

THE STATE OF THE REGIONS

The Economic Region of Northeastern Nova Scotia



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MARITIME Series

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The Economic Region of Northeastern Nova Scotia



INSTITUT CANADIEN DE RECHERCHE SUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT RÉGIONAL
THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Preface

Over the years the institute's staff has made important scholarly contributions to a greater understanding of regional economic development, government policies, and, more generally, the public policy process. We have studied and compared regional development efforts at the local, regional, national, and international levels. Indeed, staff members have won national and international prizes for their work.

By and large, staff members have been free to choose their research projects and to conduct their investigations on their own: experience indicates that researchers are far more likely to produce solid research when free to pursue their own interests. Nevertheless, the institute's board of directors felt that they should collaborate on at least one collective project each year, and that it should concentrate on the Maritime provinces. As a result, the board approved a new annual, collective research project dealing with the economy of the three Maritime provinces and drawing on the disciplines, skills, and insights of all staff members at the institute.

This report is the second in the series. Last year we produced a similar report on Southeast New Brunswick, which was well received. Its findings were widely covered in the local media, and the reactions of many local businesses, government officials, and economic development associations and groups were very positive.

Without the participation of the people engaged in the activities under examination, regional studies of this kind would not reflect the real issues. We have been especially fortunate in this regard during our consultations in Northeastern Nova Scotia. Many people throughout the region patiently answered all our questions and provided us with important information. We are indebted to them for their help.

In producing this review, the institute was fortunate to have a skilled, devoted, and dynamic research team. I would like to thank all its members for their professionalism and team spirit, which were essential to the success of the project. The team was led by Maurice Beaudin, who acted as project coordinator, and included Samuel

Arseneault, Ginette Benoit, George J. De Benedetti, Rodolphe Lamarche, and Eugen Weiss. I am also grateful to Dr. Marilyn Gerriets, professor of Economics at St. Francis Xavier University and chair of its Centre for Regional Studies, who read the manuscript and provided valuable insights and important suggestions.

The target groups for this review are informed observers; the private sector; outside investors; government officials whose task is to design policies for the Maritime provinces; outside parties interested in the economy of Northeastern Nova Scotia; students of economics, geography, and public policy; the media; and the general public. These and other readers who would like to comment on this review or make suggestions for future projects are invited to contact the institute.

Donald J. Savoie
Executive Director



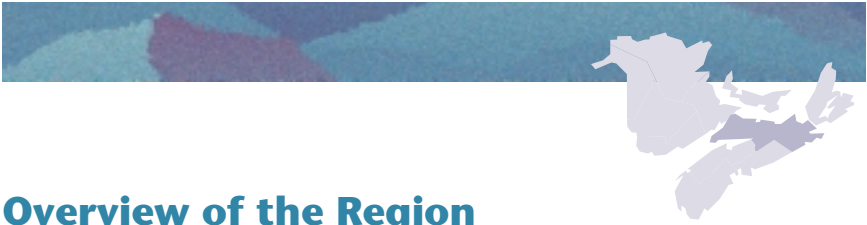
Introduction

As noted in the Preface, this is the second report in the Maritime Series, the institute's annual project. The purpose of the series is to review in some detail the economic circumstances of the three Maritime provinces and the particular challenges they face. The series divides the provinces into the eleven economic regions defined by Statistics Canada. In this report we shall look at the region of Northeastern Nova Scotia, an extensive area with a fairly diversified economic base that comprises the counties of Colchester, Cumberland, Pictou, Guysborough, and Antigonish. There is no large urban centre here, but there are several good-sized towns, such as New Glasgow and Antigonish, the latter boasting a university.

In this report we shall examine a variety of economic forces and data relating to Northeastern Nova Scotia. We begin with a description of its main geographical features, natural assets, and physical resources, and then summarize the views of people involved in its key economic activities. We follow with a look at the region's population base, assessing its strengths and weaknesses, and move on to consider its various economic sectors, migration patterns, demographics, and employment structure. We also review the area's private sector, its make-up and contribution to employment, and then examine the role of government in its economy — an important issue given the extent of government influence on economic activity in the Maritimes, both at the provincial level and in local communities. The report concludes with some observations on the region's economy and offers a number of suggestions concerning its future.

We adopted the same approach and format in this report, and reviewed the same economic data, as we did in the first report on Southeast New Brunswick, which was published last year. Thus far in the series, we have relied solely on Statistics Canada and provincial agencies for all our general data, and will continue to do so in the remaining nine reports, confident in the accuracy of the pictures that have been and will be presented of the regions' economies. We believe, therefore, that this report will serve as an

important reference document for anyone interested in the economic future of Northeastern Nova Scotia.



Overview of the Region

The Nova Scotia counties of Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Antigonish, and Guysborough comprise Northeastern Nova Scotia (NENS), one of the eleven economic regions of the Maritime provinces defined by Statistics Canada. Unlike many other Maritime regions, NENS does not contain one dominant economic centre. Instead, a succession of towns, such as Amherst, Springhill, Oxford, Truro, Stellarton, New Glasgow, Antigonish, and Mulgrave, lie scattered along the Trans Canada Highway as it winds from north to south and then east. Some distance from the highway are smaller communities, such as Parrsboro, Pugwash, Tatamagouche, Pictou, Guysborough, and Canso.

The region, whose population numbers 162,000, straddles the forty-fifth parallel and is bordered on the north by New Brunswick, the Northumberland Strait, and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence (see map 1). It juts out into the Bay of Fundy to the west, separates Shepody Bay from Minas Basin, and ends at the Strait of Canso to the east. On the southeast, it stretches all the way to the Atlantic Ocean and extends to the eastern and northern borders of Hants and Halifax counties.

■ Geography, Habitat, Activities

The geography of the NENS economic region is highly diversified. Map 2 illustrates five fairly homogeneous landforms into which it can be divided. The *Gulf and Strait* and *Tides and Marshes* areas are a continuation of Southeast New Brunswick, *Hills and Forests* represents the transition between the sea and the Cobequid Mountains, *Mountains and Valleys* forms a barrier in the centre, and *Islands and Harbours* makes up the Atlantic seaboard of this region.

Turning first to the Mountains and Valleys area (Cobequid) and its eastward extension, we see that although relatively low — Mount Nuttby is only 360 metres high — it forms a natural barrier influencing human activity (tourism, the logging industry, and landline communications). The Cobequid Mountains have flattened crowns and are dissected by several short and narrow valleys that were used first

as land routes by native people and then as passable roads for colonial stagecoaches. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Intercolonial Railway followed the gap of Folly Lake, and then in the middle of the twentieth century, the same general route was chosen for the Trans Canada Highway. More recently, this rock mass has been crossed by a new highway that passes farther west, over Westchester Mountain, and descends parallel to the Great Village River valley, completing the last leg of the four-lane highway linking Halifax and New Brunswick.

Undulating hills and forests, covered mainly in broad-leaf vegetation, stretch along the foot of the Mountains and Valleys area. Settlement here is rather dispersed, and there are signs of advanced agricultural decay. Water mills, such as Balmoral Mills, and mining, such as in Springhill, were once common in these hills. Nowadays, they either are in decline or have been completely abandoned, and the outdated installations serve as tourist attractions. These hills and forests, which spread out widely around the mountains and cover almost half of the region, end in Cap d'Or and Cape Chignecto in the west and in Cape George and Cape Canso in the east.

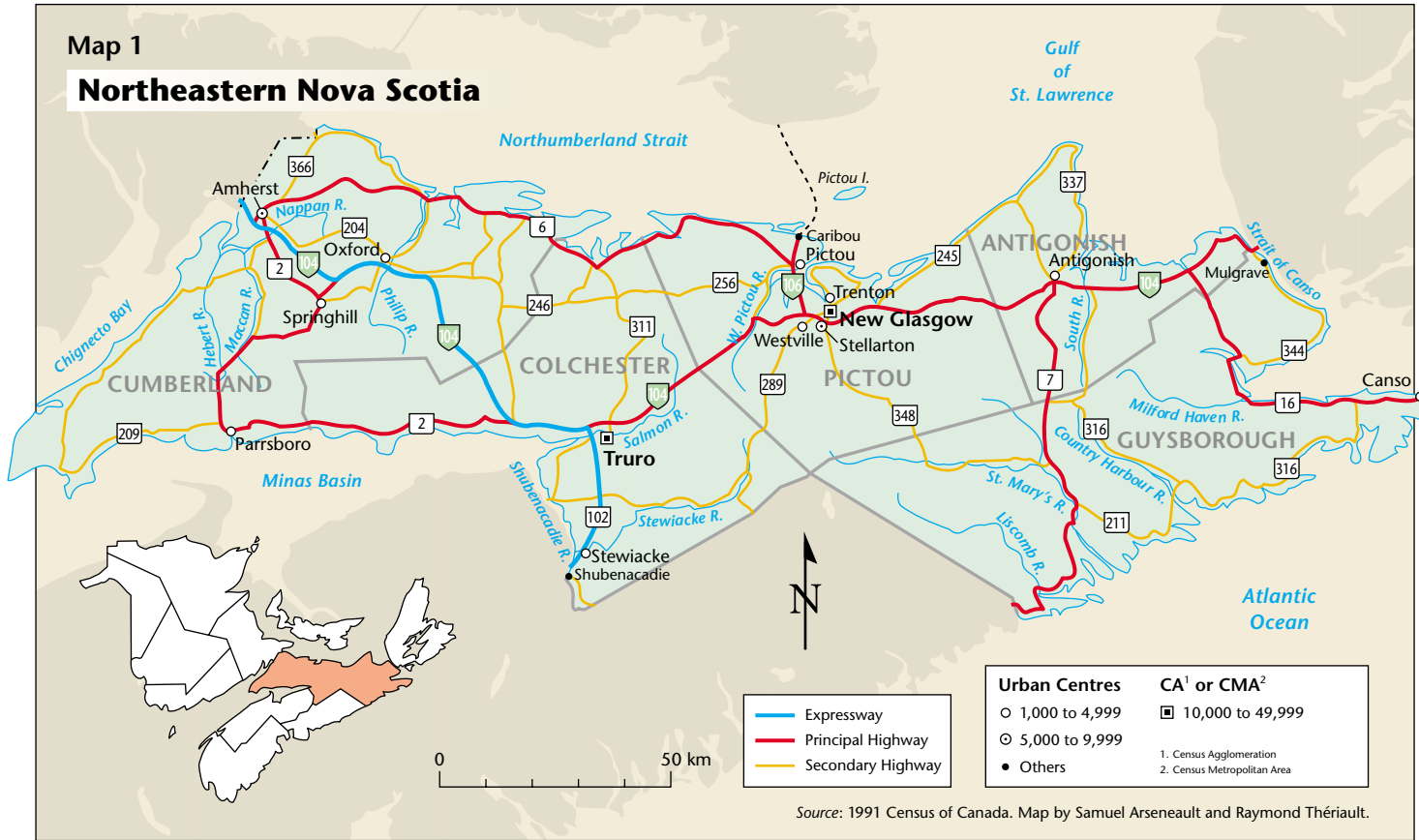
As strong an influence as the ocean has on the climate of Northeastern Nova Scotia — moderating both winter's cold and summer's heat — an even greater effect may be caused by two air masses that frequently pass through the region. One is a powerful continental air mass that originates in northwestern Canada, and the other is a warm air mass that moves up the east coast of the continent from the Gulf of Mexico. Their passage through the region, and frequent collisions, largely determines the climatic variations of Eastern Canada. It also explains the abrupt changes of temperature that affect the area as well as the long, beautiful autumns and cold, damp springs.

Precipitation and temperature vary greatly within the region. Canso on the Atlantic Coast has nearly double the precipitation of Pictou on the Northumberland Strait. The mean temperature in January in the Islands and Harbours area is 6°C higher than that in the Mountains and Valleys area. This part of the Atlantic Coast is often shrouded in mist — less so at the northeastern tip of the region.

