



Rethinking Student Job Subsidies

THE CASE FOR REGIONAL EQUITY IN THE CANADA SUMMER JOBS PROGRAM

By David Murrell and Alan Chan



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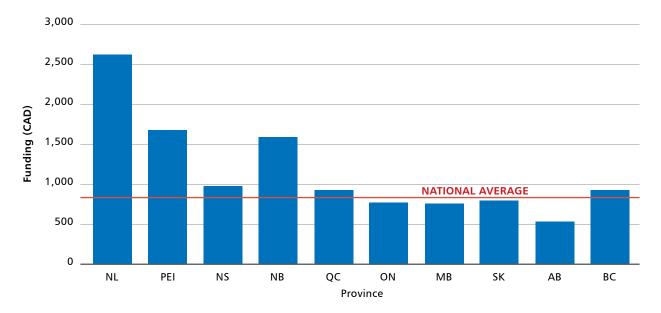


Executive Summary

The Canada Summer Jobs Program is the federal government's primary initiative for subsidizing work for the student-age population during off months at educational institutions. Recently, the program has come under scrutiny for Ottawa's decision to impose a values test on recipient organizations, bringing the program unprecedented public attention.

This paper reviews the national jobs program through a different lens: regional equity. Even though the program is set up as a "people prosperity" initiative instead of a "place prosperity" initiative, there are significant disparities among regions and provinces when it comes to federal job subsidies.

Funding Per Student Unemployed, 2016-18 Average



A review of program outcomes and Statistics Canada data shows that all four Atlantic Provinces received more money, per unemployed student, than the national average – and significantly more than the Prairie Provinces and Ontario for an average of the 2016 to 2018 years. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island received about twice as much as the national average, while Newfoundland and Labrador received more than three times the national average over this period.

The current federal government ramped up the program when it took office in 2015. Yet during the period we studied, average unemployment rates in the Maritime provinces declined while those rates worsened in Western Canada.





In light of the evidence of these disparities, this paper argues that the federal government needs to recalibrate the Canada Summer Jobs Program to include the consideration of regional equity in subsidies. It offers three reasons for this change:

First, there does not appear to be a relationship between local economic circumstances, or student unemployment, and subsidies. Since horizontal equity demands that individuals be treated equally regardless of their province of origin, it makes sense to distribute funds without discrimination of this kind.

Second, politicians are substantially involved in the decision of to whom and how much money is allocated under the program. Given this politicized aspect to administration, there is no compelling reason for disparate funding between regions, especially in light of disparities in other programs under the federal government, such as equalization and employment insurance (EI) benefits.

Third, the paper argues that in a climate of regional strain on the federation, Atlantic Canada and the Maritimes in particular need to work collaboratively with Ontario and Western Canada on ensuring fiscal transfers are fair. Ending disparities in summer job funding, which aren't supported by sound public policy principles, would introduce regional equity and show the rest of the country that Atlantic Canada is willing to co-operate on transfer reform where it is supported by evidence.





Introduction

The Canada Summer Jobs Program (CSJ) is the principal funding mechanism by which the federal government subsidizes work for students and youth across Canada. It is a longstanding program with many antecedents going back to the 1960s, but has existed in its current form since the mid-2000s and it received its present name in 2015. Across the developed world, it is common for governments to provide public money for such initiatives, which help to transition youth from education to the labour force.

This program became the subject of public controversy in 2018 when the federal government, led by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, introduced a values test for the employers of students being subsidized by the program. The so-called values attestation required that organizations receiving funding vow agreement with charter values, some of which contradict the religious views of organizations that typically received funding under the CSJ. Never in the program's history has it received so much popular and media attention.

This paper attempts to shed some more light on the CSJ program from a public policy perspective. While we do not explore the possible abrogation of rights enumerated in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* by the government's values attestation, we explain the history of the program, how it operates relative to similar initiatives in other countries, what its outcomes have been, and suggest reforms to its structure. In short, there is much more to this program than meets the eye, and much more to investigate than the religious freedom angle so vigorously debated last year.

