aovernment and FedNor also include Muskoka District in their definition of Northeastern Ontario. The provincial advernment removed the District of Muskoka from the jurisdictional area of the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines and the Northern Ontario Heritage Fund in 2004, but has continued to include Parry Sound as a Northern Ontario division.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The analysis in this study is based on these jurisdictional and geographic parameters.

# **Demographic Change: The Past Three Decades**

Kenora District covers 407,213 square kilometers and recorded a population of 65,533 in 2016. It has a population density of 0.2 persons per square kilometer which is well below that of Ontario (14.8). According to Statistics Canada's census of population, Kenora District grew from 1991 to 2006, and then experienced an 11 percent decline from 2006 to 2011, followed by a sharp 13.7 increase between 2011 and 2016 (Figure 1).

In terms of net migration flows, the District of Kenora has experienced modest intraprovincial out-migration for the last decade and a half. Intraprovincial migration refers to the movement of individuals to another region within the province. Interprovincial migration, known as the movement of individuals from one province to another, has also been negative during this period. As a result, net domestic out-migration in 2014-15 resulted in 315 individuals who moved out of the region (Figure 2). In 2014-15, 17 immigrants moved into the District, or 2.4 for every 10,000 people (Figure 3). This is equivalent to roughly 27 times fewer immigrants per capita attracted as opposed to the rate for Ontario as whole, which reported 64.8 immigrants per every 10,000 people in 2014-15. Out of all the northern Districts, this District attracted the second smallest number of immigrants per capita.

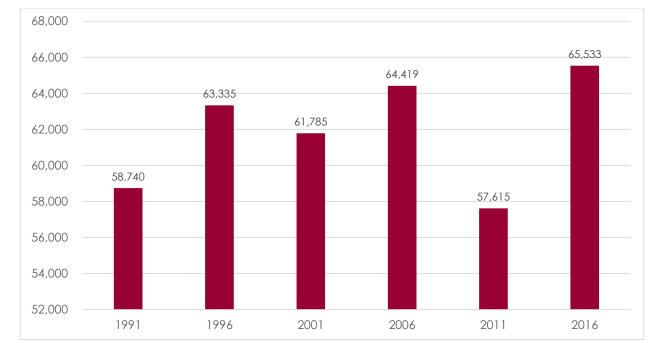


Figure 1: Population, Kenora District, 1986–2016

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada; and idem, National Household Survey.

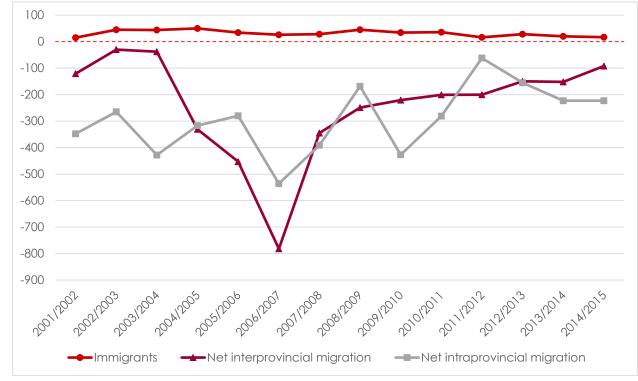


Figure 2. Net Domestic Migration and Immigration, Kenora District, 2001/2002–2014/2015

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, CANSIM database, table 051-0063.

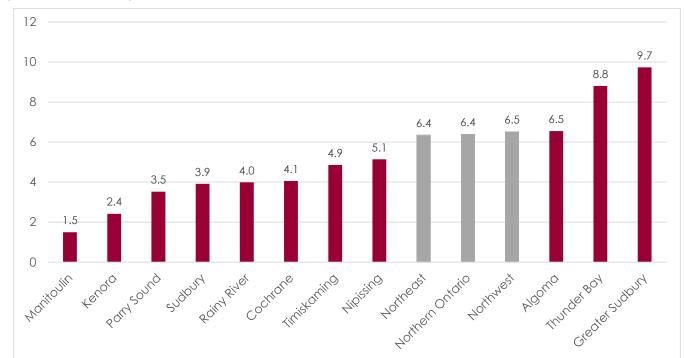


Figure 3. Number of Immigrants per 10,000 people, Northern Ontario Districts, 2014/2015

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, CANSIM database, table 051-0062 and 051-0063.

In addition to out-migration of youth and low levels of immigration in the region, rising life expectancy has resulted in the aging of this District's population. At the same time, the large baby-boom generation, born in the two decades following the Second World War, is now beginning to retire. The generations that followed were much smaller, primarily due to a declining fertility rate. As a result, the share of individuals in the District below the age of 20 has declined from 34 percent in 1991 to 28 percent in 2011, while the share of seniors rose from 9.5 percent in 1991 to 13.2 percent in 2011 (Figure 4). During the same period, the share of individuals between the ages of 20 to 44 declined from 39 to 30 percent, while individuals aged 45 to 64 increased from 17 to 29 percent.

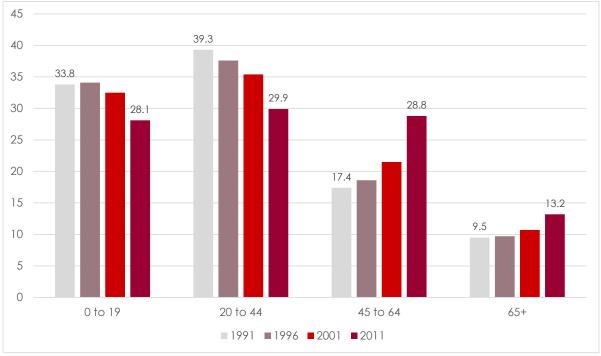


Figure 4: Age Distribution of Population, Kenora District, 1991 and 2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, and National Household Survey, custom tabulation.

These demographic changes have had a significant impact on social and economic conditions in the District. The population will continue to age in the foreseeable future, with implications for the supply of labour, production capacity, and the ability of the Kenora District to stay economically viable. One important aspect of the aging population relates to the relationship between economically active and economically dependent age groups – that is, between the working population on the one hand and the young and elderly on the other.