With a perimeter that is 75 percent maritime — consisting of a strait, a bay, and an ocean — the NENS geographical region is largely a tributary of the sea. The Gulf and Strait area, with its ice floes in winter and its fairly warm waters in summer, not only attracts

Map 1

Northeastern Nova Scotia



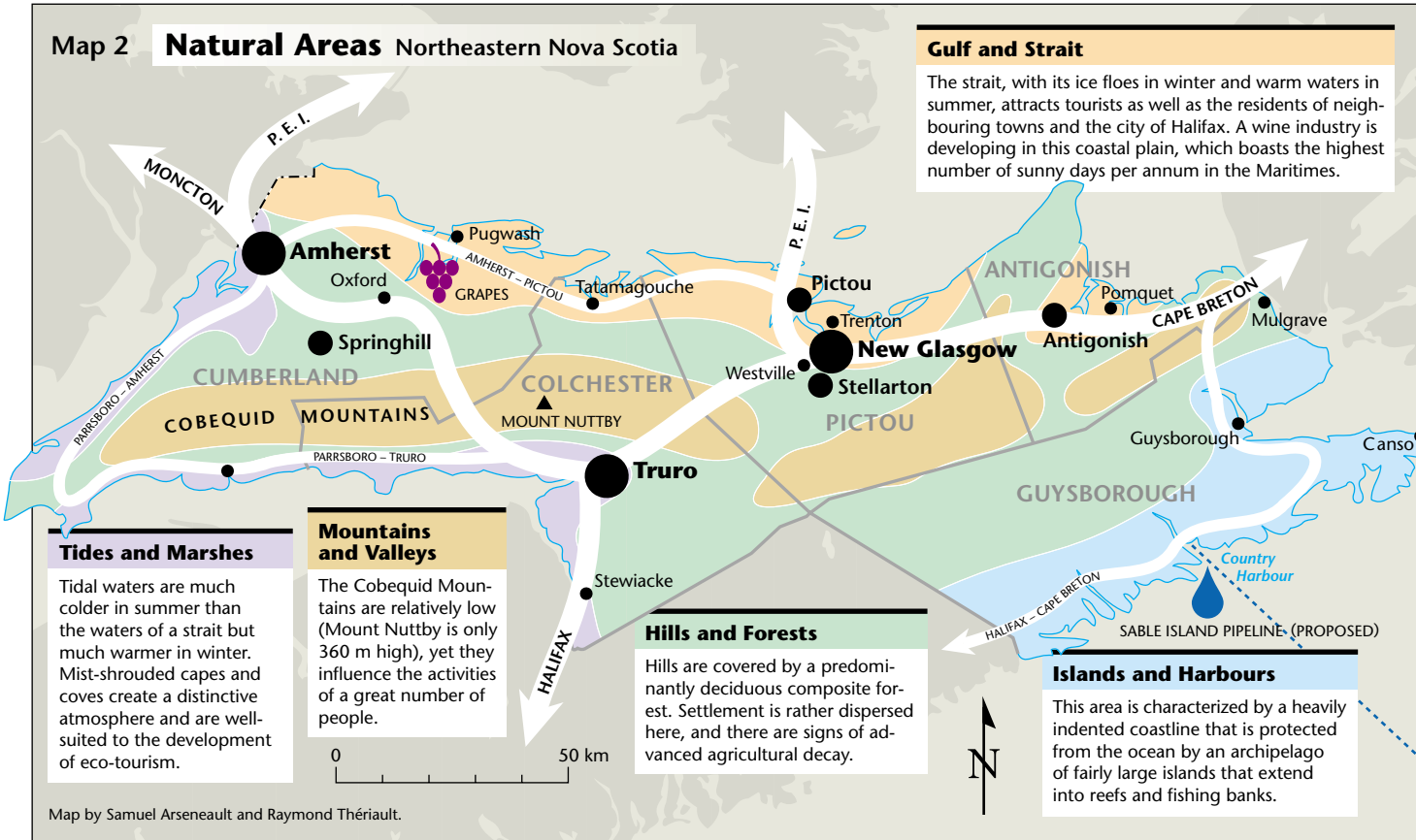
tourists but has also become a preferred site for the building of second homes for residents of towns such as New Glasgow, Truro, Amherst, and even Halifax. Lobster fishing is also carried on here. And a microclimate that gives rise to the highest number of sunny days in the Maritimes has led to the growth of a wine industry near Tatamagouche. The area is also witnessing the development of specialized agriculture, and a tourist route is being constructed along the Sun Rise Trail.

The Tides and Marshes area of the Bay of Fundy is characterized by waters that are quite cold in summer but relatively warm in winter. With capes and coves often shrouded in mist, it has a distinctive atmosphere that is well-suited to the development of eco-tourism. The sediments carried by the powerful Fundy tides have created numerous marshes in Cumberland and Colchester counties. These marshes, which were first diked by Acadian settlers, are still used mostly for agriculture, although some small areas have been flooded to create habitats for wild birds. The towns of Amherst and Truro are expanding into these lowlands, which are inexpensive but liable to flooding.

The coastline of the Islands and Harbours area is heavily marked by indentations and is protected from the ocean by an archipelago of fairly large islands that extend into reefs, channels, and fishing banks. The continental shelf is accessible through the harbours of Canso and Bickerton West for the exploitation of either biological resources or energy resources such as natural gas. Fishing, which dates back to the sixteenth century, is still carried on in the area's many harbours (Lipscomb, Gegogan) and bays (Tor, Chedabucto), where it is the main economic activity.

The string of urban settlements stretching from Amherst to Antigonish is an indication that the NENS geographical structure is not conducive to the development of one main commercial and service centre. The region is divided in two by the natural barrier of the Cobequid Mountains, to which is added the sparsely inhabited Hills and Forests area. The maritime areas of straits and bays, although different and complementary, have not yet reached a level of development to meet the demands of the new economy. The Islands and Harbours area has nothing in common with the rest of NENS. Although it is included in this region by Statistics Canada, it more clearly belongs to the geographical structure centred around Halifax. Its economic future is contingent on the planning and

Map 2 Natural Areas Northeastern Nova Scotia



development of the continental shelf and the resources found there, essentially fishing and the gas and offshore oil reserves near Sable Island. The gas will likely reach its market via a pipeline through Country Harbour.

■ The Administrative Organization

The NENS region has four of the five types of administrative units found in Nova Scotia. Fourteen of the province's thirty-nine towns are here, six of the twenty-four rural municipalities, six of the twenty-six village councils, and eight of the thirty-two local councils. It has none of the province's three cities.

New Glasgow County has the most developed urban network in the region. Five of its fourteen towns are here, one of which, New Glasgow, has a population of 10,000. The town of Truro in Colchester County is the most populous in the region, with a population of over 11,500.¹ Truro is at the intersection of the province's two major trunk roads: one links Halifax to the New Brunswick border; the other is routed through Cape Breton and connects it with Halifax. Its location makes it the hub of the region's road system (see map 1). Antigonish is the only incorporated town in Antigonish County, whereas five towns are located in Cumberland County, the main one, Amherst, having a population of 9,700. Amherst's industries once gave the town a dynamic character, but those days have passed. Guysborough County has only two small towns, each with a population of approximately 1,000.

The six rural municipalities form a second administrative level. The municipality of Colchester is the largest, with a population of 35,000, followed by Pictou, with a population of 23,000, and then Cumberland and Antigonish, with populations of 17,000 and 14,000 respectively. The two rural municipalities of Guysborough are the region's smallest: Guysborough has only 6,500 inhabitants and St. Mary's 3,000. Guysborough County is an exclusively rural region because of its remote locale and poor habitat.

Colchester County has six of the fourteen village and local councils in the region. Its network of rural administrative units is therefore quite dense when compared to other counties.

1. The towns listed here have been defined by each of the municipalities strictly in terms of their urban cores. Statistics Canada has introduced a much broader definition with the census agglomerations. See section entitled "Demographic Profiles."

The region's towns and rural municipalities have similar responsibilities, judging from the distribution of their budgetary expenditures. Social welfare service ranks at the top, followed by debt servicing, civil protection, public transport, public administration, health, cultural services and recreation, and environmental protection. The main differences between towns and rural municipalities are (1) social welfare costs (28 percent of the budget for towns is spent on welfare and over 40 percent for rural municipalities) and (2) the cost of municipal debt (25 percent of the budget for towns is spent on debt and over 32 percent for rural municipalities). Conversely, protection services require proportionally more resources in towns (17.6 percent compared with 8 percent in rural municipalities).

The two main sources of revenue for towns and municipalities are property taxes and tax transfer payments. Revenue from property taxes raised in the fourteen towns amounts to \$39.5 million, representing 43 percent of their operating budget. The rest is made up of unconditional transfer payments (\$9 million) and other types of transfer payments (\$18 million) from the federal and provincial governments.

Property taxes from the six rural municipalities totalled \$30 million in 1995, or 46 percent of their budget. Unconditional transfer payments amounted to \$2.8 million, and federal-provincial transfer payments totalled \$17 million. Thus the proportion of the budget made up of transfer payments is roughly the same for rural municipalities and towns.

The process of strategic planning is well developed in most of the areas discussed above. Three of the counties (Guysborough, Pictou, and Cumberland) derived lasting benefits from community mobilization efforts fostered by the now defunct federal Community Futures Program, which was initiated by the federal Department of Human Resources Development (HRD). They either have updated plans to achieve the goals identified through the program or are in the process of forming those plans (Cumberland). Two areas (Antigonish and Colchester counties) were regarded as too stable to qualify for the Community Futures Program, but like all other areas of the province, they now have locally controlled Regional Development Agencies (RDAs). These are jointly funded by the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, with each level contributing \$100,000. In addition, each area has retained locally allocated funds

available to it for lending and investing in local business initiatives through Community Business Development Corporations (CBDCs), which were also part of the Community Futures Program and are now administered by ACOA. The unallocated funds in the hands of the Pictou CBDC are now being shared with the adjacent Antigonish and Colchester counties under joint administration. The RDAs and CBDCs are also developing aids for microenterprises, which include both financial and mentoring assistance. As part of the effort to bring as many development agencies as possible under one roof, each county area has a first-stop facility called a Business Service Centre.

Some attention is now being given to the development of small business opportunities requiring seed money of less than ten thousand dollars. Colchester's CORDA has established a microenterprises centre with financial ties to a local credit union and regards business mentoring as a high priority. In Pictou County, members of the local Entrepreneur Club, in conjunction with the Calmeadow Foundation and the Royal Bank, are establishing a number of small "credit circles." And a program called I Want to Be a Millionaire, for school-age entrepreneurs, has been developed in Cumberland County.

St. Francis Xavier University and the Nova Scotia Agricultural College have been providing R & D assistance to the industries of the NENS region, but they are not the only local academic institutions to have done so. Saint Mary's University, for example, has provided business-planning support, and units at the Technical University of Nova Scotia have assisted with a community initiative in telecommunications skills in the Tatamagouche area and have helped in the planning and development of nature tourism in the Cape George area north of Antigonish.

The Nova Scotia community college system, with regional campuses in Stellarton, Truro, and Springhill, also plays an important role in workforce training. The community colleges have established strong ties with major employers in the Pictou County area, and most in the Amherst area's manufacturing sector have expressed their satisfaction with the basic skills taught at Springhill. It is not unusual, however, for employers who are changing their production systems (in both the tools and the materials they use) to turn to corporate resources, consultants, and learning institutions from outside the region to provide in-plant training. Those in the business community have observed that in the area of technology, there is a shortage of local people with senior management skills. They acknowledge, however, that in some key areas, such as management

information systems, the problem is continent-wide and not peculiar to this region. The solution for most employers is to recruit from abroad (hence the importance of creating a local lifestyle to attract prospective employees) rather than wait for institutions of higher learning to weigh costs and benefits before designing and establishing regional-training programs to develop specialized skills.

■ Perspectives from within the Region

It should be no surprise that a region as economically diverse and geographically dispersed as the five counties of Northeastern Nova Scotia is home to a varied and complex set of opinions and priorities. To get a sense of that variety, we interviewed a number of local people, including civic leaders, officials of various development agencies and industrial commissions, heads of educational and health facilities, chamber of commerce members, and business people. These interviews took several forms. Some people were approached directly and asked to answer a detailed questionnaire, which took about ninety minutes to complete. Others were contacted by telephone, faxed the questionnaire, and asked to reflect on the issues most pertinent to them and their experience. And still others, mostly business people, were approached in a more casual way to learn the nature of their businesses, how successful they were, and something about their constraints and opportunities. As a result of these conversations, we were able to gain a sense of how these people viewed the region and its prospects, and from this information we distilled the range of perspectives we present in this section (see appendix B).

Our results necessarily reflect an elite opinion and are subject to the errors inherent in our selections and omissions. Nevertheless, we trust that our analysis and synthesis will produce a clear, coherent picture of the region that will help both residents and outsiders understand it better and gain some insight into its future directions.

Economic hope for a region can take many forms. Consider Guysborough County, which is easily bypassed by travellers on the Trans Canada Highway driving to Cape Breton. The employment situation there has suffered from an historic overreliance on too few industries — chiefly forestry, fishing, and tourism. But the picture is brightening, and for two major reasons: (1) after recent setbacks resulting from the closure of the cod fishery, Seafreez and Bickerton, the two large fish processors in the county, are again operational, and (2) the county is set to play an important role in the development of Sable gas.

The proposed development of natural gas on nearby Sable Island (the Sable Offshore Energy Project) and the construction of a gas pipeline have drawn considerable attention to the county.² Overall, the initial project was expected to generate seventeen thousand jobs in the development of offshore gas and twenty-six hundred jobs in the construction of a pipeline to New England. Not all these jobs will go to Guysborough, of course, but the county is bound to benefit from some of the employment opportunities. Consider the case of Mulgrave and Halifax, which are currently vying to become the supply base for the rigs. The advantage goes to Mulgrave because of its proximity to the gas reserves: boats would have to travel an additional five to six hours each way to Halifax. And if the gas-processing plant is located in Country Harbour or Goldboro, it alone would almost double the county's current tax base of \$4 million, create an estimated twelve to twenty-four permanent jobs beyond the construction phase, and maybe even generate some tourism.

Tourism in Guysborough will be bolstered by the annual Stan Rogers folk festival, which has created a lot of excitement and attracted six thousand people to the area. In addition, many German nationals have bought land there for possible tourism development and for sale to Europeans seeking privacy and pristine wilderness. This may lead to the creation of German driving clubs to exploit the area's five hundred miles of scenic coastline. Visitors will also be drawn to Belmont Resort — with its nine-hole golf course jutting out into picturesque Guysborough harbour — which could be promoted to attract small-scale conferences. And the area around Sherbrooke Historical Village could be developed by constructing an access road to the beach as well as facilities to view the steel-hulled ship that lies submerged offshore.

In Antigonish County there is a renaissance in community economic development. The county has never before qualified for such development agencies as Community Futures, but now both it and

2. There are two competing proposals for an overland pipeline to carry Sable natural gas westward from landfall at Country Harbour. The initial Maritime and Northeastern Pipeline Project proposal was submitted by the Sable Offshore Energy Project partners. It favours a pipeline in the direction of New England. The proposal was subject to a hearing by a panel (representing jointly the National Energy Board, the Canada Nova Scotia Offshore Petroleum Board, and the Canada Nova Scotia Energy and Minerals Conservation Board) in the spring and summer of 1997, at which a second proponent, Trans-Maritime Gas Transmission Ltd., was among the intervenors. The latter company proposes a pipeline route heading first to Quebec. As this study went to press, no decision had been announced on the Maritime and Northeastern application; TransMaritime filed its own application with the NEB late in August.

