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The Absence of Opportunity
Understanding the Dynamics of Out-Migration in Newfoundland and Labrador
“Analysis of Regional Demographic Change”

A Report prepared for the

**The Leslie Harris Centre of Regional Policy and
Development**

By

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Executive Summary

Demographic Trends Over the Long Run

- ✓ Out-migration appears to be increasing over time. The average net flow of individuals leaving Newfoundland and Labrador over the period is approximately 3,417 per year
- ✓ Migration flows have changed dramatically since 1972 – Alberta and Ontario are the provinces where out-migrants settle
- ✓ In-migration flows in 2005 show that Ontario is still the largest source province accounting for 49 percent of those who in-migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador, followed by Alberta at 20 percent and Nova Scotia at 14 percent
- ✓ Economic events explain the migration patterns from Newfoundland and Labrador to both Ontario and Alberta
- ✓ The general trends suggest that individuals will move to improve their relative economic conditions. These trends are also consistent with the results reported by the OCED. That is, there are significant differences in unemployment rates across regions, the national growth rate is being driven by a limited number of regions and that GDP per capita tends to be higher in regions where population is highly concentrated.

Characteristics of Those Who Migrate

- ✓ In 2004-2005, 96 percent of those who out-migrated from Newfoundland and Labrador were under the age of 30 compared to 67 percent in 1971-1972.
- ✓ It is the young that are leaving Newfoundland and Labrador and this has serious implications for both natural population growth and economic growth.
- ✓ Migration patterns over the last 30 years have had a negative impact on both the quantity and quality of human capital in Newfoundland and Labrador. There has been a 62 percent increase in out-migration of “skilled knowledge workers”.
- ✓ Those who choose to move tend to be low income individuals.
- ✓ The proportion of those who out-migrated with employment income levels greater than \$60,000 increased dramatically from 2.35 percent in 1996 to 12.81 percent in 2001.
- ✓ There has been significant and consistent (over the 3 census years) out-migration in 18 of the 20 occupational categories. The only two occupational categories where there wasn’t any significant and consistent out-migration are fish processing workers and fishers.
- ✓ If trends continue shortages will develop in many occupations in both the private and public sectors

Intra-Provincial Migration

- ✓ There were two regions where there was positive population growth, a region where there was no change and eight regions where there was a decrease in population.
- ✓ Regions that have an urban hub attract individuals and not surprisingly, migration into the Avalon Peninsula- St. John's region has been significant. In the Avalon Peninsula-St. John's region the population increased by 5,543.
- ✓ The region showing the greatest decline is Division 8, North Coast – Lewisporte, where the population decreased by 3,251.
- ✓ In-migration into Division 1 is mostly an urban phenomenon and towns adjacent to the province's largest city are growing rapidly. For example, the population of the Town of Paradise experienced a 31 percent increase in its population since 2001. The populations of Torbay, Portugal Cove-St. Philip's and Conception Bay South increased by 14.74 percent, 12.09 percent and 11.10 percent, respectively.
- ✓ There are many towns in rural Newfoundland and Labrador that have experienced negative population growth since 2001. For example, the Town of Placentia experienced an 11.93 percent decrease in its population. The populations of Marystown, Stephenville, Labrador City, and Happy Valley-Goose Bay decreased by 7.98 percent, 7.33 percent, 6.51 percent and 4.98 percent, respectively.
- ✓ Although the Avalon Peninsula- St. John's region experienced in-migration, there were 62 communities with negative population growth and 31 communities experienced positive population growth. In total, there were 285 regions, predominantly rural, where population growth was negative.
- ✓ In three regions where there was stable or positive population growth and government transfer payments as a percent of total income was lower.
- ✓ Divisions 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 received government transfer payments which were greater than 30 percent of total income and experienced negative population
- ✓ The level of government transfer payments reflects the effort of the government to sustain the population base in rural Newfoundland and Labrador in the midst of a declining economic base. The populations of the urban centers in Newfoundland and Labrador are expanding because individuals are moving to improve their relative economic conditions
- ✓ There are many communities which lost people that have an attachment to the fishery. There were 7 fish plants located in the communities of Marystown, Grand Bank, Fortune, Lord's Cove, Lawn, St. Lawrence and Burin. The population in these communities decreased by 9.2 percent or by 1429 individuals since 2001 and there were additional 61 communities throughout Newfoundland and Labrador with negative population growth and a fish plant
- ✓ Attempts by both levels of government to maintain the population base in rural Newfoundland and Labrador have failed. If there are no sustainable economic opportunities individuals will eventually leave.

Introduction

According to the 2006 Census, the population in Canada population increased by 5.4 percent between the years 2001 to 2006. During the same period, the population of Newfoundland and Labrador decreased by 1.5 percent or 7,461 people. The natural component of population growth in Newfoundland and Labrador turned negative in 2005, implying that the death rates per one thousand exceeded the birth rate per one thousand. If present patterns of inter-provincial migration continue, the population of Newfoundland and Labrador will continue to decrease. This does not bode well for Newfoundland and Labrador since many government programs are funded on a per capita basis. Negative population growth in Newfoundland and Labrador has a negative impact on the rate of growth of human capital formation, as well as physical capital formation, both of which would impact adversely on the standard of living in Newfoundland and Labrador. The consequences of negative population growth are shortages in the availability of skilled workers, a decline in innovators, dwindling markets for goods and services and problems associated with caring for an aging population.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an understanding of the economic dimensions of the migration patterns in Newfoundland and Labrador which includes an analysis of both inter-provincial and intra-provincial migration. This paper is an effort towards describing the economic and geographical landscape that face policy makers who are tasked with the responsibilities of promoting economic growth in general and maintaining a commitment to rural economic development.

Objectives of this paper

The primary objectives of this paper include:

- ✓ collection and tabulation of data on out-migration and in-migration for Newfoundland and Labrador.
- ✓ a descriptive analysis of the data to highlight the socio-economic, demographic and geographic dimensions of those who choose to move to and from Newfoundland and Labrador.
- ✓ a descriptive analysis of the data to highlight the economic, demographic and geographic dimensions of intra-provincial migration.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 1-1 of Part 1, an analysis of inter-provincial migration is presented with a focus on the general demographic trends in Newfoundland and Labrador. In Section 1-2 of Part 1, the economic and demographic characteristics of inter-provincial migrants are profiled. In Section 2-1 of Part 2, the demographic trends of those who choose to move within the province are presented. In the final section of Part 2, Section 2-2, an analysis of the urbanization of Newfoundland and Labrador is presented with a focus on the declining rural economic base. The conclusions are presented in Part 3.

Part 1
Demographic Change In and Out of the Province:
An Analysis of Inter-provincial Migration

Section 1-1

Demographic Trends Over the Long Run: Is Newfoundland and Labrador Unique?

An analysis of Newfoundland and Labrador's changing demographics must be done in the context of what is happening in the other Atlantic Provinces, Canada and, for that matter, countries around the world. A recent 2003 OECD report examined the demographic trends in regions within OECD countries. The following is a summary of the important results that are relevant for this analysis. The report noted:

- that population was unevenly distributed among regions. For example, 40% of the OECD population was located in just 10% of the regions - with Canada have the highest measure of geographic concentration.
- rural populations are diminishing and the general trend was one of increased urbanization.
- highly educated individuals move to urban areas.
- across regions within a country there are significant differences in unemployment rates.
- rural and intermediate regions will face the challenging of ageing populations.
- GDP per capita tends to be higher in regions where population is highly concentrated.
- Canada recorded one of the highest degrees of regional variation in growth and one of the highest national growth rates among OECD countries. Implying that the national growth rate is being driven by a limited number of regions.
- structural change from the rural goods producing sector to manufacturing to services (including the new economy) implies increased urbanization

From an Atlantic perspective the general demographic trends are similar in all four provinces. All four provinces are experiencing a rapidly declining birth rate, out-migration and hence a declining population. The rapid economic expansion in Alberta has created out-migration from every province.

Is it no mystery that out-migration has been a problem for many years and the population of Newfoundland and Labrador has been decreasing over time. As Figure I illustrates, there has been very few years where in-migration was greater than out-migration. Over this period the average number of individuals moving into the province was approximately 8,037, whereas the number of individuals leaving the province was 12,053. Figure 2 shows net out-migration from 1961 to 2005. A casual observation from the diagram shows that there appears to be a slight negative trend in the data. That is, out-migration appears to be increasing over time. The average net flow of individuals leaving Newfoundland and Labrador over the period is approximately 3,417 per year.

Figure 1
In and Out-Migration Newfoundland
1962-2005

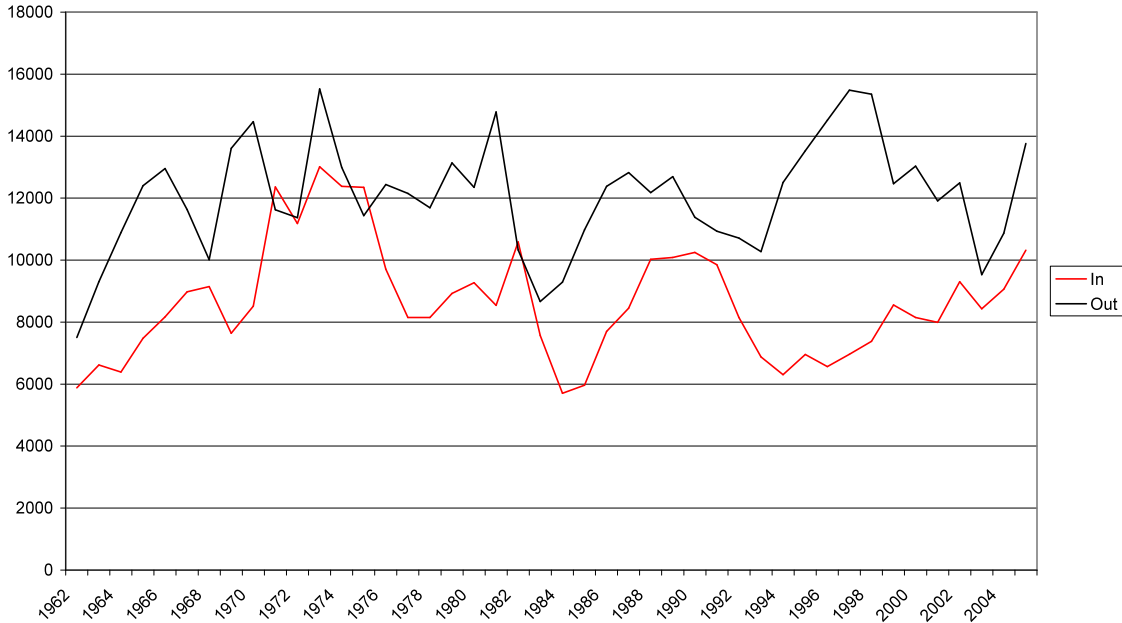
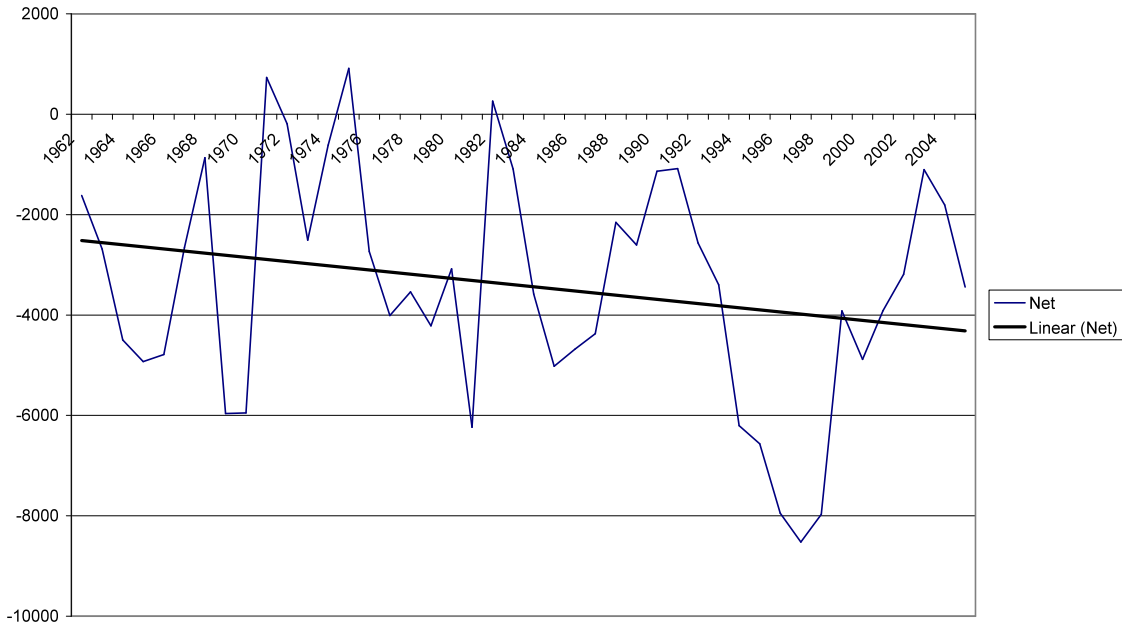


Figure 2
Net Out-Migration Newfoundland and Labrador
1962-2005



It is important to understand where people are moving to and where they are coming from. Figures 3 through 6, illustrate for selected years, the distribution of migration flows by province and territory. In 1972, 55 percent of those leaving Newfoundland and Labrador settled in Ontario. The top five provinces (Ontario, Nova Scotia, Quebec and British Columbia) accounted for approximately 92 percent of the out-migration flows. Figure 4 shows the in-migration flows into Newfoundland and Labrador by province and territory in

1972. The top five source provinces are Ontario (55 percent), Nova Scotia (14 percent), Quebec (10 percent), New Brunswick (9 percent) and British Columbia (4 percent).

