

How has Canada's economic centre changed since the Great Depression?

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Abstract: This paper seeks to identify and track movements in Canada's economic centre of gravity (ECG). To do so, a simple weighted mean centre approach is applied to a novel dataset containing long-run estimates of household income figures at the provincial-level. The analysis reveals that from 1926 to 2013, there has been a net westward shift in Canada's ECG of 204 km. Within this broad shift, we identify six distinct moments during which major historical realignments have occurred, including a significant west to east realignment during the Great Depression years and two important east to west shifts during the energy driven resource booms of the 1970s and post-2000 period.

Key words: Canada's economic centre of gravity; long-run provincial time series; westward shift.

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1. Introduction

It has often been said that if some countries have too much history, Canada has too much geography¹. In 1923, Mackintosh was one of the first to claim that scholars needed to pay more attention to the geographic and economic factors shaping the country's history. To understand the course of its westward progression, he argued, we need to pay particular attention to the role played by the production and export of staples. A decade later, this idea would feature prominently in Innis' (1933) work who argued that much of Canadian economic history could be understood as a series of staples exploitation with different regions of the country developing at different times. Each wave of staples exploitation was characterized by its own distinct patterns of settlement, linkages to other economic activities, interactions with the centre and set of institutional arrangements (Brodie 1989). Innis' staples theory would go on to have a profound impact on political economy and debates about regional development in Canada (see, for instance, Watkins 1963; Economic Council of Canada 1977; Brodie 1989; Savoie 1992; Barnes et al. 2001).

Questions about the shifting political economic landscape of Canada have resurfaced of late following the post-2000 energy driven resource boom. In *Looking West*, Berdahl and Gibbins (2014) argue that after decades of transformative changes (e.g., globalization, technological innovation, resource development, immigration and demographic ageing) the economic and political map of Canada has been redrawn with everything now increasingly tipping towards the west. Bricker and Ibbitson (2013) talk about a *Big Shift* to describe similar changes in Canada's socio-economic and political landscape. Whether we like it or not, they argue, what was once a country that was mainly part of the Atlantic world is now increasingly becoming part of the Pacific world.

To document such a westward shift, the literature has relied on a battery of different economic indicators that usually show an increase in the relative strength of western provincial economies compared to the rest of Canada. Quoting from Bricker and Ibbitson (2013, p.92), for instance, "[i]n 1985, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia collectively accounted for 32 percent of Canada's gross domestic product (GDP). In 2010, the figure was 36 percent." Other studies point to western Canada's more dynamic labour markets (with lower unemployment rates and higher participation rates than the national average), faster population growth, slower aging demographic, higher levels of private capital investments and a rising proportion of corporate head offices (Beckstead and Brown 2006; Ray et al. 2013; Siddiq and Babins 2013). In the end, the evidence converges towards a commonly held view: the westward shift in the country's economic centre of gravity has been a steady drift now decades old (Berdahl and Gibbins 2014).

Yet where exactly is Canada's economic centre of gravity (ECG) and just how far west has it shifted over time? We seek to answer this question by employing a simple mean centre approach, a technique borrowed from population geographers who have long used it to track changes in a country's population distribution. The real novelty here is that the mean centre approach we adopt is applied to a new dataset that provides long-term estimates of provincial-level household income figures from 1926 to

¹ This notion was popularized in a speech by Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King to the House of Commons back in 1936.

2013 (Baldwin and Macdonald 2012; Macdonald 2015)². Identifying the ECG and tracking changes in its direction and extent of movement over such a long period of time provides a new way of exploring and interpreting some of the underlying forces that have shaped Canada's economic history.

Overall, we find that the country's ECG shifted from east to west by about 204 km over the 1926 to 2013 period. Though the predominant direction of change is indeed towards the west, we identify six distinct moments during which there have been major historical 'realignments' in the country's ECG reflecting changes in the industrial structure and trade activities of different regions. Among these, we find three periods of west to east movements (the single largest one associated with the Great Depression years) and three predominant east to west shifts (including the resource-booms of the 1970s and post-2000 era).

The paper begins by providing a brief literature review of mean centre point applications to geography. In section 3, we outline the methodological foundations of the paper. In section 4, we present the results of our analysis. We offer concluding observations in section 5.