### Population Trends in Rural and Urban Areas

There are many ways to define rural and urban areas. The term "rural" is intuitively understood as an area with low population concentration dispersed at a low density, while "urban" is understood as a place with high population concentration at a high density. This intuitive understanding is the basis for Statistics Canada's approach to defining an urban area as having a population of at least 1,000 and a density of 400 or more people per square kilometre.<sup>3</sup> An alternative and perhaps more appropriate definition, proposed by Statistics Canada and based on the commuting flows between different areas, is "rural and small towns" (RSTs) as opposed to "large urban centres." It defines urban regions as including all Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations (CAs), and both CMAs and CAs include the total population of neighbouring census subdivisions (CSDs). According to this definition, therefore, rural and small town areas are defined as areas that are not part of any CMA or CA. RSTs are further divided into five types of zones based on the degree of influence that large urban centres have on them, as measured by the percentage of people living in an RST who commute to work in an urban centre.<sup>4</sup>

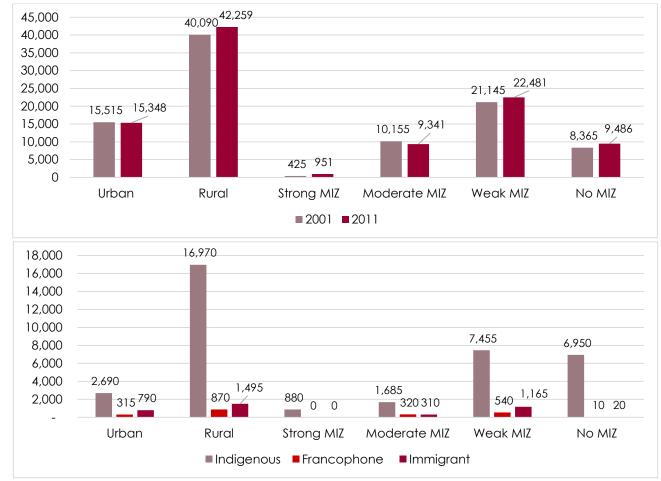
Using the above definition, Figure 5 shows that some 73.3 percent of the Kenora District's population live in rural areas. Moreover, the rural population increased between 2001 and 2011, while the urban population declined slightly. In 2011, only 1 percent of the Kenora District's rural population were reported to live in areas with a close link to an urban centre, while 24 percent live in areas with a moderate link to an urban centre, with 53 percent living in areas with a weak link to an urban centre, and 20 percent living in remote regions.

Of the Indigenous population in the District, 14 percent live in urban areas, while 86 percent live in rural areas. Of the latter, 44 percent live in relatively remote areas with a weak link to an urban centre, and 41 percent live in very remote regions with no link to an urban centre. These are mostly Indigenous peoples living on-reserve.

Of the Francophone population in the District, 27 percent live in urban centres, and of those who live in rural areas, 62 percent live in relatively remote areas with only a weak link to an urban centre. Lastly, about 35 percent of the District's immigrant population live in urban centres, while the remaining 65 percent live in rural areas, most of which live in relatively remote areas with only a weak link to an urban centre.

<sup>3</sup> One problem with this definition is that it can lead to the misleading identification of rural and urban areas. Based on this definition, for example, the Attawapiskat First Nation on James Bay is classified as an urban area.

<sup>4</sup> For a definition of the various zones, see Roland Beshiri and Jiaosheng He, "Immigrants in Rural Canada," Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin 8, no. 2 (2009): 3.



### Figure 5: Ratio of the Working-Age Population to Other Age Groups, Kenora District, 2001 and 2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, and National Household Survey, custom tabulation.

## **Demographic Change: The Next Three Decades**

This part of the study provides population projections for the District of Kenora, both for the total population and for the Indigenous population. Estimates for the former are based on projections by the Ontario Ministry of Finance; estimates for the latter are based on Northern Ontario's Demographic Model, developed by Bakhtiar Moazzami. A few words regarding the Ministry of Finance projections are in order. First, the Ministry's 2011 population estimates are about 12,000 greater than those reported by the 2011 census, having been adjusted for net undercoverage by the census, especially of the region's Indigenous population in the Kenora District.

Second, the Ministry's estimated parameters for fertility at the census division level were modelled to maintain regional differences. The census division-to-province ratio for mean age at fertility in the most recent period was assumed to remain constant.

Third, the Ministry's mortality estimates at the census division level were developed using a ratio methodology. The government applied the Ontario-level mortality structure to each census division's age structure over the most recent three years of comparable data and calculated the expected number of deaths. It then compared these estimates to the actual annual number of deaths in each census division over this period to create ratios of actual-to-expected numbers of deaths. These ratios were then multiplied by provincial age-specific death rates to create death rates for each census division. These were then applied to the corresponding census division population to derive the number of deaths for each census division.<sup>5</sup>

### **Population Projections**

Kenora District's total population is expected to increase from 70,002 in 2013 to 72,419 in 2041 (Table 1). The continuing aging of the District's population is also evident from the Ministry of Finance's projections (Figure 6 and Table 2), with the share of individuals under age 20 expected to decline from 29.9 percent in 2013 to 26.7 percent in 2041. The share of working-age people (ages 20 to 64) is projected to decline from 57.5 percent in 2013 to 50.2 percent in 2041, and the share of seniors is expected to rise from 12.6 percent in 2013 to 23.1 percent in 2041.<sup>6</sup> As the next part of the study will show, the decline in the working-age population has important implications for the future availability of a qualified labour force in the District.

| Year | 019    | 2044   | 4564   | 65+    | Total  |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 2013 | 20,897 | 21,911 | 18,368 | 8,826  | 70,002 |
| 2014 | 20,681 | 21,850 | 18,330 | 9,136  | 69,997 |
| 2015 | 20,517 | 21,764 | 18,296 | 9,447  | 70,024 |
| 2016 | 20,328 | 21,758 | 18,253 | 9,746  | 70,085 |
| 2017 | 20,206 | 21,742 | 18,195 | 10,038 | 70,181 |
| 2018 | 20,137 | 21,700 | 18,090 | 10,389 | 70,316 |
| 2019 | 20,062 | 21,704 | 17,954 | 10,732 | 70,452 |
| 2020 | 20,021 | 21,657 | 17,780 | 11,129 | 70,587 |
| 2021 | 19,975 | 21,635 | 17,622 | 11,487 | 70,719 |
| 2022 | 19,952 | 21,621 | 17,363 | 11,912 | 70,848 |
| 2023 | 19,933 | 21,582 | 17,072 | 12,384 | 70,971 |
| 2024 | 19,937 | 21,482 | 16,833 | 12,836 | 71,088 |
| 2025 | 19,953 | 21,391 | 16,577 | 13,275 | 71,196 |
| 2026 | 19,974 | 21,307 | 16,271 | 13,747 | 71,299 |
| 2027 | 19,905 | 21,345 | 15,966 | 14,180 | 71,396 |
| 2028 | 19,862 | 21,350 | 15,655 | 14,619 | 71,486 |
| 2029 | 19,797 | 21,411 | 15,357 | 15,006 | 71,571 |
| 2030 | 19,722 | 21,455 | 15,146 | 15,328 | 71,651 |
| 2031 | 19,591 | 21,540 | 15,007 | 15,590 | 71,728 |
| 2032 | 19,573 | 21,502 | 14,934 | 15,793 | 71,802 |
| 2033 | 19,546 | 21,484 | 14,885 | 15,959 | 71,874 |
| 2034 | 19,525 | 21,445 | 14,858 | 16,116 | 71,944 |
| 2035 | 19,499 | 21,368 | 14,876 | 16,271 | 72,014 |
| 2036 | 19,472 | 21,302 | 14,906 | 16,404 | 72,084 |
| 2037 | 19,447 | 21,240 | 14,974 | 16,491 | 72,152 |
| 2038 | 19,418 | 21,184 | 15,036 | 16,583 | 72,221 |
| 2039 | 19,387 | 21,128 | 15,135 | 16,639 | 72,289 |
| 2040 | 19,359 | 21,088 | 15,200 | 16,708 | 72,355 |
| 2041 | 19,338 | 21,036 | 15,289 | 16,756 | 72,419 |

Table 1: Population Projections by Age Group, Kenora District, 2013-2041

Source: Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> See Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Focus is placed on individuals aged 20 to 64 as the core working-age population since there has been a declining trend in the labour force participation rate of Ontario's youth in recent years primarily due to a significant rise in enrolment rates in postsecondary education institutions.

