



Cariboo Development Region



The Cariboo Development Region (CDR) extends from Mackenzie in the north to 100 Mile House in the south, and from Alberta in the east to the Coast Mountains in the west. It encompasses the Cariboo and Fraser-Fort George Regional Districts.

The economy of the CDR is founded on the forestry, agriculture, mining, and tourism industries, while transportation and trade are also growing in importance. Forestry and forest products manufacturing are the largest economic generators in the Development Region, and the source of thousands of direct and indirect jobs. The forestry industry in the Cariboo (and throughout BC) has been hard hit due to a downturn in US housing starts, and slowing global demand for forest products throughout 2008. This has caused some major employers in the region to shut down either temporarily or permanently in the past year as a result of the global recession. In addition, the effect of the pine beetle kill on the quality and quantity of the CDR's fibre supply is a long-term concern. Agriculture, particularly beef, remains an important and stable element of the Cariboo economy, and generates about 20% of provincial beef cattle production. Mining also plays a key role in the economy of the CDR, but a downturn in mineral prices resulted in layoffs at two major mines, one at the end of 2008 and one in early 2009, as production was curtailed to reduce costs. While 2008 saw a downturn in tourism revenues in all regions of BC, the Cariboo showed some stability, with a small increase (0.9%) in room revenues.¹



¹ BC Statistics, "Room Revenue by Development Region," *Tourism Sector Monitor*, March 2009.

The CDR remains one of the least diversified regions in the province, but the recent expansion of road, rail, and air connections is expected to create new regional opportunities and cement the CDR as part of the North West Transportation and Trade Corridor.^{2,3} Trade and transportation, which hinge on activity in the manufacturing and mining sectors, are important employers in the Cariboo. With reduced exports and shipments through the Port of Prince Rupert and the Prince George airport, employment in trade and transportation slowed somewhat in 2008, but is expected to pick up when the demand for BC exports revives.

Population growth in the CDR has been slow. In 2008, the population grew by only 0.2% (282 residents), to reach 160,419. All the growth took place in the Cariboo Regional District (+354), while there was a net outflow of 72 residents from the Fraser-Fort George Regional District.

WORK Indicators

Job Creation

Employment in the CDR declined by 700 jobs in 2008, reversing the positive growth seen in the previous two years. Almost all of these job losses occurred in the goods-producing sector, particularly in manufacturing. In 2008, the CDR's labour force was estimated at 83,100, with 59,700 jobs in the service-producing sector, and 23,400 jobs in the goods-producing sector. The CDR's monthly employment numbers for the first quarter of 2009 show significantly lower numbers than at the same time in 2008, suggesting that 2009 will be a year of further economic reduction.

Between 2003 and 2008, the number of *goods-related jobs* in the Cariboo Development Region declined by 3,400 to 23,400. The manufacturing sector took the biggest hit during this period, with a total five-year loss of 4,200 jobs; there were also significant losses in resources (1,100 jobs). Employment in the construction sector varied between 2003 and 2008, with a surge from 4,100 to 6,200 jobs in 2005, declines in 2006 and 2007, and then a small rebound of 1,000 new jobs in 2008. The agriculture sector—a historic mainstay of the CDR—also fluctuated, but due to the small numbers in this sector, Statistics Canada does not publish employment data every year. What information we have shows that employment declined in the CDR agriculture industry from 2,800 to 2,000 between 2007 and 2008.

There is no doubt that the downturn in global demand for pulp, paper, and wood products had a direct and significant effect on employment in the CDR, as some major operators closed temporarily or permanently in response to market conditions. The biggest loss was the permanent closure of Mackenzie's largest employer in early 2008, the AbitibiBowater newsprint plant and sawmills.⁴ This caused the loss of 550 direct jobs, and another 150 logging jobs in a community of 4,500 people, which was further exacerbated by the temporary closures of sawmills in Mackenzie. In early 2008, Winton Global closed its sawmilling operations in Prince George and Bear Lake indefinitely, affecting 220 jobs. In addition, temporary closures at other mills throughout the Interior also resulted in reduced employment in 2008. More recently, Tolko Industries announced that it would be temporarily closing the doors at seven of its mills in BC, including all three in Williams Lake and one in Quesnel, effective February 9, 2009. This will affect another 600 employees in Williams Lake.⁵



² A well-connected system of highways, railways, airports, and marine port facilities spanning northern British Columbia and Alberta that provides key connections to producer and consumer markets in North America, Asia, Europe, South America, and Africa.