Figure 3
Out-Migration From Newfoundland and Labrador to the Rest of Canada
1972

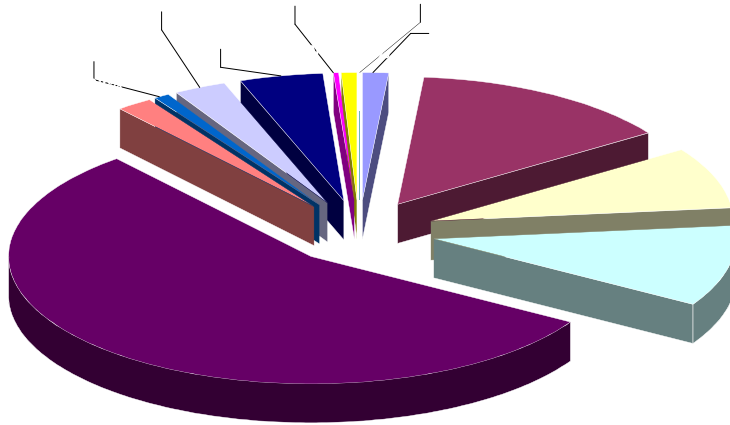
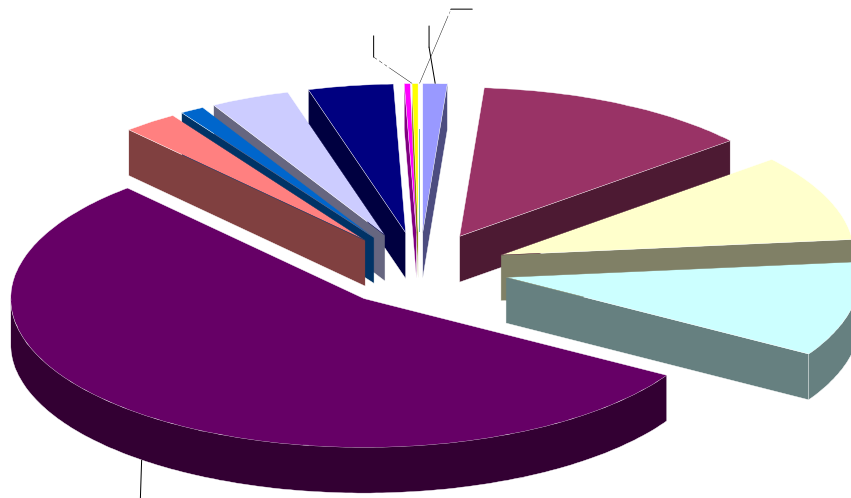


Figure 4
In-Migration to Newfoundland and Labrador from the Rest of Canada 1972



The migration flows have changed dramatically since 1972 as illustrated by Figures 5 and 6. From Figure 5, 42 percent of those who left Newfoundland and Labrador settled in Alberta, another 30 percent went to Ontario and Nova Scotia accounted for 10.5 percent in 2005.

Figure 5
Out-Migration From Newfoundland and Labrador to the Rest of Canada
2005

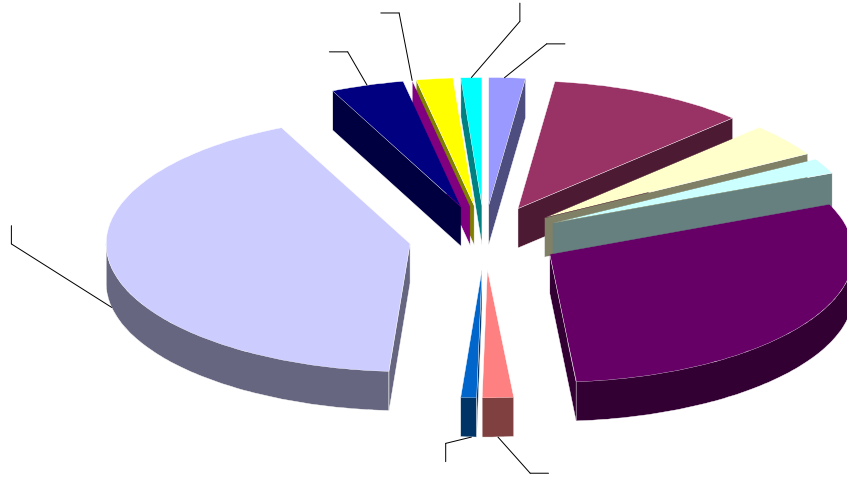
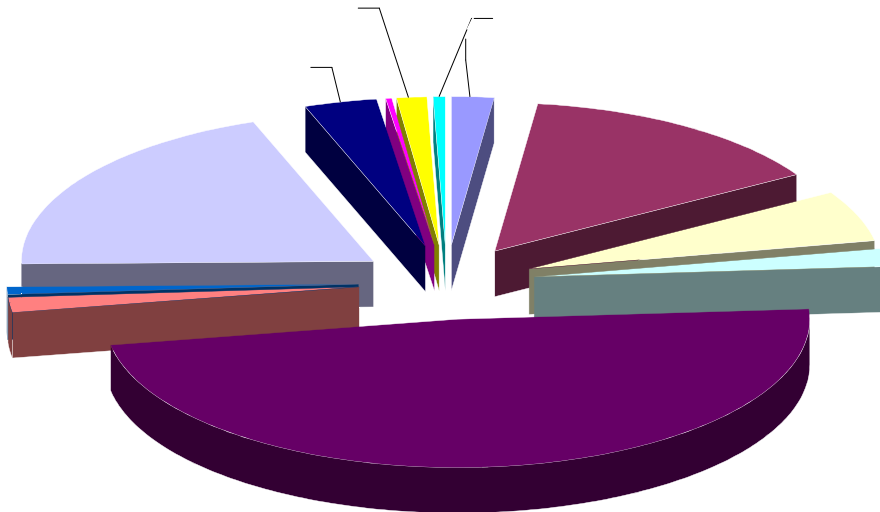


Figure 6
In-Migration to Newfoundland and Labrador from the Rest of Canada
2005

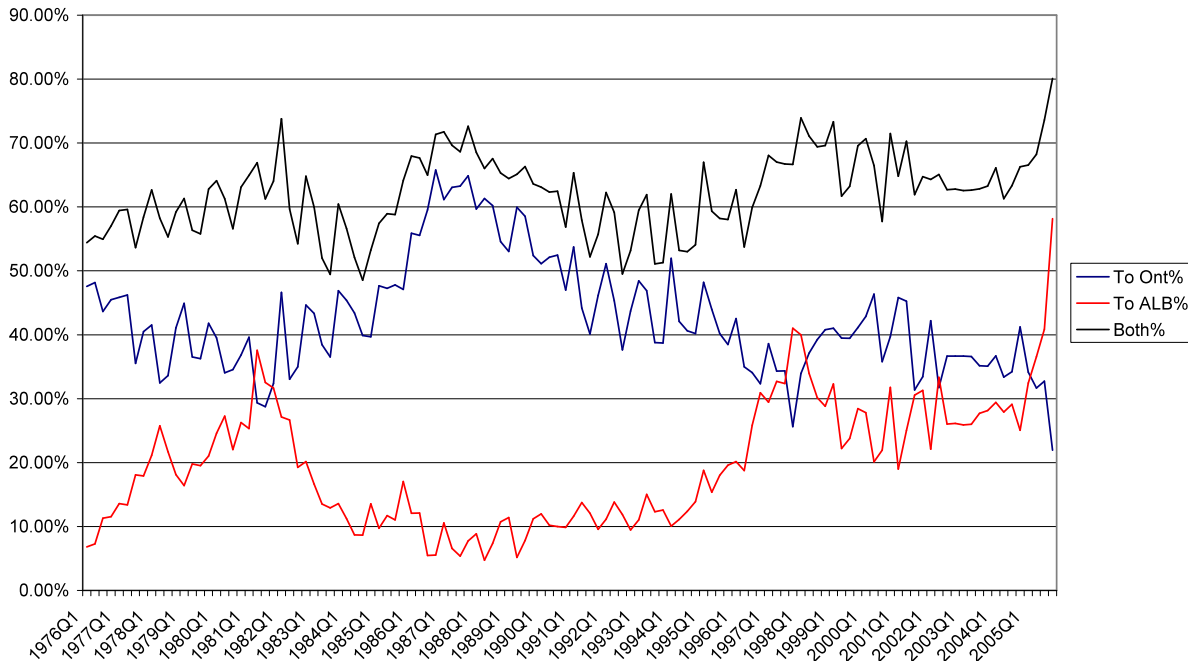


In-migration flows in 2005 show that Ontario is still the largest source province accounting for 49 percent of those who in-migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador, followed by Alberta at 20 percent and Nova Scotia at 14 percent. Table 1 presents the “out to in” ratios for the top 5 provinces which account for over 90 percent of the migration in and out of Newfoundland and Labrador. When the ratio is less than 1, Newfoundland and Labrador would gain people from the corresponding region. For example, those who out-migrated from Newfoundland and Labrador in 2005 to Ontario divided by the number of people who in-migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador from Ontario is equal to 0.85. That is for every 85 individuals who left Newfoundland and Labrador, 100 left Ontario to settle in Newfoundland and Labrador. From Table 1, the ratios are increasing in the latter half of the 1990s and decreasing in the 2000 – 2004 period. In the mid to late 1990s, Newfoundland and Labrador experienced significant out-migration to Alberta. From Table 1, the ratio of those moving out of Newfoundland and Labrador to those moving in to Newfoundland and Labrador from Alberta was almost 6 to 1. That is, for every 100 people who moved from Alberta to Newfoundland, 580 left Newfoundland and Labrador to settle in Alberta in 1997. In 2005 the ratio decreased to approximately 1.02, 0.96 and 0.85 in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Ontario, respectively. However, the ratio increased dramatically in Alberta in 2005 to 2.72.

	NS	NB	ONT	ALB	BC
1995	1.43	1.31	1.89	2.98	2.91
1996	1.74	1.73	1.75	4.61	2.38
1997	1.84	1.51	1.84	5.80	1.44
1998	1.71	2.26	1.98	3.05	1.09
1999	1.60	1.70	1.62	1.44	0.80
2000	1.82	1.39	1.65	1.94	0.83
2001	1.67	1.64	1.34	1.79	1.02
2002	1.49	1.53	1.15	1.66	1.02
2003	1.28	1.06	0.94	1.36	1.32
2004	1.21	1.12	1.01	1.55	0.93
2005	0.96	1.02	0.85	2.72	1.51

From Figures 3 through 6 it is clear that most out-migrants move to two provinces, Ontario and Alberta. It is also apparent that the distribution changes over time where individuals respond to changing relative economic opportunities. Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of out-migration to Ontario and Alberta for the period 1976 to 2005.

Figure 7
Distribution of Out Migrants From Newfoundland and Labrador to Ontario and Alberta
1976Q1-2005Q4



There are many economic events that explain the migration patterns from Newfoundland and Labrador to both Ontario and Alberta, events that occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador and events that occurred in the Canadian and world economies. For example, revisions to the Unemployment Insurance Act (now EI) in the earlier 1970s made it easier to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits. Given the seasonal nature of employment in the fishery and forestry sectors of the economy in Newfoundland and Labrador in-migration was at its highest level after these changes were implemented (see Figure 1). There were two national recessions, 1981-1982 and 1990-1991 and again from Figure 1, in-migration increased and out-migration decreased. The collapse of the ground fishery in the late 1980s and 1990s had a significant negative impact on the Newfoundland and Labrador economy. Beginning in 1992 there was a massive exodus of people and out-migration was at its highest level in 1998 with a net loss of 9,490 individuals.

Oil prices and oil development (as well as mineral development) has had a significant impact on migration patterns. Recent high oil prices have made Alberta the hottest economy in Canada where people are moving from all provinces. Table 2, illustrates net migration for the 10 provinces for the period 1972 to 2006. In the last two years, all provinces, with the exception of British Columbia, have lost people to Alberta. Quebec has experienced out-migration for the entire period, with a massive exodus in the late 1970s (no doubt political uncertainty was a factor influencing the decisions of many to leave Quebec). In all but one year, Manitoba has experienced out-migration. Table 2 shows that Ontario experienced significant in-migration in the 1980s and from Figure 7 many of them were from Newfoundland and Labrador. The “out to in” ratios were as high as 2.31 and 2.47 in 1984 and 1985, respectively (see Table A1 in the Appendix).