In studying the CSJ program, we are principally concerned that the federal government has not treated all regions of the country with equity when it comes to job funding allocations. The distribution of funds, when expressed relative to population and student numbers, is not evenly apportioned across the country and clearly favours the Atlantic Provinces. In recent years, our research shows the disparity between regional funding has widened, in spite of economic indicators suggesting the gap should be closing.

As economic and policy analysts based in Atlantic Canada, we worry that the different treatment of this region may not be justified, especially in light of pressures on national unity related to regional conflict. The Atlantic region has long been a beneficiary of generous subsidy by the federal government, funded by the willingness of Canadians in the rest of the country to provide substantial sums to less wealthy provinces. Yet as greater political, demographic, and economic weight shifts farther west in Canada, the Atlantic Provinces need to take stock of their position as major funding recipients.





RETHINKING STUDENT JOB SUBSIDIES

After reviewing the context of regional subsidies and the regional distribution of summer job funding, this paper argues that the federal government should consider regional equity in the Canada Summer Jobs Program. Given that in comparison to other countries, Canada's program is only limited in its effectiveness, given the pressures that already exist in the Canadian federation when it comes to regional subsidies, and given the outsized role that local politicians already play in awarding funds, it makes the most sense to distribute subsidies equally across Canada.





Brief history of Canadian summer job funding

The current Canada Summer Jobs Program has had many antecedents under different names. The start of youth employment programs came with the Company of Young Canadians (1965, under Lester Pearson), the Opportunities for Youth, the Youth Hostels, and the Local Initiatives programs (1971-1973, under Pierre Trudeau).

The governments at the time recognized the difficulty of high youth unemployment rates (during the late 1960s and through the 1970s), noting that the youth unemployment rate was higher than the overall jobless rate, and that the overall rate was itself high.¹

The Trudeau government in 1974, given budgetary problems, shut down these programs but certain aspects of these pioneering initiatives still exist today. The programs are said to be *horizontal*, in the sense that there are a number of programs delivered by various line departments, typically headed up and coordinated by one large department.

The early programs had aspects of both being community-based (in that applications for job creation come from small business and NGOs up to the bureaucracy) and top-down, government-created (e.g., career-training jobs in science departments, parliamentary internships). Youth jobs were, and still are, categorized as both skills-based co-op jobs and short-term student summer employment.²

Today, Employment and Social Development Canada is the principal coordinating agency for the entire Youth Employment Strategy (YES) Program.³ The department itself runs three programs: the Career Focus, Skills Link, and Canada Summer Jobs programs. In addition, eight other line departments run smaller job experience programs: Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Global Affairs Canada, Canadian Heritage, Environment and Climate Change Canada, Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada, the National Research Council, Natural Resources Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, and Parks Canada. All of the programs are designed to provide skills, work experience, and employment to finance fall and winter schooling.

We emphasize here that our paper focuses only on the CSJ program, and not any of the other programs mentioned. The program's current version goes back at least to the 2007/08 fiscal year. Before 2014/15, this program was called the Summer Work Experience Program. The program spending was budgeted for between \$107.5M to \$111M, from 2007/08 to 2015/16.⁴ However, on Feb. 12, 2016, the Justin Trudeau government announced a more than doubling of CSJ program financing, from \$111M to \$241M, and the doubling of the number of jobs created.⁵ This announcement was in keeping with Trudeau's emphasis on helping Canada's youth.⁶





How the Canada Summer Jobs Program operates

The CSJ provides wage subsidies for non-profit groups and small businesses to create summer jobs for students between 15 and 30 years of age.⁷ The individual must be a full-time student registered in a high school or any post-secondary school. An unemployed student must be without work, looking for work during the previous four weeks, and be available for full-time work during the summer months.

The program establishes a set of assessment criteria to award additional consideration for projects that advance local students' skills, socioeconomic priorities, bilingualism, and affirmative action.

The program is open to a wide range of private-sector businesses (e.g., co-ops, self-employed persons, individual businesses and business associations, and private health and education institutions) and public-sector organizations (charities, municipalities, educational institutions, etc.). The federal government will pay up to 100 percent of a student's wage for non-profits, but only up to 50 percent of wages for government and private-sector employers. The standard set of labour rules applies for student jobs as with any other job.