2. Measuring geographic centres: A brief overview of the literature

There is a long history in geography of using mean centre points to summarize and track how the spatial distribution of an area's population changes over time. In 1874, the US Census Bureau published one of the earliest attempts to determine the country's centre of population. Defined as the centre of gravity of the country's population, it was also described as its 'balance point' where an imaginary, flat, weightless and rigid map of the United States would balance perfectly if everyone counted in the census were of identical weight (US Census Bureau 2011; Plane and Rogerson 2015). Since then, with every decennial census, movements in this balance point (or the 'average location' of the population as Hayford (1902) alternatively referred to) have been tracked to study the history of settlement patterns in the US and to summarize the spatial patterns of the components of population change (i.e., births, deaths, immigration and emigration). Considerable media attention is given to the publication of this location (Aboufadel and Austin 2006) and it is often listed in popular almanacs and statistical abstracts of various kinds (Rogerson 2015)³.

Given that there is no generally agreed definition of a geographic centre, it is not surprising that there is much debate as to how it should be determined (Barmore 1993; Aboufadel and Austin 2006; Rogerson 2015). The main points of contention here usually involve the choice of map projection by which to transform and represent different positions from the Earth's three-dimensional curved surface to a two-dimensional (flat) surface (Rogerson 2015 provides a nice summary of this debate).

Recent debates over the impact of globalization and, in particular, the emergence of China as an economic superpower have also led economists to appropriate the concept of a centre of gravity in order to describe the world's shifting distribution of economic activity. Using a three-dimensional projection (where the origin is given by the Earth's core) and national GDP figures allocated to 392 cities across the globe, Grether and Mathys (2009) locate the world's economic centre of gravity (WECG) in the mid-1970s just beneath the north-eastern coast of Iceland. By the mid-2000s, their calculations

² The lack of a consistent and continuous time series on household income figures below the national-level is arguably one of the reasons such an empirical exercise was not carried out earlier.

³ Although it has not received as much media attention in Canada, the *Globe and Mail* (see Jackman 2011) and *Maclean's* (see Campbell 2015) did run stories recently about the geographical centre of the country.

show that the WECG had shifted eastward to Spitzbergen, an island part of the Svalbard archipelago off the northern coast of Norway roughly 1990 km from Iceland. Using a similar approach with a more extensive dataset (which includes national GDP figures for a larger set of cities along with rural proxies as well), Quah (2011) finds that the WECG shifted approximately 4800 km eastward, from a location in the mid-Atlantic Ocean in 1980 to somewhere close Izmir (Turkey) by 2008. Extrapolating forward to 2050, Quah (2011) also predicts that the WECG will continue to shift east to eventually lie somewhere between India and China.

Similar analysis has yet to be undertaken for Canada at the sub-national level. We now turn our attention to the methods adopted for calculating the country's ECG.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data sources

The primary economic data used for our analysis come from Statistics Canada's newly developed long-run estimates of economic variables for provinces (see Table 384-5000). This dataset, originally compiled to examine patterns of convergence across Canadian provinces (see Brown and Macdonald, 2015), links three different vintages of data from the Canadian System of National Accounts to provide a unique time series of historical estimates for household income and consumer prices that spans from 1926 to 2013. From a methodological point of view, given that definitions and concepts vary across vintages, the challenge in producing such a time series lies in how the data sources are linked. Here, the historical estimates are linked based on their growth rates: figures from the latest national accounts are projected back through time using the growth rates of the historical estimates going back to 1926. The advantage of using growth rates (and not regressions) to back-cast through time is that the magnitude of historical events can be preserved (for more details, see Macdonald 2015).

In terms of the national accounts framework, estimates for the aggregate value of provincial economic activity are based on household income measures. More specifically, household income estimates are defined as the sum of compensation to employees, net mixed income and net property income. Both nominal and real estimates of household income are examined. Although historical estimates for consumer price indexes (CPIs) are not available by province, they are for major urban centers across the country. City-specific CPIs are thus applied to provincial income estimates to produce real income series (expressed in \$2002)⁴.