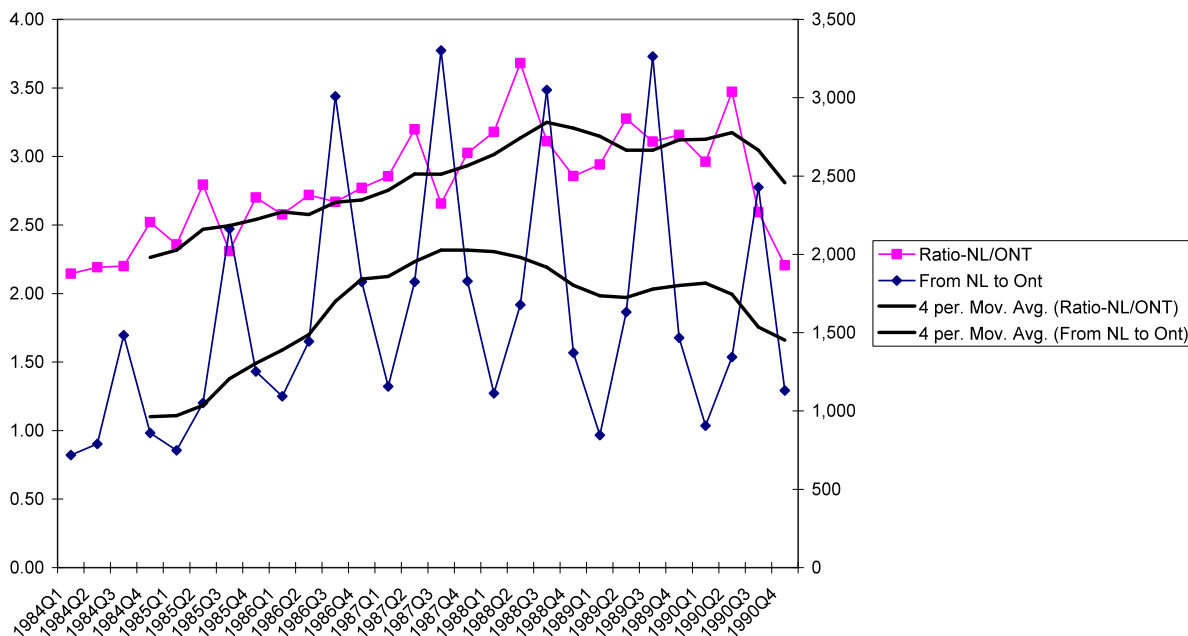
Table 2
Provincial Net Migration
1972-2006

Year	NL	PEI	NS	NB	QUE	ONT	MAN	SASK	ALB	BC
1972	864	349	-586	384	-21637	14462	-8880	-18995	4190	28088
1973	-777	782	4851	2102	-19754	940	-5489	-16524	5498	27193
1974	-2719	821	1014	2269	-12581	-9802	-1656	-10472	2911	31505
1975	543	1334	2422	6037	-10361	-28194	-6119	697	23155	9615
1976	132	456	3639	5907	-13354	-18932	-4982	5296	26579	-5035
1977	-4223	292	-1195	-161	-27986	-5363	-3001	3263	34084	5801
1978	-4229	610	-285	-1284	-45466	7934	-5054	-2504	32674	18316
1979	-3412	18	-546	-1184	-30382	-5878	-11094	-2674	34490	22211
1980	-3543	-471	-2448	-2947	-29636	-24280	-13884	-4564	42242	41067
1981	-4243	-1046	-3345	-4975	-23476	-33932	-8847	-3604	45991	39008
1982	-4522	-814	-736	-1968	-27189	-1101	-1976	151	30914	7046
1983	1286	671	3778	3286	-23557	25292	2292	3401	-14276	-611
1984	-2492	466	2663	1792	-16358	40304	-946	2277	-33579	6424
1985	-3697	205	2172	-815	-7674	33953	-894	-1874	-19484	-1967
1986	-5697	-177	-268	-2182	-4774	32722	-1943	-7021	-5131	-3727
1987	-4660	-247	-1144	-2016	-5285	46133	-3230	-5654	-32444	9493
1988	-3380	353	-1285	-2027	-8103	30497	-5640	-12364	-18752	21614
1989	-1790	317	564	-481	-7821	8351	-9421	-17165	-1308	29421
1990	-2021	-41	-45	72	-7125	-10138	-9874	-19928	9159	39984
1991	-711	-544	573	928	-13093	-10947	-7687	-11783	8647	34108
1992	-1669	-237	306	-253	-12552	-11045	-7641	-8481	2983	38004
1993	-3078	654	96	-1402	-8420	-14189	-5544	-6348	-1181	40099
1994	-4952	622	-1887	-671	-8758	-9420	-4614	-5431	-1630	37871
1995	-6974	349	-2741	-813	-8947	-2841	-3220	-3652	-556	29291
1996	-7436	638	-1245	-369	-12626	-2822	-3566	-2161	7656	22025
1997	-8134	136	-1648	-1263	-17436	1977	-5873	-2794	26282	9880
1998	-9490	-416	-2569	-3192	-16958	9231	-5276	-1940	43089	-10029
1999	-5695	193	201	-1244	-13065	16706	-2113	-4333	25191	-14484
2000	-4263	104	-270	-1183	-12146	22369	-3456	-7947	22674	-14610
2001	-4493	165	-2077	-1530	-9442	18623	-4323	-8410	20457	-8286
2002	-3352	62	-898	-1218	-4350	5354	-4344	-8820	26235	-8556
2003	-1683	165	510	-843	-1829	637	-2875	-5141	11903	-1037
2004	-2027	144	-772	-760	-822	-6935	-2565	-4521	10606	7865
2005	-3710	-139	-3041	-2074	-4963	-11172	-7227	-9515	34423	8214
2006	-4368	-127	-3930	-3788	-8155	-21391	-8635	-9073	57105	3779

Alberta has not always experienced in-migration from the rest of Canada. Oil prices went from their record highs in the early 1980s to record lows in the mid 1980s. From Table 2, there was massive out-migration in Alberta in mid 1980s. Economic opportunities disappeared from the Alberta economy and net migration in 1984 -33,579. Figure 7

illustrates that over this period out-migration from Newfoundland and Labrador to Alberta dropped to its lowest level and it was Ontario that experienced significant in-migration from Newfoundland and Labrador. A metric that can be used to compare relative economic opportunities between two regions is the ratio of the unemployment rates of the two regions. Figure 8 illustrates the relationship between the ratio of the unemployment rates and out-migration. Smoothing out the quarterly data, it is clear that there is a strong positive relationship between the ratio and movement from Newfoundland and Labrador to Ontario during the 1980s. As the ratio increases, economic opportunities in Ontario become better than opportunities in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Figure 8
The Ratio of the Newfoundland and Labrador Unemployment Rate to the Ontario Unemployment Rate and Out-Migration to Ontario
1984Q1-1990Q4



The general trends suggest that individuals will move to improve their relative economic conditions. These trends are also consistent with the results reported by the OCED. That is, there are significant differences in unemployment rates across regions, the national growth rate is being driven by a limited number of regions and that GDP per capita tends to be higher in regions where population is highly concentrated. Recently, with the price of oil at or near record highs there has been massive inflow of individuals into Alberta from all provinces. Newfoundland and Labrador is not unique when compared to the other Atlantic Provinces. Although the general trends may be similar it is important note that out-migration

appears to be increasing over time and it is imperative that we have an understanding of who is moving and what are the consequences of this demographic change.

Section 1-2. The Characteristics of Those Who Migrate

Migration and Age

Thirty-five years ago those who out-migrated from Newfoundland and Labrador were typically the young with the distribution dispersed across the age groups under 50 years of age. Figure 9 depicts the distribution of out-migration by age in 1971-1972. The largest group is the 20-29 years old who represent 31 percent of those who left Newfoundland and Labrador, followed by the very young (0-14) at 25 percent. The two other large groups are 30-39 and 15-19 cohorts accounting for 16 percent and 11 percent, respectively. Examining the distribution 35 years later reveals some dramatic changes. Figure 10 shows the distribution of out-migration by age in 2004-2005. The largest group is still the 20-29 years old cohort but this group accounts for 55 percent of those who out-migrated in 2004-2005 compared to 31 percent in 1971-1972.

Figure 9
Distribution of Out-Migration by Age
Newfoundland Labrador
1971-1972

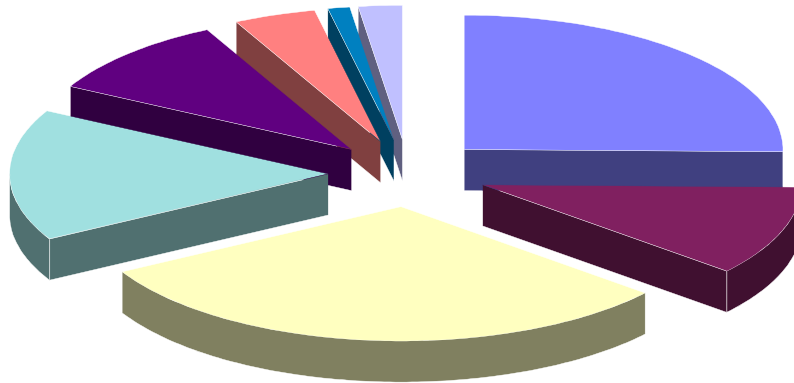
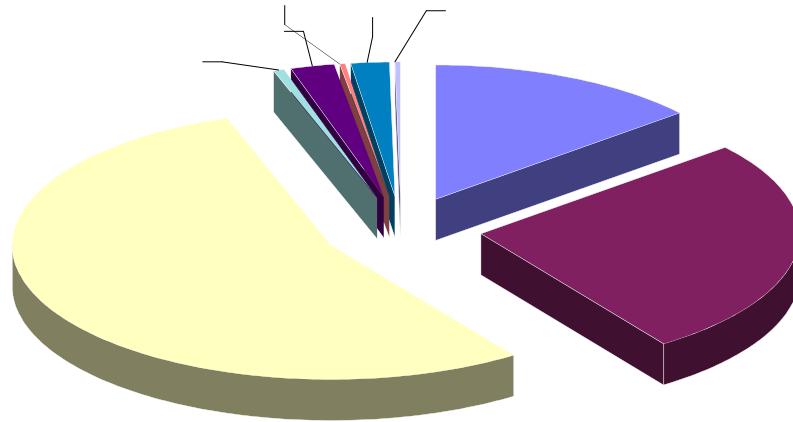


Figure 10
The Distribution of Out-Migration by Age
Newfoundland and Labrador
2004-2005



The most striking change was the increase in the percentage of those who out-migrated who were under the age of 30. Figure 10 illustrates that in 2004-2005, 96 percent of those who out-migrated from Newfoundland and Labrador were under the age of 30 compared to 67 percent in 1971-1972. Table 3 compares the age distributions of those 15 years and older in Newfoundland and Labrador. The 45-64 years age cohort accounted for 21 percent of the population in 1986 compared to 32 percent in 2001. Although the 25-44 years age cohort remains the largest cohort its proportion is declining over time. It is the young that are leaving Newfoundland and Labrador and this has serious implications for both natural population growth and economic growth.

Table 3: Age distribution of Newfoundland and Labrador 1981-2001 (%)				
Age group	1981 Census	1991 Census	1996 Census	2001 Census
15-24	26.00	22.93	20.43	17.88
25-44	41.79	42.66	40.89	36.05
45-64	21.01	22.55	26.37	32.19
65+	11.20	11.87	12.32	13.89
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Migration and Education

Economic growth and living standards are governed by more than increases in the quantity of human capital and as we have seen the quantity of human capital has been

declining Newfoundland and Labrador. What matters also is the quality of that capital. How has migration patterns contribute to the growth in the quality of Newfoundland and Labrador's human capital stock? Table 4 below presents educational attainment of both out-migrants and in-migrants for 1991 to 2001. If we combine the two categories, trades and non-university and university and call this group "skilled knowledge workers" the impact of out-migration on the quality of human capital has been devastating. For example, from Table 4, there were 17,285 "skilled knowledge workers" recorded in the 1991 Census as out-migrants and in the 2001 Census this increased to 27,940. That is, there has been a 62% increase in out-migration of "skilled knowledge workers". The population of the province has been declining and the proportion of "skilled knowledge workers" leaving Newfoundland and Labrador has been rising over time. If current trends continue it can only mean that Newfoundland and Labrador will face major shortages in "skilled knowledge workers. The only category where out-migration decreased was the group with high school or less. In 2001 Census, 12,905 individuals were recorded as out-migrants down from 13,010 recorded in the 1991 Census. Unfortunately in-migration numbers have not been large enough nor have they been moving in the right direction to offset the out-migration numbers. For example, in the 2001 Census 13,190 individuals were record as in-migrants down from 16,035 recorded in the 1991 Census. Also, in 2001, out-migrants exceeded in-migrants by a factor of 3 (40,845 to 13,190). Migration patterns over the last 30 years have had a negative impact on both the quantity and quality of human capital in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Table 4: Education of Migrants Moving In and Out of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1991-2001						
Census Years	1991		1996		2001	
Out-Migration						
High school or less	13010	42.94%	12875	37.56%	12905	31.60%
Trades or non-university	8305	27.41%	10590	30.90%	13670	33.47%
University	8980	29.64%	10810	31.54%	14270	34.94%
Total	30295		34275		40845	
Census Years	1991		1996		2001	
In-Migration						
High school or less	7405	46.18%	5265	39.12%	4950	37.53%
Trades or non-university	4685	29.22%	4165	30.94%	4225	32.03%
University	3945	24.60%	4030	29.94%	4015	30.44%
Total	16035		13460		13190	

Migration and Income

Table 5 below shows the income distribution of those who have migrated to and from Newfoundland and Labrador for the Census years 1991, 1996 and 2001. Not surprisingly,

those who choose to move tend to be low income individuals. For example, approximately 71 percent of those who migrated had employment income levels below \$30,000 in 1991. However, in 2001 59 percent with employment income levels below \$30,000 left Newfoundland and Labrador compared to 64 percent who migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador with employment income levels below \$30,000. In all three census years the proportion of individuals with no employment income who come to Newfoundland and Labrador is significantly greater than those who leave the province. For example, 33 percent of those who migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador reported no employment in the 2001 Census which is more than double (14 %) of those who out-migrated and reported no employment income. Another interesting observation is that the proportion of those who out-migrated with employment income levels greater than \$60,000 increased dramatically from 2.35 percent in 1996 to 12.81 percent in 2001. It is also clear from Table 5 that the proportion of those who migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador with employment income levels greater than \$60,000 is larger (except for 1991) than the proportion of those out-migrated with similar employment incomes. Caution must be used when interpreting the numbers in Table 5. For example, according to the 2001 Census, the proportion of those who in-migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador with employment income levels greater than \$60,000 was 18.85 percent compared to 12.81 percent with employment income levels greater than \$60,000 who left Newfoundland and Labrador. Does this suggest that the province is attracting more high income individuals? This indeed would be true if net migration was zero or small. However, as reported in the 2001 Census, 1670 individuals came to Newfoundland and Labrador who had employment incomes greater than \$60,000 and 4,495 left the province with employment income levels greater than \$60,000. What is true, as indicated above, is that individuals those who choose to migrate have low employment incomes.