Employment and Social Development Canada states that each application must adhere to seven broad criteria: community needs, regional economic priorities, relevance of work, salary levels, employer supervision, treatment of official-language minorities, and affirmative action.¹⁰

Each of the seven criteria follows a points system – more points are awarded if the application addresses priorities – that are used to evaluate each application. The federal government publishes the stated priorities for each of the 338 federal electoral districts.¹¹

Each member of Parliament compiles a list of socioeconomic priorities for his or her riding that are used in the above process.¹² Each federal electoral district has an approved budget, while MPs assist in screening applicants and decide on the final list of successful applicants. The Summer Jobs website itself states that the "Assessment of applications will be carried out on a constituency-by-constituency basis." ¹³ Employment Canada has the final say as to which applicants receive money. ¹⁴

Employment Canada posts online total budgetary approval amounts, and the number of jobs subsidized, per federal electoral district.





International context

In addition to Canada, many other developed Western countries have youth employment strategies, making it possible to provide some programming comparisons.

We have looked at the initiatives of four other countries. The United States' federal work study program differs primarily from Canada's in its emphasis on financial need only, 15 without the more varied qualification criteria in the CSJ program. Germany's system focuses more singly on experience that ties summer jobs to one's eventual career in what's called the vocational, education, and training (VET) model.

We also look at numbers from the Czech Republic and Ireland, two countries that have benefited from the European Union's Youth Guarantee initiative which aims to aid students in countries with high youth unemployment, implemented in 2013. That program ensures an offer of quality employment or continued schooling for citizens in the 15-to-24 demographic.¹⁶ Both countries have seen a drop in youth unemployment in this time, correlating with the Youth Guarantee program.

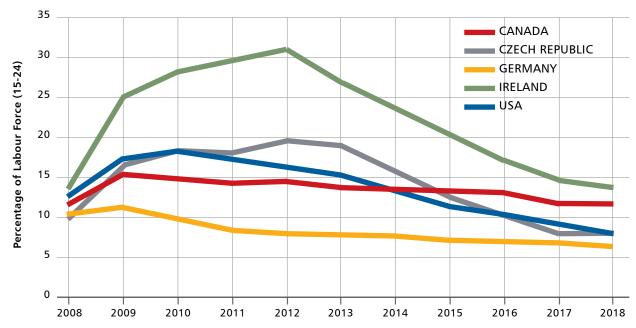


Figure 1: Youth Unemployment Rate, Ages 15-24

Based on the data that could be found on youth unemployment for these five countries, Canada and Germany have had the most stable rates of unemployment for people aged 15 to 24 from 2008 to 2018. Ireland has seen the sharpest drop but retains the highest rate of the five nations. Germany, meanwhile, consistently has the lowest rate.





Canada's relatively stagnant performance by this metric suggests that our country should investigate differences in programming, especially with the United States and Germany. The Trudeau government's doubling of the CSJ program in 2016 appears to have resulted in only a modest decline in the rate of unemployment for 15- to 24-year-olds.

We have not found information on the particular impacts of marginalized groups who are favoured under the Canadian system, but would point out that affirmative action likely has an effect on the overall reduction of youth unemployment through the program. We would recommend that government further investigate program goals and ensure funds are being dispersed as efficiently as possible, within the initiative's mandate.





Regional inequities in the Canada Summer Jobs Program

Our study of the CSJ program suggests that overall effectiveness in comparison to other countries is not the only concern. As well, there is a significant regional disparity in the allocation of funds for this program. Put simply, the federal government appears to treat regions quite differently when it comes to assigning subsidies for student summer jobs.

The chart below indicates the dollar amount Ottawa provides provincially, per unemployed student, according to data on unemployment gleaned from the Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey. Other metrics are also included in Table 2 in the Appendix for the period of 2016 to 2018.