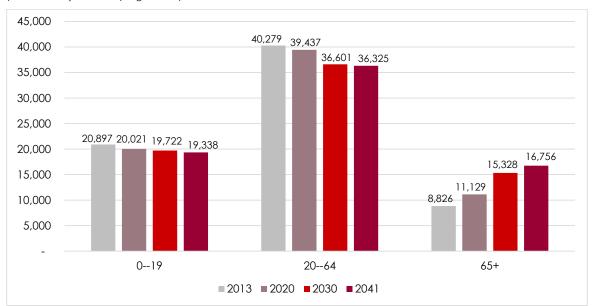


Figure 6: Population Projections by Age Group, Kenora District, 2013–41

Source: Author's calculations based on Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

Table 2: Population Projections by Age Distribution, Kenora District, 2013–2041

| Kenora | 0 to 19 | 20 to 64 | 65+   |
|--------|---------|----------|-------|
| 2013   | 29.85   | 57.54    | 12.61 |
| 2020   | 28.36   | 55.87    | 15.77 |
| 2030   | 27.53   | 51.08    | 21.39 |
| 2041   | 26.70   | 50.16    | 23.14 |

Source: Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

In making projections for the Indigenous population in Kenora District out to 2041, this study employs Northern Ontario's Demographic Forecasting Model, which is based on the Cohort Component method.<sup>7</sup> The base year data for the projection are from Statistics Canada's National Household Survey for 2011. In projecting the future Indigenous population, this study does not adjust for the undercoverage of Indigenous people in the region — as mentioned above, there were 12,000 omitted persons in Kenora District alone — so the projections should be considered conservative. This study also assumes zero net migration of Indigenous people over the forecast period, since the existing evidence suggests there is relatively low mobility among the Indigenous population in the region. The fertility rate for the Indigenous population is assumed equal to that in rural Northeastern Ontario, and the mortality rate to equal the rate for the general population of Canada based on the 2011 census.

Based on these assumptions, Table 3 and Figure 7 show that the Indigenous population in the District is expected to increase from 20,974 in 2013 to 28,375 in 2041, a growth rate of about 37 percent. The number of individuals under age 20 are expected to increase slightly during this period, while working-age Indigenous people are expected to rise from 8,043 in 2013 to 8,302 in 2041. The number of individuals aged 65 and over are expected to rise from 1,315 in 2013 to 4,633 in 2041, and increase of over 250 percent.

<sup>7</sup> For a complete discussion of this model, see B. Moazzami, "It's What You Know (and Where You Can Go): Human Capital and Agglomeration Effects on Demographic Trends in Northern Ontario" (Kenora, ON: Northern Policy Institute, 2015).

### **Indigenous Population Projections**

The Indigenous population's share of total District population is expected to increase from 30 percent in 2013 to 39 percent in 2041. The share of working-age Indigenous people (those ages 20 to 64) is expected to increase from 28.8 percent in 2013 to 43.5 percent in 2041 (Figure 8). The share of Indigenous seniors is expected to rise from 14.9 percent in 2013 to 27.7 percent in 2041.

| Year | 019   | 2044  | 4564  | 65+   | Total  |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 2013 | 8,043 | 7,116 | 4,500 | 1,315 | 20,974 |
| 2014 | 7,947 | 7,296 | 4,606 | 1,420 | 21,269 |
| 2015 | 7,867 | 7,473 | 4,675 | 1,554 | 21,569 |
| 2016 | 7,785 | 7,640 | 4,785 | 1,664 | 21,874 |
| 2017 | 7,737 | 7,817 | 4,842 | 1,785 | 22,181 |
| 2018 | 7,718 | 7,981 | 4,923 | 1,870 | 22,493 |
| 2019 | 7,709 | 8,123 | 4,991 | 1,981 | 22,803 |
| 2020 | 7,668 | 8,298 | 5,040 | 2,108 | 23,114 |
| 2021 | 7,693 | 8,394 | 5,078 | 2,259 | 23,424 |
| 2022 | 7,627 | 8,604 | 5,041 | 2,461 | 23,733 |
| 2023 | 7,653 | 8,728 | 5,019 | 2,643 | 24,043 |
| 2024 | 7,694 | 8,830 | 5,007 | 2,819 | 24,351 |
| 2025 | 7,732 | 8,918 | 5,002 | 3,002 | 24,654 |
| 2026 | 7,789 | 8,996 | 5,007 | 3,157 | 24,949 |
| 2027 | 7,748 | 9,122 | 5,078 | 3,293 | 25,241 |
| 2028 | 7,763 | 9,266 | 5,050 | 3,448 | 25,527 |
| 2029 | 7,765 | 9,406 | 5,083 | 3,554 | 25,809 |
| 2030 | 7,731 | 9,606 | 5,055 | 3,692 | 26,085 |
| 2031 | 7,760 | 9,728 | 5,013 | 3,853 | 26,354 |
| 2032 | 7,842 | 9,813 | 5,011 | 3,952 | 26,618 |
| 2033 | 7,920 | 9,891 | 5,007 | 4,058 | 26,876 |
| 2034 | 7,991 | 9,859 | 5,121 | 4,157 | 27,127 |
| 2035 | 8,054 | 9,846 | 5,228 | 4,245 | 27,373 |
| 2036 | 8,108 | 9,855 | 5,303 | 4,347 | 27,613 |
| 2037 | 8,157 | 9,831 | 5,452 | 4,407 | 27,848 |
| 2038 | 8,198 | 9,771 | 5,653 | 4,456 | 28,078 |
| 2039 | 8,237 | 9,714 | 5,837 | 4,514 | 28,302 |
| 2040 | 8,271 | 9,668 | 6,013 | 4,569 | 28,521 |
| 2041 | 8,302 | 9,616 | 6,184 | 4,633 | 28,735 |

Table 3: Projected Indigenous Population, Kenora District, 2013-2041

Source: Author's calculations based on Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

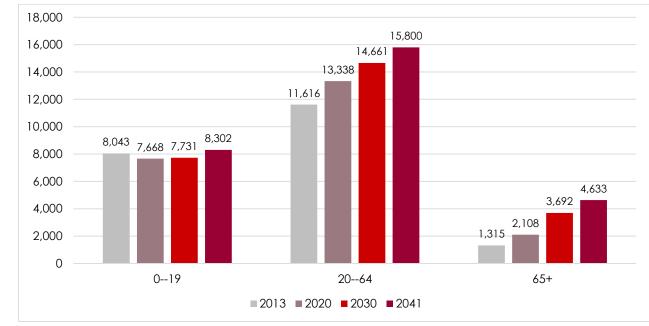


Figure 7: Indigenous Population Projections by Age Group, Kenora District, 2013–2041