Using these long-term estimates, we also extrapolate the data by fitting a simple exponential curve to project where the ECG will locate beyond 2013. To do this, the exponential trend is calculated for each individual province's household income level based on the latest 17 years of data and then re-estimated each year between 2013 and 2031. In extrapolating the data, we are fully aware that such predictions of long-term economic trends are fraught with uncertainty, especially given the precarious boom-and-bust nature of resource-intensive industries with the volatility of world commodity prices.

⁴ Note that CPIs for Halifax, Saint John, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Vancouver are available from 1926 to 2013. The CPI for St. John's is only available from 1952 onwards thus the average of Halifax and Saint John is used as a proxy for the 1949 to 1951 period. Likewise, the CPI for Charlottetown is only available from 1974 onwards (here, Saint John is the reference for 1926 to 1973).

3.2. Calculating the economic centre of gravity

Canada's economic centre of gravity (ECG) is calculated using the weighted mean center of the X and Y coordinates associated with the centroids of each province. More formally, the ECG is defined as:

$$\bar{X}_t = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n HI_{it}X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n HI_{it}}, \quad \bar{Y}_t = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n HI_{it}Y_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n HI_{it}},$$

where X_i and Y_i represent the longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates of each province's centroid ($n = 10$ provinces) and HI_{it} the household income level of each province (i.e., its relative economic 'weight') at time t (1926 to 2013). The location of the mean centre will, of course, depend on how it is projected on a two-dimensional surface. Here, we use the cartographic boundary files produced by Statistics Canada which are portrayed in Lambert conformal conic projection and are based on the North American Datum of 1983. As these boundary files depict the standard geographic areas with the shoreline of the major land mass of Canada and its coastal islands, they provide good directional and shape relationships for generating representative points in the mid-latitudes that have a mainly east-to-west extent. In other words, areal distortions, in terms of scale and distance, are minimized throughout the region of interest and will only increase as we move away from the standard parallels (Statistics Canada, 2012 and 2015 for more details).

For analytical purposes, the XY coordinates of each province's centroid were delineated in two different ways. The first approach we used is based on the common *geographic centroid* of a province, that is the XY point location representing its geographic centre (i.e., the point at which a physical cut-out of the shape of each province on a flat 2-dimensional map would be perfectly balanced on the top of a pin). As an alternative to the geographic centre of each province, our second set of centroid coordinates is based on the XY centroid location of each province's largest metropolitan area (according to 2013 population estimates, see Table 1)⁵. The rationale is that these metropolitan areas represent the largest economic centres of activities in each province (add reference to urban economic centres of activity in Canada).

[Table 1]

4. Results: Mapping the westward shift in Canada's ECG

Figure 1 presents the first map of Canada's ECG based on the geographic centroids of provinces. To facilitate the tracking and interpretation of movements in the country's ECG, key dates are identified along with major historical shifts in the inset map (see also the timeline presented in Table 2).

Taken as a whole, the predominance of Canada's westward shift is clearly visible on this map. In 1926, Canada's ECG was located at a latitude of 52°13'N and longitude of 89°05'W in the northwest corner of the province of Ontario. Specifically, the centre was located on a small remote island off Totogan Lake, roughly 416 km due north of Thunder Bay (the nearest community, some 44 km east, is Neskantaga First Nation – formerly known as Lansdowne House – on the shores of Attawapiskat Lake). By 2013, Canada's ECG was located at a latitude of 52°43'N and longitude of 92°01'W, a point close to Windigo Lake approximately 211 km east of the Manitoba border. In terms of distances, the ECG has thus shifted a net 204 km from east to west and 55 km from south to north.

⁵ ArcMap's Calculate Geometry tool was used to find the centroids for provinces and their largest metropolitan areas.