Guysborough County are part of a provincial economic renewal area, with each county having its own regional development authority. The recently appointed president of St. Francis Xavier University (St. F.X.), Dr. Sean Riley, has injected new energy into the community and is participating with these agencies in the development planning of the area. A former business person himself, he sees the university as an engine of economic development not only through its campus programs in the field of information technology but also by having the university take the lead in cooperating with the business community to make Antigonish a tourist mecca.

St. F.X. is exploring the possibility of developing Crystal Cliffs, a property about ten kilometres from campus that was once owned by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and used for summer geology camps, and has since been purchased by the university. It features a manor house on the beach and facilities that once housed and fed 150 people. The property would need upgrading, but the estimated \$600,000 cost could pay handsome dividends if it resulted in tourists to the area prolonging their stay. Planners would be doing their part to make this happen if they scheduled area events to take place in sequence rather than at the same time. The development of Crystal Cliffs would make Antigonish better known as a seaside town. At present, many people driving along the Trans Canada Highway to Cape Breton are unaware of the town's access to the shore.

The university also hopes to join with the town of Antigonish in establishing a \$12 million multipurpose complex that would include two skating rinks, a fitness centre, and a conference/special events' facility seating twenty-five hundred people. Such a complex would strengthen tourism by attracting summer camps and by drawing crowds to the entertainment provided by artists who make up the Celtic music industry in the county and nearby Cape Breton. It could also be a venue for the sale of crafts made by the many artisans in the area, an important activity in this part of the province.

The Business Administration Department of St. F.X. is establishing Enterprise St. F.X., a new business service centre where faculty members and students will help firms formulate business plans and provide accounting and other services. Enterprise St. F.X. will also lend its support to microenterprises, attract information-technology-intensive businesses, such as CAD (computer-assisted design), and help resource-based industries, such as fishing and forestry, engage in more value-added production. Such support and guidance will

help Antigonish (which is traditionally dependent on farming, fishing, and forestry) meet the challenges of a changing service economy by stressing the importance of information technology, research and development (R & D), human-capital training, and small business development. The Pictou-based Business Development Corporation, which now has a presence in Antigonish, will complement the activities of the business service centre by providing small loans to businesses. The new interdisciplinary Aquatic Resource Studies Programme at St. F.X., with its practicum component, will help in the formulation of public policy to meet the needs of coastal communities and the aquatic resource sector.

In the areas of retail trade, financial services, health, and education, the town of Antigonish is already an important service centre for the counties of Antigonish, Guysborough, Inverness, and Richmond. Now it looks forward to profiting from the new gas industry by servicing the needs of the construction workers. In the retail trade sector, however, merchants are concerned about the effects on the community of the twinning of the Trans Canada Highway should it be routed past the town. In the health sector, St. Martha's Regional Hospital, which currently utilizes 100 of its 175-bed capacity, has three hundred full-time employees and an operating budget of \$15.6 million. The R. K. MacDonald Nursing Home, with an annual budget of \$5 million, also serves the health needs of the region. Finally, St. F.X. underlines the importance of the public sector to the economy of the town of Antigonish with its \$40 million annual budget and five hundred full-time staff.

Optimism prevails in Pictou County, the industrial heartland of Northeastern Nova Scotia. Its large manufacturers are meeting the challenges of globalization and exporting to more destinations than ever. Tourism has become an important export activity, benefiting from the area's Scottish heritage, the location of its major towns on the Trans Canada Highway, and the Port of Pictou as a terminus for the ferry bringing visitors from Prince Edward Island.³ The award-winning Hector Heritage Quay on the Pictou waterfront has become a major tourist attraction; a replica of the Scottish immigrant ship Hector is being constructed there. The Museum of Industry outside New Glasgow also attracts visitors to its depiction of the history of mining and manufacturing in the area. And by the year 2000, the

3. The tourist association is lobbying to ensure that the Caribou ferry continues to operate after the opening of Confederation Bridge.

Pictou Trail Association hopes to have finished converting the county's abandoned rail lines into skiing and hiking trails.

The Sable Offshore Energy Project and the Maritimes and North-eastern Pipeline Project offer opportunities for the metal fabrication, hospitality, and transport industries in Pictou County. Since the firms there enjoy a comparative advantage in steel fabrication and forging, there is a strong likelihood that they will secure the equipment maintenance and repair work for the projects. Their chances are enhanced by the county's strategic location near the proposed gas-processing plant in Guysborough and in the path of the proposed pipeline. Partners Construction has leased the dormant Pictou Industries shipyard from the province of Nova Scotia for three years in anticipation of such work.

Major Truro manufacturers, the agricultural supply industry, and the Nova Scotia Agricultural College have provided a stable employment base for Colchester County. The manufacturers can compete in a free-trade environment, and the Agricultural College serves as a hub for business, international contacts, and technology transfer. The pioneering DNA work of the college in seeking to lengthen the reproductive cycle of animals could become an important export industry: already there is a partnership with a California company for commercial application of the technology. Such research attracts money and highly trained faculty members that strengthen the research and development capability of the region. The new undergraduate program in aquaculture and related research in the industry would reinforce this capability. With the announcement in the federal budget of government support for R & D in educational institutions, such activity will continue to generate export dollars for Colchester. As well, the proposed restructuring of the college to make it independent of the Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture could enhance its entrepreneurial role.

In West Colchester, the closure of the Debert Armed Forces Base in June 1996 provided an opportunity to develop its land and decommissioned physical assets, including mess complexes, recreational facilities, housing, a warehouse, and an airfield. This would complement the Debert Air Industrial Park, which already has several tenants with significant manufacturing and distribution operations. With the Truro Industrial Park filled and the higher cost of land in the Halifax area, there is a potential for growth in the Debert region. In South Colchester, the focus of economic development is on the river country: river rafting and wildlife in Shubenacadie form

the basis for adventure tourism. In North Colchester, the interest is in small rural community projects, tourism, and developing a "Smart Rural Community to take maximum advantage of emerging computer-mediated communications technologies for economic development."⁴ Such a program would provide the expertise and infrastructure to support businesses seeking to operate locally and globally. This area is also developing facilities and services to serve a broad range of tourism, including religious and social conferences and retreats. In addition, the many people of Dutch origin in Colchester County, and their connections overseas, provide opportunities for increased exports to Europe.

In Cumberland County, there is increased activity in the food-processing industry and in light manufacturing. With the increasing demand for produce by Oxford Frozen Foods and the existence of good farmland in the county suitable for growing crops, agricultural development should provide opportunities for employment. Tourism is on the rise in the Parrsboro shore area; in Springhill with the Anne Murray Centre, the Miners' Memorial/Museum, and the Tour of Mines (tours of actual mines). Residents of Springhill are placing some hope for economic growth on the success of the Springhill Geothermal Industrial Park: the park offers a cheap source of energy for manufacturers by using heat extracted from the water in abandoned mines, and several manufacturers are already taking advantage of this energy asset.

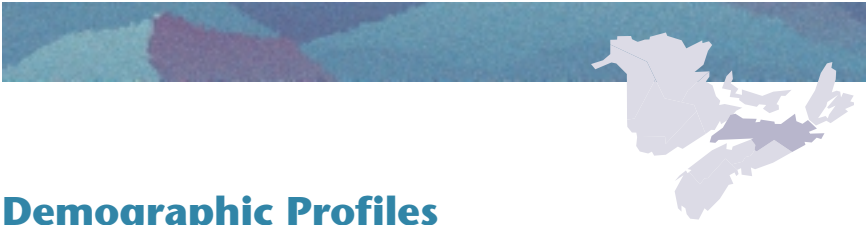
Amherst is still having success in the manufacturing sector with its large employers who continue to expand their markets. For example, Ballastronix has become the newest subsidiary of Advanced Lighting and Technologies Inc., a leader in the manufacturing, distribution, and development of metal halide technology; the move has enabled Ballastronix to expand its United States market. As well, Amherst is a service centre for Cumberland County and that part of Southeastern New Brunswick near the Nova Scotia border. Its future as a retail centre is uncertain, however. There continue to be spending leakages into New Brunswick as a result of the growth of Greater Moncton as a regional shopping centre, its Sunday shopping for many weeks of the year, and the twinning of the Trans Canada Highway. To help plug that leak, Sobey's has expanded its store in the Amherst Centre Mall, and it is now open twenty-four hours a day. The town

4. Colchester Regional Development Agency, *Regional Development Plan: 1995/96-1998/99*, p. 28.

of Amherst, gateway to Nova Scotia and at the head of the Glooscap and Sunrise trails, has a rich history on which to expand its tourism. It is the home of four fathers of Confederation, the site of numerous Victorian homes, and the western terminus of the Chignecto Ship Railway in nearby Fort Lawrence.⁵

Northeastern Nova Scotia faces new challenges with the development of Sable Island gas, the changing economy in the service sector, the proposed amalgamations of municipalities, and the consolidations in the health and education sectors. But with the advantages of its people and natural resources and its strengths in manufacturing, transportation, and tourism, the region is well-poised to face the future.

5. The Fort Lawrence Historical Society is building a replica of the old English fort from which a successful attack was launched on Fort Beauséjour in 1755.



Demographic Profiles

■ Area Population

Northeastern Nova Scotia, which comprises five counties, is the second-largest economic region in the Maritimes in terms of area. With a total population of 162,560 in 1991 (162,300 in 1996), it ranks fifth demographically. This highly homogeneous population includes 2,500 francophones, and 1,070 native Indians living on three reserves.

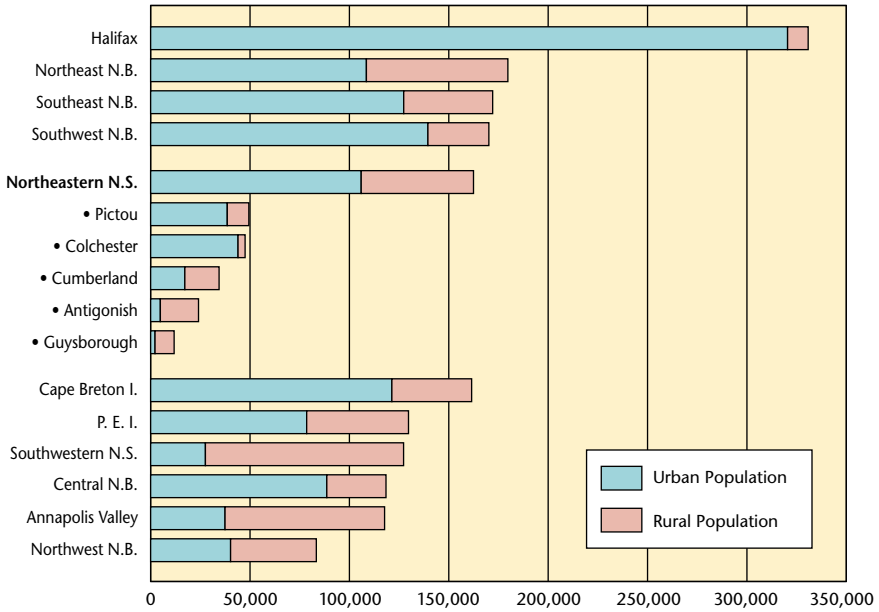
Sixty percent of the people in the region are concentrated in Pictou and Colchester counties. These counties include the Truro and New Glasgow *urban agglomerations*,⁶ which incorporate the satellite towns of Stewiacke, Stellarton, Westville, and Trenton, and an urban periphery with over forty-seven thousand residents. The rate of urbanization varies considerably in these two counties — from 36 to 85 percent — depending on whether or not this border area is included. With Amherst as its regional centre, Cumberland County ranks third in population size. It is regarded as semi-rural, even though 50 percent of its people live in centres that have a thousand inhabitants or more. Antigonish and Guysborough counties, which are on the Strait of Canso, are mainly rural: the town of Antigonish acts as a regional centre for this eastern part of the region.

To sum up, the population of the NENS economic region is distributed over four geographically distinct areas: (1) New Glasgow, with the municipalities of Pictou, Stellarton, Westville, and Trenton; (2) Truro, with its quite densely populated rural suburb; (3) the Amherst-Springhill-Oxford triangle; and (4) the Antigonish regional centre. The remaining one-third of the population lives in seventy-seven unincorporated centres and villages that link up the whole territory (see map 3).

6. Census urban agglomeration (CA) is defined by Statistics Canada as an urbanized whole made up of an urban core, a belt or urban suburb, and a rural suburb. The concept of a CA presumes that more than a third of the active population of its rural outskirts is economically and socially integrated (daily commuting) with its centre. Statistics Canada, Cat. 92-320.