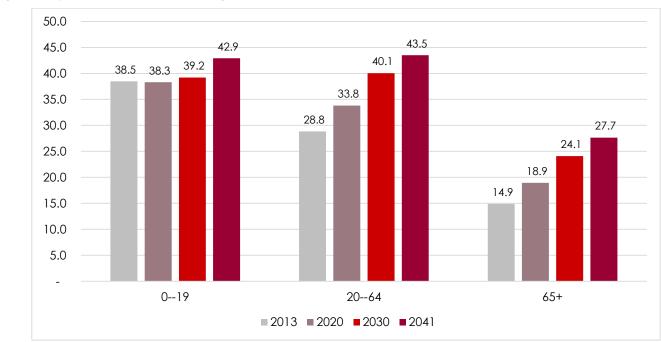


Figure 8: Projections of the Share of the Indigenous Population, Kenora District, 2013–2041

Source: Author's calculations based on Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census and 2011 NHS, custom tabulation.

## Kenora District's Labour Force: Past, Present and Future Trends

Demographic changes have a direct impact on the supply side of the economy through their influence on the labour force. An aging population and a declining share of working age people can seriously restrain future economic development unless productivity growth accelerates or steps are taken to increase participation of older workers, youth and other underrepresented groups in the labour force.

This study has shown that the Indigenous population represents a growing segment of the Kenora District's total population and its working-age population. A significant gap exists, however, between the level of educational achievement of Indigenous individuals and that of the general population, resulting in a severe labour market outcome disparity that affects the current and future productive capacity of this District's labour force.

### Labour Market Trends in Kenora District

Table 4 and Figure 8 show labour market trends among the population ages 15 to 64 in the District. As the table shows, both the total population and the labour force in the District declined between 2001 and 2011. Labour force participation and employment rates declined among men, but rose among women over the same period. On the other hand, the unemployment rate declined both for men and women.

Labour force participation and employment rates among Francophone men and women in the Kenora District declined slightly between 2001 and 2011. Immigrants generally experienced higher participation and employment rates compared to the total population, while, according to the available data, the Indigenous population experienced lower employment rates and lower participation rates in formal labour markets. There was also a significant difference between the Indigenous labour force on-reserve and off-reserve, with the unemployment rate among the former at 27.6 percent in 2011 (Figure 9). In contrast, the unemployment rate among the off-reserve Indigenous workforce was much lower, at 16.6 percent, but still significantly higher than District levels.

Men Men Women Women Kenora District 2001 2011 2001 2011 Total population 15 to 64 years of age 18,515 19,610 18,230 20,185 In the labour force 16,100 13,960 13,680 13,165 12,400 Employed 14,065 12,265 12,045 Unemployed 2,030 1,695 1,285 1,120 4,085 4,560 5,925 5,065 Not in the labour Force 79.80 75.40 72.20 Participation Rate 69.80 69.70 **Employment Rate** 66.20 63.20 66.10 8.50 **Unemployment Rate** 12.60 12.10 9.40 **Francophone Population** 2001 2011 2001 2011 Total population 15 to 64 years of age 595 330 405 360 510 265 310 265 In the labour force 450 255 300 Employed 260 Unemployed 55 10 15 0 95 Not in the labour Force 90 65 95 79.1 Participation Rate 85.70 75.60 73.6 76.1 72.2 76.50 74.40 **Employment Rate** 3.20 Unemployment Rate 10.80 3.8 3.8 **Immigrant Population** 2001 2011 2001 2011 Total population 15 to 64 years of age 1,025 645 1,105 765 In the labour force 870 535 810 565 785 Employed 840 530 520 Unemployed 30 0 30 45 Not in the labour Force 155 110 295 195 73.9 82.8 73.80 Participation Rate 84.90 81.50 82.8 Employment Rate 71.00 68 1.9 3.70 8.8 Unemployment Rate 4.00 Indigenous Population 2001 2011 2001 2011 Total population 15 to 64 years of age 6,315 5,995 6,155 5,850 In the labour force 4,040 4,065 3,410 3,695 3,035 3,145 2,765 3,110 Employed 1,010 915 590 Unemployed 635 2,250 Not in the labour Force 1,805 2,590 2,455 Participation Rate 69.10 64.40 56.80 60.10 51.80 49.80 46.10 50.50 **Employment Rate** 25.00 22.60 18.80 15.80 Unemployment Rate

Table 4: Labour Market Trends, Population 15 to 64 Years of Age, Kenora District, 2001 and 2011

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census and 2011 NHS, custom tabulation.

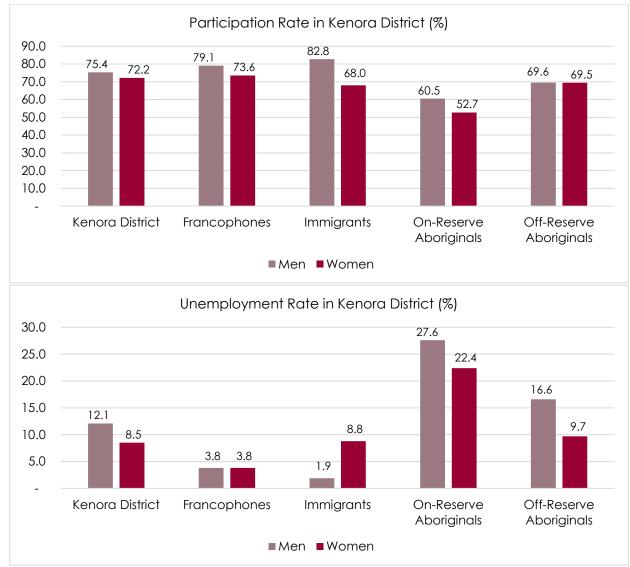


Figure 9: Labour Force Participation and Unemployment Rates, Kenora District, 2011

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2011, and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

### Size and Composition of the Future Labour Force

To forecast the future labour force in the Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario, this study uses detailed population projections along with information regarding labour force participation rates for men and women in different age groups. It is assumed that participation rates during the projection period (out to 2041) stay constant at their 2011 level. Different assumptions regarding participation rates would alter the labour force estimates, but only to a limited extent. The main determinants of the future labour force are the size and age distribution of the population in each jurisdiction. Figure 10 and Table 5 provide labour supply projections for Northwestern Ontario and the Kenora District for the period from 2013 to 2041. The District's labour force is expected to decline by about 10 percent over the period, while the Indigenous labour force is expected to increase by about 33 percent. As a result, the share of Indigenous people in the total regional labour force is expected to increase from 27 percent in 2013 to 40 percent in 2041.