³ Colledge Transportation Consulting, Economic Development Research Group and WESTAC, *Northwest Trade and Manufacturing Opportunities Study, 2007*, Northern Development Initiative.

⁴ Gordon Hamilton, "Mackenzie Hit by Job Losses," *Vancouver Sun*, December 1, 2007.

⁵ Erin Hitchcock, "Tolko to Shut Down Cariboo Mills," *Williams Lake Tribune*, February 5 2009.

Despite these closures the huge fibre basket available in the CDR does provide cause for some cautious optimism, as Canfor has recently announced the restarting of one of its shifts at its sawmill in Mackenzie and it was recently announced that a \$50 million Bio Energy plant would be constructed in Prince George.

Employment in the mining industry also declined in 2008, as mineral prices dropped, and the outlook for coal demand became more uncertain. In the CDR, Imperial Metals' Mount Polley mine near Williams Lake laid off 49 workers in November 2008, and Taseko Mines Limited implemented two rounds of layoffs at their Gibraltar Mine near Williams Lake, in November 2008 and January 2009, resulting in the loss of 145 jobs for the indefinite future.⁶

Table 1-1: Employment, Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2008⁷

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Job Creation (000)	
							5-Year 2003-08	1-Year 2007-08
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT (000)	78.2	80.7	80.1	82.9	83.8	83.1	+4.9	-0.7
Goods-Producing Sector (000)	26.8	26.5	23.7	25.1	27.2	23.4	-3.4	-3.8
Agriculture	-	1.5	1.7	-	2.8	2.0	-	-0.8
Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	6.1	5.1	5.1	4.6	5.5	5.0	-1.1	-0.5
Utilities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction	4.9	4.1	6.2	4.8	4.4	5.4	+0.5	+1.0
Manufacturing	14.4	15.6	10.4	14.2	14.4	10.2	-4.2	-4.2
Services-Producing Sector (000)	51.4	54.1	56.4	57.8	56.6	59.7	+8.3	+3.1
Trade	11.4	12.5	10.7	13.2	13.3	13.3	+1.9	+0.0
Transportation & warehousing	5.2	5.8	3.7	4.9	6.5	4.3	-0.9	-2.2
Finance, insurance, real estate & leasing	2.2	2.9	3.8	3.0	2.6	3.2	+1.0	+0.6
Professional, scientific & technical services	2.5	2.8	3.0	3.6	2.9	3.2	+0.7	+0.3
Business, building & other support services	2.5	1.9	2.4	2.3	2.3	3.1	+0.6	+0.8
Educational services	4.9	4.3	5.6	5.7	5.2	5.1	+0.2	-0.1
Health care & social assistance	7.1	6.3	10.0	8.9	9.4	11.4	+4.3	+2.0
Information, culture & recreation	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.2	2.5	-0.4	+0.3
Accommodation & food services	5.8	7.5	6.8	7.4	6.0	6.2	+0.4	+0.2
Other services	3.0	3.4	4.6	2.7	3.2	3.6	+0.6	+0.4
Public administration	4.1	3.7	3.0	3.4	3.1	3.7	-0.4	+0.6

Source: Statistics Canada, *Labour Force Survey Historical Review*

The news was better for the CDR's *service sector*. Between 2003 and 2008, jobs in the service sector increased by 8,300, with 3,100 jobs created in 2008. The three areas that saw the most growth during this time were health and social assistance (4,300 new jobs); trade (1,900); and finance, insurance, and real estate (1,000). Such



⁶ "Taseko Announces 75 Layoffs at Gibraltar Mines," *Williams Lake Tribune*, November 18, 2008.

⁷ Industries with 0.0 are estimated to have less than 1,500 employed at that particular point in time, thus the numbers presented in the table may not add up to total sector figures, and job creation statistics can not be calculated.

a significant increase in the service sector at a time when both manufacturing and resource employment were in decline can be partly explained by pro-active spending by the provincial government in response to greater need for social and health care supports, as well as spouses or the newly unemployed taking work in the service sector to augment family income.