Figure 1

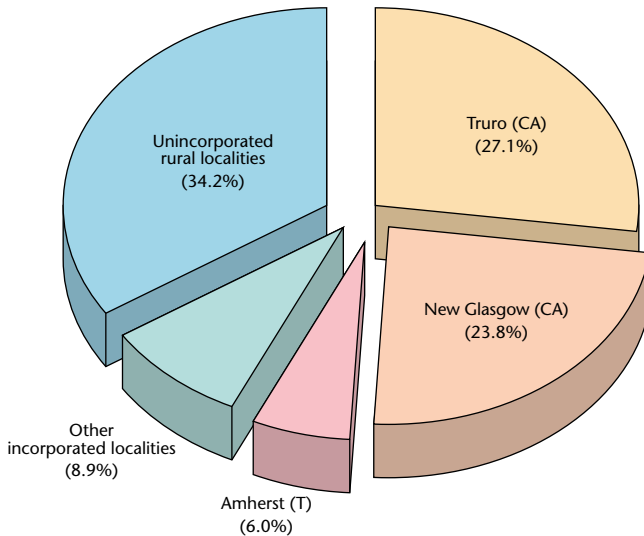
Population of the Eleven Economic Regions of the Maritimes, 1991



Source: 1991 Census of Canada (Cat. 93-304); *Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations* (Cat. 93-303); compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Figure 2

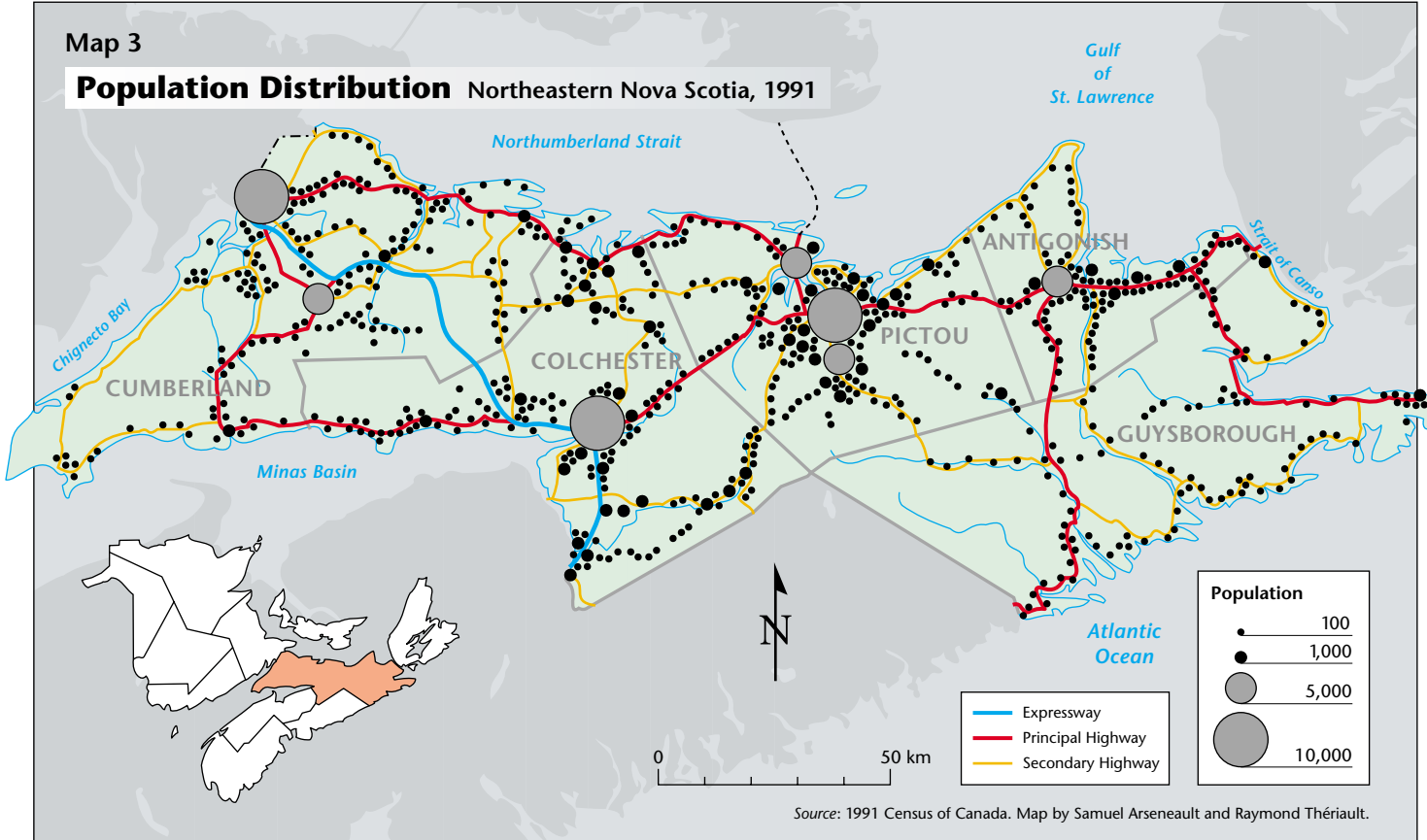
Population Distribution, 1991



Source: 1991 Census of Canada (Cat. 93-304); compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Map 3

Population Distribution Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991



Source: 1991 Census of Canada. Map by Samuel Arseneault and Raymond Thériault.

■ Demographic Trends

The population of the NENS economic region is relatively stationary. It increased by only 1.6 percent from 1981 to 1986 and by 0.9 percent from 1986 to 1991, a much lower rate than that recorded for all of the Maritimes (see table 1). In fact, the region's demographic load within the Maritime provinces seems to be decreasing: from 10.0 percent in 1961 to 9.6 percent in 1981, and from 9.3 percent in 1991 to 9.1 percent in 1996. The growth rate varies within the economic region: it remains generally stable in the counties of Colchester, Pictou (except for the 1986–91 period), and Antigonish, while Cumberland and Guysborough counties show a net deficit from one census to another.

Although the urban centres generally contribute to net growth, it is their urban peripheries (rural-urban outskirts) that grow the fastest (see table 2). In the Truro agglomeration, for example, the population increased by 2,500 inhabitants from 1986 to 1991, representing a 6 percent increase. However, the town of Truro itself lost 441 residents (-3.6 percent), while its urban periphery, including the rural outskirts, showed a net gain of 2,887 residents (10.3 percent). The same phenomenon is seen in New Glasgow. Except for Amherst and Oxford, all the other incorporated towns recorded a net loss of population during this period, the most affected being the towns of Mulgrave, Antigonish, Springhill, Pictou, Parrsboro, and Canso. The unincorporated rural localities have maintained their population (0.3 percent), which is seen as a real achievement given the regional context.

■ Population Mobility

The NENS economic region cannot rely on migration in order to consolidate its demographic base. Migration movements total an average of 6,000 arrivals and just as many departures in any one year, with the resulting net migration being of little significance. For example, over the last eighteen years, the balance of migration has been in deficit for nine periods, and yet the net losses never exceeded the 500-inhabitants mark (see figure 3).

Table 1
Comparative Population Growth of Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1961-96

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
Canada	18,238,247	20,014,880	21,568,310	22,992,604	24,343,181	25,399,331	27,297,859	28,846,761
Maritimes	1,439,572	1,481,362	1,537,111	1,624,050	1,666,351	1,711,250	1,755,598	1,781,972
Nova Scotia	737,007	756,039	790,926	828,571	847,442	875,162	901,933	909,282
NENS	143,616	143,843	148,680	157,159	159,667	161,181	162,568	162,255
Antigonish	14,360	14,890	16,815	17,573	18,110	18,776	19,226	19,554
Colchester	34,397	35,700	37,735	41,771	43,224	45,093	47,683	49,262
Cumberland	37,767	35,933	35,160	35,914	35,231	34,819	34,284	33,804
Guysborough	13,274	12,830	12,865	12,825	12,752	12,721	11,724	10,917
Pictou	43,908	44,490	46,105	49,076	50,350	49,772	49,651	48,718
Growth Rates According to Period (%)								
	1961-66	1966-71	1971-76	1976-81	1981-86	1986-91	1991-96	
Canada	9.7	7.8	6.6	5.9	4.0	7.9	5.7	
Maritimes	2.9	3.8	5.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	1.5	
Nova Scotia	2.6	4.6	4.8	2.3	3.3	3.1	8.2	
NENS	0.2	3.4	5.7	1.6	0.9	0.9	-1.9	
Antigonish	3.7	12.9	4.5	3.1	3.7	2.4	1.7	
Colchester	4.1	5.7	10.7	3.5	4.3	5.7	3.3	
Cumberland	-4.9	-2.2	2.1	-1.9	-1.2	-1.5	1.1	
Guysborough	-3.3	0.3	-0.3	-0.6	-0.2	-7.8	-6.9	
Pictou	1.3	3.6	6.4	2.6	-1.1	-0.2	-1.9	

Source: Statistics Canada, census data; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

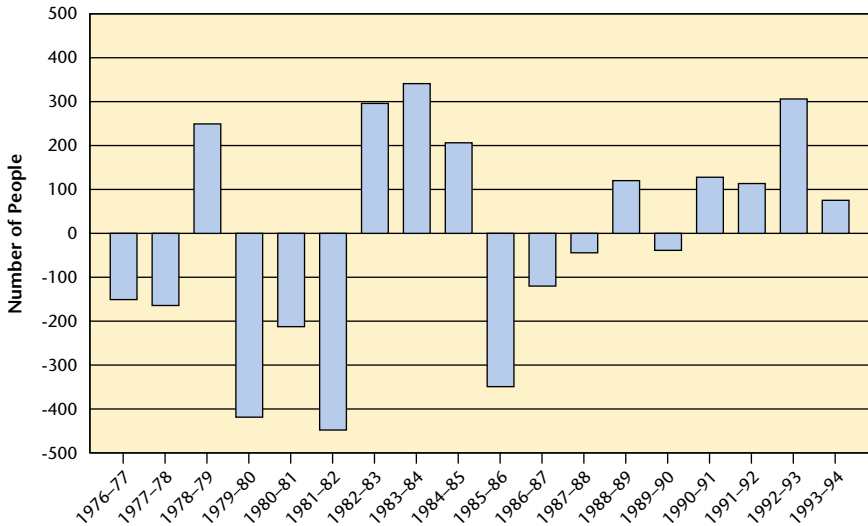
Table 2
Rural-Urban Demographic Change, 1986-96

	1986	1991	1996	Growth Rate (%)		Regional Demographic Load (NENS)		
				1986-91	1991-96	1986	1991	1996
Truro (CA)	41,516	44,002	44,102	5.99	0.23	25.76	27.07	27.18
• Truro (T)	12,124	11,683	11,938	-3.64	2.28	7.52	7.19	7.36
• Stewiacke (T)*	1,265	1,306	1,405	3.24	7.58	0.78	0.80	0.87
Urban and rural suburbs	28,127	31,014	32,164	10.26	3.71	17.45	19.08	19.82
New Glasgow (CA)	33,737	38,676	38,055	-0.16	-1.61	24.03	23.79	23.45
• New Glasgow (T)	10,002	9,905	9,812	-1.17	-0.94	6.22	6.09	6.05
• Stellarton (T)	5,259	5,237	4,968	-0.42	-5.14	3.26	3.22	3.06
• Westville (T)	4,271	4,228	3,976	-1.01	-5.96	2.65	2.60	2.45
• Trenton (T)	3,083	2,957	2,952	-4.09	-0.17	1.19	1.82	1.82
Urban and rural suburbs	16,102	16,349	16,347	1.53	-0.01	9.99	10.06	10.08
Amherst (T)	9,671	9,742	9,669	0.73	-0.75	6.00	5.99	5.96
Antigonish (T)	5,291	4,924	4,860	-6.94	-1.30	3.28	3.03	3.00
Springhill (T)	4,712	4,373	4,193	-7.19	-4.12	2.92	2.69	2.58
Pictou (T)	4,413	4,134	4,022	-6.32	-2.71	2.74	2.54	2.48
Parrsboro (T)	1,729	1,634	1,617	-5.49	-1.04	1.07	1.01	1.00
Oxford (T)	1,376	1,384	1,352	0.58	-2.31	0.85	0.85	0.83
Canso (T)	1,285	1,238	1,127	-3.66	-8.97	0.80	0.76	0.70
Mulgrave (T)	1,051	935	896	-11.94	-4.17	0.65	0.58	0.55
Rural localities	51,400	41,525	52,362	0.24	1.63	31.89	31.69	32.27
Total — NENS	161,181	162,568	162,255	0.86	-0.19	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 1991 Census of Canada (Cat. 93-303 and 93-304); compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

* As of 1996, the town of Stewiacke is not included in the urban agglomeration of Truro.

Figure 3
Net Migration, Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1976–94



Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area Administrative Unit; data obtained from annual tax files; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

In fact, only Colchester County seems to be able to maintain a certain level of attraction. Its net migration gains are around 200 inhabitants per year (250 to 300 during the more recent period). This performance would largely account for the demographic growth of the county, since the migration gains are, on average, equal to natural growth. Elsewhere in the region, there is a general net migration loss. For the 1976–94 period, the balance for the other four counties is -3,683, the most affected being Guysborough County (see table 3).

Where do emigrants go and where do immigrants come from? The origin and destination of migration movements over the last eight years were compiled for each county (see table 4). Data show an outward movement of about 38,320 persons, which is compensated by an influx of 38,998 persons, resulting in a positive balance of 678 persons. Nearly two out of three entrants (64 percent) come from or are heading towards Nova Scotia; 19 percent of these entrants originate from within the economic region, and 45 percent are from outside the region.

