

DEMO- GRAPHICS & LABOUR MARKET

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DR. LESLIE HARRIS

October 24, 1929 – August 26, 2008

When the Public Policy Research Centre and the Centre of Regional Development Studies were to be merged in 2004, the idea to name the new centre after Dr. Leslie Harris seemed perfect. Dr. Harris' career and values embodied the contribution that the new centre was intended to make to Newfoundland and Labrador.

Leslie Harris was born in rural Newfoundland, the son of a fisherman, and he never lost his connection to the way of life of the province. He was an avid salmon fisherman and dedicated berry picker. When his health prevented him traveling too far from St. John's, it was his trips to Fogo Island that he said he missed the most. His wife Mary was from Fogo, and they enjoyed many years visiting their summer home there, out on the berry grounds and enjoying, according to Dr. Harris, the best salt fish that could be found anywhere. Dr. Harris' love for and knowledge of the fishery and rural Newfoundland and Labrador were eloquently captured in his many inspirational talks and speeches over the years.

When he returned to Newfoundland with his University of London PhD, he helped design a new history program at Memorial that introduced students to history as a discipline. As he taught it, history was not about remembering names and dates, but it was about interpreting the past, understanding differing perspectives, and reaching your own conclusions.

This intellectual discipline was reflected in Dr. Harris' work as an administrator and as a leader in the province's public policy community. Whether it was as a labour arbitrator, the leader of an historic task force on the fishery, or the head of the Royal Newfoundland and Labrador Constabulary Police Complaints Commission, Leslie Harris was trusted to assess the merits of all arguments and evidence and reach fair and practical conclusions. He brought the same wisdom to his years as a senior administrator, vice-president (academic) and president at Memorial University. Through all his life and career, Leslie Harris personified integrity as an individual and engendered respect for the independence of the university as an institution. These values of integrity and independence have become the guiding principles of the Harris Centre.



10 YEARS OF HARRIS CENTRE

BY THE LESLIE HARRIS CENTRE OF REGIONAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT

The Harris Centre was born out of a merger between the Public Policy Research Centre and the Centre for Regional Development Studies in 2004. In hopes that this new Centre of Regional Policy and Development would emulate the esteemed character of Dr. Leslie Harris—renowned for his integrity, independence, and relevance—it was named after the former president of Memorial.

In the ten years since, the Harris Centre has sought to live up to Dr. Harris' reputation, holding hundreds of public forums, dozens of regional workshops, and funding hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of applied research, all pertaining to regional development and public policy in the province, all with the aim of increasing Memorial University student, faculty, and staff capacity to help the province contend with complex issues, and to improve public understanding of the same.

An immense body of work funded, supported, and otherwise fostered by the Harris Centre has entrenched the Centre as an important part of the regional development and public policy landscape of the province.

The decade's worth of work stretching from Nain to St. John's, from the arts to the environment, and all points in between reads like a compendium of bright ideas from some of the most thoughtful and capable thinkers in the province. Always seeking to maintain integrity, independence, and relevance, the Harris Centre has provided a stage for Memorial's faculty's, students', and staff's expertise and curiosity to grapple with some of the most puzzling problems confronting Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.

To launch the Harris Centre into its second decade, and to facilitate further substantive public discussions about import-

ant issues, the Harris Centre has recruited a team of talented researchers to look back over its first ten years of work, and lead a discussion about where the province and the Centre are headed in the next ten—something we are calling NL Forum 2014.

The goal of the NL Forum 2014 is to discuss where we are and where we are going as a province through the lens of where we've come over the past ten years—ten years of unprecedented growth and prosperity—in five important areas: demographic and labour market development, environment and natural resource development, governance and public policy, regional and rural development, and social and cultural development.

This is the first of the five topical reports, wherein Dr. Lisa Kaida and Chris William Martin from the Faculty of Arts (Sociology) assess the complex demographic and labour market challenges facing the province, and the threat they pose to the prov-

ince's economic and social sustainability, let alone growth.

The other reports include Dr. Tom Cooper's work on environmental and natural resource development, which will consider how our natural resource-based economy can be developed in a manner that is both environmentally and economically responsible. Dr. Russell Williams will explore how important decisions are made for the benefit of the province and its communities by all levels of government. Dr. Ivan Emke and Anita Best examine the crucial issue of regional and rural development, something that is top of mind in all parts of the province, and around the world, as people seek to understand how to ensure all regions and all communities are able to benefit from provincial prosperity, and participate in the development of the economy. And finally, Dr. Jennifer Dyer examines the Harris Centre works related to the social and cultural development of the province, and provides a

clearer picture of the important role culture plays economically, socially, and in relation to the other four themes in Newfoundland and Labrador.