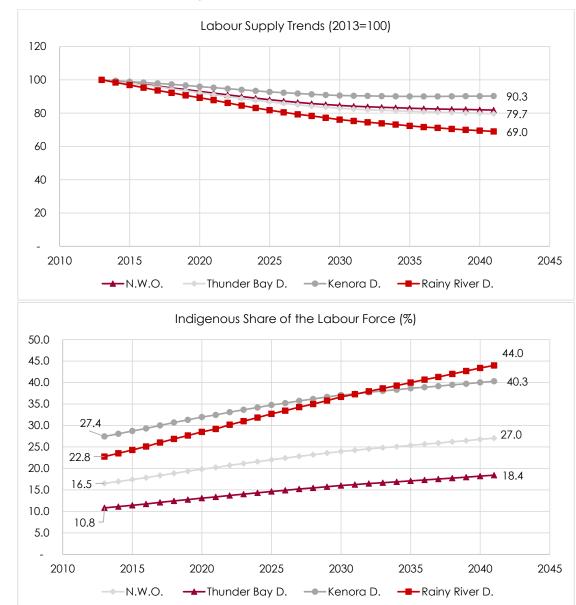


Figure 10: Future Supply of Labour, Total and Indigenous Share, Kenora District and Northwest Ontario, 2013–2041

Source: Author's estimates based on Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

| Year |        | Kenora Distric | ł          | Northwest Ontario |            |            |
|------|--------|----------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
|      | Total  | Indigenous     | Indigenous | Total             | Indigenous | Indigenous |
|      | Labour | Labour         | Share (%)  | Labour            | Labour     | Share (%)  |
|      | Force  | Force          |            | Force             | Force      |            |
| 2013 | 33,699 | 9,248          | 27.44      | 118,066           | 19,513     | 16.53      |
| 2014 | 33,522 | 9,414          | 28.08      | 117,057           | 19,863     | 16.97      |
| 2015 | 33,320 | 9,574          | 28.73      | 115,941           | 20,200     | 17.42      |
| 2016 | 33,161 | 9,722          | 29.32      | 114,821           | 20,511     | 17.86      |
| 2017 | 32,985 | 9,905          | 30.03      | 113,659           | 20,896     | 18.38      |
| 2018 | 32,777 | 10,060         | 30.69      | 112,368           | 21,218     | 18.88      |
| 2019 | 32,567 | 10,201         | 31.32      | 111,155           | 21,513     | 19.35      |
| 2020 | 32,331 | 10,333         | 31.96      | 109,865           | 21,790     | 19.83      |
| 2021 | 32,105 | 10,420         | 32.46      | 108,663           | 21,972     | 20.22      |
| 2022 | 31,908 | 10,562         | 33.1       | 107,446           | 22,267     | 20.72      |
| 2023 | 31,672 | 10,658         | 33.65      | 106,188           | 22,468     | 21.16      |
| 2024 | 31,459 | 10,757         | 34.19      | 105,063           | 22,674     | 21.58      |
| 2025 | 31,268 | 10,868         | 34.76      | 103,985           | 22,909     | 22.03      |
| 2026 | 31,104 | 10,948         | 35.2       | 102,983           | 23,079     | 22.41      |
| 2027 | 30,941 | 11,052         | 35.72      | 102,098           | 23,309     | 22.83      |
| 2028 | 30,778 | 11,131         | 36.16      | 101,264           | 23,485     | 23.19      |
| 2029 | 30,647 | 11,230         | 36.65      | 100,545           | 23,708     | 23.58      |
| 2030 | 30,539 | 11,328         | 37.09      | 99,887            | 23,923     | 23.95      |
| 2031 | 30,487 | 11,390         | 37.36      | 99,352            | 24,070     | 24.23      |
| 2032 | 30,436 | 11,482         | 37.72      | 98,929            | 24,284     | 24.55      |
| 2033 | 30,399 | 11,566         | 38.05      | 98,613            | 24,480     | 24.82      |
| 2034 | 30,372 | 11,643         | 38.34      | 98,313            | 24,664     | 25.09      |
| 2035 | 30,344 | 11,728         | 38.65      | 97,962            | 24,865     | 25.38      |
| 2036 | 30,334 | 11,804         | 38.91      | 97,608            | 25,048     | 25.66      |
| 2037 | 30,354 | 11,884         | 39.15      | 97,398            | 25,241     | 25.92      |
| 2038 | 30,368 | 11,983         | 39.46      | 97,219            | 25,474     | 26.2       |
| 2039 | 30,390 | 12,073         | 39.73      | 97,046            | 25,690     | 26.47      |
| 2040 | 30,403 | 12,170         | 40.03      | 96,808            | 25,920     | 26.77      |
| 2041 | 30,422 | 12,258         | 40.29      | 96,618            | 26,132     | 27.05      |

Table 5: Projected Labour Supply, Total and Indigenous, Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario, 2013–2041

Source: Author's estimates based on Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

# Productivity and the Human Capital Composition of the Workforce in Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario

Productivity growth is directly linked to the human capital composition of the workforce. Human capital is defined as the stock of knowledge, skills and abilities embodied in individuals that directly affects their level of productivity. Since knowledge and skills are acquired through education and experience, investing in human capital represents an avenue through which the Kenora District can enhance productivity and minimize the impact of its declining labour force.

To estimate the human capital composition of the regional workforce, one needs to specify and measure a proxy for human capital that also reflects and incorporates a measure of productivity of the workforce in the District and Northwestern Ontario. To obtain such an index, this study first estimated a standard earnings model using the 2006 census microdata file.<sup>8</sup> This study used data pertaining to all working Canadians between the ages of 15 and 64 who were not attending school and whose employment earnings were greater than \$1,000 and less than \$1 million. The benchmark or reference group are those with less than a high school diploma. The estimated return-to-schooling coefficients (Figure 11) show the increased earnings, compared to the reference group, of obtaining different levels of education. Therefore, they represent the average rate of return to schooling at the national level. For example, obtaining a high school diploma increases a person's earnings by 24.4 percent above the earnings of those without a high school diploma. Similarly, obtaining a trade or college diploma increases earnings by 27.0 and 44.1 percent respectively. A university degree increases earnings by 72.6 percent. The return to schooling estimates reflect higher productivity resulting from an increased level of education. In short, the return to education increases as the level of schooling rises, reflecting higher earnings commensurate with higher productivity as the level of education increases.

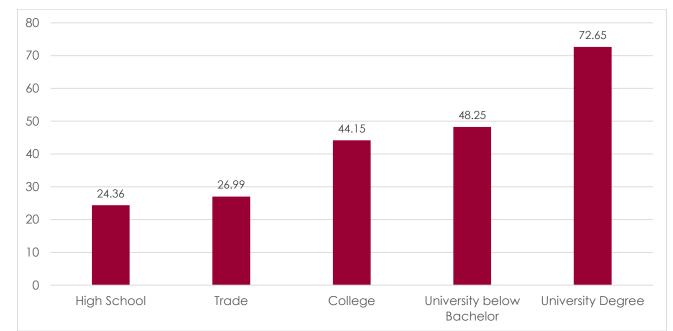


Figure 11. The Return to Education (%), by Level of Educational Attainment, Canada, 2006

Note: Persons with an education who do not have a job are not included. Source: Author's estimates based on Statistics Canada's 2006 Census Microdata file.