We use the "number of unemployed students" as the principal criterion for comparing student job subsidies across provinces. When the federal government subsidizes a student job, Statistics Canada clearly defines that student as "employed." However, Statistics Canada, in its Labour Force Survey, defines a student as being "unemployed" if the student has no work, or has been looking for work during the previous three weeks.

Therefore, our measure has two pools of students – those employed and those unemployed. By calculating dollar subsidies per unemployed, we are measuring how successful the government is at assisting in putting students to work. A low measure (such as that for Alberta), indicates that the federal government is spending less in job subsidies as compared with those students in Atlantic Canada.

On a per-unemployed-student basis, each of the four Atlantic Provinces receives more than the national average, along with Quebec and British Columbia. Ontario and all three Prairie Provinces receive below the national average. In fact, Newfoundland and Labrador receives nearly four times the funding per student unemployed as Ontario. New Brunswick, meanwhile, receives nearly three times the funding as Alberta, the province that receives the least.

Even within the Atlantic Provinces, funding differences are apparent. For instance, Newfoundland and Labrador enjoys considerably more per-unemployed-student funding than Nova Scotia, even though Nova Scotia has a higher youth unemployment rate, and even though Newfoundland and Labrador enjoys a stronger economy with faster GDP growth.





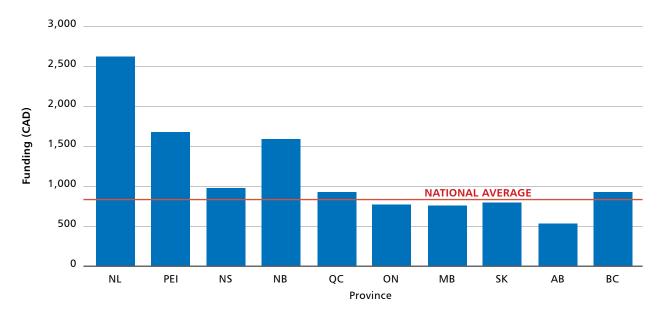


Figure 2: Funding Per Student Unemployed, 2016-18 Average

These are curious differences. The CSJ program has a stated objective to "help young people between the ages of 15 and 30, particularly those facing barriers to employment, get the information and gain the skills, work experience and abilities they need to transition successfully into the labour market." In other words, it is not set up as a program with a regional goal in mind.

This evokes the age-old discussion concerning the grounds of federal aid programs: Should they be designed to create prosperity in particular places, or should they be national, person-centric initiatives that help all Canadians?¹⁷ While there are examples of programs designed specifically to address regional differences in economic performance, the government's language clearly suggests that the CSJ program is a "person prosperity" policy, rather than a "place prosperity" policy.

Given the weaker economies of the Atlantic Provinces compared to the rest of the country – a reality supported by higher general unemployment rates in this part of Canada – it would make sense that the overall allocation to these provinces would be larger than to its western counterparts. But on a per-unemployed-student basis, the wide gaps in funding don't follow the person-prosperity concept. In theory, a student in need of federal assistance in a wealthy province should be treated no differently than the same student in a poorer province.

It also appears as if changes to funding amounts over time do not jibe with changes in youth unemployment by province. Following an Access to Information Request, we received the numbers used to calculate the previous chart for the 2014-15 period for all provinces except British Columbia. In turn, we have compared the change in relative per-student-unemployed funding for the 2014-15 and the 2016-18 periods,





indexing the nine-province average (i.e., excluding B.C.) to 100. A number greater than 100 (shown in the graph below in blue) represents greater than proportional support from the program.

\$700 \$600 \$500 Funding (CAD) \$400 \$300 2016-18 2014-16 \$200 2014-16 2016-18 2016-18 2016-18 2014-1 2014-1 \$100 \$0 NLPEI NS NB QC ON SK MB AΒ Province

Figure 3: Funding Per Student Unemployed, Indexed 9 Province Average=100

It appears as if the program changes in 2016, with greater federal support for the CSJ program, brought changes in the proportional allocations of funds. And while each of the Atlantic Provinces saw a reduction in its proportional share overall, so too did the three Prairie Provinces. It turns out that Ontario was the only region to see its share increase, even though it still remains below the national average (again, that average excludes B.C.)