These thematic reports are a synthesis and critical analysis of the content of research reports, presentations, and conferences supported by the Centre—the ideas and issues dealt with across the range of Harris Centre programming since its inception.

Taken as a whole, the five reports will kick off discussion at the NL Forum 2014, a two-day conference that will bring together thought leaders and important decision-makers in the public, private, non-profit, and academic sectors to network and discuss these crucial issues. The issues discussed, the insight gleaned, and the understanding of major, and oftentimes complex, provincial issues will truly form the basis for public dialogue and important decisions for the next ten years. With the governing provincial par-

ty in a period of transition, and an election coming shortly on the heels of the conference, these two-days promise to be a watershed moment in contemporary Newfoundland and Labrador.

Following the NL Forum 2014, international regional development expert Dr. David Freshwater will synthesize all of the lessons learned and insights gleaned from the reports and the discussions, and extract their implications for the future of the province. Dr. Freshwater's report, upon its release in Winter 2015, will be a game-changing document for Newfoundland and Labrador. It will provide a panoramic view of the state of the province now, as well as a well-grounded look ahead to the next ten years in a rapidly changing province, and lay the ground work for the next ten years of work to make the province a better place to live, work, and do business. ■



1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past ten years, the Harris Centre has funded, supported, and fostered numerous research projects, public forums, workshops, and conferences, contributing to our understanding of important issues facing Newfoundland and Labrador. In this report, we will identify some of the province's major demographic and labour market issues highlighted in these works and contextualize them within broader sociological themes. We will also discuss how the Harris Centre can expand its scope to further develop links between the provincial issues and the national and global trends.

The demographics of Newfoundland and Labrador are rapidly changing, which has significant implications for the province's labour markets. In 1996, the province's largest age groups were in their 30s to mid-

40s and their teens to mid-20s (Figure 1). These groups roughly represented Canada's baby boomers (born between 1946-1965) and their children (born between 1972-1992), who constituted the core working age population (Statistics Canada 2013).

Fifteen years later in 2011, the baby boom boomers, now in their 50s and 60s, comprise the largest age group in Newfoundland and Labrador, while their children have not followed suit; the population size of the mid-20s to 30s age group is no longer comparable to their parent's generation, leading the province's population pyramid to become an inverted one (Figure 1).

We observe similar demographic trends when we divide the province's population into two groups: the St. John's census metropolitan area (CMA)—the province's

most populous region, also known as the Northeast Avalon—and the rest of Newfoundland and Labrador (Figures 2 and 3). The populations of both of these regions are indeed aging, with people aged 45 and older comprising a large majority in each. However, the extent of aging of the rest of province's population is far more noticeable. The two largest age groups for both males and females are in the age ranges of 50-59, followed by the 60-64. By contrast, the youth and young adult population (age 10-34) has drastically declined since 1996.

These demographic changes have significant implications for labour markets and economic development in Newfoundland and Labrador, and some Harris Centre works have delved into this issue.

Analyses of Census data by Scott Lynch (2007) and Doug May

FIGURE 1 AGE PYRAMID OF NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR POPULATION, 1996 & 2011