[Figure 1 and Table 2]

Perhaps even more interesting, however, are the six major changes in direction that occurred within this time frame. The *first major shift* observed takes place from 1926 to 1931 as the ECG moves from west to east by roughly 114 km. More to the point, the bulk of this shift occurred between 1928 and 1931 as the Canadian economy was swept into the world-wide downswing of the Great Depression. Although no region was spared (by 1933, one-fifth of the Canadian labour force was without work; see Safarian 2009), the impact of the decline was uneven across the country and the Prairie Provinces were the hardest hit. At the time, the composition of the Canadian economy was still heavily tilted towards agricultural production (see Figure 2). Wheat and wheat flour were the country's leading exports, accounting for as much as 50% of the world's total wheat exports in the late 1920s (Easterbrook and Aitken 1975). As prices for these commodities collapsed on world markets, together with a mix of flawed production technologies and poor weather conditions, the Prairie Provinces, where the proportion of the receipts from agricultural export production were highest, suffered the most severe drop in incomes (Safarian 2009, p.84).

[Figure 2]

The decline associated with the Great Depression continued until 1933 when the level of annual real GDP reached its low point, down 28% from its pre-depression level in 1929 (Cross and Bergevin 2012). Although it is difficult to speak of a recovery, this period of time does signal the beginning of a turnaround corresponding to the *second directional shift* in the ECG. Exports began to rise again as prices for key commodities stabilized and previously imposed restrictions on international trade were eased between Canada and its main trading partners (with the UK following the 1932 Ottawa Agreements and the US in a series of treaties signed in the mid-1930s providing some concessions to the severe duties under the Smoot-Hawley act). Growth in the forestry sector (pulp and paper in particular) resumed and the 1934 passing of the Gold Reserve Act in the US (which saw the nominal price of gold re-evaluated from \$20.67 to \$35 per ounce) led to a gold rush in Canada which propelled the non-ferrous mining sector forward. All told, the country's ECG shifted from east to west by about 53 km during this slow and – what Safarian (2009) has referred to as – incomplete recovery. This westward shift would progress by another 64 km from 1939 to 1948, as WWII saw the Canadian economy 'retooled' to meet the industrial demands of the war effort. Traditional agricultural related production expanded, as did metals and manufacturing industries primarily concentrated in Central Canada.

The *third directional shift* took place from 1948 to 1950 as the province of Newfoundland joined Confederation (officially at midnight on March 31st, 1949). Fisheries, and especially cod, were the primary staple of the provincial economy at the time although the pulp and paper and mining industries were beginning to take-off. When Newfoundland joined Canada, the country's ECG moved roughly 44 km eastward.

Interestingly, the period stretching from 1950 to 1970, which can be described as one of robust and sustained economic growth (Nicholson 2003; Norrie et al. 2007), is also characterized by very little movement in the nation's ECG (barely 1 km in net total movement). For much of the 1950s, natural resources developments and exports continued their expansion. Mining related activities grew rapidly in Quebec (asbestos, gold, copper and lead), Ontario (iron ore, nickel, cobalt), Manitoba (nickel), and Saskatchewan (uranium and new discoveries of potash deposits). Aluminum production was also expanded in Quebec's Saguenay region and in Kitimat, British Columbia, to serve the fast growing world

aviation industry (Baldwin and Macdonald, 2012). The discovery of crude oil at Leduc, Alberta, in 1947 also marked the beginning of a new era which would eventually see oil and gas activities supplant agriculture as the province's primary industry (more on this below).

The short distance oscillations of the ECG continued throughout the 1960s as the rapid expansion of the country's manufacturing sector forged ahead (this was the heyday of postwar Fordism), especially to the benefit of the Canadian heartland where the growing concentration of US branch plants played a prominent role (Courchene and Telmer 1998; Wallace 2002). 1965 was an especially pivotal year as the Canada-US Auto Pact came into effect. A good example of 'managed trade' (i.e., targeted towards the specific removal of tariffs on new vehicles and original equipment parts between the two countries), the Auto Pact would significantly alter the country's trade patterns which still remained dominated by natural resources (even though their relative importance had gradually fallen over time, see Figure 2)⁶. The growth of the aerospace, telecommunications and pharmaceutical industries which are predominantly located around the Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa metropolitan areas, also explains the lack of movement in the country's ECG at the time.