Census Year		Out-Migrated	In-Migrated
2001			
	No Employment Income	14.10%	32.83%
	Under \$30,000	59.06%	64.62%
	Under \$60,000	32.32%	23.08%
	Above \$60,000	12.81%	18.85%
1996		Out-Migrated	In-Migrated
	No Employment Income	20.07%	34.13%
	Under \$30,000	73.74%	63.08%
	Under \$60,000	21.81%	21.81%
	Above \$60,000	2.35%	9.47%
1991		Out-Migrated	In-Migrated
	No Employment Income	16.14%	26.54%
	Under \$30,000	71.23%	72.05%
	Under \$60,000	24.38%	24.04%
	Above \$60,000	6.48%	5.65%

Migration and Occupations

Figures 11, 12 and 13, illustrate the migration patterns by occupation for the census years 2001, 1996, and 2001. There are significant imbalances across occupations.

Figure 11
Migration by Occupation
2001 Census

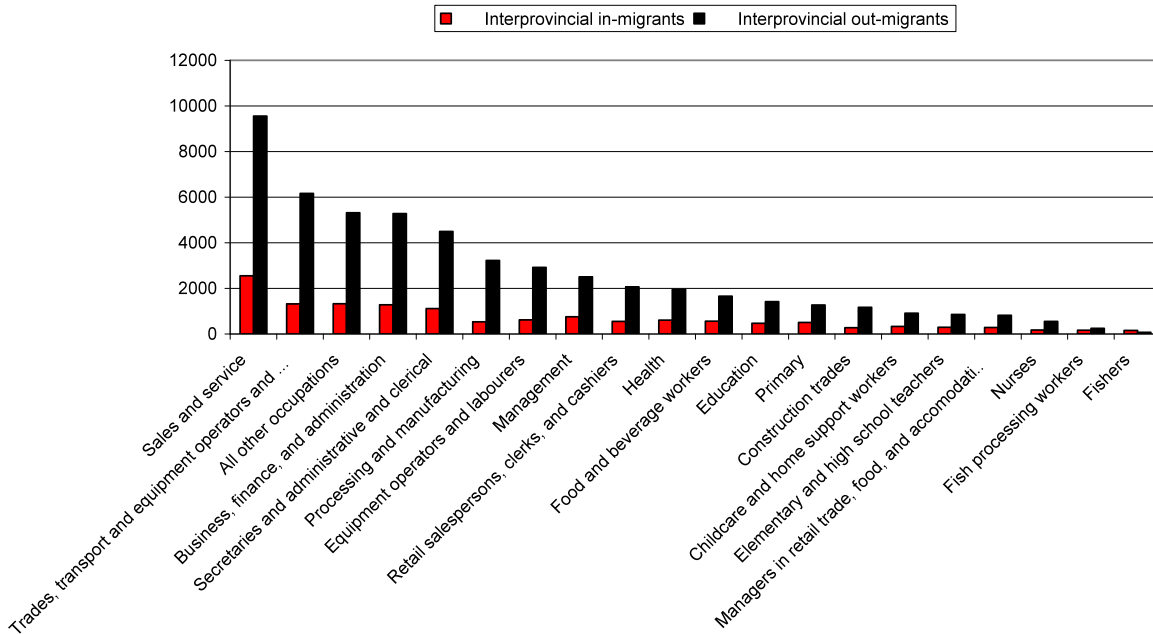


Figure 12
Migration by Occupation
1996 Census

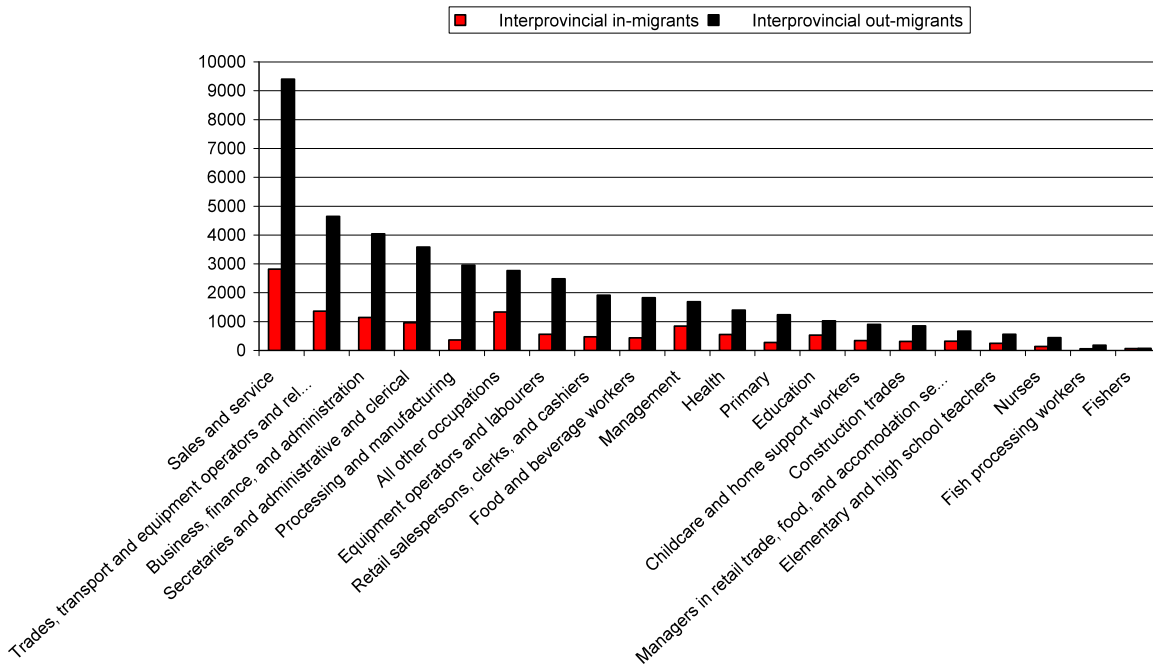
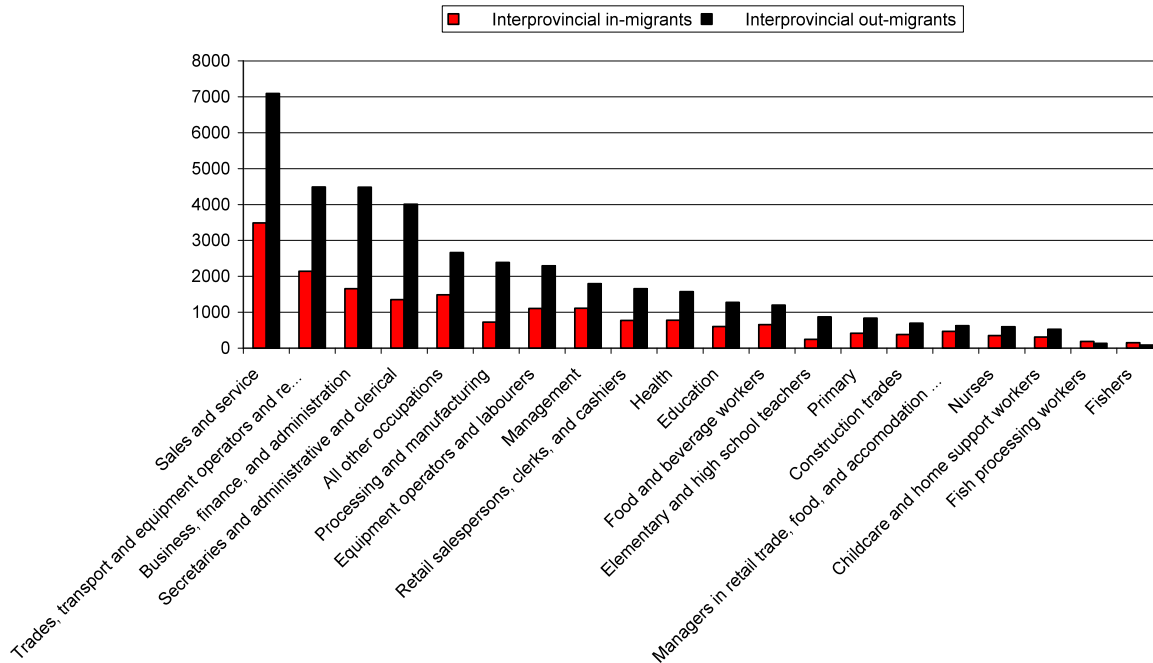


Figure 13
Migration by Occupation
1991 Census



Occupations	2001	1996	1991
Sales and service	-7010	-6585	-3605
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related	-4845	-3290	-2350
Business, finance, and administration	-3995	-2905	-2830
All other occupations	-3985	-1430	-1175
Secretaries and administrative and clerical	-3380	-2620	-2660
Processing and manufacturing	-2695	-2590	-1665
Equipment operators and laborers	-2310	-1925	-1190
Management	-1755	-845	-685
Retail salespersons, clerks, and cashiers	-1510	-1440	-885
Health	-1350	-845	-795
Food and beverage workers	-1095	-1395	-545
Education	-945	-500	-670
Construction trades	-895	-540	-315
Primary	-765	-960	-420
Childcare and home support workers	-580	-565	-215
Elementary and high school teachers	-560	-315	-625
Managers in retail trade, food, and accommodation services	-530	-350	-155
Nurses	-380	-310	-245
Fish processing workers	-85	-125	55
Fishers	85	-5	70

There has been significant and consistent (over the 3 census years) out-migration in 18 of the 20 occupational categories. The only two occupational categories where there wasn't any significant and consistent out-migration are fish processing workers and fishers. From Table 6 above there has been massive out-migration of sales and services persons, trades, transport and equipment operators, persons working in business, finance, and administration, in all other occupations, secretaries and administrative and clerical workers and equipment operators and laborers. According to the census data, we have lost health care workers, nurses, construction workers, educators, managers and workers involved in almost every occupation in the economy. If this trend continues shortages will develop in many occupations in both the private and public sectors. In the private sector firms will be forced to import short term workers and pay higher wages whereas in the public sector the government will not be able to sustain the level of services it provides. Economic growth and living standards are governed by both the quantity of human capital and the quality of human capital. What the data suggests is that both have been declining in Newfoundland and Labrador.

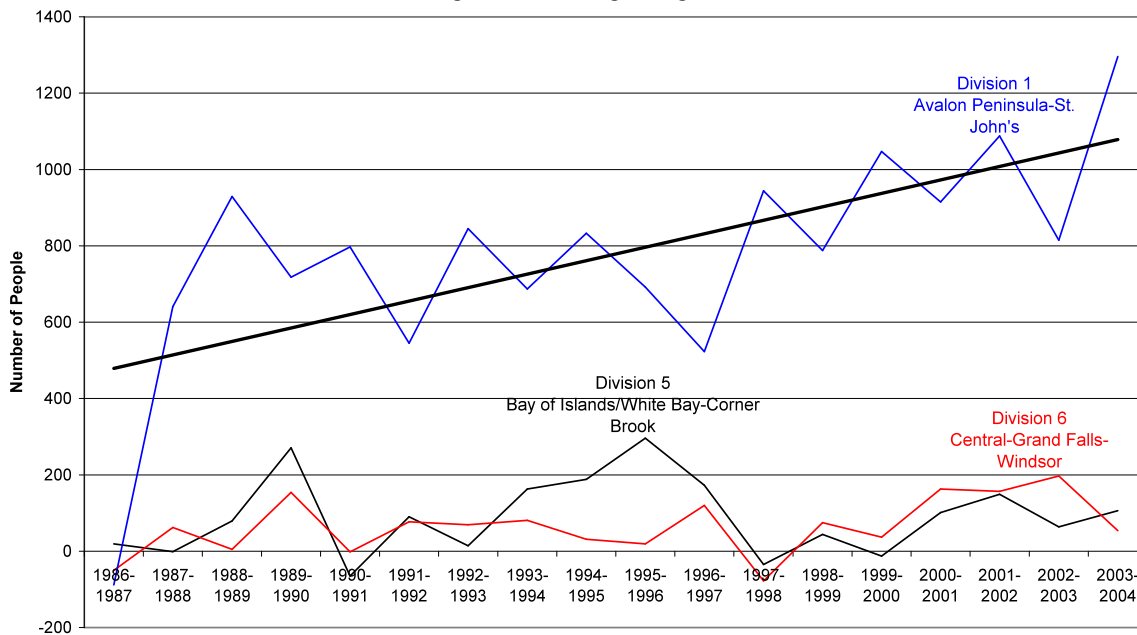
Part 2

Demographic Change within the Province: An Analysis of Intra-provincial Migration

Section 2-1: The Demographic Trends of Those Who Choose to Move Within the Province.