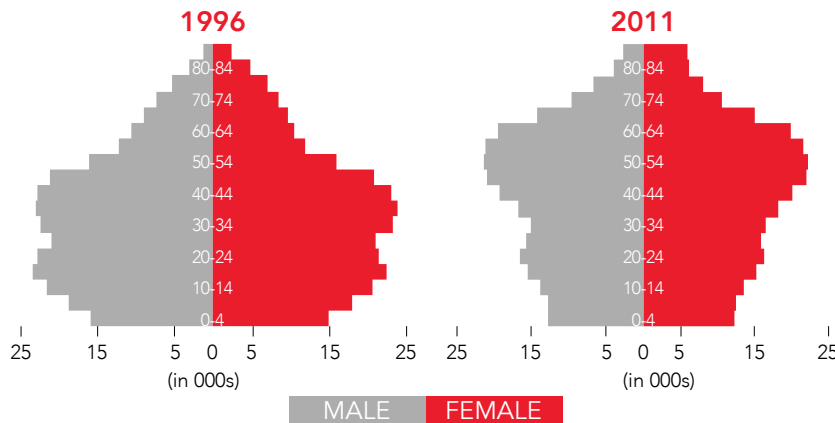


FIGURE 2 AGE PYRAMID OF ST. JOHN'S CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA (CMA) POPULATION, 1996 & 2011

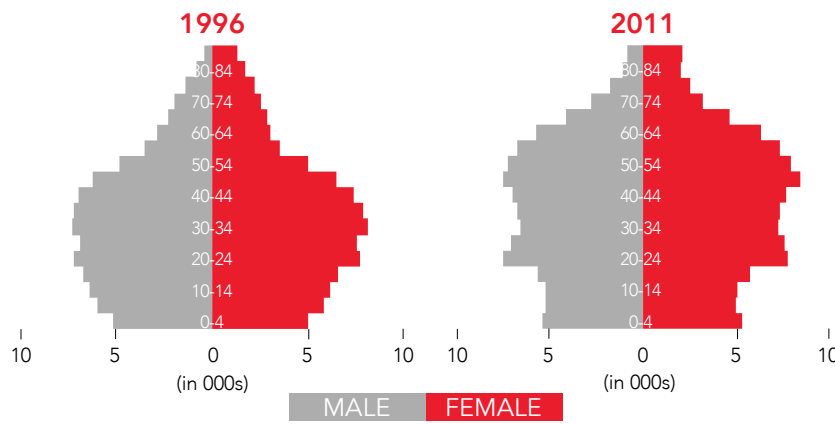
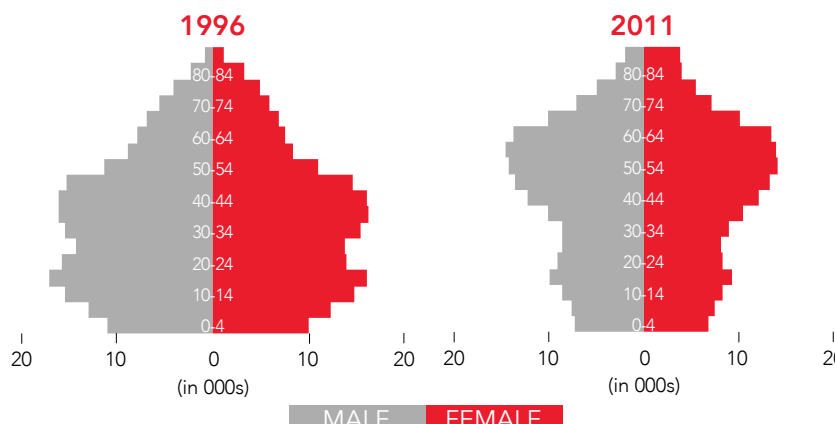


FIGURE 3 AGE PYRAMID OF REST OF NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR POPULATION, 1996 & 2011



(2007) show the province's demographic shifts to reflect changing economic conditions in the province (e.g. the decline of the fishery coupled with the increase in oil and mineral development). First, most people leaving Newfoundland and Labrador were found to be moving to either Alberta or Ontario. And although these two provinces now also constitute the two main sources of in-migration into Newfoundland and Labrador, suggesting that expats may be returning, fewer people move to Newfoundland and Labrador than leave it.

Such interprovincial mobility can be explained by macro economic trends, such as gaps in GDP per capita and unemployment rates, especially in light of it being disproportionately the young workers who are leaving the province. In the mid-2000s, 96-percent of people who left the province were under the age of 30, a 30-percent increase from the mid-1970s (Lynch 2007: 15). Further, most of the province's population decline is taking place in rural areas, whereas populations in the communities in the Northeast Avalon (e.g. Paradise, Torbay, Portugal Cove-St. Philip's) are in fact on the rise (Lynch 2007: 23).

It is in this shifting demographic context that the Harris Centre works have had and will continue to have important implications for the labour market and social policy of the province.



2 REVIEW OF WORKS

We reviewed over 70 works relevant to the changing demographics and labour markets in Newfoundland and Labrador produced through the Harris Centre (e.g. research reports, journal articles, conferences, Memorial Presents and Synergy Sessions public forums, and Regional Workshops). Three main themes emerged from these works: 1) economic and social sustainability and growth of local labour markets and communities; 2) immigration and diversity; and 3) specific occupational and workplace challenges. These three themes represent significant and interrelated demographic and labour market challenges facing Newfoundland and Labrador, and at stake is the economic and social sustainability of the province.

2.1 ECONOMIC & SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AND GROWTH

The first main theme contends with the issue of economic and social sustainability and growth of Newfoundland and Labrador (and elsewhere). Concerns about demographic changes, particularly the decline in the working age population and resulting labour shortages, and their far reaching implications for economic and social sustainability of Newfoundland and Labrador, particularly rural areas, are extensively discussed in the Harris Centre works, such as Galway (2008, Memorial Presents), May (2007, Memorial Presents), Mirza (2012), and Neis et al. (2014, Memorial Presents). Even in places that are

currently booming economically (e.g. Labrador West), there is a concern that their population growth is heavily dependent on the single resource industry, which is often influenced by fluctuating economic boom-bust cycles (Thistle 2013, Memorial Presents).