The *fourth major realignment* of the Canadian ECG came in the 1970s decade and can be explained by two major events. On the one hand, western Canada was increasingly feeling the pull of Japan's rapidly growing economy (which had become the world's second largest economy) and its thirst for natural resources. Mining activities and pulp and paper mills in British Columbia, in particular, benefited from the surge in demand from the Asian market (Bradbury 1978). The other major development at the time was on the energy front. While Alberta was already enjoying steady income growth from its oil and gas industries (following the construction of a series of pipelines in the 1950s and the 1961 National Oil Policy which ensured a market for its energy resources), the oil shocks of the 1970s fuelled further growth. Domestic oil production, buoyed by the 1973 OPEC embargo (which saw the price of Brent crude rise from \$2.48 per barrel in 1972 to US\$11.58 per barrel in 1974), hit peak output of 114 million cubic meters in 1973 (or roughly 1.96 million barrels per day, a level not seen again before the mid-1990s)⁷ before levelling off to an average of 90.4 million cubic meters over the remainder of the decade. This surge in production is clearly visible in Figure 2, and coincides with the first true energy boom in Canada which translated in a 128 km westward shift in the ECG from 1970 to 1981.

The following decade saw a *fifth major directional* change take place. After rapid escalations in 1973 and 1979, world oil prices returned to lower and more stable levels by the early 1980s. Combined with the National Energy Program, which encouraged greater Canadian ownership of the oil industry and capped the domestic price for oil below international prices, fewer investments in large scale projects in Alberta slowed the development in the sector. At the same time, Canada's manufacturing base was restructuring. In Ontario, billions in new capital investments poured into the auto sector as it adjusted to greater competition from Japanese automakers (Holmes 1996). Other technology intensive activities (e.g., aerospace, biotechnology, and telecommunications) also expanded with more and more R&D also coming from the service sector (e.g., software design and development, producer services, engineering and scientific services) (Britton 1996). This amalgam of economic developments translated into a 63 km shift of the ECG back towards the east.

⁶ Up through the early 1960s, agriculture, forestry, non-ferrous metals and non-metallic minerals still accounted for 80% of all Canadian exports (Baldwin and Macdonald 2012).

⁷ CANSIM Tables 126-0001 and 126-0002.

Since then, however, the country's ECG has steadily been moving westward. From 1988 to 2013, the ECG moved from east to west by a total of 179 km. Within this broad *sixth shift*, we can identify two distinct periods. First, while moving some 67 km west, the ECG during the 1990s also slightly tilted from north to south by some 3 km. While this may appear to be trivial, it is not since it represents one of the few times the ECG has drifted from its gradual, though consistent, south to north progression since the post-war years. In many ways, it signaled the continuation of a southward realignment in the ECG which began in the late 1980s with the implementation of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (1988) and its successor NAFTA (1994). By 1999, this trend had resorbed itself though the east to west shift also came to a halt as output from new energy projects were coming on-line in the east (the Hibernia off-shore oil field in Newfoundland and gas production from Sable Island in Nova Scotia).

The second distinct movement corresponds to the 112 km westward shift that occurred over the 2000 to 2013 period. After the 1970s, this represents the second largest movement in the ECG since 1926 and again, it can be attributed to another energy resource boom in Western Canada (see Figure 2). Throughout the 1990s, the growth of the iron, steel, auto and aircraft sectors had largely overshadowed that of the energy sector such that the share of exports attributable to natural resources had fallen to its lowest point on record (36% in 1999) (Baldwin and Macdonald 2012). With the rapid growth of non-conventional oil resources in Alberta during the 2000s, now Canada's primary source of oil, and an expansion of natural gas activities in nearby Saskatchewan and British Columbia, the decline had reversed itself and the share of resources in exports raised again to 53% by 2010. Given such a post-2000 resource boom⁸, it is no wonder a growing number of economists have sought to explain the so-called 'natural resource curse' (e.g., Cross 2008; Boyce and Emery 2011)!

As a final remark regarding Figure 1, the dashed-line shown in the inset map traces the projected movement of the country's ECG from 2013 to 2031. Though it is based on a simple exponential trend fitted to the latest provincial household income figures, the projected trajectory of the ECG is clear: it should continue to move westward by another 164 km by 2031.