<sup>8</sup> The earnings model is of the form: InWage =  $a + \Sigma \beta_i S_i + X_i \delta_i + \epsilon_i$ , where Sis are the highest level of schooling, X<sub>S</sub> are other control variables which include age categories, marital status, etc. and  $\epsilon_i$ is an error term.

This study then used the estimated return-to-schooling coefficients as weights to calculate a weighted average index of the share of individuals aged 15 to 64 with different levels of schooling for the Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario.<sup>9</sup> Figure 12 shows estimated human capital indexes for working-age Indigenous people, immigrants, Francophones and the total population in Canada, Ontario, Northwestern Ontario and the Kenora District.<sup>10</sup> The estimated indexes range from 100 if none of the area's residents have completed high school to about 200 if all residents have obtained a university degree.

As Figure 12 shows, the human capital composition of the working-age population in the District is below that in Northwestern Ontario, Ontario and Canada. The human capital indexes for immigrants and Francophones are both higher than the total working-age population in the District of Kenora. Lastly, human capital indexes for the Indigenous labour force are lower than that of the total population in the District, and also lower than their Indigenous counterparts in Northwestern Ontario, Ontario and Canada.

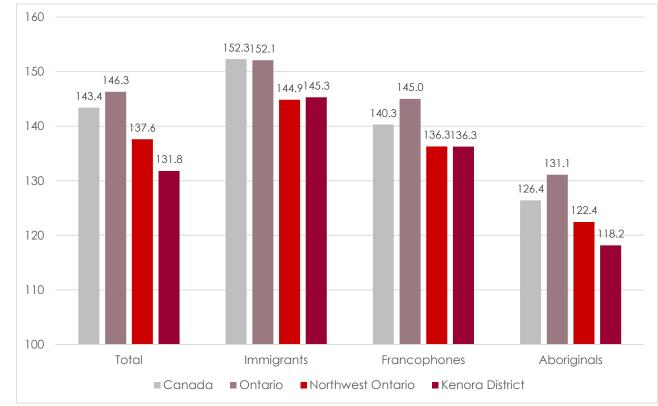


Figure 12. Human Capital Index for the Working-Age Population, Canada, Ontario, Northwestern Ontario and Kenora District, 2011

Source: Author's estimates based on Statistics Canada's 2006 Census Microdata file.

<sup>9</sup> HCl = exp{Σβ<sub>1</sub>. Si shares}, where HCl stands for Human Capital Index, exp stands for exponential, and Si shares are the share of the population ages 15 to 64 with Si level of education in a given census subdivision. The formulation of the human capital measure is based on R.E. Hall and C.I. Jones (1999), "Why Do Some Countries Produce So Much More Output per Worker than Others?" Quarterly Journal of Economics 114 (1, 1999): 83–116. See also Francesco Caselli, "Accounting for Cross-Country Income Differences", First Draft, November 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Note that the human capital indexes reported here are numerically different from the ones reported in my previous report since I have used return to education or productivity measure in Canada as a benchmark in calculating the above indexes where Ontario was the benchmark in my previous report. Using Canada as a benchmark has an advantage of making the indexes comparable to other provinces as well.

### A Perfect Storm: Declining Labour Supply and Labour Productivity in Kenora District

Earlier, this study identified two important demographic trends in the District of Kenora. First, the working-age population is declining; as a result, the supply of labour is expected to decline over the coming years. Second, a growing Indigenous labour force potentially could offset that trend, but the human capital composition of the Indigenous workforce is lower than total working-age population in the Kenora District, so if the current situation continues, future labour productivity will decline.

To estimate the human capital composition of the future regional workforce, this study combined the labour force projections with the human capital indices for various segments of the workforce. As Figure 13 shows, that if the current level of educational achievement continues, the human capital composition of the workforce will decline in the coming years in both Kenora District and Northwestern Ontario. This index is positively correlated with labour productivity, labour income and output in the region.

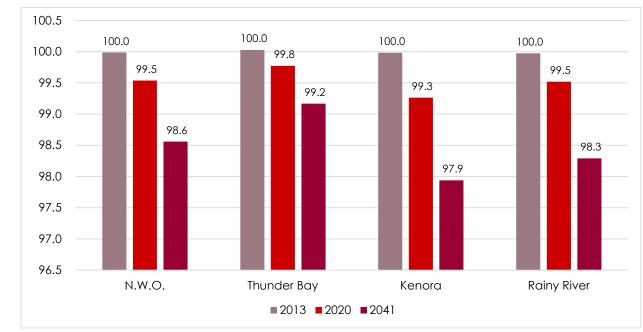
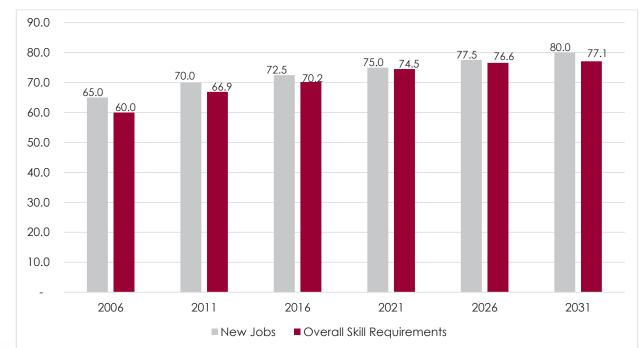


Figure 13. Projected Productivity Index of the Workforce in Northwestern Ontario, 2013–2041

Source: Author's estimates based on Ontario, Ministry of Finance, "Ontario Population Projections, 2013-2041" (Toronto, 2014).

The declining supply of labour and declining labour productivity in the District is only half of the story. Technological changes and the emergence of the knowledge economy have altered the requirements of the labour market. Various studies suggest that, by 2031, about 80 percent of the workforce need to have post-secondary credentials such as an apprenticeship, college or university degree. Currently, 70 percent of the new jobs and an average of 63.4 percent of all jobs require some post-secondary credential. Based on various studies by the Ontario Ministry of Education, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, the British Columbia Ministry of Skills, Training and Education, the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development and other government agencies, Miner Management Consultants provides estimates of the percentage of new jobs that will require post-secondary education in the coming years (Figure 14). Interestingly, however, as Figure 15 shows, while the skill levels of the prime-working-age population in the Kenora District are lower than the skill levels in Ontario and Canada for the total population, the skill level among the Indigenous population in the Kenora Census Agglomeration (CA) is above provincial levels for both men and women. However, education levels in general, are still lagging the current estimated skill requirements of about 63.4. Closing this gap will be imperative.





Source: Rick Miner, "People without Jobs, Jobs without People: Canada's Future Labour Market" (Toronto: Miner Management Consultants, 2010).