In response to these concerns about the economic and social sustainability of the province, a number of the Harris Centre works have offered possible solutions from various angles: mobilization of youth (Mirza 2012; Neis et al. 2014, Memorial Presents); the roles of educational institutions in regional development (Galway 2008, Memorial Presents; Locke et al. 2006; Regional Workshop in Kittiwake 2005; Daniels et al. 2014); sustainable development of fisheries in rural Newfoundland and Labrador

(Neis et al. 2014, Memorial Presents); partnership between various stakeholders (e.g. government, community leaders, industries, postsecondary institutions) (Hall et al. 2014; Regional Workshop in Labrador West 2013; Daniels et al. 2014); and various policy initiatives (Dawe and Ross 2011; Emke 2006; Freshwater et al. 2011; Lysenko 2011; Veitch 2000). Cases from abroad, including Australia and Wales, as presented in Harris Centre Synergy Sessions by Hefferan (2010) and Edwards (2013) also provide international perspectives on issues of socioeconomic sustainability. Below, we review some of the aforementioned works in greater detail.

Raisa Mirza (2012) discusses micro-level initiatives to engage youth in rural Newfoundland and Labrador as environmental stewards for the sustainability of their communities. Important in these initiatives is the focus on education, environmental responsibility (e.g. green economy), and resiliency for local youth. Mirza identifies five junctures in a youth's life that emphasize the importance of correctly understanding this demographic: 1) turning 18; 2) education; 3) employment; 4) family formation; and 5) pursuing life goals (Mirza 2012: 6). Mirza concludes that if rural youths are seen as invaluable to local communities, they could be more likely to stay and contribute to the local labour market.

Other Harris Centre works discuss the role institutions can play in the regional development and sustainability of the province. Surveying the policies and practices of different universities in Atlantic Canada, Wade Locke (2006) stresses higher education institutions' research and development roles in the future prosperity and growth of both rural and urban areas of the province. In his report, Locke refers to the Rural and Small Towns Program, offered by Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, as an example of a suc-

cessful university rural development initiative. He argues that because of the unique position of the university in a natural resource and manufacturing-based economy, this type of program allows universities to cater to the region and contribute to a better understanding of the local economy and development.

Moreover, Locke points out the unique opportunities Memorial University has in promoting rural and urban learning experiences in Newfoundland and Labrador. For example, the Department of Folklore draws on the province's rich culture to teach its program, while the School of Music's ethnomusicology program draws upon the musical tradition of the province. Locke also highlights Memorial University's innovative ap-

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proach to reaching out to students in rural regions through numerous on-line distance education courses and through partnerships with local college campuses. Indeed, higher education institutions making the most out of the regions in which they are situated is a noteworthy conclusion to Locke's report, and one that offers far reaching consequences for both economic development and research initiatives.

Memorial University's potential roles in the vitalization of local labour markets in specific industries (e.g. tourism, agriculture, fisheries, aquaculture, manufacturing, mining), as well as in specific regions (e.g. Kit-tiwake Zone, Labrador West, Southwest Avalon, Emerald Zone) has also been discussed at Harris Centre Regional Workshops (2005-to date). Possible roles identified include research, internship opportunities for students, and training of local work-

ers to alleviate skill mismatch issues.

We also find broad discussions of how policies can address the issues of social and economic sustainability of rural Newfoundland and Labrador throughout Harris Centre works. In his provocative report, "Is Rural Life Worth Saving?" Ivan Emke (2006) tackles the issue of the spatial and economic dynamics of rural communities to address geographically specific concerns and pursue goals for future sustainability. Emke provides a compelling case that there is a co-dependence between the rural and the urban in terms of labour markets and goods produced through rural primary industries, such as farming and fishing (Emke 2006: 24). He emphasizes the need to better understand the structures and processes of the interdependence between rural and urban labour markets and to identify effective ways to serve mutual interests. He concludes that rural communities are essential and should not be thought about in a way that forces them to defend their existence; rather, politicians should generate a new social movement, more specifically, a rural power movement "to light the fire underneath them" (Emke 2006: 27).