Table 3
Balance of Migration by County, Northeastern Nova Scotia,
1976–94 (Number of People)

Period	Colchester	Cumberland	Pictou	Guysborough	Antigonish	NENS
1976–77	377	-169	5	-187	-178	-152
1977–78	91	6	-150	-101	-10	-164
1978–79	119	-92	116	53	52	248
1979–80	-158	-305	224	-138	-42	-419
1980–81	-73	-111	45	-55	-19	-213
1981–82	71	-90	-458	60	-31	-448
1982–83	265	45	-125	-30	141	296
1983–84	417	-26	-113	-31	94	341
1984–85	258	17	-43	-54	29	207
1985–86	141	-230	-72	-112	-76	-349
1986–87	313	-131	-143	-138	-21	-120
1987–88	139	-30	-48	-62	-43	-44
1988–89	311	-125	41	-225	118	120
1989–90	363	-69	-56	-211	-66	-39
1990–91	182	163	58	-218	-57	128
1991–92	261	-1	-76	-83	12	113
1992–93	252	54	-10	-76	87	307
1993–94	242	77	-133	-69	-41	76
1976–94	3,571	-1,017	-938	-1,677	-51	-112

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area Administrative Unit; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

The NENS economic region exchanges primarily with the Halifax region and the neighbouring counties of Hants, Annapolis, and Kings. The migration movement to the rest of the Atlantic region is around 12 percent and is heading mainly towards Southern New Brunswick (Moncton and Saint John) as well as Charlottetown and St. John's. Another important migration movement (17 percent of migrants) originates from, or is heading towards, the centre of the country, especially Ontario (the Toronto and Ottawa regions). Lastly, 6 to 7 percent of migrants are heading towards, or originate from, Western Canada. There is very little international migration; the region counts about 150 entrants per year and around 60 departures abroad, resulting in a positive net balance. It should be noted that migration

Table 4
Destination and Origin of Migration Movements,
Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1986–94

	Origin		Destination		Balance
	Number	Regional Proportion in %	Number	Regional Proportion in %	
NENS	38,998	100.0	38,320	100.0	678
Within the economic region	7,345	18.8	7,345	19.2	0
Other counties in Nova Scotia	17,699	45.4	17,224	44.9	475
Other Atlantic provinces	4,918	12.6	4,648	12.1	270
Ontario-Quebec	6,589	16.9	6,383	16.7	206
Western provinces	2,447	6.3	2,720	7.1	-273

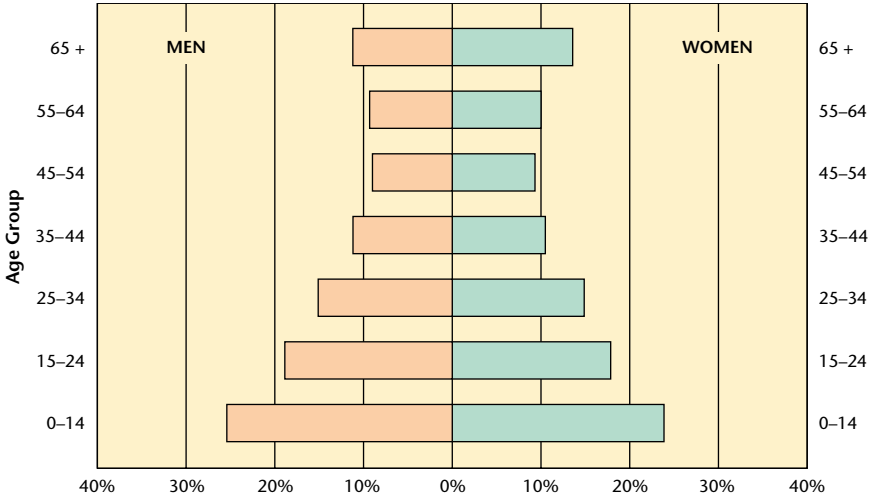
Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area Administrative Unit; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

surpluses and deficits in each of these regions are low; numbers rarely exceed 300 (a balance of -323 persons was recorded with Ontario in 1987–88). During the period under study, the annual average balance was slightly better than in all regions except the West. It must be stressed, however, that net migrations have very little impact on the region, which does not mean that emigration has no effect whatever. In fact, it would seem that the region generally exchanges its young, active people for older people, a common phenomenon in the semi-rural regions of the Maritimes. The limits of the study prohibited any further analysis.

In general, a region with slow population growth has a demographic structure that ages more rapidly. This is exactly what is happening in the NENS region. Three age groups have changed considerably since 1981. The age group under twenty-five years old has shrunk by at least 7 percentage points, its proportion in the total population decreasing from 43 to 36 percent during the decade. Consequently, the demographic load of the intermediate group (thirty-five to forty-nine years old) increased from 15.4 to 20.7 percent in the entire region. The proportion of people sixty-five years old and over also increased from 12.4 to 14.7 percent (see figures 4 and 5). However, this change, which corresponds to the bulge at the top of the age pyramid and consequently to the growth of the

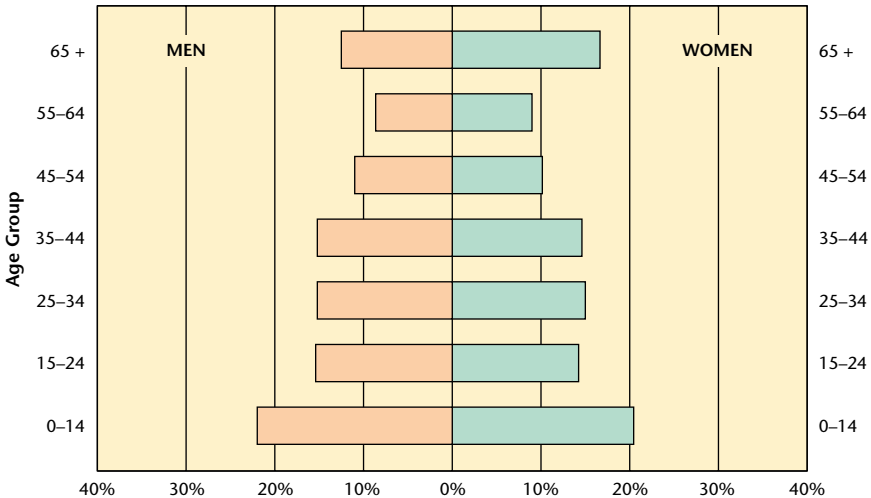
working population, is not unique to the region. The same phenomenon can also be seen in the rest of the Maritimes as well as throughout the country.

Figure 4
Age Pyramid, Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1981



Source: 1981 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Figure 5
Age Pyramid, Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991



Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Looking at intraregional differences, Cumberland and Antigonish counties seem to stand out from the neighbouring counties. In 1991 Antigonish County had a very high proportion of young people under twenty-five years of age (41.8 percent), many more than in the entire economic region or in the Maritimes as a whole, where this group makes up 36 percent of the overall population. On the other hand, Cumberland County had a disproportionate number of people of advanced age: 33 percent are aged fifty and over, and half of them are aged sixty-five or older. It should be noted that the fifty-years-and-over group makes up only 25.5 percent of the total population of the Maritimes and 28.2 percent of the population of the economic region.

Such a demographic differentiation is not devoid of socio-economic consequences, especially for the labour market. For example, in Cumberland, pension income represents 53 percent of income from all transfers, whereas in Guysborough it represents only 37 percent. It is obvious that these important factors must be integrated into any approach to planning and development for the region.



The Economy: Structure, Vitality, and Dependence

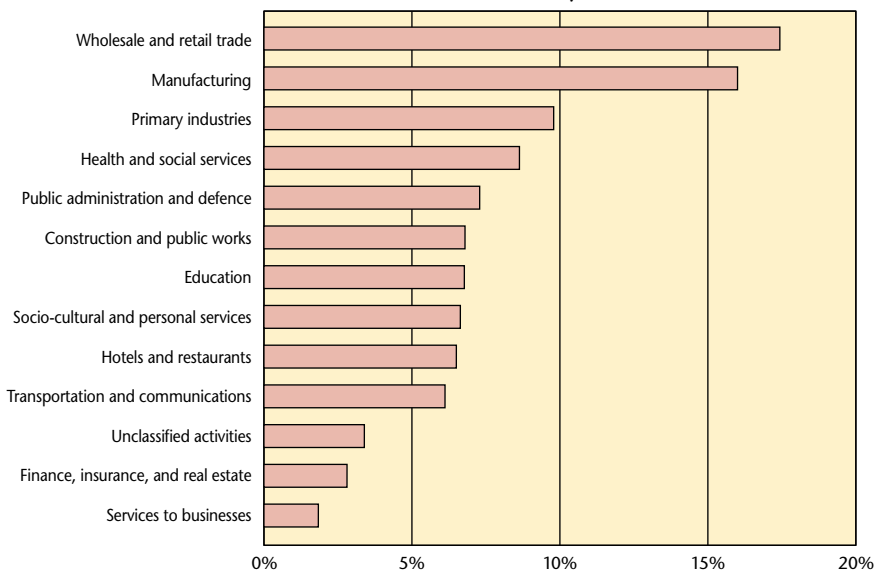
■ Economic Base

The NENS economic region was formerly at the centre of industrial development in the Maritimes. It was based on spare parts and heavy equipment (steel) manufacturing as well as on coal mining, two activities closely linked to the invention of the steam engine and the coming of the railway. With the transportation revolution, this relatively well-integrated industry fell into decline, despite a degree of relief provided by the wartime economies.

Since then, as we shall see in the following pages, the NENS economy has changed considerably. It is now more diversified, and while still including a strong industrial component, it is based more on a combination of heavy and light industries that use state-of-the-art technology. It has also benefited from the development of commercial activities, agribusiness, tourism, and fishing, as well as from an extensive public sector. The region is home to 18 percent of the population of Nova Scotia, has 41 percent of the province's farms, and produces 38 percent of its lumber, 56 percent of its pulpwood for papermaking, and 11 percent of its fishing produce. The economic profile of NENS includes a strong entrepreneurial component, as demonstrated by the fact that it has more than its fair share of the manufacturing firms in Nova Scotia (20 percent), which employ more than 24 percent of the province's manufacturing workers.

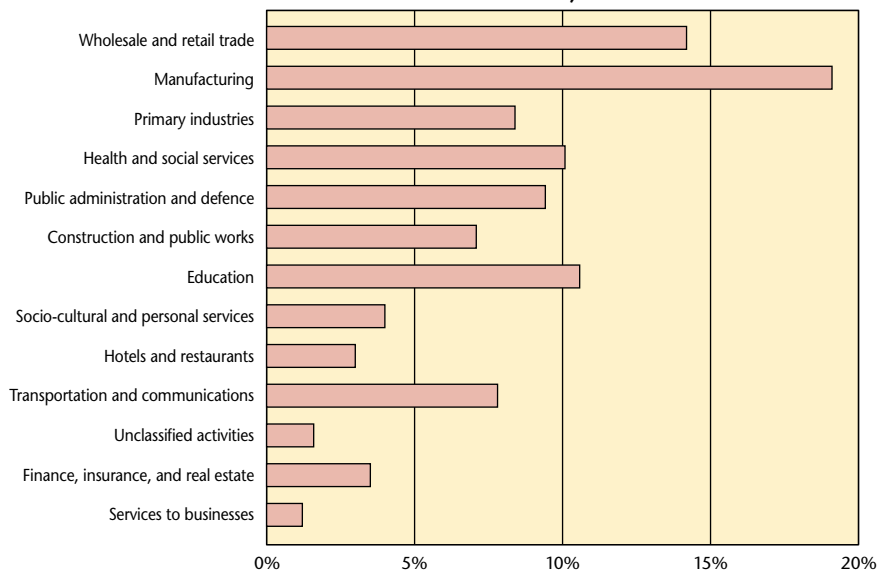
NENS has the typical range of activities of a resource-based region. For example, resource extraction and processing employ 26 percent of the labour force (41 percent in Guysborough), compared to slightly less than 20 percent in all of the Maritimes and Canada. By breaking down the industrial sectors using Statistics Canada's Standard Industrial Classification (SIC), we can see the dominant position of the wholesale and retail trade, which accounts for 17 percent of regional employment. Manufacturing follows closely with 16 percent of jobs (see figure 6). When we turn to an examination of income, however, the situation is reversed. Manufacturing generates 19 percent of employment income, wholesale and retail trade 14 percent. Two other sectors stand out for their contribution to employment: primary

Figure 6
Percentage Distribution of Employment by Industry,
Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991



Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Figure 7
Percentage Distribution of Employment Income by Industry,
Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991



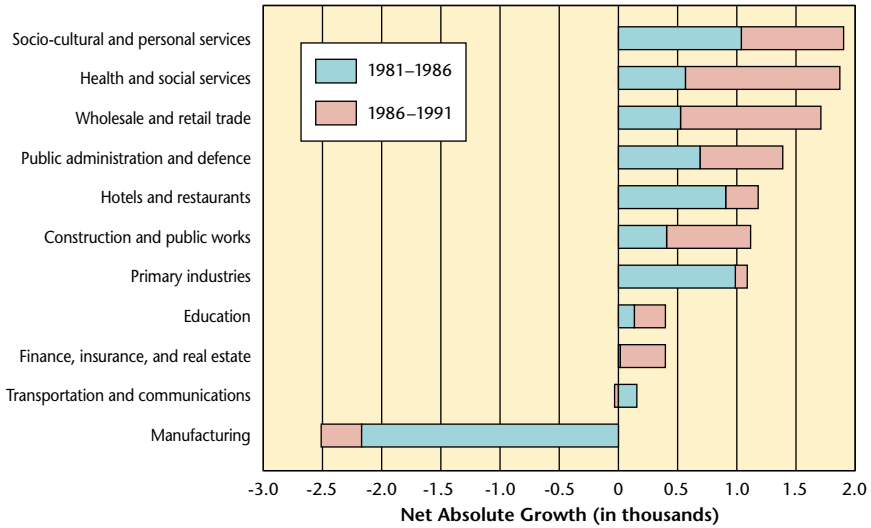
Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

activities employ 9.8 percent of the regional labour force, while the health care sector accounts for 8.6 percent of jobs. These are followed by six sectors, each contributing approximately 6 to 7 percent of jobs, with the financial and insurance sector and services to businesses ranking last.