The pattern of movement from one region to another is illustrated by Figures 14, 15 and 16. There are two distinct patterns of movement, individuals moving into urban areas and individuals moving out of more rural regions. Of the 10 regions in Newfoundland and Labrador only three experienced in-migration. Figure 14 illustrates that Divisions 1, 5 and 6 recorded a positive inflow of people from other regions in the province for the period 1986 to 2004. All three regions have an urban hub which would attract individuals and not surprisingly, migration into the Avalon Peninsula- St. John's region is significantly larger than the other two regions. What is more important is that in-migration is growing over time in the most urban area of the province, the Avalon Peninsula- St. John's region. There is no trend or growth in the regions of Bay of Islands/White Bay-Corner Brook and Central-Grand Falls-Windsor.

Figure 14
Intraprovincial Migration by Census Division 1986-2004
Regions Illustrating In-Migration



Divisions 2, 3, 7 and 8 have similar out-migration patterns as illustrated by Figure 15. With the exception of a few years all regions have experienced out-migration. Increased economic opportunities from the Come By Chance Refinery in 1987 and from the construction of the Hibernia platform in the early 1990s are consistent with the in-migration that was experienced in the Bonavista Bay and Peninsula-Clarenville region and in the Burin Peninsula-Marystown regions.

Figure 15
Intraprovincial Migration by Census Division 1986-2004
Regions Illustrating Out-Migration

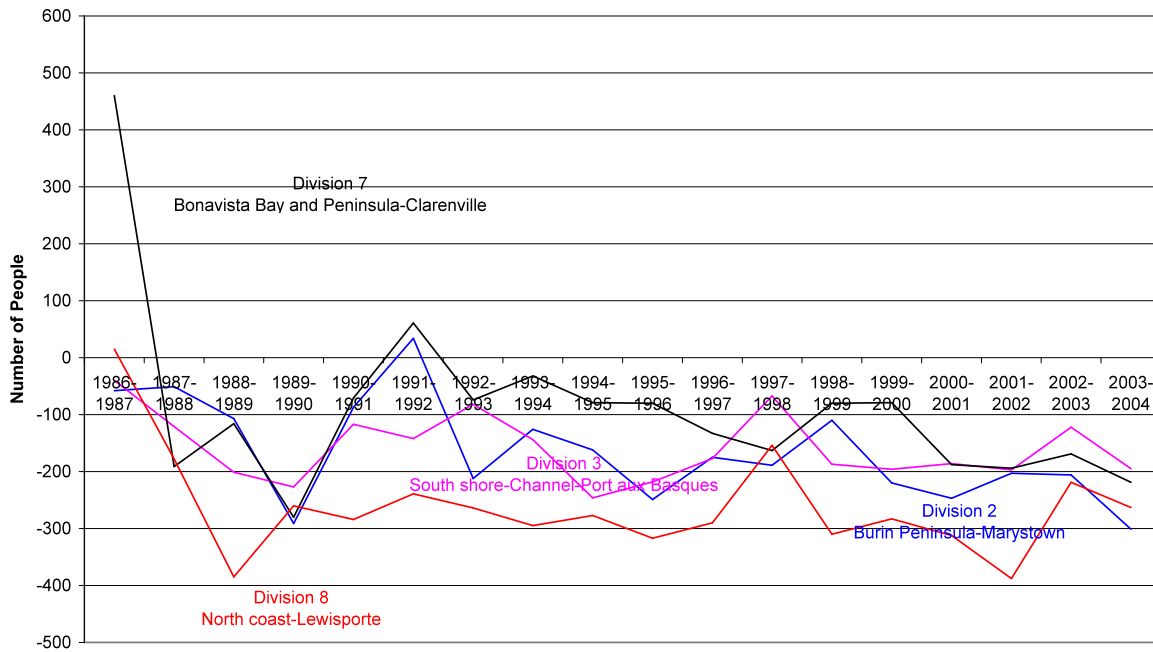


Figure 16
Intraprovincial Migration by Census Division 1986-2004
Regions Illustrating Out-Migration

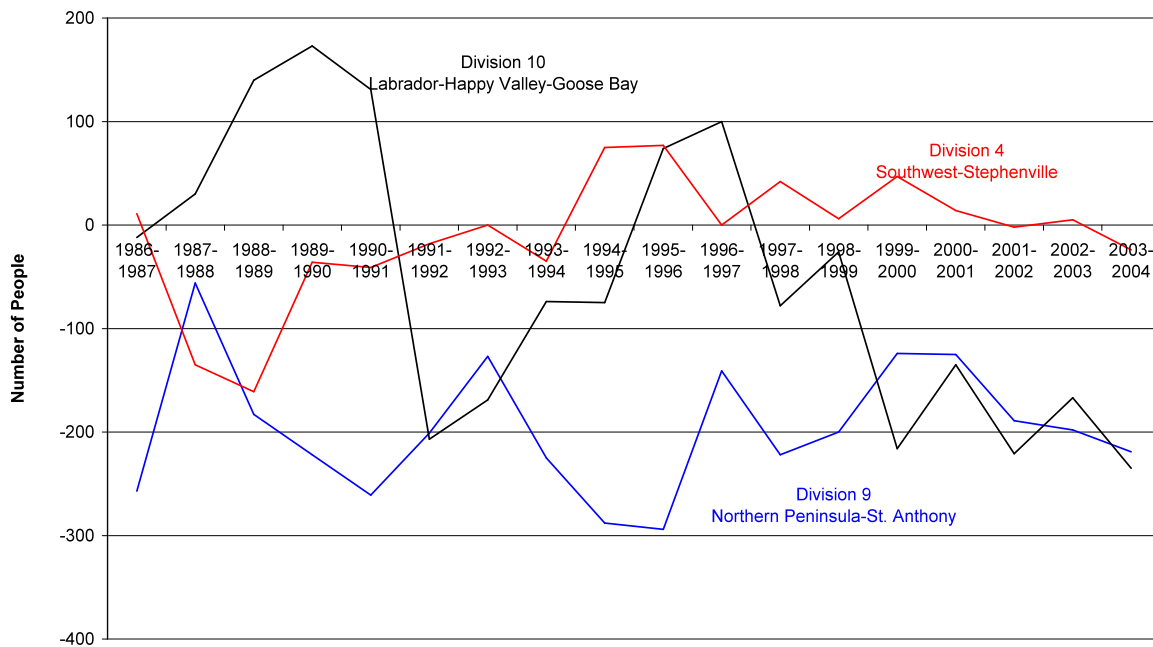


Figure 16 illustrates the migration patterns in Divisions 4, 9 and 10. Although the trend is negative in the Labrador-Happy Valley-Goose Bay region there has been years where the region experienced in-migration. No doubt opportunities created by the mining

industry and developments at Goose Bay were factors that explained the region's population growth. Still, economic opportunities that were once provided by the base at Goose Bay have disappeared and the region has been losing people since 1997. Division 4, Southwest - Stephenville experienced a period of out-migration for the first 8 years and in-migration for the next 8 years followed by another period of out-migration. The recent loss of people in this region is clearly related to the closure of the pulp and paper plant in Stephenville. Division 9, Northern Peninsula-St. Anthony has been losing people for the entire period with out-migration averaging about 200 people per year. The nature of the work in this region is seasonal with opportunities in the fishery and forestry industries. However these industries are disappearing and leaving no sustainable economic base in the region.

Section 2-2: The Urbanization of Newfoundland and Labrador - Is Rural Newfoundland and Labrador Dying a Slow Death?

Historically, the fishery has provided the economic base for all regions in Newfoundland and Labrador but this is no longer true. The lost opportunities resulting from the decline in the fishery have been replaced with the increased opportunities coming from oil and mineral development and from the new economy. Census results from 2006, released by Statistics Canada, show that the population for Newfoundland and Labrador decreased by 7,461 since 2001. Table 7 below shows the top 5 cities or towns with the largest population changes (see Appendix 2 for a comprehensive list of the population changes for all cities, towns and regions in Newfoundland and Labrador). From Table 7, in-migration into Division 1 has been mostly an urban phenomenon and towns adjacent to the province's largest city are growing rapidly. For example, the population of the Town of Paradise experienced a 31 percent increase in its population since 2001. The populations of Torbay, Portugal Cove-St. Philip's and Conception Bay South increased by 14.74 percent, 12.09 percent and 11.10 percent, respectively.

Table 7: Top 5 Cities or Towns with the Largest Change in Population				
Top 5 Cities or Towns Where There Was An Increase in Population				
	2006 Population	2001 Population	Change	
Paradise	12584	9598	2986	31.11%
Conception Bay South	21966	19772	2194	11.10%
St. John's	100646	99182	1464	1.48%
Torbay	6281	5474	807	14.74%
Portugal Cove-St. Philip's	6575	5866	709	12.09%
Top 5 Cities or Towns Where There Was a Decrease in Population				
Placentia	3898	4426	-528	11.93%
Stephenville	6588	7109	-521	-7.33%
Labrador City	7240	7744	-504	-6.51%
Marystown	5436	5908	-472	-7.99%
Happy Valley-Goose Bay	7572	7969	-397	-4.98%

The largest negative changes in population are presented in the lower part of Table 7 above. There are many towns in rural Newfoundland and Labrador that have experienced negative population growth since 2001. For example, the Town of Placentia experienced an 11.93 percent decrease in its population. The populations of Marystown,, Stephenville, Labrador City, and Happy Valley-Goose Bay decreased by 7.98 percent, 7.33 percent. 6.51 percent and 4.98 percent, respectively.

Intra-provincial migration since 2001 has resulted in people moving out of rural areas into more urban areas of the province. Shift-share analysis of the population change for each region is presented in Table 8 below. From Table 8, the national shift is a measurement that assumes that each region loses the same proportionately. That is, the population of Newfoundland and Labrador decreased by 1.45 percent and if this was applied to each Census Division within the province then the 7,461 would be distributed according to the national shift or column two in Table 8. The regional shift identifies growing and declining (with respect to population change) regions of the province. This is given by the third column in Table 8. The fourth column is the actual population change reported by Statistics Canada in the 2006 Census (the fourth column is also equal to the sum of the national and regional shifts). Not surprisingly, the leading Census Division is the Avalon Peninsula-St. John's region where the population increased by 5,543. The region showing the greatest decline is Division 8, North Coast – Lewisporte, where the population decreased by 3,251. Table 8 shows there are two regions where there was positive population growth, a region where there was no change and eight regions where there was a decrease in population.

Division/Region	National Shift	Regional Shift	Actual Change
Division No. 1, Newfoundland and Labrador (Avalon Peninsula-St. John's)	-3532.82	9075.82	5543.00
Division No. 5, Newfoundland and Labrador (Bay of Islands/White Bay-Corner Brook)	-588.61	927.61	339.00
Division No. 6, Newfoundland and Labrador (Central-Grand Falls-Windsor)	-526.68	526.68	0.00
Division No. 11, Newfoundland and Labrador (Labrador-Happy Valley-Goose Bay)	-38.31	-181.69	-220.00
Division No. 4, Newfoundland and Labrador (Southwest-Stephenville)	-322.37	-671.63	-994.00
Division No. 10, Newfoundland and Labrador (Labrador-Happy Valley-Goose Bay)	-366.99	-913.01	-1280.00
Division No. 7, Newfoundland and Labrador (Bonavista Bay and Peninsula-Clareville)	-543.07	-1290.93	-1834.00
Division No. 3, Newfoundland and Labrador (South shore-Channel-Port aux Basques)	-281.75	-1402.25	-1684.00
Division No. 9, Newfoundland and Labrador (Northern Peninsula-St. Anthony)	-292.24	-1714.76	-2007.00
Division No. 2, Newfoundland and Labrador (Burin Peninsula-Marystown)	-354.50	-1718.50	-2073.00
Division No. 8, Newfoundland and Labrador (North coast-Lewisporte)	-613.66	-2637.34	-3251.00
Total	-7461.00		-7461.00

The regions that experienced negative population growth are relatively more rural regions where economic opportunities are scarce and unemployment is high. Divisions 1, 5, and 6 would be considered more urban regions with St. John's in Division 1, Corner Brook in Division 5 and Gander and Grand Falls in Division 6. Table 9 illustrates the population change by Census Division and the number of communities which lost or gained people within each region. Even though the Avalon Peninsula- St. John's region experienced immigration, there were 62 communities with negative population growth and 31 communities experienced positive population growth. In total, there were 285 regions, predominantly rural, where population growth was negative. It is clear from Table 9 that if this trend continues the economic viability of rural communities will be in jeopardy by the fact that people are leaving.