Regarding rural and urban interaction, Neil Dawe and Robert Ross (2011) emphasize that rural and urban planners and policy makers need to understand the importance of sustainable environmental and economic planning in relation to urban development and infrastructure investments. They argue that to effectively and responsibly strategize land use planning, we need to appreciate the value of local knowledge about the dynamics of the land base. By seeking out an intimate knowledge of the local land base, policy makers can better shape growth patterns by preserving environmental resources while developing the land in the most economically efficient manner. To achieve such a balance between economic growth and environmental preservation, the

authors suggest the use of urban growth boundaries, the creation of designated public spaces, and direct land use development in specific locations of the community, such as high density areas adjacent to downtown. They maintain that it is crucial to optimize land use by understanding which areas can effectively be developed, and which areas people would benefit from more through their preservation.

Shifting from an approach geared toward balancing environmental and economic sustainability to one more specifically interested in economics leads to a discussion of the unique issues the province faces in oil and gas development. Brian Veitch (2010) posits that with an incoming “promise of prosperity” as a result of foreseeable booms in oil and gas development, there is a need to develop a research and development and innovation (R&D&I) system to sustain any such prosperity that is brought into the province. Veitch suggests government should not only provide funding for the R&D&I system, but also identify knowledge gaps and take a proactive role in increasing knowledge mobilization. Part of this process would include increasing understanding of how to create meaningful and long-term employment for skilled tradespeople even after the boom diminishes. The idea of promoting long-term thinking and planning to rectify the problem of insecure employment is especially relevant once we consider the sociological notion of precarious employment (which will be discussed later).

How, on a practical level, can government implement policies to address rural economic and social sustainability? Freshwater et al.’s latest report (2014) on functional economic regions (FERs) builds on an earlier one (2011) about the efficacy of regionalization as a viable and potentially more strategic way for small labour markets to band together and work

for the same goals. An understanding of “regional spillovers,” can be an effective way to organize community labour markets and to allocate provincial and federal funding (Freshwater et al. 2014: 4). Importantly, Freshwater et al. claim that an understanding of regional identity paired with local leaders spearheading labour market strategies can also help connect regions with others in Atlantic Canada that share similar characteristics in size, regional specialization, and potential for growth based on research and strategic understanding.

This microeconomic approach is meant to identify 259 local labour markets in Atlantic Canada, and help governments develop better regional policies. These labour mar-

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kets can be divided into five different sizes of FERs, which may profit from particular funding approaches. Freshwater et al. also maintain that these FERs are actually ideally positioned to “offer middle ground between autonomy and amalgamation” (2014:8).

This distinction between the aggregation of regions using geographic-based measures compared to population-based ones is important in that the five different sized FERs offer the opportunity for governments to more effectively meet regional funding needs based on the specific characteristics of each region. This thereby focuses on the growth of local labour markets and actual economic development, rather than other geographic-based measures, which do not account for population size and its continual influence on the overall growth and prosperity of the region. Such population size-based

measures have an implication for less populated regions in terms of investing in infrastructure, educational opportunities, and support in the diversification of local labour markets, as these measures are shown to vastly improve conditions among regions even in those of a smaller size. Thus, Freshwater et al. posit that it is necessary not only to focus on the growth of jobs but also the quality and diversification of employment opportunities, while also taking into account how these jobs may fit into a regional chain of opportunity (2014:28). This approach will increase the productivity of the economy, which is found to be of utmost importance to overall regional growth.

2.2 IMMIGRATION & DIVERSITY

A number of the Harris Centre works deal with topics related to immigration and diversity in Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as Atlantic Canada, in particular the need to incorporate new immigrants from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds into the local labour markets and communities. Broadly, these works focus on: 1) immigrants’ and visible minorities’ experiences in and perceptions of the local labour markets and communities (Akbari 2011, Synergy Session; Anderson 2012; Gien and Law 2009; Kazemipur 2013, Synergy Session); 2) local residents’ perceptions and attitudes toward immigrants (Baker and Bittner 2013; Regional Workshops in Kittiwake 2011, Labrador West 2013); and 3) discussions of building welcoming communities to retain new immigrants (Burnaby et al. 2009; Lepawsky et al. 2010; Regional Workshop in Exploits 2007; Sullivan et al. 2009).

First, Mike Clair (2008) provides a useful background of why immigration has become a timely public policy topic in Newfoundland and Labrador. He stresses the importance of immigration to the province, considering demographic factors, aging

in particular, that are contributing to the decline of the province's working age population (Clair 2008: 35). This could stagnate the local labour market, resulting in workers not being readily available to fill high demand positions, just as many large-scale oil and gas development projects are scheduled to take place (Clair 2008: 35). It is in this demographic and labour market context that there is a need for increased immigration and development of welcoming communities, to go along with increased job training for youth, and the encouragement of those who left the province for employment reasons to return.