[Figure 3]

Our discussion has focused on the movement of Canada's ECG as it is defined by the geographic centroids of provinces. Figure 3 maps an alternate ECG using the XY centroid location of each province's largest metropolitan area instead. The striking feature here is that the ECG lands in the northwestern peninsula of Michigan, close to the city of Marquette on the shores of Lake Superior. More specifically, in 1926, the ECG – based on metropolitan centroids – would be located at a latitude of 46°38'N and longitude of 86°70'W. That is roughly 660 km south east from the ECG calculated using the geographic centroids of provinces. While the same six major 'moments' in the directional changes of the ECG can also be observed on this map, we do notice that the amplitude of the overall east to west shift is greater in this rendition of the ECG. By 2031, the ECG is projected to be located at a latitude of 47°50'N and longitude of 92°05'W, a point just north of Duluth, Minnesota, which represents a total net westerly movement of 420 km since 1926 (compared to a similar movement of 367 km in the previous map).

As a further check, two additional maps of Canada's ECG were generated using real (instead of nominal) estimates for household income. In both cases (where the geographic and largest metropolitan

⁸ It is interesting to note, however, that the Great Recession of 2008-09 did momentarily halt the ECG's westerly progression (with a 15 km west to east realignment from 2008 to 2009 alone).

centroids are used to anchor provincial-level real household income figures) the trajectories and directional shifts observed in Figures 1 and 3 are replicated.

5. Concluding remarks

We set out to identify and track movements in Canada's economic centre of gravity. Our results show that there has been a net westward shift in the country's ECG of 204 km from 1926 to 2013. Furthermore, within this time frame, we have identified six different moments during which major historical realignments have occurred (not only from east to west, but also west to east). Extrapolating to 2031, we anticipate that the westward movement of the ECG will continue, bringing the centre point to within roughly 50 km of the Ontario-Manitoba interprovincial border.

Though we recognize that the ECG (or centre point) is a conceptual construct, it does provide a convenient and novel way of summarizing distributional tendencies across the country's economic landscape. In particular, tracking changes in the ECG's direction and extent of movement over such a long period of time helps us illustrate key historical moments in Canada's economic development. Moving forward, studies of the underlying shifts in the country's economic landscape would be improved with a more detailed geographical breakdown of the household income figures as well as with the inclusion of a time series for the northern territories.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1. Provincial and metropolitan area centroids (unweighted)

Province	Longitude	Latitude	Largest metro area	Population (x 1000) ^a	Longitude	Latitude
Newfoundland	-60.4611	52.8625	St. John's	208.8	-52.8983	47.7045
Prince Edward Island	-63.2577	46.4009	Charlottetown	64.5 ^b	-63.1915	46.2782
Nova Scotia	-63.3261	45.1502	Halifax	410.3	-63.5752	44.6488
New Brunswick	-66.3804	46.6272	Moncton	144.6	-64.7782	46.0878
Quebec	-71.7725	53.3828	Montreal	3,980.8	-73.5673	45.5017
Ontario	-86.0730	50.4510	Toronto	5,967.2	-79.3832	43.6532
Manitoba	-97.4289	54.9260	Winnipeg	770.5	-97.1375	49.8998
Saskatchewan	-105.8894	54.4180	Saskatoon	290.7	-106.6700	52.1332
Alberta	-114.5071	55.1636	Calgary	1,353.9	-114.0708	51.0486
British Columbia	-124.7366	54.7679	Vancouver	2,444.3	-123.1207	49.2827

Notes: ^aThe population of metropolitan areas is based on 2013 estimates (CANSIM Tables 051-0056).

^bThe population estimate for the Charlottetown census agglomeration is based on the 2011 Census.

Table 2. Timeline of major historical shifts in the Canadian economy's center of gravity

Years	Distance (km)	Direction	Defining political economic events
1926 to 1931	114	East	Great Depression, US imposes Smooth-Hawley Tariff Act (1930).
1931 to 1939	53	West	Great Depression 'aftermath' continues.
1939 to 1948	64	West	WWII and post-war economic transition/boom.
1948 to 1950	44	East	Newfoundland joins Confederation (April 1 st , 1949).
1950 to 1970	1	West-East	Little "net" movement in center of gravity.
1970 to 1981	128	West	Oil shocks (1973, 1979) → oil and gas boom out west.
1981 to 1988	63	East	National Energy Program years, softening of world energy prices, recession (early 1980s).
1988 to 2013	179	West	Bulk of shift (112 km) occurs post-2000 as the resource boom leads to increased energy production out west. Short blip (16 km) from West to East following the Great Recession years (2008 to 2010).
2013 to 2031	164	West	Projections using an exponential curve (fitted to latest 17 years of data available) suggest continued shift towards West.
Net 1926 to 2013	204	West	318 km from 1931 (most Eastern point) to 2013.