**Table 9
Population Change by Census Division and the
Number of Communities which Gained or Lost People**

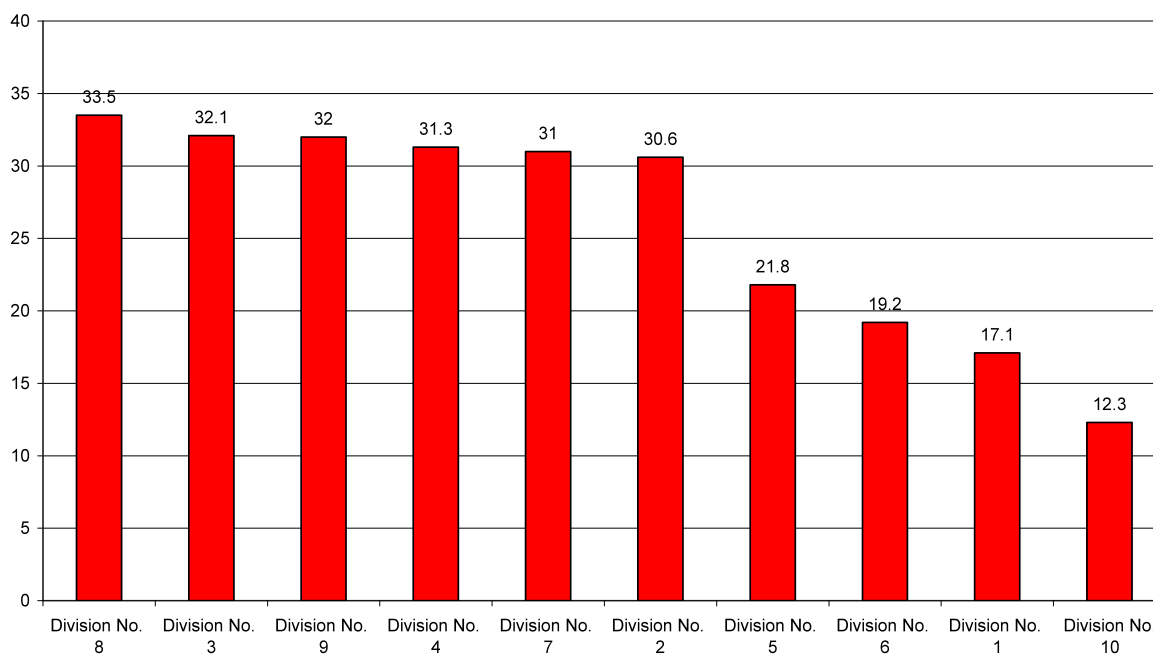
Census Area	Population Change	City/Town/Sub-Division Which Gained People	City/Town/Sub-Division Which Lost People
Division No. 1, (Avalon Peninsula-St. John's)	5543	31	62
Division No. 2, (Burin Peninsula-Marystown)	-2073	4	30
Division No. 3,(South shore-Channel-Port aux Basques)	-1684	3	22
Division No. 4,(Southwest-Stephenville)	-994	2	12
Division No. 5,(Bay of Islands/White Bay-Corner Brook)	339	11	14
Division No. 6,(Central-Grand Falls-Windsor)	0	8	8
Division No. 7,(Bonavista Bay and Peninsula-Clareville)	-1834	8	32
Division No. 8, (North coast-Lewisporte)	-3251	8	54
Division No. 9,(Northern Peninsula-St. Anthony)	-2007	3	31
Division No. 10,(Labrador-Happy Valley-Goose Bay)	-1280	4	16
Division No. 11, Newfoundland and Labrador	-220	1	4
	Total	83	285
Net Change In Population From 2001 to 2006	-7461		

Considerable efforts have been made by both levels of government to stabilize the population in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. For example the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador announced in a press release dated October 30, 2006,

“The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador will provide an additional \$2.4 million to assist fish plant workers who will likely not secure sufficient hours to qualify for Employment Insurance. “As minister responsible for employment support programs, my department recognizes the challenge faced by fish plant workers throughout Newfoundland and Labrador,” said Minister Ottenheimer, “While this funding is a direct response to needs within the fishing industry, when combined with other programs, it represents a total of \$12.4 million that the Provincial Government has invested in employment support.””

Figure 17 presents, for each census division, the percentage of total income that is due to government transfer payments in the year 2000. Government transfer payments as a percentage of total income (excluding Division 10 – Labrador) are significantly higher in rural areas of Newfoundland and Labrador. For example, government transfer payments represented 33.5 percent of total income of those who lived in Division 8 (North Coast-Lewisport) in the year 2000. Recall from above, the region showing the largest decline in population between 2001 and 2006 was the North Coast-Lewisport region. From Figure 17 (again excluding Labrador) there appears to be a negative relationship between government transfer payments and population change. That is, there was negative population growth in six regions (Divisions 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9) where government transfer payments represented more than 30 percent of total income. In three regions where there was stable or positive population growth and government transfer payments as a percent of total income was lower in the regions that experienced higher population growth.

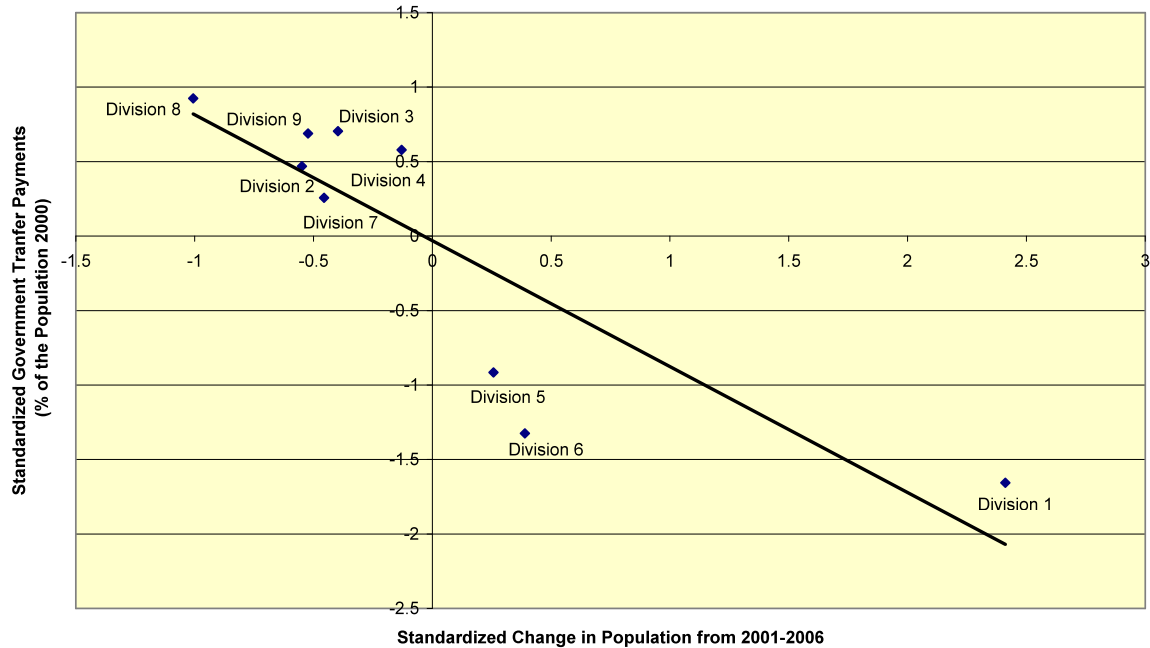
Figure 17
Government Transfer Payments as a Percent of Total Income
by Census Division Newfoundland and Labrador 2000



The relationship between government transfer payments and population change is illustrated by Figure 18 (the data has been standardized thus the mean of both variables is equal to zero). Divisions 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 are clustered in the upper left quadrant of Figure 18 suggesting that these regions received above average government transfer payments and experienced population growth below the average (in fact they all experienced negative population growth). Divisions 1, 5 and 6 are located in the lower right quadrant suggesting that these regions received below average government transfer payments and experienced population growth above the average. Does this suggest that if government cuts transfer payments to these regions population will increase in rural Newfoundland and Labrador? The answer to this question is obviously no. The relationship between the two variables is not contemporaneous. The level of government transfer payments reflects the effort of the government to sustain the population base in rural Newfoundland and Labrador in the midst

of a declining economic base. The populations of the urban centers in Newfoundland and Labrador are expanding because individuals are moving to improve their relative economic conditions. They are moving to regions where government transfer payments don't need to replace the economic base and therefore represent a smaller proportion of total income.

Figure 18
Population Change by Census Division 2001-2006 and
Government Transfer Payments 2000



What is most striking is that many of the communities which lost people have some attachment to the fishery. For example, the Newfoundland and Labrador Statistical Agency reported in December of 2006 that there were 7 fish plants located in the communities of Marystown, Grand Bank, Fortune, Lord's Cove, Lawn, St. Lawrence and Burin. The population in these communities decreased by 9.2 percent or by 1429 individuals since 2001. Out-migration of people associated with the fishery is not unique to the Burin Peninsula. Three tables are presented in Appendix 3 showing an additional 61 communities throughout Newfoundland and Labrador where there was negative population growth and a fish plant. From Table 10 and the tables presented in Appendix 3, 6,888 individuals moved out of these communities since 2001. This is clearly an underestimate of the actual number given that there are many workers who live in adjacent communities who would have left and there are other communities where fishers live. Attempts by both levels of government to maintain the population base in rural Newfoundland and Labrador have failed. If there are no sustainable economic opportunities individuals will eventually leave.

Community	2006 Population	2001 Population	Change	% Change
Burin	2483	2712	-229	-8.4
St. Lawrence	1349	1558	-209	-13.4
Lawn	705	779	-74	-9.5
Lord's Cove	207	234	-27	-11.5
Fortune	1458	1615	-157	-9.7
Grand Bank	2580	2841	-261	-9.2
Marystown	5436	5908	-472	-8
Total	14218	15647	-1429	-9.20

Part 3 Conclusion

The general trends suggest that individuals will move to improve their relative economic conditions. These trends are also consistent with the results reported by the OCED. That is, there are significant differences in unemployment rates across regions, the national growth rate is being driven by a limited number of regions and that GDP per capita tends to be higher in regions where population is highly concentrated. Migration patterns over the last 30 years have had a negative impact on both the quantity and quality of human capital in Newfoundland and Labrador. If trends continue shortages will develop in many occupations in both the private and public sectors. The level of government transfer payments reflects the effort of the government to sustain the population base in rural Newfoundland and Labrador in the midst of a declining economic base and the populations of the urban centers in Newfoundland and Labrador are expanding because individuals are moving to improve their relative economic conditions.

There are many communities which lost people that have a historical attachment to the fishery but attempts by both levels of government to maintain the population base in rural Newfoundland and Labrador have failed.

The foundation of the Newfoundland and Labrador economy was once based on a renewable resource that sustained the population base in rural regions. Recent demographic evidence suggests that the people of Newfoundland and Labrador are swimming against two strong tides. The first, is like a tidal bore that is sucking the young, highly skilled, knowledge workers from Newfoundland and Labrador to regions of Canada where economic opportunities are abundant. The second, is the pull to urban Newfoundland and Labrador from rural Newfoundland and Labrador.

Off-shore oil development, mineral development and the agglomeration economies associated with urbanization has created favorable employment conditions in the greater St.

John's area. There is evidence suggesting that this is happening in both the Bay of Islands/White Bay-Corner Brook and Central-Grand Falls-Windsor regions, but to a much lesser degree.

A declining population combined with increased urbanization may create a potential dilemma for policy-makers who are committed to both maximizing economic growth and to regional economic development. Is there a tradeoff between the two objectives?

If there is a commitment to repopulate rural Newfoundland and Labrador how should this be done given the current economic and demographic landscape. The returns from offshore and mineral development are finite and should be invested in activities that will produce sustainable economic returns. The evidence suggests that if there are no sustainable economic opportunities individuals will eventually leave and in particular, rural Newfoundland and Labrador is characterized as a region where there is an absence of opportunity. The challenge for policy-makers is to produce the conditions that are necessary to sustain economic development in rural Newfoundland and Labrador.