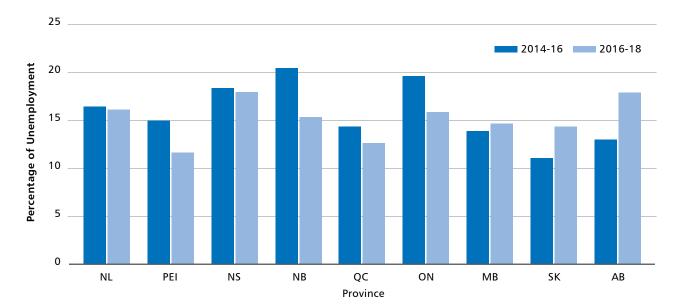
This is a strange outcome given the trends of student unemployment in the two periods covered. The chart below shows the change from 2014-15 and 2016-18 for the nine provinces surveyed. In each of the Prairie Provinces, student unemployment increased between 2014-15 and 2016-18. Yet each of these provinces' share of subsidies under the CSJ program declined. Meanwhile, Ontario's share increased while its youth unemployment rate went down.

In Atlantic Canada, each province's share of overall funding relative to the number of unemployed students declined, even though the region's proportional share of funding remains well above the national average. Only Nova Scotia's share is smaller than any non-Atlantic province.





Figure 4: Student Unemployment Rate, May to August 2014-16 and 2016-18







Regional federal subsidies in context

We are concerned that the CSJ program's disparate funding on a provincial basis contributes to a sense of unfairness among federation members when it comes to the generosity of federal subsidies. The western provinces, especially Alberta, have long complained that the East Coast receives too much in federal transfers – originating in tax dollars from across the country – relative to the Atlantic Provinces' economic capacity and quality of social services.

Equalization, which forms one of Ottawa's three main unconditional grants for provinces, is one of the chief sources of government revenue for the Maritime provinces. Prince Edward Island, for instance, receives 19 percent of its annual provincial budgeted revenue from equalization alone, and 39 percent from federal transfers.¹⁸

On a per-person basis, Atlantic Canada receives 2.5 times the national average on equalization funding, even though one of the four Atlantic Provinces is not eligible to receive equalization. Four provinces – Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and B.C. – did not receive any equalization money in 2018.

3,000 2,500 2,000 Funding (CAD) ATLANTIC CANADA AVERAGE 1,500 1,000 500 NATIONAL AVERAGE PEI NS NB OC ON MB SK AΒ BC Province

Figure 5: Equalization Payments Per Capita 2018





However, a more instructive metric is arguably the EI program which, like equalization, delivers far more to the Atlantic Provinces as a whole on a per capita basis than the rest of the country. Like the CSJ program, employment insurance is not specifically intended as a regional prosperity program.

And yet, as the chart below shows, EI claims in this region significantly outstep the national average. Newfoundland and Labrador takes in more than four times the national average of EI money on this basis. Even Nova Scotia, which has the lightest EI burden in the region, receives nearly double the national average in claims when adjusted per capita.

2,500 2,000 Funding (CAD) 1,500 ATLANTIC CANADA AVERAGE 1,000 500 NATIONAL AVERAGE 0 NL PEI NS NB QC ON MB SK ΑB BC Province

Figure 6: El Benefits Per Capita 2018

While there is no doubt that Newfoundland and Labrador, New Brunswick, P.E.I., and Nova Scotia are in a worse economic position than provinces to the west, the gulf in dependence is significant. And if Newfoundland and Labrador ends up becoming eligible for equalization payments again, this will further widen the gap between the average transfers received across the country and in Atlantic Canada.





Conclusion

Tying together the argument made thus far in our paper, we believe the federal government needs to recalibrate the national summer jobs program in a way that makes funding to students more uniform across the country.

We make this argument for three reasons. First, we see little relationship between the allocation of funds under this program and relevant economic circumstances, such as student unemployment rates. It does not appear as if funding levels to provinces track with changes in these circumstances, and so we are puzzled at how the program can treat regions and students fairly under its current model.