The subregional profiles are relatively similar to those of the region. Guysborough's economy, for example, is clearly dominated by the resource sector (41 percent of jobs), but its manufacturing industry is based more on processing than on fabrication, with a marked bias in favour of forest products and especially fishery products. The food-processing industry alone provides more than 80 percent of manufacturing jobs in Guysborough County. Thus, although the county's resource-related industry is large, it generates less income than elsewhere. In the other four counties, the range of economic activities varies slightly. Two sectors are dominant, however: the commercial sector, linked to wholesale and retail trade, and the manufacturing sector. They monopolize employment in general and are responsible for a significant portion of the region's wealth, employing more than 33 percent of the regional labour force (38 percent in Pictou County) and generating an equivalent share of employment income (43 percent in Pictou). More particularly, manufacturing occupies a strategic position, providing 16 percent of regional jobs, which contribute to 19 percent of employment income (29 percent in Pictou). This performance is all the more remarkable, because competition during the 1980s forced the industry to make major adjustments, resulting in a loss of twenty-five hundred jobs (see figure 8). The primary industries, which account for 8.4 percent of all jobs, occupy third place within the regional industrial structure. Forestry and agriculture are the main primary industries in the region as a whole, with the exception of Guysborough, where fishing and forestry are dominant.

The three major industry groups shown in table 5 (the resources industry, dynamic services, and the public sector) further illustrate the region's economic structure. Together they employ 59 percent of the labour force and generate 70 percent of employment income. The resource extraction and processing industry predominates in Guysborough County (more than 40 percent of jobs and employment income) and in Pictou County (27 percent of jobs and 35 percent of employment income). By way of comparison, the resources sector generates slightly less than 20 percent of jobs and employment income in the Maritimes as a whole. Financial services and

Figure 8
Change in Employment by Industry,
Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1986–91 vs. 1981–86



Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

services to businesses employ an average of 4.6 percent of the labour force, with few differences between the subregions. This proportion is small compared to the Maritimes in general (5.9 percent), but understandable given the region’s proximity to Halifax, the province’s metropolis, where the principal head offices and upper echelons of the province’s institutional hierarchy are concentrated. For example, at least 60 percent of Nova Scotia’s finance and insurance workers are located in the Halifax area, as well as 50 percent of jobs in services to businesses and 48 percent of jobs in transportation and communications. Moreover, the average salary in these sectors is considerably higher in Halifax (from 16 percent higher in financial services to 38 percent higher in services to businesses).

Table 5
Key Industries, Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991

	Resources Industry ¹	Dynamic Services ²			Public Sector ³
		Transportation and Communications	Financial Services	Services to Businesses	
Percentage Share of Total Employment					
NENS	25.7	6.1	2.8	1.8	22.6
Colchester	22.1	6.6	3.1	1.8	22.1
Cumberland	28.4	5.6	2.8	1.7	23.3
Pictou	27.0	6.5	3.1	2.2	20.6
Guysborough	41.3	6.2	1.1	0.7	22.6
Antigonish	18.4	5.1	2.3	1.3	28.1
Maritimes	19.7	7.2	3.8	2.1	27.1
Canada	19.8	7.0	5.3	2.3	22.7
Percentage Share of Total Employment Income					
NENS	27.5	7.8	3.5	1.2	30.0
Colchester	22.1	8.6	3.4	1.4	30.4
Cumberland	27.0	7.3	3.5	0.8	33.6
Pictou	34.6	8.0	4.4	1.4	24.6
Guysborough	41.3	8.7	1.6	0.5	29.4
Antigonish	17.8	6.1	2.5	1.1	37.7
Maritimes	19.8	9.5	4.6	1.6	34.7
Canada	21.4	9.1	6.6	1.8	26.7

Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

1. Primary industries and manufacturing industry (processing/fabrication).
2. Transportation and communications, financial services, and services to businesses.
3. Education, health, and government services.

How does the structure of the region's economic activity differ from that of the Maritimes as a whole? Is the region in a better or worse position in this regard? The key structural differences are shown in table 6 and analysed below.

Table 6
Comparative Economic Structure,
Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991
(Employment Ratio, Index for Maritimes = 1.00)¹

Employment Index	Antigonish	Colchester	Cumberland	Guysborough	Pictou	NENS
Primary industries	1.43	1.11	1.64	2.33	0.97	1.30
Agriculture	1.56	1.58	2.09	0.64	0.91	1.42
Forestry	2.00	1.53	1.74	5.51	1.11	1.77
Fishing	1.37	0.27	0.63	3.23	1.17	0.94
Mining	0.34	0.81	2.21	0.17	0.51	0.92
Manufacturing industry	0.82	1.13	1.32	1.96	1.62	1.32
Processing	0.73	0.97	1.04	3.11	0.77	1.04
Fabrication	1.16	1.38	1.47	0.73	1.81	1.46
Dynamic services²	0.67	0.88	0.78	0.62	0.91	0.83
Transportation and communications	0.70	0.91	0.78	0.87	0.90	0.85
Finance, insurance, and real estate	0.62	0.83	0.75	0.29	0.83	0.75
Services to businesses	0.63	0.88	0.82	0.35	1.09	0.86
Public sector	0.67	0.88	0.78	0.62	0.91	0.83
Education	1.68	0.90	0.79	1.15	0.90	0.98
Health	1.17	0.82	0.91	0.63	0.95	0.91
Public administration and defence	0.50	0.75	0.86	0.81	0.50	0.67
Construction	1.22	1.22	1.04	0.78	0.93	1.07
Trade	1.08	1.14	0.99	0.59	1.15	1.07
Hotels and restaurants	1.30	1.24	0.86	0.65	0.88	1.02

Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

1. A sector with an index value greater than 1.00 (which appears in boldface in the table) indicates that compared to the Maritimes as a whole, a larger part of a subregion's labour force is concentrated in this sector.
2. As defined by the Economic Council of Canada (Cat. EC22-164), 1996.

As shown in table 6, which compares NENS with the Maritimes as a whole, the economic structure of NENS is centred more on resources. In the overall region, there are 30 percent more jobs related to primary activities and 32 percent more in the manufacturing industry than in the Maritimes as a whole. Manufacturing, as opposed to processing, has an even stronger presence and constitutes a highly strategic industry for the region. Table 6 also shows that compared with the Maritimes a smaller proportion of the region's labour force is concentrated in the public sector. This is particularly true for public administration and defence. The data also show the importance of traditional activities such as construction, trade, food, and lodging, which employ proportionately more of the region's workers than elsewhere, although activities vary greatly from one county to another. One of the most striking features of table 6 is the discrepancy in dynamic services, a sector whose economic importance is no longer questioned. The region appears to be lagging behind in this area, particularly in the financial and insurance sectors, services to businesses, and wholesale trade. Dynamic services employ 10.7 percent of the regional labour force, compared to 13.1 percent in the Maritimes, and this difference is even more pronounced when expressed in terms of income. Again, the region's proximity to Halifax, which tends to attract these specialized services, helps to explain this difference. Whatever the reason, the relative weakness of dynamic industries is a structural handicap in the context of the new economy, which is centred on specialized services and knowledge.

Clearly one of the main assets of the region's economic structure is the public sector. Although public services are less predominant in the region (22.6 percent of the labour force) than in Nova Scotia as a whole (28 percent) or in the Maritimes (27 percent), their importance derives from the fact that they generate average employment incomes that are much higher than the regional average (33 percent more). Of all the counties, Antigonish (higher education and health care) and Cumberland (government services and education) benefit most from the presence of this sector. The public sector increased the number of its employees in the region by 3,680 during the 1980s, which represented a 57 percent net increase in the number of jobs for the region, principally in the fields of health and government services.

■ The Regional Labour Market

The labour force of the NENS economic region increased by 6,500 workers during the 1980s, an average annual growth of 1.0 percent. As shown in figure 8, these gains were distributed equally over the two periods 1981–86 and 1986–91 and represented a very modest increase when compared to the average annual growth of 1.6 percent in the Maritimes as a whole. Of course, the region has had to deal with a significant decline in manufacturing employment — the loss of 2,515 jobs, most of them in the early 1980s.

The following sectors are among those that have contributed most to the increase in jobs between 1981 and 1991: socio-cultural and personal services (1,904 net jobs, or 4.5 percent annually); health and social services (1,895 net jobs, or 4.3 percent annually); wholesale and retail trade (1,710 net jobs, or 1.5 percent annually); public administration (1,390 net jobs, or 3.5 percent annually); food and lodging (1,180 net jobs, or 3.6 percent annually); construction (1,115 jobs, or 2.7 percent annually); and primary industries (1,089 net jobs, or 1.8 percent annually). A modest gain of approximately 900 net jobs was recorded for education, finance, and insurance, as well as transportation and communications. The majority of job losses between 1981 and 1986 affected Pictou County, while those in the subsequent period tended to occur in Guysborough. It is interesting to note that most of the new jobs went to women, thus increasing their share of the regional labour force in the 1980s from 39.6 percent to 42.5 percent.

Like the make-up of the industrial fabric, the level of active participation of a population in the economy is very important, since the more people who hold jobs, the greater the potential for generating income. As shown in table 7, only 60.4 percent of the NENS population actively participate in the labour force, compared to 63.6 percent for the Maritimes and 67.9 percent for Canada. Antigonish County, home to St. Francis Xavier University, has the highest rate of active participation in the labour force; in contrast, the counties of Guysborough and Cumberland have the lowest rates. The type and duration of work are crucial in judging whether the level of participation reflects income. Thus, in Guysborough County 30 percent of the labour force is employed in seasonal work, compared to between 14 and just above 18 percent in the other counties.

The seasonal factor has always been a major constraint on the productivity of firms in the Maritimes, and with 17 percent of its labour force occupying seasonal jobs, NENS is no exception. It is in a better position than several other economic regions of the Maritimes, but the impact of seasonal work on its economy is no less significant. In addition to the primary industries that have the highest proportion of seasonal workers, particularly fishing (68 percent) and forestry (35 percent), high percentages are also found in processing (28 percent) and construction (27 percent). Other sectors with a high proportion of seasonal jobs are found in traditional services.

Table 7
Selected Regional Labour Market Indicators,
Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991

	Participa- tion Rate	Unemploy- ment Rate	Working Time		U.I./Emp. Income (%)	Labour Force Education (%)	
			Seasonal	Full- Time		< Grade 13	Univer- sity
NENS	60.4	15.0	17.0	64.0	11.2	32.2	9.3
Colchester	63.0	13.9	14.0	67.2	8.6	33.5	11.0
Cumberland	57.6	16.6	18.4	64.8	11.8	37.7	7.4
Pictou	60.3	14.9	16.9	63.1	10.7	33.3	9.5
Guysborough	54.5	18.3	30.0	49.7	26.3	51.3	5.4
Antigonish	62.9	13.9	15.5	64.2	11.9	28.7	16.2
Maritimes	63.6	13.8	16.7	65.0	10.1	29.8	12.8
Canada	57.9	10.2	10.2	71.3	5.0	26.6	14.5

Source: 1991 Census of Canada; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Thus, jobs related to resource activities and construction, as well as traditional services, generally tend to be seasonal. Together, they employ 60 percent of the regional labour force but 85 percent of seasonal workers. Regions in which these industries predominate are more likely to experience chronic unemployment and generate lower wages. As table 7 shows, Guysborough County and to a lesser extent Cumberland County have the highest percentage of seasonal workers. It is not surprising, therefore, that these two counties have the highest unemployment rates and the lowest levels of education. In contrast, only 6 to 8 percent of those working in the occupational

fields of management, education, and health services are affected by seasonal cycles. These occupations generate the highest average salaries in the economy. Since jobs are proportionally more concentrated in Antigonish, they serve to increase that county's socio-economic position. Thus, the unemployment rate in Antigonish (Colchester has the same rate) is the lowest recorded in the region, and the labour force has a higher level of education (16.2 percent have a university degree, compared to 9.3 percent in the region as a whole).

Insofar as these different indicators are interrelated, they give a good sense of the level of regional dynamism. A better-educated labour force generally has more employment opportunities, works for longer periods of the year, and thus generates higher incomes. The indicators may vary according to regional contexts or cyclical economic circumstances, but they are not wrong. Education is a case in point. NENS firms, regardless of their size or field of activity, all need personnel who are able to adjust to a changing workplace environment. Thus, workers' experience and mobility are assets, as are their educational qualifications. The more schooling workers have, the better able they are to adapt, particularly to assimilate complex and changing tasks linked to the information economy. It is in this area that the region is lagging behind, particularly Guysborough and Cumberland counties, where a high proportion of workers are under-educated: 51 to 38 percent of their respective labour forces did not finish high school. Clearly, the overall educational level of the region's labour force as a whole needs to be improved. Many new jobs involve a high level of technology and more contact with clients, thus increasing the importance of a solid basic training so that workers can meet the requirements of these new jobs. And while these increasing requirements affect all activity sectors, they are obviously felt more intensely in professional and dynamic services, manufacturing, communications, and services to businesses.

■ Income and Economic Dependence

How are incomes evolving in the NENS region? What are the sources of income? What is the level of dependence on transfer payments? These are interesting questions from many points of view. We will attempt to answer them below with the help of a few indicators that will bring out some major features of the region's sources of income.

First, since the mid-1970s, income per resident has remained relatively stationary at between 77 and 79 percent of the national average. This seems to be an intermediate level within the Maritime economic regions, which perform better overall at 81 percent of the Canadian average. However, intraregional gaps are very pronounced. For example, income per resident varies from 67 percent of the national average in Guysborough to 81 percent in Pictou. The New Glasgow area has the highest incomes per resident — that is, 90 percent of the national average. Incomes are also higher than the regional average in Stellarton, Truro, Antigonish, Pictou, and Amherst. In fact, the urban areas together have a total income per resident equivalent to 83 percent of the national average, while in rural areas it is only 66 percent (see table 8).