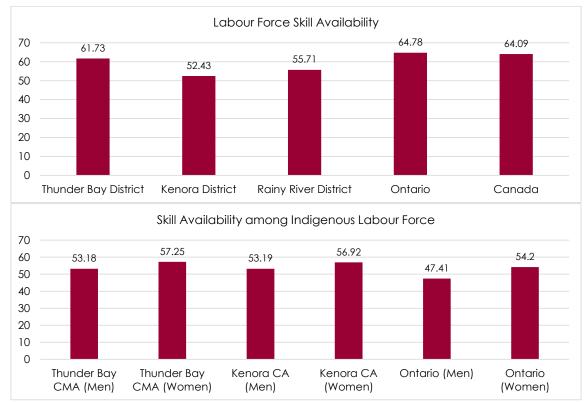


Figure 15: Percentage of the Labour Force Ages 25–64 with Postsecondary Credentials, Northwestern Ontario, Ontario and Canada, 2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

Since the Indigenous labour force will account for a significant and growing share of the Kenora District's future workforce, it is vital for the social and economic viability of the region to adopt education policies that enable this segment of the labour force to meet the requirements of the future labour market.

Does the level of skills affect labour market performance – that is, labour force participation and unemployment rates? Figure 16 shows that a higher skill level increases the likelihood of participation in the workforce. In the Kenora District in 2011, the participation rate of the prime-working-age population (25-64) without a high school diploma was 59.4 percent compared to 80.1 percent for those with a high school diploma and 83.8 percent for those with a postsecondary credentials. Figure 16 also shows that total labour force participation rates in this District lag behind the provincial and national averages.

Similarly, as shown in Figure 17, the average unemployment rate among those without a high school diploma was 15.7 percent compared to 9.2 percent for those with a high school diploma and 5.2 percent for those with postsecondary credentials. Overall, the total unemployment rate in the Kenora District of 8.1 percent was higher than Ontario and Canada.

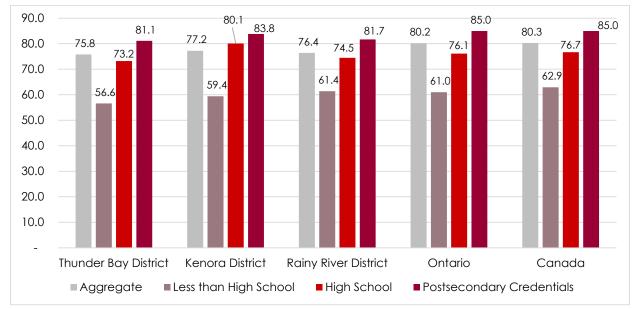


Figure 16: Labour Force Participation Rate by Level of Educational Attainment (%), Canada, Ontario and Northwestern Districts, 2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2011, and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

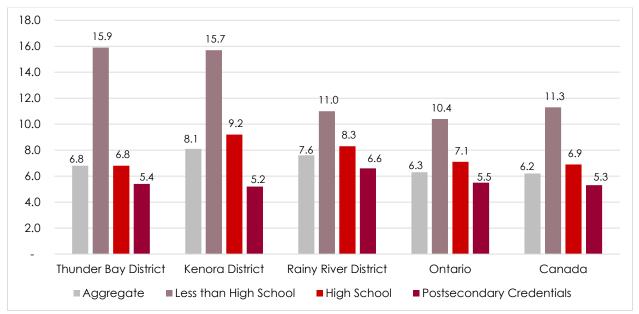


Figure 17: Likelihood of Unemployment by Highest Level of Schooling (%), Canada, Ontario and Northwestern Districts, 2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2011, and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

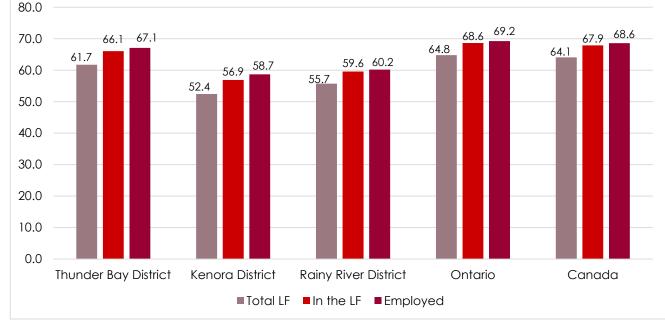


Figure 18: Labour Force Employment Rate by Level of Educational Attainment (%), Canada, Ontario and Northwestern Districts, 2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2011, and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

In short, individuals who do not have post-secondary credentials have a higher likelihood of nonparticipation in the labour force and face a greater probability of unemployment, and these probabilities will only increase in the coming years. To the extent that the skill level of the workforce in the District of Kenora is below the estimated requirement needed for emerging occupations, the region will face a situation of workers with qualifications that do not match the existing jobs and of jobs that cannot find qualified workers essentially Miner's, "People without Jobs, Jobs without People." Even if markets adjust to bring labour demand and supply into balance, the social impact of having many unemployable people in the region will be enormous.

The above evidence suggests that one potential solution to the District's declining workforce size and productivity is to promote higher education through increased access to services, especially for the

Indigenous population who experience lower levels of educational achievement. One of the benefits of investing in education is a lower likelihood of unemployment and dependency on government transfer payments. Additionally, agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership will continue to make labour more mobile among various countries, increasing the importance of achieving higher levels of educations. In this case, workers in Northern Ontario will not only be competing with other workers in Ontario and Canada, but will be facing competition from other countries as well. To the extent that the skill level of the workforce in the Kenora District is below the estimated skill requirement needed for the emerging occupations, the District will face workers whose qualifications do not match the existing jobs and jobs that cannot find qualified workers.

## The Consequences of Shifting the Composition of the Employed Labour Force in Kenora District

The structure of the workforce has been changing due to a population that is simultaneously declining and aging. At the same time, the industrial and occupational composition of the employed workforce is shifting due to changing market conditions. As a result, the size and industrial makeup of the employed workforce has changed over the past three decades. There has been a continuous shift away from the goods-producing sector dominated by private businesses to the service-producing sector, a large portion of which is publicly funded. Using data from various Censuses of Canada as well as the 2011 NHS, Table 6 shows the changing industrial composition of the employed workforce in the Kenora District.