Second, it is clear that there is already a high degree of political involvement in decision-making on funding. Local MPs get to play a central role in choosing the economic factors prioritized by the program and in the projects that are ultimately subsidized. Yet we question how well this arrangement can achieve the national-level aims of lowering youth unemployment and preparing more students for the labour market, and whether there is a danger of the program becoming a type of political pork-barrel policy for local MPs.

Third, it is clear to us that Atlantic Canada needs to develop a better relationship with the provinces who provide so much annual funding through different federal transfers. While it is certainly arguable that programs like EI and equalization are supportable, the Maritimes in particular have become excessively dependent on federal money to sustain their government budgets every year. And EI payouts, based on a system that makes eligibility easier and benefits longer in Atlantic Canada, provide another significant subsidy.

The generosity of these programs breeds resentment in the rest of Canada, particularly in Alberta and Saskatchewan, which have seen economic decline in the past half-decade. A new generation of Conservative political leaders, including Saskatchewan Premier Scott Moe and Alberta Premier Jason Kenney, are again questioning the status quo, with Kenney calling for a referendum on equalization.

We acknowledge that the CSJ program is much smaller than the billions transferred through the equalization and EI programs. But provincial-specific data on summer jobs are publicly available (the vast majority of federal spending data are not available), and in this paper we do show that spending in this small program is tilted towards Atlantic Canada. Moreover, students hunting for short-term work in the summer generally have no access to EI.





At the same time, Atlantic Canada is hardly out of the proverbial woods economically. For governments, the weight of an aging population will likely mean even greater need for support from Ottawa in the future, rather than the greater independence and economic self-sufficiency that we would prefer to see take hold in this region.

Advocating a change in how the CSJ program is operated would likely see less money come to the Atlantic Provinces for this initiative. But it would also be an important signal to the western provinces that Atlantic Canada is willing to recognize where there are inequities in funding, and that the region is willing to accept changes to those programs where needed.

If the CSJ program is going to be a politicized subsidy policy, with MPs having a large say in who gets money at the local level and with the national government including its own political preferences in the program, it should at least be one that treats all regions and provinces fairly.

We would point out that Canada already employs the system of regional equity in one of the largest and more consequential transfers: national health funding. That subsidy, provided annually to the provinces to provide health services in accordance with the *Canada Health Act*, is allocated on an equal per capita basis (though the cash component does adjust for the value of provincial tax points).

One could argue that the Prairie Provinces have richer provincial governments than is the case with the Maritime provinces, and that the former governments could afford to (and indeed may) have their own student job subsidy programs.

In our short study, we do not investigate the existence and size of provincial summer jobs programs. But as we discuss above, Canada has a fully funded equalization program which equalizes provincial government spending power across poor and rich provinces alike. As such, and as we state, the separate federal jobs funding program should treat provinces equally.

A related argument is that of student family incomes. Students living in the three Prairie Provinces have higher family incomes than students in Atlantic Canada, particularly in the Maritimes. We did not gather student income data, but we can speculate that unemployed students in the West come from families with relatively higher incomes than would be the case in the Maritimes.

But, as discussed above, student family incomes are not a criterion for job creation within a federal electoral riding. Having said that, and following our discussion as to the federal government favouring Atlantic Canada in many spending programs, federal bureaucrats administering the summer jobs program may have tilted more spending to Atlantic Canada, given this reason. We argue in this paper, however, that unemployed students across Canada should be treated equally (following horizontal equity, to use the jargon of public finance economists).





Against the tide of pressures on the federation, which emanate from regional resentments caused in part by different levels of funding, we think it makes sense to include regional equity in the CSJ program. This would make the program fair to all regions and remove some of the politics from a policy that is intended to help students from across the country get to work.

Available online:

Addendum: Canada Summer Jobs Data From Atlantic Canada, By Federal Riding





Appendix

The Appendix shows our data construction and sources of data for the seven data tables in this study that were used to make the charts. We display and discuss each table in turn.