In 2008, the biggest service sector gain took place in the health care and social assistance sector, with 2,000 new jobs. However, despite the optimistic outlook for the CDR's role in regional transportation and last year's employment surge in this sector, the transportation and warehousing industry lost 2,200 jobs last year. This is linked to the downturn in BC exports, as the economy worsened throughout 2008, and provincial shipping activity diminished.

Unemployment Rate

After five consecutive years of decline, the CDR's unemployment rate rose in 2008 by 1.4 percentage points, to 6.5%. This was a higher level of unemployment than the provincial average of 4.6%, and a significantly higher rate of increase.

Compared to the other Development Regions of BC, the CDR had the second highest rate of unemployment in 2008, second only to the Nechako Development Region (7.7%). At the other end of the spectrum, the Mainland/Southwest and Vancouver Island/Coast Development Regions had the lowest rates (4.2% and 4.4% respectively). Generally speaking, most (but not all) Development Regions saw an increase in the unemployment rate.

The CDR's labour force participation rate was fairly stable in 2008, and the labour force grew slightly. The number of unemployed people grew significantly, however, because of the elimination (temporary and permanent) of many manufacturing, mining and agricultural jobs throughout 2008.

Table 1-2: Unemployment Rate (%), Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2008

Region	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Percentage Point (ppt) Change	
							5-Year 2003-08	1-Year 2007-08
Cariboo DR	11.1%	9.1%	7.4%	6.1%	5.1%	6.5%	-4.6 ppt	+1.4 ppt
British Columbia	8.0%	7.2%	5.9%	4.8%	4.2%	4.6%	-3.4 ppt	+0.4 ppt

Source: Statistics Canada

Youth unemployment, which is generally higher in the CDR compared to other regions, started to decline in 2006 and 2007. However, the economic climate and events of 2008 boosted youth unemployment by 1.8 percentage points to 9.5% in 2008. These are generally the most mobile workers, and many may move to other regions of the province, or pursue post-secondary education to enhance their employment opportunities.



Table 1-3: Youth (19 to 24 years) Unemployment Rate, Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2008

Region	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Percentage Point (ppt) Change	
							5-Year 2003-08	1-Year 2007-08
Cariboo DR	16.7%	14.9%	10.9%	6.4%	7.7%	9.5%	-7.2 ppt	+1.8 ppt
British Columbia	11.4%	10.5%	8.5%	6.4%	6.0%	6.8%	-4.6 ppt	-0.8 ppt

Source: Statistics Canada, *Labour Force Survey*, Custom Table

*Unemployment rate calculated by author for 2005 to 2008.

INVEST Indicators

Business and Investment Activity

After four years of positive investment growth in the Cariboo Development Region, the value of projects either proposed or in progress in the fourth quarter 2008 showed little increase over the same quarter in 2007. The total value of investments proposed, underway, completed, or on hold in the CDR rose negligibly from \$5.9 billion in fourth quarter 2007 to \$6.1 billion in fourth quarter 2008.⁸

The December 2008 *Major Projects Inventory* indicates that ten projects were underway in the fourth quarter of 2008 in the CDR, with a total value of \$2.1 billion. This included the ongoing work on the Cariboo Connector highway project (\$200 million); the Canoe Mountain Resort near Valemount (\$100 million); and the Trans Mountain pipeline from Valemount to Burnaby (\$1.5 billion). Most projects either proposed or underway in the CDR are in mining, oil and gas, residential/commercial, and utilities.

The global financial crisis and tighter lending practices that began in late 2008 no doubt affected investment decisions in the last quarter of 2008, and will continue to do so for the next few years to come. A comparison of fourth quarter 2008 results with those of 2007 shows that in the Cariboo Development Region, the number of projects “on hold” rose slightly from 4 to 5, while the number of projects proposed declined from 24 to 22. More projects will likely be put on hold in 2009. As of December 2008, there were eight proposed mining projects in the CDR, and six of these were new projects. However, declining mineral and coal prices have led to curtailment at two Cariboo mines in 2008 and early 2009, and may also push back the startup date on some of these projects until markets recover.

As part of their economic stimulus plan, the federal and provincial governments have earmarked funds to accelerate and expand infrastructure during the next few years.⁹ We can expect to see a rise in the share of public sector capital investment in the CDR and throughout BC, at least for 2009 and 2010, as governments spend to offset economic decline in the private sector.