Appendix 1
“Out to In” Ratios

Table A1: “Out to In” Ratios Newfoundland and Labrador with respect to Provinces and Territories 1972-2005

Year	PEI	NS	NB	Que	Ont	Man	Sask	Alta	BC	Yuk	NWT	NVT
1972	1.30	1.14	0.90	1.03	0.99	0.98	0.63	0.86	1.23	2.44	2.51	NA
1973	1.13	1.27	1.18	1.17	1.09	2.17	0.84	1.55	1.58	1.84	1.88	NA
1974	0.97	1.20	1.26	1.09	0.82	1.80	1.26	2.22	1.81	2.55	2.63	NA
1975	1.15	1.32	1.70	0.94	0.65	1.32	1.31	2.07	1.42	1.97	2.02	NA
1976	0.90	1.34	1.65	1.01	1.05	1.58	3.16	3.55	1.72	0.88	1.62	NA
1977	0.88	1.29	1.47	0.70	1.26	2.65	2.76	4.21	2.28	1.20	1.43	NA
1978	0.76	1.37	1.17	1.02	1.11	0.93	1.14	3.68	2.51	3.31	2.99	NA
1979	2.68	1.33	1.37	0.76	1.29	1.62	2.21	2.51	2.26	1.39	0.84	NA
1980	1.08	1.14	0.98	1.02	0.97	1.70	2.66	2.81	2.39	1.18	1.50	NA
1981	0.98	1.32	1.20	0.65	1.34	1.76	1.94	3.52	2.42	6.56	2.25	NA
1982	0.68	1.25	0.96	0.67	0.99	0.53	0.75	0.91	1.15	0.75	1.86	NA
1983	1.11	1.52	1.59	0.97	1.23	1.25	1.08	0.67	1.33	0.35	1.31	NA
1984	1.28	2.08	2.22	1.45	1.84	1.83	1.43	0.82	1.77	0.19	1.20	NA
1985	1.43	1.91	1.62	1.47	2.31	1.67	1.01	1.29	1.85	0.52	0.92	NA
1986	1.47	1.54	1.18	1.09	2.47	1.25	0.88	0.59	1.33	1.79	0.64	NA
1987	1.25	1.59	1.31	0.98	1.98	0.96	0.62	0.80	0.95	1.50	0.54	NA
1988	1.42	1.34	1.24	1.23	1.26	0.77	0.86	0.96	1.08	2.47	1.13	NA
1989	1.18	1.38	1.65	1.26	1.19	1.05	0.85	1.18	1.75	2.25	1.40	NA
1990	1.00	1.40	1.87	0.92	0.90	1.51	1.07	1.37	1.79	3.17	2.24	NA

Appendix 1(Cont'd)
“Out to In” Ratios

Table A1: “Out to In” Ratios Newfoundland and Labrador with respect to Provinces and Territories 1972-2005

1991	1.65	1.36	1.43	1.11	0.82	1.57	0.78	1.58	2.94	1.76	1.51	NA
1992	2.51	1.60	1.82	1.21	1.01	0.77	1.01	1.56	2.66	1.70	2.49	NA
1993	2.13	1.67	1.56	0.96	1.28	1.01	1.25	1.87	2.40	0.89	1.52	NA
1994	2.71	1.71	1.50	0.99	1.88	1.25	1.36	2.22	4.74	1.22	2.59	NA
1995	1.76	1.43	1.31	0.83	1.89	2.54	1.60	2.98	2.91	52.50	1.04	NA
1996	1.83	1.74	1.73	1.84	1.75	2.57	5.91	4.61	2.38	3.05	3.56	1.41
1997	0.96	1.84	1.51	1.12	1.84	1.36	2.84	5.80	1.44	1.49	1.85	1.48
1998	3.07	1.71	2.26	0.91	1.98	1.86	2.01	3.05	1.09	0.47	2.03	2.38
1999	2.10	1.60	1.70	0.51	1.62	1.75	1.19	1.44	0.80	0.62	1.27	1.24
2000	1.52	1.82	1.39	1.21	1.65	0.90	1.11	1.94	0.83	0.69	1.25	1.37
2001	1.74	1.67	1.64	1.24	1.34	1.41	1.43	1.79	1.02	0.78	1.16	2.89
2002	1.69	1.49	1.53	0.92	1.15	1.02	1.56	1.66	1.02	2.20	2.71	1.27
2003	1.29	1.28	1.06	1.10	0.94	0.82	1.55	1.36	1.32	1.78	1.41	1.06
2004	1.21	1.21	1.12	1.13	1.01	1.68	1.68	1.55	0.93	NA	2.46	1.28
2005	1.50	0.96	1.02	1.21	0.85	1.30	1.67	2.72	1.51	0.00	2.18	2.63
Average	1.48	1.46	1.44	1.05	1.35	1.45	1.57	2.11	1.78	3.20	1.76	1.70

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Appendix 2
Population Change by City/Town/Sub-Division
2001-2006

Table A2-1A Division No. 1, Newfoundland and Labrador (Avalon Peninsula-St. John's)				
City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 1, Subd. V	65	62	3	4.8
Portugal Cove South	222	253	-31	-12.3
Trepassey	763	889	-126	-14.2
St. Shott's	109	144	-35	-24.3
Division No. 1, Subd. U	1620	1454	166	11.4
Cape Broyle	545	568	-23	-4
Renews-Cappahayden	421	423	-2	-0.5
Fermeuse	284	397	-113	-28.5
Port Kirwan	85	102	-17	-16.7
Aquaforte	103	133	-30	-22.6
Ferryland	529	607	-78	-12.9
Division No. 1, Subd. W	561	416	145	34.9
St. Vincent's-St. Stephen's-Peter's River	363	446	-83	-18.6
Gaskiers-Point La Haye	302	339	-37	-10.9
St. Mary's	482	505	-23	-4.6
Riverhead	220	264	-44	-16.7
Admirals Beach	185	212	-27	-12.7
St. Joseph's	144	152	-8	-5.3
Mount Carmel-Mitchells Brook-St. Catherines	438	450	-12	-2.7
Division No. 1, Subd. X	510	511	-1	-0.2
Colinet	165	168	-3	-1.8
Division No. 1, Subd. C	185	184	1	0.5
Branch	309	318	-9	-2.8
Point Lance	119	142	-23	-16.2
St. Bride's	386	473	-87	-18.4
Division No. 1, Subd. B	478	450	28	6.2
Placentia	3898	4426	-528	-11.9
Fox Harbour	314	344	-30	-8.7
Division No. 1, Subd. A	898	816	82	10
Long Harbour-Mount Arlington Heights	211	362	-151	-41.7
Southern Harbour	474	591	-117	-19.8
Arnold's Cove	1003	1024	-21	-2.1
Come By Chance	260	265	-5	-1.9
Sunnyside	470	477	-7	-1.5
Chance Cove	310	339	-29	-8.6
Norman's Cove-Long Cove	773	852	-79	-9.3
Chapel Arm	451	499	-48	-9.6
Division No. 1, Subd. Y	1187	1062	125	11.8
Whitbourne	855	930	-75	-8.1
Division No. 1, Subd. E	3007	3006	1	0

Table A2-1B
Division No. 1, Newfoundland and Labrador (Avalon Peninsula-St. John's)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Whiteway	220	324	-104	-32.1
Heart's Delight-Islington	663	736	-73	-9.9
Heart's Desire	226	298	-72	-24.2
Division No. 1, Subd. F	582	607	-25	-4.1
Heart's Content	418	495	-77	-15.6
New Perlican	188	223	-35	-15.7
Winterton	518	560	-42	-7.5
Hant's Harbour	401	459	-58	-12.6
Division No. 1, Subd. G	2218	2391	-173	-7.2
Old Perlican	676	714	-38	-5.3
Bay de Verde	470	534	-64	-12
Small Point-Adam's Cove-Blackhead-Broad Cove	438	480	-42	-8.8
Division No. 1, Subd. H	423	452	-29	-6.4
Salmon Cove	707	746	-39	-5.2
Victoria	1769	1798	-29	-1.6
Carbonear	4723	4759	-36	-0.8
Division No. 1, Subd. I	213	192	21	10.9
Bryant's Cove	417	417	0	0
Harbour Grace	3074	3380	-306	-9.1
Upper Island Cove	1667	1774	-107	-6
Division No. 1, Subd. J	0	0	0	
Bishop's Cove	329	310	19	6.1
Spaniard's Bay	2540	2694	-154	-5.7
Division No. 1, Subd. K	32	0	32	
Bay Roberts	5414	5237	177	3.4
Division No. 1, Subd. L	973	1004	-31	-3.1
Division No. 1, Subd. M	920	867	53	6.1
North River	557	516	41	7.9
Clarke's Beach	1289	1257	32	2.5
South River	649	709	-60	-8.5
Cupids	790	775	15	1.9
Division No. 1, Subd. N	370	351	19	5.4
Brigus	794	784	10	1.3
Division No. 1, Subd. O	792	687	105	15.3
Colliers	722	729	-7	-1
Conception Harbour	743	801	-58	-7.2
Avondale	667	701	-34	-4.9
Harbour Main-Chapel's Cove-Lakeview	1090	1106	-16	-1.4
Holyrood	2005	1906	99	5.2

Table A2-1C
 Division No. 1, Newfoundland and Labrador (Avalon Peninsula-St. John's)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Conception Bay South	21966	19772	2194	11.1
Division No. 1, Subd. R	366	399	-33	-8.3
Wabana	2418	2679	-261	-9.7
Portugal Cove-St. Philip's	6575	5866	709	12.1
Pouch Cove	1756	1669	87	5.2
Flatrock	1214	1138	76	6.7
Torbay	6281	5474	807	14.7
Logy Bay-Middle Cove-Outer Cove	1978	1872	106	5.7
Bauline	379	364	15	4.1
Paradise	12584	9598	2986	31.1
St. John's	100646	99182	1464	1.5
Mount Pearl	24671	24964	-293	-1.2
Petty Harbour-Maddox Cove	915	949	-34	-3.6
Bay Bulls	1078	1014	64	6.3
Witless Bay	1070	1056	14	1.3
Division No. 1, Subd. D	130	51	79	154.9

Table A2-2
Division No. 2, Newfoundland and Labrador (Burin Peninsula-Marystown)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 2, Subd. E	285	239	46	19.2
Lewin's Cove	566	575	-9	-1.6
Burin	2483	2712	-229	-8.4
Division No. 2, Subd. F	132	145	-13	-9
St. Lawrence	1349	1558	-209	-13.4
Division No. 2, Subd. G	10	5	5	100
Lawn	705	779	-74	-9.5
Lamaline	315	346	-31	-9
Lord's Cove	207	234	-27	-11.5
Point May	260	322	-62	-19.3
Point au Gaul	85	94	-9	-9.6
Division No. 2, Subd. H	223	120	103	85.8
Frenchman's Cove	166	195	-29	-14.9
Fortune	1458	1615	-157	-9.7
Grand Bank	2580	2841	-261	-9.2
Garnish	578	665	-87	-13.1
Division No. 2, Subd. D	277	318	-41	-12.9
Winterland	337	327	10	3.1
Marystown	5436	5908	-472	-8
Fox Cove-Mortier	351	380	-29	-7.6
Division No. 2, Subd. I	201	182	19	10.4
Bay L'Argent	287	320	-33	-10.3
Division No. 2, Subd. J	0	0	0	0
Grand le Pierre	264	294	-30	-10.2
Division No. 2, Subd. C	689	760	-71	-9.3
Rushoon	319	359	-40	-11.1
Parkers Cove	308	366	-58	-15.8
Terrenceville	536	630	-94	-14.9
Red Harbour	210	224	-14	-6.3
English Harbour East	169	217	-48	-22.1
Baine Harbour	134	148	-14	-9.5
St. Bernard's-Jacques Fontaine	525	657	-132	-20.1
Division No. 2, Subd. L	42	0	42	0
Division No. 2, Subd. K	671	692	-21	-3
Little Bay East	140	144	-4	-2.8

Table A2-3
Division No. 3, Newfoundland and Labrador (South shore-Channel-Port aux Basques)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 3, Subd. A	0	0	0	0
Rencontre East	165	202	-37	-18.3
St. Jacques-Coomb's Cove	669	707	-38	-5.4
Belleoram	421	484	-63	-13
Pool's Cove	189	206	-17	-8.3
Division No. 3, Subd. B	0	0	0	0
Harbour Breton	1877	2079	-202	-9.7
Division No. 3, Subd. C	10	0	10	
Seal Cove (Fortune Bay)	315	370	-55	-14.9
Hermitage-Sandyville	499	602	-103	-17.1
Gaultois	265	321	-56	-17.4
Division No. 3, Subd. D	379	323	56	17.3
Milltown-Head of Bay d'Espoir	865	884	-19	-2.1
St. Alban's	1278	1372	-94	-6.9
Morrisville	128	151	-23	-15.2
Division No. 3, Subd. E	134	162	-28	-17.3
Division No. 3, Subd. F	163	174	-11	-6.3
Ramea	618	754	-136	-18
Burgeo	1607	1782	-175	-9.8
Division No. 3, Subd. H	728	745	-17	-2.3
Isle aux Morts	718	813	-95	-11.7
Burnt Islands	703	801	-98	-12.2
Channel-Port aux Basques	4319	4637	-318	-6.9
Division No. 3, Subd. I	151	181	-30	-16.6
Division No. 3, Subd. J	71	115	-44	-38.3
Rose Blanche-Harbour le Cou	547	668	-121	-18.1
Samiajj Miawpukek	867	837	30	3.6

Table A2-4
Division No. 4, Newfoundland and Labrador (Southwest-Stephenville)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 4, Subd. A	1883	1708	175	10.2
Division No. 4, Subd. B	1399	1472	-73	-5
Division No. 4, Subd. C	845	918	-73	-8
St. George's	1246	1354	-108	-8
Division No. 4, Subd. D	922	796	126	15.8
Gallants	54	66	-12	-18.2
Stephenville Crossing	1960	1993	-33	-1.7
Stephenville	6588	7109	-521	-7.3
Kippens	1739	1802	-63	-3.5
Port au Port East	608	642	-34	-5.3
Division No. 4, Subd. E	2095	2201	-106	-4.8
Cape St. George	893	926	-33	-3.6
Lourdes	550	650	-100	-15.4
Port au Port West-Aguathuna-Felix Cove	386	525	-139	-26.5

Table A2-5

Division No. 5, Newfoundland and Labrador (Bay of Islands/White Bay-Corner Brook)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 5, Subd. A	223	212	11	5.2
Division No. 5, Subd. G	607	678	-71	-10.5
Deer Lake	4827	4769	58	1.2
Jackson's Arm	374	420	-46	-11
Howley	241	271	-30	-11.1
Division No. 5, Subd. E	186	128	58	45.3
Hampden	489	544	-55	-10.1
Reidville	511	495	16	3.2
Division No. 5, Subd. F	483	456	27	5.9
Steady Brook	435	394	41	10.4
Pasadena	3180	3133	47	1.5
Cormack	657	675	-18	-2.7
Gillams	402	406	-4	-1
Division No. 5, Subd. C	74	43	31	72.1
Massey Drive	1170	770	400	51.9
Corner Brook	20083	20103	-20	-0.1
Division No. 5, Subd. D	5	10	-5	-50
Humber Arm South	1854	1800	54	3
Mclvers	571	571	0	0
Cox's Cove	646	719	-73	-10.2
Lark Harbour	565	613	-48	-7.8
Meadows	637	676	-39	-5.8
Hughes Brook	197	188	9	4.8
Irishtown-Summerside	1290	1304	-14	-1.1
Mount Moriah	752	700	52	7.4
York Harbour	346	388	-42	-10.8