Table 1: 2018 Canada Student Jobs Data, per Student Population and Unemployed, by Province and Canada (2018)

Province	Dollars per student population	Dollars per student unemployed	No. of sub. jobs per student population	No. of sub. jobs per 1,000 students unemployed
Newfoundland & Labrador	\$ 255	\$ 2,856	104	1,165
Prince Edward Island	137	2,138	49	767
Nova Scotia	121	1,104	44	404
New Brunswick	161	1,882	61	711
Quebec	82	1,174	29	416
Ontario	66	773	1	236
Manitoba	60	753	22	275
Saskatchewan	62	582	25	234
Alberta	57	530	18	171
British Columbia	64	1,048	20	335
Canada	72	812	25	276

Source: Calculated data from Employment Canada and Statistics Canada.

Table 1: We obtained the raw Canada Summer Jobs Program spending, and the data on the number of jobs created, from the Employment Canada website.¹⁹ We converted these data into per-student numbers, in order to compare the summer jobs program initiatives across provinces. We first experimented with total population, and unemployment, of all individuals aged 15 to 30, but we feel the special Labour Force Survey of students represents intended Employment Canada policy more closely,²⁰ since the job subsidy program is meant for students in high school and higher education institutions.

Employment Canada does publish spending and job-subsidized statistics for the three northern territories. However, we omit any analysis of the three territories, since the Labour Force Survey does not publish data for the territories. Also, the Labour Force





Survey of students is only conducted for the summer months – May through August inclusive – with no data available during other months. Many students hold part-time jobs during the traditional academic year, but this activity is not captured in our data. We used the student survey because the jobs program is intended, and is conducted, during the summer months only.

Table 2: Canada Student Jobs Data, per Student Population and Unemployed, by Province and Canada (2016-2018 Averages)

Province	Dollars per student population	Dollars per student unemployed	No. of sub. jobs per student population	No. of sub. jobs per 1,000 students unemployed
Newfoundland & Labrador	\$ 251	\$ 2,616	102	1,069
Prince Edward Island	141	1,676	51	603
Nova Scotia	113	983	40	350
New Brunswick	156	1,580	57	580
Quebec	80	961	27	321
Ontario	64	689	22	243
Manitoba	62	677	19	212
Saskatchewan	65	730	22	245
Alberta	59	540	18	163
British Columbia	60	938	18	284
Canada	72	812	25	276

Source: Calculated data from Employment Canada and Statistics Canada.

Table 2: We obtained corresponding Employment Canada spending, and jobs subsidized, for 2016 and 2017.²¹ We then averaged these numbers with our 2018 figures and divided the results with 2016-2018 averages from the Labour Force Survey of students. The results in Table 2 are analogous to the results in Table 1.





Table 3: Canada Student Jobs Data, per Student Population and Unemployed, by Province and Canada (2014 and 2015 Averages)

Province	Dollars per student population	Dollars per student unemployed	No. of sub. jobs per student population	No. of sub. jobs per 1,000 students unemployed
Newfoundland & Labrador	\$ 200	\$ 2,013	83	842
Prince Edward Island	95	825	29	256
Nova Scotia	69	647	26	241
New Brunswick	118	915	43	336
Quebec	42	409	14	132
Ontario	26	285	9	85
Manitoba	40	463	9	106
Saskatchewan	35	447	9	115
Alberta	35	371	9	93
British Columbia	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Canada	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Calculated data from Employment Canada and Statistics Canada.

Table 3: Employment Canada does not publish available summer jobs data for the years prior to 2016. Therefore, on Oct. 18, 2018 we undertook a formal Access-to-Information Request (ATIR) to Employment Canada for corresponding summer jobs data for 2013 to 2015 inclusive, to use as a basis of comparison with the more recent numbers. In response, Employment Canada said that they had no provincial data for 2003, but did give us available figures for 2014 and 2015 by federal riding and province. Unfortunately, these data, classified as ATIR A-2018-02534, included statistics for only three federal ridings in British Columbia, making any analysis of that province impossible. Also, the data furnished to us included no estimates for the Canada total. Consequently, we put "n/a" to denote that these numbers are not available for the researchers.