⁸ BC Ministry of Economic Development, *BC Major Projects Inventory*, December 2008. Definition of private sector excludes utilities, public services.
⁹ *National Post*, January 31, 2009.

Incorporations and Bankruptcies

Between 2003 and 2008, the number of business incorporations in the CDR grew by almost 62% to reach 557. This far exceeded the provincial growth rate of 33.5% during the same period.

After four years of steady growth between 2003 and 2007, the number of business incorporations in the CDR declined by 0.5% in 2008. Even with a decline in this indicator, the Cariboo ranked second place after the North Coast Development Region, which saw a small increase in incorporations of 1.9% last year. All other Development Regions experienced declines in the number of business incorporations in the last year. It appears that in the CDR, at least, entrepreneurs and investors have not reacted drastically in response to recent economic developments.

Table 1-4: Business Incorporations and Bankruptcies, Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2008

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Percentage Change	
							5-Year 2003-08	1-Year 2007-08
Business Incorporations	344	428	511	601	560	557	+61.9%	-0.5%
Business Bankruptcies ¹⁰	98	89	70	48	41	48	-51.0%	+17.1%

Source: BC Stats and Industry Canada, Office of the Superintendent of Bankruptcy Canada

After four years of decline, the number of business bankruptcies in the CDR rose to 48 in 2008. This was a 17.1% increase in bankruptcies, the third highest one-year increase in the province, after the Vancouver Island/Coast and Kootenay Development Regions (38.2% and 25% respectively). All other Development Regions saw a decrease in the number of business bankruptcies last year.

Business Establishments

Between 2003 and 2008, the number of business establishments in the CDR declined 9.9%, to 11,397. This is in contrast with the five-year provincial trend, which was a 6.7% increase. But in 2008, both the CDR and the province as a whole saw approximately the same percentage decline (1.2% and 1.3% respectively) in the number of business establishments.

When looking at one-year change, the CDR ranked in the middle of the other Development Regions last year. While three Development Regions saw the number of establishments increase between 2007 and 2008 (Thompson-Okanagan and Vancouver Island/Coast at 0.9%, and the Kootenay at 0.7%), the remaining regions saw their business establishments decline at a rate equal to, or greater than, that of the CDR.



¹⁰ Business bankruptcy data represents the cities of Prince George, Quesnel & Williams Lake.

Table 1-5: Number of Business Establishments – all sizes, Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2008

Region	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Percentage Change	
							5-Year 2003-08	1-Year 2007-08
Cariboo DR	12,654	12,767	12,364	12,171	11,538	11,397	-9.9%	-1.2%
British Columbia	332,418	346,316	345,227	350,444	359,314	354,695	+6.7%	-1.3%

Source: BC Statistics and Statistics Canada (2005, 2006, and 2007)

In 2008, small businesses with less than 20 employees accounted for over 90% of lost business establishments in the CDR. For the past decade, small business establishments have generated most of the growth in economic activity and jobs throughout BC, and this is where the greatest losses are now occurring, both in the CDR and in the province as a whole. This may be one reason why the full impact of the economic contraction of the past two quarters has been muted. With the exception of a few major forestry operations shutdowns and mine cutbacks, the closures have quietly taken place across a spectrum of smaller operations in the CDR, receiving much less attention than the closure of one large business.

LIVE Indicators

Educational Attainment

Labour force educational attainment in the Cariboo Development Region is lower than the provincial average. In 2008, 56.1% of workers, age 25-54, had some level of post-secondary education, compared with the provincial average of 62.7%.

In absolute terms, the CDR's educational attainment ranked in the middle of all Development Regions, but the Cariboo's one and five-year gains have outpaced all the other Development Regions. Between 2003 and 2008, labour force educational attainment rose by 5.3 percentage points in the CDR, compared to the provincial average of 3.8 percentage points. In the past year, the rate of educational attainment in the CDR grew by 3.8 percentage points vs. the provincial average of 1 percentage point. To put this in perspective, last year the North Coast and Nechako Development Regions *combined* ranked second-highest with a 3.2 percentage point gain, to reach 48%. The Vancouver Island/Coast Development Region ranked third with a 2.4 percentage point increase to 62.2%.