Table A2-6
Division No. 6, Newfoundland and Labrador (Central-Grand Falls-Windsor)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 6, Subd. D	287	337	-50	-14.8
Norris Arm	911	843	68	8.1
Division No. 6, Subd. E	326	182	144	79.1
Gander	9951	9651	300	3.1
Appleton	582	576	6	1
Glenwood	762	845	-83	-9.8
Division No. 6, Subd. C	399	328	71	21.6
Northern Arm	385	375	10	2.7
Grand Falls-Windsor	13558	13340	218	1.6
Bishop's Falls	3399	3688	-289	-7.8
Peterview	807	811	-4	-0.5
Botwood	3052	3221	-169	-5.2
Badger	813	906	-93	-10.3
Millertown	100	118	-18	-15.3
Division No. 6, Subd. A	115	110	5	4.5
Buchans	761	877	-116	-13.2

Table A2-7
Division No. 7, Newfoundland and Labrador (Bonavista Bay and Peninsula-Clarenville)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 7, Subd. M	2145	2365	-220	-9.3
Division No. 7, Subd. L	1371	1429	-58	-4.1
Division No. 7, Subd. K	1168	1152	16	1.4
Clarenville	5274	5104	170	3.3
Division No. 7, Subd. J	640	773	-133	-17.2
Trinity (Trinity Bay)	191	240	-49	-20.4
Port Rexton	351	432	-81	-18.8
Little Catalina	458	528	-70	-13.3
Division No. 7, Subd. I	121	137	-16	-11.7
Elliston	306	360	-54	-15
Trinity Bay North	1539	1797	-258	-14.4
Bonavista	3764	4021	-257	-6.4
Division No. 7, Subd. G	436	463	-27	-5.8
Keels	73	85	-12	-14.1
Duntara	72	73	-1	-1.4
King's Cove	121	159	-38	-23.9
Division No. 7, Subd. F	1067	1207	-140	-11.6
Division No. 7, Subd. E	2765	2844	-79	-2.8
Musgravetown	583	640	-57	-8.9
Port Blandford	521	580	-59	-10.2
Traytown	302	272	30	11
Division No. 7, Subd. D	397	224	173	77.2
Savage Cove-Sandy Cove	133	152	-19	-12.5
Terra Nova	68	30	38	126.7
Happy Adventure	227	245	-18	-7.3
Eastport	499	509	-10	-2
Sandringham	255	262	-7	-2.7
Glovertown	2062	2163	-101	-4.7
Division No. 7, Subd. N	80	15	65	433.3
Salvage	174	203	-29	-14.3
Gambo	2072	2084	-12	-0.6
St. Brendan's	203	251	-48	-19.1
Hare Bay	1020	1065	-45	-4.2
Centreville-Wareham-Trinity	1122	1146	-24	-2.1
Division No. 7, Subd. B	15	5	10	200
Greenspond	365	383	-18	-4.7
Division No. 7, Subd. A	172	161	11	6.8
Dover	688	730	-42	-5.8
New-Wes-Valley	2485	2832	-347	-12.3
Indian Bay	196	214	-18	-8.4

Table A2-8A
Division No. 8, Newfoundland and Labrador (North coast-Lewisporte)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 8, Subd. M	201	220	-19	-8.6
Lumsden	533	622	-89	-14.3
Musgrave Harbour	1085	1294	-209	-16.2
Division No. 8, Subd. L	3248	3436	-188	-5.5
Carmanville	753	798	-45	-5.6
Fogo Island Region (Part)	488	564	-76	-13.5
Fogo	748	803	-55	-6.8
Joe Batt's Arm-Barr'd Islands-Shoal Bay	778	889	-111	-12.5
Tilting	248	285	-37	-13
Change Islands	300	360	-60	-16.7
Seldom-Little Seldom	444	477	-33	-6.9
Division No. 8, Subd. I	210	244	-34	-13.9
Crow Head	205	218	-13	-6
Division No. 8, Subd. H	2139	2402	-263	-10.9
Cottlesville	279	297	-18	-6.1
Summerford	976	1010	-34	-3.4
Twillingate	2448	2611	-163	-6.2
Division No. 8, Subd. G	600	518	82	15.8
Campbellton	494	565	-71	-12.6
Birchy Bay	618	612	6	1
Comfort Cove-Newstead	451	510	-59	-11.6
Baytona	276	325	-49	-15.1
Division No. 8, Subd. F	898	973	-75	-7.7
Embree	703	745	-42	-5.6
Lewisporte	3308	3312	-4	-0.1
Little Burnt Bay	325	312	13	4.2
Division No. 8, Subd. E	698	692	6	0.9
Point of Bay	163	169	-6	-3.6
Leading Ticks	407	453	-46	-10.2
Point Leamington	649	685	-36	-5.3
Division No. 8, Subd. D	10	0	10	
Pilley's Island	317	391	-74	-18.9
Triton	1029	1102	-73	-6.6
Brighton	203	233	-30	-12.9
Lushes Bight-Beaumont-Beaumont North	275	308	-33	-10.7
Division No. 8, Subd. C	376	334	42	12.6
South Brook	531	578	-47	-8.1
Robert's Arm	841	886	-45	-5.1
Springdale	2764	3045	-281	-9.2
Port Anson	155	172	-17	-9.9

Table A2-8B
Division No. 8, Newfoundland and Labrador (North coast-Lewisporte)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Little Bay	116	135	-19	-14.1
Little Bay Islands	152	176	-24	-13.6
Division No. 8, Subd. P	380	418	-38	-9.1
Beachside	183	174	9	5.2
Division No. 8, Subd. O	353	437	-84	-19.2
King's Point	670	771	-101	-13.1
Nippers Harbour	151	189	-38	-20.1
Burlington	376	409	-33	-8.1
Middle Arm	517	546	-29	-5.3
Tilt Cove	5	10	-5	-50
Division No. 8, Subd. A	540	448	92	20.5
Fleur de Lys	320	348	-28	-8
LaScie	955	1063	-108	-10.2
Brent's Cove	204	258	-54	-20.9
Pacquet	210	238	-28	-11.8
Baie Verte	1275	1492	-217	-14.5
Seal Cove (White Bay)	331	417	-86	-20.6
Coachman's Cove	93	126	-33	-26.2
Westport	246	311	-65	-20.9
Ming's Bight	347	353	-6	-1.7
Woodstock	199	243	-44	-18.1
Miles Cove	140	176	-36	-20.5

Table A2-9
Division No. 9, Newfoundland and Labrador (Northern Peninsula-St. Anthony)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 9, Subd. F	119	312	-193	-61.9
Englee	618	694	-76	-11
Roddickton	911	1003	-92	-9.2
Conche	225	263	-38	-14.4
Division No. 9, Subd. A	215	65	150	230.8
Trout River	604	616	-12	-1.9
Woody Point, Bonne Bay	355	366	-11	-3
Norris Point	699	786	-87	-11.1
Rocky Harbour	978	1002	-24	-2.4
Daniel's Harbour	288	350	-62	-17.7
Cow Head	493	511	-18	-3.5
Parson's Pond	387	427	-40	-9.4
Hawke's Bay	391	445	-54	-12.1
Port Saunders	747	812	-65	-8
St. Pauls	309	330	-21	-6.4
Division No. 9, Subd. C	3001	3282	-281	-8.6
Port au Choix	893	1010	-117	-11.6
Anchor Point	309	320	-11	-3.4
Flower's Cove	270	325	-55	-16.9
Bird Cove	137	274	-137	-50
Bide Arm	192	206	-14	-6.8
Main Brook	293	357	-64	-17.9
St. Anthony	2476	2730	-254	-9.3
Glenburnie-Birchy Head-Shoal Brook	275	276	-1	-0.4
Division No. 9, Subd. D	893	1012	-119	-11.8
St. Lunaire-Griquet	666	822	-156	-19
Cook's Harbour	190	226	-36	-15.9
Raleigh	248	304	-56	-18.4
Sally's Cove	63	37	26	70.3
Goose Cove East	234	287	-53	-18.5
Division No. 9, Subd. H	189	201	-12	-6
Bellburns	83	80	3	3.8
Division No. 9, Subd. G	82	86	-4	-4.7
River of Ponds	251	274	-23	-8.4

Table A2-10
Division No. 10, Newfoundland and Labrador (Labrador-Happy Valley-Goose Bay)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 10, Subd. A	69	64	5	7.8
L'Anse-au-Loup	593	635	-42	-6.6
Red Bay	227	264	-37	-14
L'Anse-au-Clair	226	241	-15	-6.2
Forteau	448	477	-29	-6.1
West St. Modeste	140	175	-35	-20
Pinware	114	140	-26	-18.6
Division No. 10, Subd. B	475	493	-18	-3.7
Port Hope Simpson	529	509	20	3.9
St. Lewis	252	290	-38	-13.1
Mary's Harbour	417	450	-33	-7.3
Cartwright, Labrador	552	629	-77	-12.2
Charlottetown (Labrador)	366	346	20	5.8
Division No. 10, Subd. C	1112	1134	-22	-1.9
North West River	492	551	-59	-10.7
Happy Valley-Goose Bay	7572	7969	-397	-5
Division No. 10, Subd. D	681	645	36	5.6
Labrador City	7240	7744	-504	-6.5
Wabush	1739	1894	-155	-8.2
Division No. 10, Subd. E	0	580	-580	
Natuashish 2	706	0	706	

Table A2-11
Division No. 11, Newfoundland and Labrador (Nain Hopedale)

City/Town/Sub-Division	Population 2006	Population 2001	Change in Population	Population, Growth or Decline
Division No. 11, Subd. C	0	0	0	
Rigolet	269	317	-48	-15.1
Postville	219	215	4	1.9
Makkovik	362	384	-22	-5.7
Hopedale	530	559	-29	5.2
Nain	1034	1159	-125	-10.8
Division No. 11, Subd. E	0	0	0	

Appendix 3
Negative Population Growth of Communities Associated with Fish Plants
2001-2006

Community	Population, 2006	Population, 2001	Change	Percentage Change
Cape Broyle	545	568	-23	-4
Fermeuse	284	397	-113	-28.5
Aquaforte	103	133	-30	-22.6
St. Mary's	482	505	-23	-4.6
St. Joseph's	144	152	-8	-5.3
St. Bride's	386	473	-87	-18.4
Placentia	3898	4426	-528	-11.9
Southern Harbour	474	591	-117	-19.8
Arnold's Cove	1003	1024	-21	-2.1
Chance Cove	310	339	-29	-8.6
Norman's Cove-Long Cove	773	852	-79	-9.3
Heart's Desire	226	298	-72	-24.2
Winterton	518	560	-42	-7.5
Hant's Harbour	401	459	-58	-12.6
Old Perlican	676	714	-38	-5.3
Carbonear	4723	4759	-36	-0.8
Harbour Grace	3074	3380	-306	-9.1
Wabana	2418	2679	-261	-9.7

Community	Population, 2006	Population, 2001	Change	Percentage Change
Harbour Breton	1877	2079	-202	-9.7
Burgeo	1607	1782	-175	-9.8
Isle aux Morts	718	813	-95	-11.7
Burnt Islands	703	801	-98	-12.2
Channel-Port aux Basques	4319	4637	-318	-6.9
Jackson's Arm	374	420	-46	-11
Cox's Cove	646	719	-73	-10.2
Botwood	3052	3221	-169	-5.2
Happy Adventure	227	245	-18	-7.3
Glovertown	2062	2163	-101	-4.7
Centreville-Wareham-Trinity	1122	1146	-24	-2.1
Greenspond	365	383	-18	-4.7
Dover	688	730	-42	-5.8
New-Wes-Valley	2485	2832	-347	-12.3
Fogo	748	803	-55	-6.8
Joe Batt's Arm-Barr'd Islands-Shoal Bay	778	889	-111	-12.5
Seldom-Little Seldom	444	477	-33	-6.9
Cottlesville	279	297	-18	-6.1

Table A3-3				
Community	Population, 2006	Population, 2001	Change	Percentage Change
Twillingate	2448	2611	-163	-6.2
Leading Tickles	407	453	-46	-10.2
Triton	1029	1102	-73	-6.6
Little Bay Islands	152	176	-24	-13.6
Fleur de Lys	320	348	-28	-8
LaScie	955	1063	-108	-10.2
Baie Verte	1275	1492	-217	-14.5
Englee	618	694	-76	-11
Conche	225	263	-38	-14.4
Trout River	604	616	-12	-1.9
Woody Point, Bonne Bay	355	366	-11	-3
Rocky Harbour	978	1002	-24	-2.4
Cow Head	493	511	-18	-3.5
Port au Choix	893	1010	-117	-11.6
Anchor Point	309	320	-11	-3.4
St. Anthony	2476	2730	-254	-9.3
Cook's Harbour	190	226	-36	-15.9
River of Ponds	251	274	-23	-8.4
L'Anse-au-Loup	593	635	-42	-6.6
St. Lewis	252	290	-38	-13.1
Mary's Harbour	417	450	-33	-7.3
Cartwright, Labrador	552	629	-77	-12.2
Makkovik	362	384	-22	-5.7
Hopedale	530	559	-29	-5.2
Nain	1034	1159	-125	-10.8



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