We calculate the results in Table 3 completely analogously as for Tables 1 and 2, with the 2014 and 2015 numbers averaged.





Table 4: Canada Student Jobs Data, per Student Population and Unemployed, by Province and Canada, Indexed to the "9-province excl. B.C." Average, Using 2016-2018 Data*

Province	Dollars per student population	Dollars per student unemployed	No. of sub. jobs per student population	No. of sub. jobs per 1,000 students unemployed
Newfoundland & Labrador	\$ 392	\$ 331	410	93
Prince Edward Island	192	212	203	222
Nova Scotia	154	124	161	129
New Brunswick	212	200	229	213
Quebec	109	121	107	118
Ontario	87	87	90	89
Manitoba	85	86	78	78
Saskatchewan	89	92	88	90
Alberta	80	68	71	60
British Columbia	82	119	73	104
Canada	99	103	98	101
9-province average excl. B.C.	100	100	100	100

^{*} These data are calculated by taking the per-student data from Table #2, and dividing each of these numbers by the respective "9-province average excluding B.C." number. For example, the "192" data-point for P.E.I.'s \$-per-student-population says that P.E.I. receives slightly less than twice the "9-province average excl. B.C.," for this variable.

Source: Calculated data, based on data from Table 2.





Table 5: Canada Student Jobs Data, per Student Population and Unemployed, by Province and Canada, Indexed to the "9-province excl. B.C." Average, 2014 and 2015 Data*

Province	Dollars per student population	Dollars per student unemployed	No. of sub. jobs per student population	No. of sub. jobs per 1,000 students unemployed
Newfoundland & Labrador	\$ 511	\$ 577	621	720
Prince Edward Island	252	245	228	227
Nova Scotia	190	174	195	184
New Brunswick	254	207	231	194
Quebec	111	123	103	117
Ontario	69	62	74	68
Manitoba	137	118	126	159
Saskatchewan	96	149	70	111
Alberta	90	111	85	82
British Columbia	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Canada	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
9-province average excl. B.C.	100	100	100	100

^{*} These data are calculated by taking the per-student data from Table #2, and dividing each of these numbers by the respective "9-province average excluding B.C." number. For example, the "252" data-point for P.E.I.'s Dollars-per-student-population says that P.E.I. receives two-and-a-half the "9-province average excl. B.C.," for this variable.

Source: Calculated data, based on data from Table 2.

Tables 4 and 5: All the numbers in these two tables are calculated using numbers from Tables 2 and 3. As discussed in the text, we want to show how relative spending in each of the provinces moved – from the 2014-2015 period to the 2016-2018 period.

To do this, we computed a nine-province average for each of the two periods, and arbitrarily indexed the two averages to 100. We then calculated corresponding indexes for each province – where an index greater than 100 represents spending greater than the nine-province average, and vice versa for an index less than 100.





Table 6: Average Unemployment Rates, All Individuals, for the 2014-2015 and 2016-2018 Time Periods, as a Percentage

Province	2014-15	2016-18	Direction of Change*
Newfoundland and Labrador	12.4%	13.7%	Increasing
Prince Edward Island	10.5	9.9	Decreasing
Nova Scotia	8.8	8.2	Decreasing
New Brunswick	9.9	8.7	Decreasing
Quebec	7.7	6.4	Decreasing
Ontario	7.1	6.2	Decreasing
Manitoba	5.5	5.6	Unchanged
Saskatchewan	4.4	5.6	Increasing
Alberta	5.4	6.6	Increasing
British Columbia	6.2	5.3	Decreasing
Canada	6.9	6.3	Decreasing

^{*} This column states how the unemployment rate for all individuals changed from the 2014-2015 years to the 2015-2016 time periods. For example, the Alberta total unemployment rate increased from 5.4 percent to 6.6 percent over the two time periods.

Source: Calculated data from Statistics Canada.

Table 6: Statistics Canada, through its Labour Force Survey, publishes various annual labour force numbers by province. We used raw unemployment rate data,²² and averaged the numbers for the respective years to obtain the results shown in this table.





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