Table 1-6: Percent of Labour Force Age 25-54 With a Post-Secondary Certificate/Diploma or Higher, Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2008

Region	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Percentage Point Change	
							5-Year 2003-08	1-Year 2007-08
Cariboo DR	50.7%	50.7%	48.0%	48.0%	52.3%	56.1%	5.4 ppt	3.8 ppt
British Columbia	58.9%	59.3%	59.8%	61.0%	61.7%	62.7%	+3.8 ppt	+1.0 ppt

Source: Statistics Canada, *Labour Force Survey*, Custom Table.



Lower labour force educational attainment in the CDR is due to the highly-paid jobs available in the resource and forest product manufacturing industries, which do not require post secondary education. Other obstacles to boosting labour force educational attainment in smaller communities include the perceived lack of opportunities that result from education, and the financial and geographic obstacles that exist for many to attend a post-secondary institution.¹¹

The foregoing factors notwithstanding, educational attainment in most Development Regions of BC has been rising over the past five years, and we see that the CDR has made impressive gains. As the economy of the CDR has become more knowledge-based, workers with higher educational achievement have been hired in all economic sectors of the CDR, with a significant labour force increase in finance, insurance, and real estate; professional, scientific, and technical services; business, building, and other support services; and health care and social assistance.

Dependency on the Social Safety Net

Last year, the CDR experienced forestry and mining layoffs, and reduced employment in other sectors, such as transportation and agriculture. In September 2008, the share of the CDR’s adult population dependent on Income Assistance and Employment Insurance was 6.6%, up from 5.3% in September 2006; the provincial average rose from 3.2% to 3.6%.¹² Many families have left to seek employment in other parts of BC, but others have stayed and are waiting for industry improvements, driving up the unemployment rate.

Table 1-7: Basic Income Assistance Recipients & EI Beneficiaries as a Percent of the Population, Age 19-64, Cariboo Development Region, 2006 to 2008¹³

Regional District	2006	2007	2008
Cariboo	4.7	4.6	5.3
Fraser-Fort George	5.4	5.4	7.0
Development Region Total	5.3	5.3	6.6
British Columbia	3.3	3.2	3.6

Source: BC Stats

Comparing among the Development Regions of BC, only the North Coast had a higher rate of social safety net dependency than the Cariboo in 2008 (7.4%).

Real Income

Real pre-tax income per taxfiler can be used to compare purchasing power between the Development Regions of British Columbia.¹⁴ While the most recent regional income data is only available to 2006, it does illustrate how income levels have changed in the Development Regions in the past, and how they compare to one another. By looking at existing economic conditions, we can make an educated guess about how real income has changed since 2006.



¹¹ Chisholm Consulting, *Boosting Educational Attainment in Western Canada*, October 2008, Undertaken for the Canada West Foundation.
¹² BC Stats, Ministry of Labour and Citizen’s Services, *Population 19-64 Receiving Basic Income Assistance or Employment Insurance*, February 2008.
¹³ Rates are as of September for each year.
¹⁴ Pre-tax income is deflated by the Consumer Price Index, with a base year of 2002. In previous editions, we have used real income per capita an indicator; however, the recent release of census population figures has shown that, in some cases, population estimates made by statistical agencies between census years significantly diverge from census counts. Therefore, we have used the number of taxfilers as the denominator in this edition of the report, as it is more accurate. Data source: BC Stats, *British Columbia Neighbourhood Income Demographics*. See the glossary at the end of this report for definitions of “pre-tax income” and “taxfiler.”

Between 2003 and 2006, real average pre-tax income per taxfiler in the CDR rose by 10.8% to \$34,129. Growth was particularly strong in 2006, when real income increased by 4.4%. These were years of marked economic growth throughout the province, with all Development Regions realizing significant real income gains. Nevertheless, in 2006 the CDR lagged most of the other Development Regions in this indicator and was below the provincial average in terms of absolute income level (\$35,569), and three and one-year percentage gains (13.3% and 6.4% respectively).

In 2006, the CDR had the fourth highest level of real income, behind the Northeast, Mainland/Southwest and Vancouver Island/Coast Development Regions (\$43,432, \$36,539 and \$35,050 respectively).