Another interesting feature is that employment income (i.e., income from work) is gradually losing ground to transfer payments, particularly pension and unemployment insurance income. Thus, aggregated employment income, which used to be 80 percent or more of the region's total income in the mid-1970s, is now a mere 64 percent of total income. Although this trend can be observed elsewhere in the Maritimes, it is nevertheless more pronounced in the NENS region. Income from self-employment is also losing ground, decreasing from 5.7 percent in 1976 to 4.3 percent in 1992. These relative decreases are due entirely to the increase in income transfers to the region. For example, by 1992 unemployment insurance payments had increased to 7 percent of the region's total income, compared to 5 percent in the mid-1970s. Other forms of transfer payments, particularly various types of pensions, have also increased considerably — from 12 percent of total income in 1976 to 29 percent in 1992.

Table 8
Employment and Income Indicators of the Labour Force by Mail-Sorting Area and County, 1992

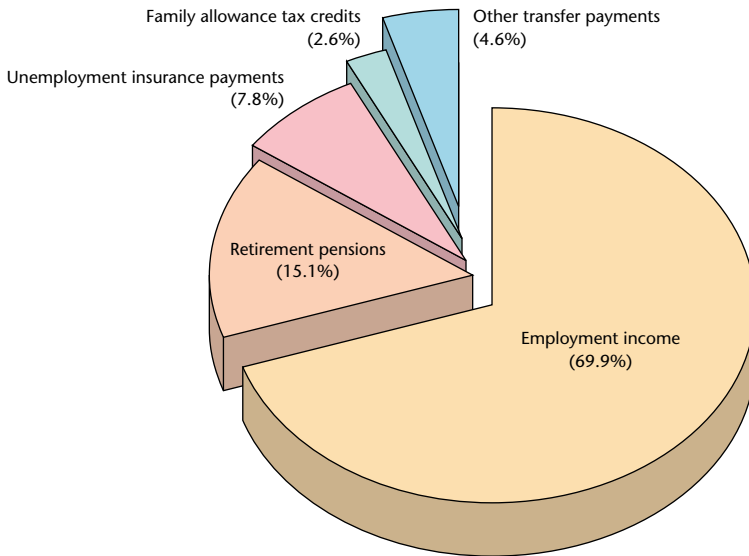
	Population	Average Total Income per Resident		Average Total Income per Worker		Employment Rate %	Unemployment Rate %	U.I. Income/ Emp. Income %	
		\$	Can = 100	\$	Can = 100				
Compilation based on mail-sorting area¹									
Truro	B90817	30,450	14,980	84.7	20,816	82.8	49.7	14.7	6.9
New Glasgow	B90816	15,610	15,975	90.4	23,107	91.9	47.6	14.7	7.5
Amherst	B90821	13,850	14,037	79.4	19,101	75.9	47.9	16.2	8.6
Antigonish	B90550	13,730	14,761	83.5	21,033	83.6	49.4	16.4	9.3
Pictou	B0K 1H0	7,180	14,909	84.3	20,599	81.9	49.2	20.3	12.8
Westville	B0K 2A0	6,570	13,573	76.8	19,486	77.5	44.3	16.0	10.1
Stellarton	B0K 1S0	6,160	14,850	84.0	22,117	87.9	44.3	13.8	7.2
Trenton	B90632	4,770	12,670	71.7	18,472	73.4	44.9	18.4	13.7
Tatamagouche	B0K 1V0	3,010	12,279	69.3	15,908	63.2	43.9	18.6	16.0
Main postal sort areas		101,330	14,681	83.0	20,704	82.3	48.0	15.8	8.6
Rural areas		44,560	11,598	65.6	15,227	60.5	46.0	22.3	19.5
NENS	B0H-K-L-M	145,980	13,740	77.7	19,078	75.8	47.4	17.8	11.2

Compilation based on census divisions										
Colchester	1210	47,800	14,169	80.1	19,617	78.0	49.2	16.0	8.6	
Cumberland	1211	34,000	13,173	74.5	17,420	69.2	46.7	18.4	11.8	
Pictou	1212	50,000	14,414	81.5	20,604	81.9	46.6	17.1	10.7	
Guysborough	1213	10,990	11,921	67.4	14,696	58.4	47.0	27.7	26.3	
Antigonish	1214	19,770	13,646	77.2	19,954	79.3	47.4	17.8	11.9	
NENS		162,560	13,821	78.2	19,171	76.2	47.5	17.9	11.2	
NS		878,490	15,275	86.4	21,565	85.7	49.9	16.3	8.2	
Maritimes		4,274,710	14,340	81.1	19,776	78.6	49.9	19.9	12.5	
Canada		27,533,910	17,678	100.0	25,156	100.0	51.9	12.5	5.0	

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area Administrative Unit; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

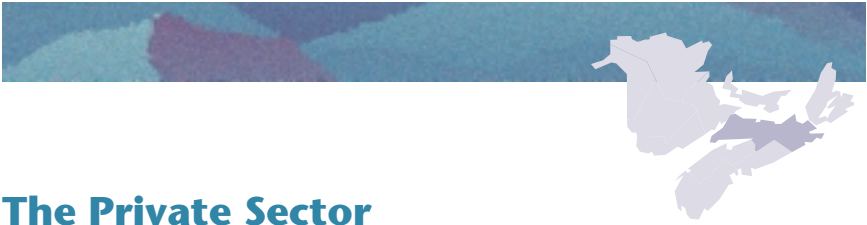
1. The NENS economic region is divided into four main areas for processing mail: B0H, B0K, B0L, and B0M. The areas correspond more or less, though not exactly, to county boundaries. Thus, the B0H code corresponds to the area from Antigonish to Canso; the B0K code includes the New Glasgow and Pictou areas, stretching as far as Pugwash; the B0L code is for the most part limited to the Amherst area; and the Parrsboro-Oxford-Truro axis is included in the B0M mail-processing area. A specific urban code is assigned to the urban areas of the main agglomerations.

Figure 9
Sources of Income, Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area Administrative Unit; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

Regional differences in income are most evident when the impact of unemployment is measured by a labour force's secondary income. Thus, unemployment insurance income is equivalent to 26 percent of employment income in Guysborough County; that is more than double the regional average (11.2 percent), which is still lower than the average for the Maritimes as a whole (12.5 percent). (The latter figure is already double the national average.) Colchester County appears to be in the best position in this regard. Although dependence on unemployment insurance varies greatly from one urban area to the next (less than 15 percent in Stellarton, Truro, and New Glasgow, compared to 20 percent in Pictou), it affects more people in small centres and rural communities, where 22 percent of the labour force is unemployed, and unemployment insurance payments are equivalent to 19.5 percent of employment income, compared to only 8.6 percent in the region's urban areas. Although the NENS economic region appears to suffer slightly less from unemployment than the rest of the Maritimes, 18 percent of the labour force in 1992 received unemployment insurance payments amounting to \$160 million. It goes without saying that the federal government's recent changes to the unemployment insurance program could have a major impact on the regional economy.



The Private Sector

We approach the private sector of Northeastern Nova Scotia by first providing a general overview of its activity in the region. Next, we profile the business activity in each of the region's five counties to give a sense of the comparative strength of their economies. We then go on to examine activities by economic sector, with particular attention to manufacturing, agriculture, forestry, and the fishery. We also assess the state of the region's transportation and tourism sectors and their interrelationship with other sectors, and conclude by considering the prospects for creating new economic activities from the interaction of learning institutions with the private sector, the ability of business to respond to innovation, and the potential benefits of communications technology for the region's economy.

Such a broad account within these few pages must be synoptic rather than encyclopaedic. Efforts were made to talk with representatives of all the major private sector employers charted in table 9: our requests for interviews were refused only by Michelin. When it came to employers with a small workforce, a number of people were interviewed to get a sense of the issues and prospects in each particular field. The region is also home to many small businesses with few employees beyond their owners: contacting many of them was beyond the scope of this review. We did, however, talk to people in a variety of sectors to learn about the issues they face and the possibilities that excite them.

The region as a whole is to a striking degree at the service of distant commerce. Whether its industries make pulp, tires, rail cars, packaging, parking meters, girders, or custom parts for distant innovators, they are supplying others with the materials of trade. Consequently, the private economy of the region is very much dependent on the state of its trade routes. Save for a small part of Guysborough County, the region was once served by a fairly complex net of rail lines. Much of that is gone now, and the future of the remaining railbed is as an entirely different form of transport service, one that brings visitors into contact with nature. The region's highways are the most vital part of its transportation system, and the primary

Table 9
Major Employers in the Private Sector
of Northeastern Nova Scotia

Company	Number of Employees
Michelin North America (New Glasgow)	1,600
Empire Group (Sobey's)	1,330
TrentonWorks Ltd. (Trenton) *	1,200
Stora Forest Industries Limited (Port Hawkesbury) ¹	1,075
Oxford Frozen Foods Limited ² *	670
Stanfield's Limited	660
Seafreez Foods Inc. (Canso) *	570
Kimberly-Clark Nova Scotia (New Glasgow)	450
Seagull Pewter & Silversmiths Ltd. (Pugwash) *	400
Intertape Polymer Inc. (Truro)	390
Crossley Carpet Mills Limited (Truro)	350
I.M.P. Aerospace Components Ltd. (Amherst)	305
MT & T	300
Nova Scotia Power Inc.	293
Scotsburn Dairy Group (5 locations)	285
Canadian Salt (Pugwash)	212
Canadian Automotive Radiator Exchange & Mgr. Ltd. (Debert)	200
Advocate Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd. (Pictou)	180
Ballastronix Inc. (Amherst)	170
SCL Technologies Inc. (Amherst)	170
Poly Cello (Amherst)	161
Maritime Steel & Foundries Limited (New Glasgow)	150
Mersey Seafoods Ltd. (Bickerton Industries Ltd., Guysborough County)	150
Kohler International Ltd. (windows — Debert) *	150
Ropak Canada Inc. (packing materials — Springhill) *	143
Warren Maritimes Ltd. (asphalt; NG, Tr.) *	135
Dominion Bridge Inc. (Amherst) *	130
General Eastern Homes Ltd. (Amherst) *	120
Arisaig Fisheries Limited (Antigonish County) *	110
Pure Energy Battery Corporation (Amherst)	100

Source: Information obtained from the companies' representatives; compilation by Eugen Weiss.

Note: Arranged by size of regional workforce.

* Peak employment based on seasonality or business cycles.

1. Though located just outside the region in Cape Breton, Stora directly employs 165 residents of the study area and indirectly more than 900 additional workers through contractors. About 70 percent of the mill's fiber supply comes from Northeastern Nova Scotia.

2. Includes seasonal plant in Parrsboro.

trade route is the Trans Canada Highway. The condition of the highway is improving but at considerable cost and with some contentious issues surrounding its development. Within a few years, the region will likely be transected by a natural gas pipeline. Natural gas exports to the United States will finally yield to Nova Scotia at least a fraction of the fiscal independence that petroleum has afforded the Western provinces. There is also the hope that the energy will be made available locally to help reduce the operating costs of industry and perhaps create new opportunities.

Last but by no means least is the impressive growth in the communications infrastructure, both the physical fibers and switches and new technological hybrids. Equally important is the increasing socio-economic enthusiasm for the global system of interconnected computer networks and applications known as the Internet and multimedia. The Internet is of vital importance to the region because it has the potential to reshape the way in which communities are connected to the rest of the world and to each other. By opening doors to new ideas and dialogue, it also allows the region to reclaim a part of its educated young people who chose to seek their fortunes in other parts of the country and the world. As well, it serves as a quasi-urban link for people scattered in communities throughout the region, and brings both tools and markets within their reach.

We will now provide brief characterizations of the NENS subregions and then consider specific sectors and issues common to the region.

■ **Guysborough County**

To begin in the east, Guysborough County is the most remote, least populated, and most depressed county in the region. Its economy is tied to the sea, which suffered the collapse of the groundfishery, and to the forest, which supplies the raw materials for pulp and saw mills. Though somewhat isolated from the rest of the Maritime region, it has begun to develop its tourism potential and is attracting many German nationals who are buying property in the area.

Efforts to develop the county have been hampered by problems of distance and uncertain travel — problems which the local leadership has started to overcome through the use of communications technology. Some preliminary steps have been taken to develop a multimedia industry, with the aim of creating new opportunities in

the use of information technology to convert existing data and assemble new information for both government and private clients. With the development of Sable gas, the region stands to gain considerable short-term benefits from the construction of landfall, refining, and pipeline facilities, as well as some long-term employment in Country Harbour and possibly Mulgrave. Also anticipated is the construction of a pipeline to carry gas liquids, including propane and butane, to Point Tupper for further refining. And a potential exists for cross-causeway employment in that industry.

Guysborough is a subregion composed of a few small isolated towns and numerous hamlets and rural strips. Its professional and specialized services are often unique to a community and relatively rare in the county as a whole. It is heavily reliant on Antigonish for many services, which has put a premium on efforts to build a collaborative business culture in the county. Much of this collaboration is devoted to tourism development, an effort that has been aided by a recent provincial thrust to promote the entire Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia. The first edition of an annual folk festival inspired by the music of the late Stan Rogers, a frequent visitor to the county, was launched this summer (1997) and has been counted a success. There are also several inns and bed and breakfasts operating around the county, and a number of golf courses are being built.