Admittedly, immigration was not a significant demographic trend in Newfoundland and Labrador until recently, and therefore, research on the experience of immigrants who settled in the province especially in rural areas, was scarce in the otherwise rich body of research on immigrants in Canada. In this sense, however, Willow Anderson's research (2012) on the experiences of immigrants in rural parts of Newfoundland and Labrador is an exception. She notes how different types of communication between immigrants and locals, such as *acknowledging and bridging* (expressing a value for and thought toward immigrants), *resisting* (directly engaging with differences to resist another person's beliefs, assumptions, or choice of communicative approach), and *differentiating* (intentionally or unintentionally reminding immigrants of their differences from the locals), influences their integration and community building.

While immigration is generally seen as positive among people in Canada, compared to Europe, what about the perception of immigrants among people in Newfoundland and Labrador *per-se* (Reitz 2011)? Jamie Baker and Amanda Bittner (2013) conducted a survey on the opinions of students at Memorial University toward immigration and multicultural-

ism to understand how best to build an inclusive community. The researchers draw on two theories—the group threat hypothesis and contact theory—to explain how and why certain groups may be hostile to newcomers on the basis of perceived threat to personal security (e.g. financial security). While the former states that the dominant group perceives the influx of immigrants as a threat to its culture, the latter posits that contact with a new group helps diffuse and reduce stereotypes, leading to harmonious interactions between two groups. They claim these theories are important to the Newfoundland and Labrador context because of its uniquely small urban size and relatively ethno-racially

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homogenous population.

Sullivan et al. (2009) discuss the province's current and future migration trends in relation to its labour market and demographics, similarly to Clair (2008) and other Harris Centre studies (Gien and Law 2009; Lynch 2007). The authors note that a primary solution to address the province's concerns over the decline in working age populations is to further increase the immigrant population through policy initiatives, such as the 2007 Provincial Immigration Strategy. Importantly, Sullivan et al. aim to connect their work with the growing body of Atlantic Canadian literature on immigrant retention through the development of welcoming communities (Martin and Baker 2013; Ramos 2011). From the human kinetics and recreation perspectives, Sullivan et al. (2009) stress the importance of leisure (e.g. sports) and social and com-

munity engagement as viable options for newcomer settlement and well-being.

While “welcoming community” has become a buzzword in immigration research in Canada, particularly in Atlantic Canada, what are the challenges to the creation and development of welcoming communities in Newfoundland and Labrador? While not specifically focusing on immigrants, Lepawsky et al. (2010) consider the importance of a welcoming community perspective in Newfoundland and Labrador with the goal of attracting and retaining newcomers. Putting the local issue of attraction and retention of skilled immigrants into national and global perspectives, the authors provide social, cultural, and economic reasons why people choose to live where they live, cities in particular. While St. John's has a large cultural and arts scene and thus should be attractive to the creative class (a select number of individuals who drive the economy and culture of certain geographical destinations through their professionalism, creativity, and high intellect), the authors argue the city may not be successful in attracting this class because of its relative isolation—being on an island—and its distance from other major cities. Mobility, they argue, plays a significant role in attracting the creative class.

2.3 SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL & WORKPLACE CHALLENGES

Specific occupational and workplace challenges also require close scrutiny because addressing such challenges and seeking solutions will improve the job satisfaction and well being of individual workers, leading to more favourable employment relations and more sustainable employment opportunities. The Harris Centre works that deal with these issues generally focus on: 1) specific demographic groups (e.g. women, elders) (Guppy 2012; Hawkins 2010; Regional Workshop

in Discovery Region 2012); 2) specific occupations, including public servants (Blotniuk 2012), high school teachers (Younghusband 2006), sex workers (Shaver 2013), and interpreters (Regional Workshop in Southwest Newfoundland 2012); and 3) specific sectors, such as the public sector (Blotniuk 2012; Feehan 2005), leadership positions (Guppy 2012; Morissette 2008), and tourism (e.g. Regional Workshops in Kittiwake 2005, Coast of Bays 2006, Southwest Labrador 2006, Nunatsiavut 2011).

In her study of family-friendly workplace policies in Newfoundland and Labrador, Jenna Hawkins (2010) emphasizes the importance of aiding and easing the transition into motherhood for women wishing to maintain their occupational advantages through parental leave, as well as an easy transition back into the workforce after parental leave ends. This has notable policy implications considering the low fertility rates and aging workforce the province is facing. Importantly, Hawkins points to the overwhelming number of women who are working part-time and discusses how the rise of women in part-time work can be partly attributed to their responsibility in child birth and rearing. She concludes by offering several policy recommendations regarding family-friendly parental leave policies in the province, including eliminating the two-week waiting period for maternity/parental leave benefits and the cap on the wage replacement benefit, as well as increasing funded research on family-friendly childcare options for Newfoundland and Labrador.