Table1-8: Real Pre-Tax Income per Taxfiler (2002\$), Cariboo Development Region, 2003 to 2006

Region	2003	2004	2005	2006	Percentage Change	
					3-Year 2003-06	1-Year 2005-06
Cariboo DR	\$30,809	\$31,539	\$32,695	\$34,129	10.8%	4.4%
British Columbia	\$31,400	\$32,323	\$33,430	\$35,569	+13.3%	+6.4%

Source: BC Stats, *British Columbia Neighbourhood Income Demographics*

When looking at income trends, real GDP in BC grew at a brisk rate between 2004 and 2006, which caused real personal incomes to rise.¹⁵ In the CDR, employment grew every year between 2002 and 2006, with notable surges in the high-paying construction sector in 2005, and manufacturing in 2002-2004. Hence, wages and employment income grew, reaching 70% of total income in the Cariboo Regional District in 2006.¹⁶ In addition, the share of unemployment benefits and dependency on Income Assistance and EI all declined, further buoying aggregate real personal incomes.

Given that the CDR’s unemployment rate and social safety net dependency continued to decline in 2007, it is reasonable to assume that next year’s statistics will show a further increase in real income person taxfiler in this Development Region. However, it is likely that any further gains in 2008 were either suppressed or reversed, as employment in the higher-paying goods sector declined, and dependency on Income Assistance and EI grew.

Conclusions

The year 2008 marked an economic turning point not only in the Cariboo Development Region, but also throughout BC and the world. In 2006 and 2007, the CDR’s economy was buoyed by favourable investment conditions, strong global demand for commodity exports, and strong consumer and business demand. Employment continued to grow in the construction sector in 2008, due to a spate of private and public sector capital projects. But the contraction of US housing starts and recent turbulence in world financial markets profoundly affected the markets for forest products, minerals, and coal. The outcome was the closure or curtailment of some major forest product manufacturing operations in the Cariboo in 2008 and early 2009, and reduced output at two mines. Hundreds of jobs were lost in the CDR, and with rising unemployment came more



¹⁵ BC Stats, *Selected Economic Statistics for British Columbia*, March 31, 2009.
¹⁶ BC Stats, “Cariboo Regional District,” *Community Facts*, Data from Canada Revenue Agency.

dependency on the social safety net. Reduced economic activity washed over into other parts of the goods and services sectors, where many smaller establishments closed. Nevertheless, the number of incorporations in the CDR remained at approximately the same level, and bankruptcies rose by a small number. And educational attainment in the labour force rose to its highest level since 2003, a very positive development for the future.

Newspaper headlines confirm daily that we live in interesting times. At the time of writing, many governments, including Canada and the US, are initiating major spending programs to stimulate their economies. Several financial institutions have uncertain futures, and the North America auto industry is negotiating a government bailout to the tune of billions of dollars. Meanwhile unemployment rates continue to rise as many businesses cut production or close down. There is little question that these effects will be more fully reflected in our indicators in next year's *Check Up*. However, there are also glimmers of hope. Greater government spending on infrastructure is underway, and there are already signs in the US that consumer spending may be starting to recover.¹⁷ The question is how much economic buffeting will take place in the CDR throughout the next year.

Glossary of Definitions

- **Business establishments:** Production entity or group of entities that produces goods or services, does not cross provincial boundaries, and provides data on value of output and input costs to the government.
- **Employment income:** Includes wages and salaries, commissions from employment, training allowances, tips and gratuities, and all income from self-employment (business, professional, farming, fishing income, and commissions).
- **Job creation:** Change in number of employed individuals between two given years.
- **Pre-tax income:** Comprised of labour force income (employment income, wages and salaries, income from self-employment, and employment insurance benefits), pension income, old age security, CPP/QPP, superannuation, family allowance income, interest and other investment income, limited partnership income, rental income, other income (such as alimony and income for non-filing spouses), RRSP income, non-taxable income, GST credit, child tax credit, workers' compensation payments, social assistance payments, and guaranteed income supplements. Monies not included in pre-tax income: veterans' disability and dependent pensioners' payments, war veterans' allowances, lottery winnings, and capital gains.
- **Social safety net:** Transfers to unemployed individuals and families from the federal and provincial governments under the auspices of the Income Assistance and Employment Insurance programs.
- **Taxfilers:** Those individuals who have filed a tax return for the reference year, and were alive at the end of the year. Non-filing spouses and non-filing children are not included.
- **Unemployment rate:** Share of employable labour force looking for work but unable to find it.



¹⁷ National Post, *Retail Sales a Glimmer of Hope*, March 13, 2009.