Table 6 shows employment trends in the goods- and services-producing sectors of the District's economy. Total District employment has declined from 26,720 in 1996 to 25,055 in 2011, a decline of about 6.2 percent. As is the case with the overall regional economy, employment in the goods-producing sector has declined from 7,570 in 1986 to 4,795 in 2011, a decline of about 37 percent. During the same time, the service-producing sector has grown by about 24 percent. The share of the goods-producing sector in total regional employment has also declined from 32 percent in 1986 to about 19 percent in 2011. Notably, however, construction and mining have been increasing for over a decade.

|   | 1986   | 1991   | 1996   | 2001   | 2006   | 2011   |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Goods-Producing Sector                          | 7,570  | 7,165  | 7,330  | 6,575  | 6,185  | 4,795  |
| Agriculture, fishing & hunting                  | 295    | 260    | 310    | 365    | 350    | 210    |
| Logging & forestry                              | 1,450  | 1,105  | 820    | 955    | 815    | 260    |
| Mining & quarrying                              | 1,240  | 1,160  | 895    | 745    | 1,025  | 1,145  |
| Utilities                                       | 670    | 570    | 845    | 270    | 375    | 290    |
| Construction                                    | 1,000  | 1,260  | 1,470  | 1,515  | 1,480  | 1,920  |
| Manufacturing                                   | 2,915  | 2,810  | 2,990  | 2,725  | 2,140  | 970    |
| Wood industries                                 | 625    | 385    | 480    | 650    | 945    | 245    |
| Paper & Allied industries                       | 1,805  | 1,875  | 2,080  | 1,630  | 840    | 420    |
| Service-Producing Sector                        | 16,280 | 19,205 | 19,390 | 20,520 | 22,410 | 20,260 |
| Trade   | 3,455  | 3,890  | 3,960  | 3,800  | 4,160  | 3,270  |
| Transportation & warehousing                    | 1,855  | 1,725  | 1,595  | 1,630  | 1,690  | 1,370  |
| Finance , insurance, real estate and leasing    | 650    | 550    | 750    | 805    | 900    | 705    |
| Professional, scientific and technical services | 465    | 460    | 600    | 565    | 625    | 495    |
| Educational services                            | 1,375  | 1,815  | 2,075  | 1,985  | 2,375  | 2,110  |
| Health care and social services                 | 1,905  | 2,665  | 3,575  | 3,545  | 4,345  | 4,510  |
| Accommodation and food services                 | 2,670  | 2,835  | 2,615  | 2,870  | 2,440  | 1,840  |
| Other services                                  | 1,040  | 1,085  | 1,490  | 2,310  | 2,505  | 2,275  |
| Public administration                           | 2,865  | 4,180  | 2,730  | 3,010  | 3,370  | 3,685  |
| Total Employment                                | 23,850 | 26,380 | 26,720 | 27,090 | 28,590 | 25,055 |

Table 6: Industrial Composition of the Employed Workforce Ages 15 and Older, Kenora District, 2001–2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (various years), and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

A shift in the industrial structure of the workforce in Kenora District was accompanied by a change in the occupational distribution of the labour force (Table 7). Employment in most occupational groups declined, except for occupations in social science, education, government service and religion and health occupations. Figure 19 shows that total employment income and GDP declined in the Kenora District by about 10.8 percent from 2001 to 2011, due partly to declining employment and partly to the changing occupational structure of the employed workforce. The goods-producing sectors of the District's economy include high-wage and high-value-added industries, and their decline has not only affected the level of output, but also resulted in lower average earnings in the District.

| National Occupational Classification 2006           | 2001   | 2011   |
|---|--------|--------|
| A Management occupations                            | 2,935  | 2,050  |
| B Business, finance and administrative occupations  | 3,490  | 3,310  |
| C Natural and applied sciences and related          |        |        |
| occupations   | 1,245  | 1,190  |
| D Health occupations                                | 1,290  | 1,495  |
| E Occupations in social science, education,         |        |        |
| government service and religion                     | 2,630  | 3,490  |
| F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport | 355    | 300    |
| G Sales and service occupations                     | 7,165  | 6,590  |
| H Trades, transport and equipment operators and     |        |        |
| related occupations                                 | 4,650  | 4,285  |
| I Occupations unique to primary industry            | 1,345  | 1,055  |
| J Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing   |        |        |
| and utilities                                       | 1,360  | 550    |
| Total   | 26,465 | 24,315 |

Table 7: Employed Workforce by Occupation, Kenora District, 1996–2011

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (various years), and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

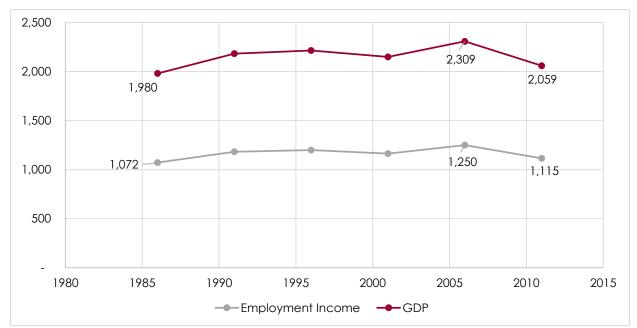


Figure 19: Total Labour Income and GDP (millions of 2010 dollars), Kenora District, 2001–2011

Source: Author's calculations based on Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (various years), and National Household Survey 2011, custom tabulation.

# Recommendations

# 1. Respond to the needs of the Indigenous population

The human capital indexes for the Indigenous labour force in the Kenora District are lower than that of the total population in the District, and also lower than their Indigenous counterparts in Northwestern Ontario, Ontario and Canada. Given that the Indigenous share of the population is increasing, future labour productivity will decrease if education levels do not rise among this segment of the population. There is strong evidence showing that higher skill levels increase the likelihood of participation in the workforce and reduce unemployment rates, addressing these issues for the Indigenous population in the Kenora District will have positive benefits for the entire region.

# 2. Leverage temporary residents into immigrant attraction

In terms of net migration flows, the Kenora District has experienced modest intraprovincial out-migration for the last decade and a half. This District attracts roughly 27 times fewer immigrants per capita than Ontario as whole, which reported 64.8 immigrants per every 10,000 people in 2014-15. Out of all the northern districts, the District of Kenora attracted the second smallest number of immigrants per capita. Proximity to large urban centres should make this District an attractive option for secondary migration. Barriers to migration, such as accessibility or cost of living, should be assessed more fully to identify whether they are undermining Kenora District's attractiveness as a permanent destination.

### 3. A rural knowledge economy and rural workforce requires infrastructure

As noted, almost three-quarters of the District of Kenora's population live in rural areas. Moreover, the rural population increased between 2001 and 2011, while the urban population declined slightly and these trends continued in 2016. In a knowledge and service based economy, this settlement pattern is only sustainable if high speed internet access and other infrastructure (roads, rail, port, airport) are at the highest level. Such investment not only assures access to the global economy, but also contributes to higher human capital indices for the population as they are more likely to achieve better health and education outcomes if they can actually access those services.

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# About Northern Policy Institute

Northern Policy Institute is Northern Ontario's independent think tank. We perform research, collect and disseminate evidence, and identify policy opportunities to support the growth of sustainable Northern Communities, Our operations are located in Thunder Bay, Sudbury, and Sault Ste. Marie. We seek to enhance Northern Ontario's capacity to take the lead position on socio-economic policy that impacts Northern Ontario, Ontario, and Canada as a whole.

# **Related Research**

It's What You Know (And Where You Can Go): Human Capital and Agglomeration Effects on Demographic Trends in Northern Ontario Dr. Bakhtiar Moazzami

Settling Down in the Northwest James Cuddy

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### Northern Projections: Human Capital Series - Sudbury District

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