Echoing Hawkins' discussion of the importance of family friendly policies for women in the workplace, Lynn Guppy (2012) discusses what can be done to increase the representation of women in leadership roles in municipal governments of Newfoundland and Labrador. Acknowledging the similarities between the

situations facing women in municipal leadership roles in Newfoundland and Labrador and women in other provinces, Guppy documents how other provinces have increased women's representation in these roles. Guppy notes that the Prince Edward Island Coalition for Women in Leadership provides valuable lessons for Newfoundland and Labrador. This includes initiatives at breaking down barriers often faced by women and perceptions younger women may have about their role in municipal politics. Mentorship is also noted as a way to help encourage women, who may have limited knowledge about effective strategies for running municipal elections due to structural gender

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barriers, to enter into municipal politics.

The dialogue initiated by these authors and others about the roles and challenges of women in the work force is invaluable to understanding a key labour market and demographic issue facing the province. Specifically, a nuanced understanding is raised about the difficulty balancing child rearing responsibilities with workplace duties and ambitions among women of the province. Building upon consideration of these known gender and workplace challenges, the Harris Centre, in partnership with the Margaret and Wallace McCain Family Foundation and Jimmy Pratt Foundation, published a policy discussion paper titled "The Early Years Last a Lifetime" in 2013, which discusses the potential benefit of early childhood education (ECE) initiatives in Newfoundland and Lab-

rador. The paper points to the success of ECE in Quebec as an example of the potential economic, labour market (especially for women), and childhood development benefits of ECE. These wide-ranging benefits are considered to outweigh the increased costs incurred by publicly-funded ECE programs.

The potential benefit of ECE was also highlighted in a series of workshops co-presented by the Harris Centre, including the 2014 workshop "Early Child Education is Prudent Economic Development: An Economic Argument for Quality Early Childhood Education (ECE) in Newfoundland & Labrador." In this workshop, Craig Alexander, chief economist of the TD Bank, promotes broad public ECE programming by emphasizing both its positive impacts on children's numeracy and linguistic development, as well as its role in increasing economic growth and creating a stronger tax base through fostering higher household incomes, worker productivity, and workforce participation. Similarly, Pierre Fortin of Université du Québec à Montréal, argues that although ECE may sometimes provoke a negative public response, it has far-reaching positive labor market and demographic effects through investment in services, as well as creating better outcomes for children, families, and the overall workforce.

Harris Centre works are also characterized by their keen interest in the challenges faced by workers in specific occupations in Newfoundland and Labrador. Based on her interviews with high school teachers in the province, Lynda Younghusband (2006) identifies the problems and dangers of teachers' workplace stress. For example, she points out that teachers fear that stress influences their lives and thus their students' experiences in the classroom, as both are inextricably intertwined. High stress often remains unreported

for the teachers' fear of professional repercussions related to promotion and tenure. Moreover, teacher stress is often overlooked unless major incidences of violence occur. This led Younghusband to recommend better communication between teachers and all levels of administration; provision of adequate physical, intellectual, and professional resources; and increased government effort to allot the time and money for adequate professional development for teachers.



3 FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The strength of the labor market and demographic-focused work fostered, funded, and supported by the Harris Centre over the past 10 years lies in the interdisciplinary perspectives and wealth of knowledge each scholar contributes from their diverse academic backgrounds. The question, then, is where should the Harris Centre go from here over the next 10 years?

We've identified several key directions for labour market and demographic research that will be important for public policy in the province in the coming years.

First, in terms of research on immigration and diversity, a better understanding of the province's growing international student population (including those attending

Memorial University) is necessary. Having completed postsecondary education in Canada, these international students could potentially join the skilled labour force that is in such high demand in the province. However, little is known about whether they successfully land good jobs in the province after graduation, or what percentage of the international graduates eventually leave the province for better job opportunities in other parts of Canada or elsewhere in the world (Knutson 2014, Synergy Session). It would be beneficial if future research tracks the career trajectory, places of work, and residence of cohorts of international students over time either qualitatively (e.g. face-to-face interviews with a small number of international students) or quantitatively (e.g.

an on-line survey of a larger number of international students). For example, the Graduate Outcomes Survey Program, a longitudinal survey of Bachelor's graduates from universities in the Maritime Provinces may serve as a good model for a future project on the international student population in Newfoundland and Labrador (MPHEC no date).