Table 3. Relative household income shares by region

Region	Actual			Projected	
	1926	2013	% change	2031	% change
Atlantic provinces	7.4	6.2	-16.2	5.6	-24.3
Quebec and Ontario	61.2	59.3	-3.1	52.6	-14.0
Western provinces	31.4	34.5	+9.9	41.7	+32.8

Notes: Percentage shares shown; Atlantic provinces (i.e., Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick); Western provinces (i.e., Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia).

Figure 1. Canada's economic center of gravity (based on provincial centroids), 1926-2013

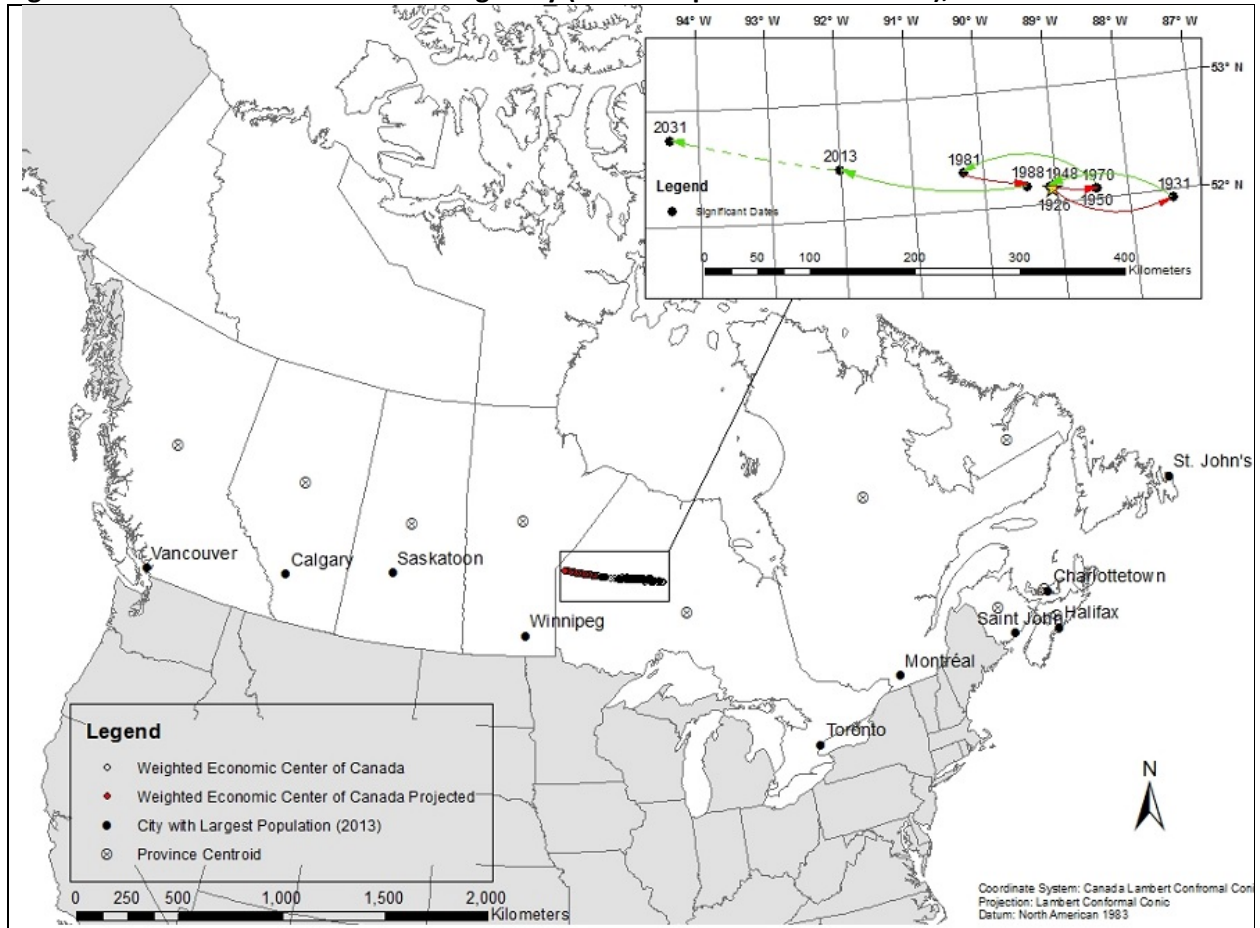
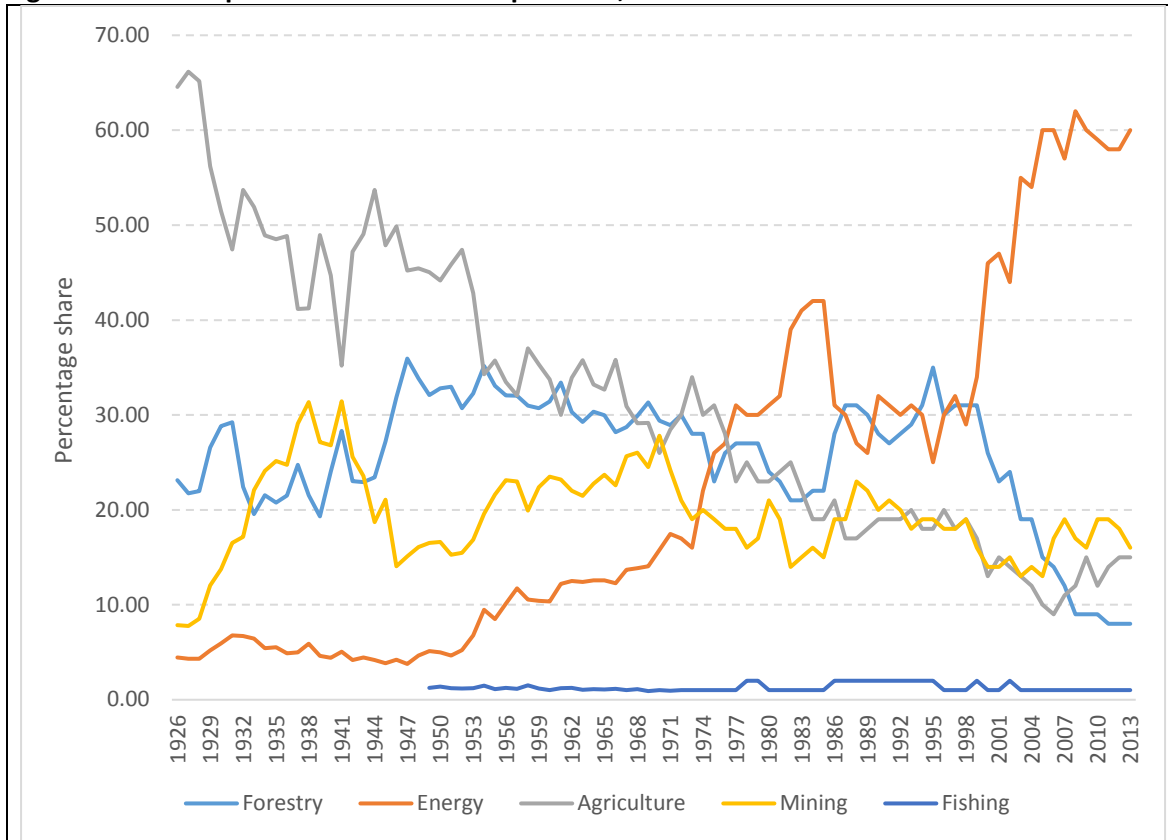


Figure 2. Share of production of resource products, 1926 to 2013



Notes: Production of major resource commodities important for trade. Data series prepared by Statistics Canada's Economic Analysis Division.

Figure 3. Canada's economic center of gravity (based on metropolitan centroids), 1926-2013