Second, we propose increasing the use of the sociological perspectives on precarious employment to further understand labour market issues, especially the experience of workers, in Newfoundland and Labrador. While specific occupational and workplace challenges are well explored throughout Harris Centre works, a discussion of such challenges in the context of a growing trend

of precarious employment, “work involving limited social benefits and statutory entitlements, job insecurity, low wages, and high risks of ill-health,” is limited (Vosko 2006: 3). Characteristics of this trend include the prevalence of minimum wage service industry jobs, the decline in unionized jobs, growing job insecurity in high skill professional jobs, and employers offering fewer benefits to their employees (Kalleberg 2009). As global and local competition meet in the province, effects are felt in both rural and urban areas. We suggest Newfoundland and Labrador is not safe from the growing economic trend of precarious employment, as is evident in many of the works in this review. Therefore, we need to remain mindful of this as we realize that established research has been, and continues to be, conducted on the far-reaching effects of precarious employment and the ways it fits into a broader theme of globalization of labour markets and workers’ mobility. The vast literature on the subject of precarious work and global vs. local labour markets in sociological literature points to precarious work as a persistent trend and one that will affect select populations more than others. Specifically, precarious work is found to be detrimental from a gendered perspective (Murgia 2011), for immigrants and refugees (Goldring and Landolt 2010) and to those with a disability (Shuey and Jovic 2013).

Third, we suggest further research is required on the metropolitan region of St. John’s. While a number of Harris Centre works shed light on rural areas, research focusing on the urban is relatively limited. The urban is an integral part of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the regional development of rural Newfoundland and Labrador hinges on meaningful dialogue and cooperation between rural and urban populations (Daniels et al. 2014). It is therefore important to address questions including but not

limited to: Are the sociodemographic compositions of urban Newfoundland and Labrador changing in recent years for reasons such as the booming oil economy? What is the impact of the increased use of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program by local employers? What is the impact of Memorial University’s various internationalization initiatives? And, how do these changes influence the attitudes of local residents toward the labour market issues, immigration and cultural diversity?

Our final proposition is to situate Newfoundland and Labrador-centred demographic and labour market research in a broader regional, national, and global context in terms of knowledge mobilization. Although the province faces some specific issues regarding rural and urban rela-

It would be beneficial if future research tracks the career trajectory, places of work, and residence of cohorts of international students over time

tions, out-migration, growing immigration and diversity, and workplace challenges as mentioned above, there is much to learn from and much to teach other places that are facing similar issues and have shown resiliency.

For example, Waldbrook et al. (2013) present an interesting case for rural development in Ontario cities and the issue of their aging populations, whereas Milada et al. (2013) discuss the ties between globalization, rural development, and capacity building for ten rural European cities in the changing face of urban migration. These examples suggest demographic challenges like population aging are not particular to rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Research on rural development could be extended to a large-scale research

project on rural Canada, as well as rural areas in other developed countries. International conferences like “Culture, Place and Identity: At the Heart of Regional Development” (a conference on cultural tourism and regional development organized by the Harris Centre and other organizations in St. John’s in October 2011) is a good start to generate dialogue between researchers addressing similar issues in different regions.

As such, Locke et al.’s (2006) comparative evaluation of the roles of universities in regional development across Atlantic Canada is a good example of putting the Newfoundland and Labrador case in broader perspectives. Ekaterina Lysenko (2009) also discusses the similarities between rural Newfoundland and Labrador and Norway and their local labour market challenges (e.g. high unemployment rates and labour shortages), suggesting that the latter’s success in active labour market policies (ALMPs) could be learned and implemented in rural Newfoundland and Labrador.

Such broader contextualization of Harris Centre projects is also important from the labour market research perspective. While it was discussed in the context of several works (Clair 2008; Dawe and Ross 2011; Neis et al. 2014, Memorial Presents; Veitch 2011), it is still important to emphasize the future of the employment opportunities and well being of the individuals in Newfoundland and Labrador hinges on the finite and precarious nature of the province’s oil and gas developments. There is more room to explore how the province compares with other places with booming resource economies (e.g. Fort McMurray) and how they deal with the issues surrounding the ephemeral nature of non-renewable resource employment.

Finally, we conclude that Harris Centre works have addressed a number of pressing demographic

and labour market issues facing Newfoundland and Labrador over the past 10 years; however, this does not mean mission accomplished. It is imperative that the Harris Centre continues to address the province's emerging economic and social sustainability and growth, immigration and diversity, and specific occupational and workplace challenges issues, as demographics and labour markets are constantly changing. And, over the next 10 years, the province stands to benefit from light being shed by Harris Centre work on other underexplored topics like urban areas, international student populations, and putting the province's regional demographic and labour market issues in broader national and global contexts. ■

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