The county is devoting a lot of time and energy to what can only be described as a rueful labour of love: the creation of a wildlands trail from the remains of the Guysborough Railway, a rail line that was cancelled in 1930 by the Bennett government after its construction had nearly been completed under a contract from the King government. Many county residents remain bitter to this day over the demise of a railway that would have permitted the development of forest and mine resources and provided a flatter and more direct route to Cape Breton than the line that snakes along the Antigonish County shore. Now, this legacy of the defunct Guysborough Railway will serve to draw urban visitors to the area to have their bicycle and snowmobile excursions catered by local restaurants, service stations, and inns.

■ Antigonish County

The private sector economy of Antigonish County has been dependent in large part on a strong concentration of public sector activity in the town of Antigonish, the county seat, where the university,

medical, administrative, and school payrolls combine to account for nearly 60 percent of county income.⁷ For this reason, the business community is heavily concentrated in the retail and local hospital-ity sectors, which are bolstered by a clientele from Guysborough County, as well as Inverness and Richmond counties in Cape Breton.

The town of Antigonish has a small manufacturing sector (leather and building components), while the rural primary sectors are agriculture (\$16.6 million), the fishery (\$6.3 million), and wood (\$4.7 million). Although these revenues together account for only one-third of the combined public sector spending mentioned above, they do provide 830 jobs.

The tourist sector, worth between \$16 and \$20 million a year,⁸ is significant, but as much of its business derives from Cape Breton tourism, it is largely dependent on transient trade. The development of a number of interrelated attractions and activities is the subject of considerable local attention. This includes work on a new \$12 million facility proposed by the university and town, the possible redevelopment of St. F.X.'s Crystal Cliffs property, the planning of a nature-tourism development strategy for the Cape George peninsula, and a resolve to improve the scheduling of popular events.

All of these initiatives, if realized, may help to make the area more of a destination than a stop-over. To this end, it should be noted that of all the subregions in Northeastern Nova Scotia, Antigonish has the most diverse selection of small culturally related businesses: creating and marketing graphic arts, crafts, and music. The artists and artisans behind these activities (ordinary families and individuals) rely for their success — and their income — on the local support they receive from the town's professional elite and other lovers of the arts.

■ Pictou County

Pictou County has at its centre a loose urban collection of towns (New Glasgow, Trenton, Stellarton, Westville, and Pictou), and its economic activity revolves around a well-developed private sector: two of its private sector employers are the largest in the study region.⁹

7. Ian Spencer, "In Profile: The Economy of Antigonish County," for Coady Institute, 1995.

8. Ibid.

9. Michelin (1,600 employees) and Empire-Sobey's (1,400+ employees in the region). TrentonWorks has sustained the employment peak of 1,200 it reached late in 1996.

It has four large industrial employers (Michelin North America Inc. [~1,600 employees], TrentonWorks Ltd. [500–1,200 employees], Kimberly-Clark of Nova Scotia [450 employees], and MT & T, which has 263 employees in the county and a payroll of \$9.2 million) and more smaller ones, including Maritime Steel & Foundries Limited (150 employees) and the NSPC Trenton electric-generating station (108 employees).

The region also benefits considerably from the fact that the county is home to a firm that would be a giant even in the larger centres of the Maritimes. Stellarton is the headquarters of the Empire Group, best known for its flagship company Sobeys's, as well as a number of sectorally related supply and service enterprises, owned both by Empire and by others. The various Sobeys's companies employ 1,100 people in Pictou County and contribute a payroll of about \$30 million to the immediate area.¹⁰

The largest of the non-Sobeys's supply/service enterprises that serve this retailing sector are Advocate Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., which employs 180 people and whose largest single source of business is printing flyers for Sobeys's stores throughout Eastern Canada, and the Scotsburn Dairy Group, which employs 80 people (including head office staff) in a hamlet just outside the Pictou County core and 32 more in Stellarton.

A few smaller product-manufacturing companies have also carved out niches in the county; among these are Wear Well Garments Ltd. (industrial clothing, 80 employees); J. J. MacKay Canada Ltd. (electronic parking meters, 45 employees); Tibbetts Paints Limited (household and industrial paints, 29 employees); and Grohmann Knives 1974 Limited (premium utility knives, 22 employees). More than 100 people work in smaller machine and metal shops, and there is also a small saw-milling sector, which directly employs about 75 people. The county's fishery is on about the same scale, concentrating on lobster and with some local activity in salmonid aquaculture. There is also a thriving marine products distributorship, Stright-MacKay, which employs 23–26 people and which is developing markets in both the United States and Scandinavia.

10. In the other regions of Northeastern Nova Scotia, Sobeys's stores and a distribution centre in Debert add another 340 employees. In Pictou County, head office at Empire and Sobeys's stores employs 380 people, with another 360 in distribution centres; the rest work in stores and in owned and related businesses, including a Big 8 bottling plant, Eastern Sign-Print, Empire Theaters, Down East Video wholesalers, and two auto dealerships.

Farm income is also important to the area, as evidenced by employment at the Scotsburn Dairy Group, a producer-owned cooperative that returns about \$45 million in payments each year, chiefly to farmers in Northeastern Nova Scotia. In addition, there is some local production of fruit, chiefly berries, and a little innovative farm-product development, such as asparagus and wild mushrooms. Some thought is also being given to growing grapes, since a winery in Malagash has proven that the Northumberland coast's long growing season enhances their flavour, even if temperatures in the area are too low to produce much sugar.

The county's landscape features hills, rivers, beaches, and some areas of historic charm. By all accounts, its tourism potential has yet to be fully realized, handicapped in part by the lack of sufficient convention facilities, although there is some high-quality space at the large new Museum of Industry. The shire town of Pictou, with its well-developed waterfront theme area, a modern live-performance hall, and several inns, has done the most to exploit its tourist potential. However, it views the opening of Confederation Bridge with disquiet, fearing the loss of the ferry linking nearby Caribou with Wood Islands, Prince Edward Island. The waterfront area of New Glasgow is at an earlier stage of development.

■ Colchester County

If Pictou County's economy is driven by rubber, steel, and retail, that of Colchester County is driven by woven thread, farming, and a variety of services to construction, equipment, and transport. Most private sector employment in Truro relates to the products of the loom, though in widely divergent ways. Stanfield's Limited (600 employees) makes clothing, Intertape Polymer Inc. (390 employees) weaves polyethylene material for industrial sacks, and Crossley Carpet Mills Limited (350 employees) weaves carpeting.

The town is also the site of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College (NSAC), which in the view of local people has leavened the growth of both local farm production (largely dairy) and a farm supplies and equipment sector that is the largest in the province. It is widely held that the agricultural college has played a role in technology transfer that has been of significant benefit to that segment of the private sector. The former Nova Scotia Teachers' College in Truro is to be converted into a community college; the hope is that it will promote new-economy initiatives in the area, a role similar to the one played by the NSAC in agriculture.

Truro also has what may be considered an industrial suburb in Debert, where a number of industries are located. These include a Home Hardware distribution centre, a Sobey's-owned meat distribution centre, an automotive parts manufacturer, and a window plant. An industrial-transition plan is being developed to replace a Canadian Forces presence that has been phased out. The plan got off to a good start with the announcement this spring of a \$32.5 million project that will see Orenda Recip Inc. establish a development and manufacturing plant for high-powered-reciprocating aircraft engines. It will create 110 local jobs and some 325 more among suppliers. The company has been assisted with a repayable provincial (\$9.3 million) and federal (\$8.4 million) investment and \$400,000 in site improvements by the Colchester Park Development Society. Orenda, which is a subsidiary of the Ontario-based Magellan Aerospace, will invest \$14 million in the project.

In contrast to the county's handful of large employers, the Truro area is noteworthy for a comparatively high number of what could be called larger small-manufacturing companies. A rough comparison of numbers available in the *Nova Scotia Directory of Manufacturers* shows the Truro area with thirty-seven manufacturers with employment in the double digits. Using the same criterion, the New Glasgow area has only sixteen manufacturers in that range. Total employment in this group of companies is 1,146 for Truro and 405 for New Glasgow. While this is admittedly an arbitrary use of numbers, it does tend to indicate that the Truro area has been fertile ground for entrepreneurial activity. It should be said that a high degree of manufacturing entrepreneurship does not in this case translate into higher wages for employees: the industrial workers of Pictou County are better off than those of Colchester County by an average of \$3,000 a year.

■ Cumberland County

Amherst, the county's principal town, has been experiencing hard times with the closure of both retail and office businesses in its downtown area, a situation that has been the cause of much discouragement. The industrial sector, on the other hand, has been healthy, and manufacturers attribute their success to a good workforce, low costs, and growing demand. One of the results they point to is an increase in employment.

This has not always been the case, but then Amherst's industrial history has been one of ebb and flow, with considerable growth in the early part of this century, followed by a sharp decline in the 1920s. Where Amherst was once a manufacturing centre for cars and pianos, it is now a substantial manufacturer of electronics, plastics, and prefabricated construction.

Leading the way are I.M.P. Aerospace Components Ltd., a maker of aircraft assemblies that has grown rapidly in the last few years from around 150 employees to its present workforce of 305; Ballastronix, a manufacturer of electrical lighting components (180 employees); SCL Technologies Inc., which took over from Northern Telecom its former business of making custom circuit boards (170 employees); Poly Cello, which makes plastic wrap with high-quality images for a continental market (160 employees); Dominion Bridge Inc., which prefabricates steel-building components for Canadian and United States markets (130 employees); General Eastern Homes Ltd., manufacturer of prefab housing (120 employees); and Pure Energy Battery Corporation, maker of household batteries and chargers (100 employees).

Cumberland County differs from other counties in the study area in that two of its largest private employers (and a public employer too, if one includes the Springhill Penitentiary) are located at some distance from its major town. These are Oxford Frozen Foods Limited (300–350 full-time employees, at most 550), processor of blueberries, carrots, and onion rings, and Seagull Pewter & Silversmiths Ltd. of Pugwash (320–400 employees), an industrial supplier of crafted pewter to a world market. Another is Canadian Salt of Pugwash (200+ employees). Other major employers in other centres outside Amherst include Ropak Canada Inc. (Springhill), maker of food packaging (80–165 employees); Gordon's Greenhouses (Oxford), a floral supplier (100–165 employees); a seasonal Oxford Frozen Foods plant in Parrsboro (120 employees in season); and Parrsboro Metal Fabricators Ltd., a boiler and furnace maker (100 employees).

■ Major Manufacturers

Most of the major manufacturing employers in the region are well-established companies that generally claim to have firm markets, good workforces, and reliable access to capital. The cost of transportation to increasingly continental markets is an issue for some, but the problem mentioned most often in our interviews concerned the

recruitment of senior people in marketing, product design, and, especially, information technology.

It is in the nature of major industries to have to reinvest in technology, and most are doing it. The clearest example of this may be Stora Forest Industries Limited (located just outside the study area but with a major economic effect on two of its easternmost counties), which is investing \$750 million on a new high-grade paper mill to improve its production system in order to solidify its place in the economy. Though the pulp mill in Trenton has gone through one ownership change in the last two years and is about to undergo another, it is considered a viable, low-cost plant with relatively modest capital requirements.

The TrentonWorks Ltd. rail car operation has benefited greatly from the investments by its new owner, Greenbrier, in quality, training, production systems, and working conditions. As a result, it has rebounded to levels of activity not seen in decades and has injected new life into the economy of Pictou County.

The large basic industries of Truro (Stanfield's Limited, Crossley Carpet Mills Limited, and Intertape Polymer Inc.) have all reinvested in their plants recently and seem to be in good shape for at least the short term. Stanfield's has gone through a reengineering and upgrading of its facilities and has invested in two United States niche subsidiaries; it remains, however, one of the smallest players in the continental market for its core products: underwear and sport shirts. Crossley has also reinvested in equipment upgrades and has made a determined bid to expand into various business and institutional markets in the United States. Investment in expansion by the Canadian Automotive Radiator¹¹ group of companies in Debert has already increased employment, and the company plans more. And growth at the Kohler International Limited window plant in Debert has led to an announced expansion.

Industrial employment in the Amherst area has been provided by a group of companies having a greater high-tech flavour. They include I.M.P. Aerospace Components Ltd., Ballastronix Inc. (lighting components), SCL Technologies Inc. (circuit boards), and Pure Energy Battery Corporation (batteries and chargers). Substantial

11. The name does not fully describe the company's operation. It is a custom manufacturer of small-run metal and plastic parts supplying a wide variety of other manufacturers both within the region and, in recent years, in fifty countries around the world. It works closely with design agencies such as Concept + and RPC.

technological skills are also required for Poly Cello's production of high-quality graphics for food packaging.

One of the most encouraging developments in manufacturing has been the rapid growth of Seagull Pewter & Silversmiths Ltd. in Pugwash, which employs more than 300 people and is the centre of what has become a cluster of industrial crafts producers in Cumberland County.

In the food industry, Oxford Frozen Foods Limited has become a major processor of berries, carrots, and onion rings and has provided the food industry with significant employment, while at the same time reducing the seasonal variation in employment to moderate levels. And the Scotsburn Dairy's five plants in the region maintain the stability of both plant employment and income.

Challenges remain, however. Owner unwillingness to pay a high price to meet new provincial air-quality standards may doom I.M.P.'s foundry operation in Amherst, the successor to what was one of the town's major industries. New owners have yet to breathe life into the Pictou shipyard, once a major employer but dormant in recent years. And Warren Maritimes Ltd., a Pictou County manufacturer of asphalt products, has announced it will have to sell or close its Nova Scotia operations because of a lack of business — a loss of 120 jobs.

■ Mining

Mining in the northern region of Nova Scotia is concentrated mainly in the salt-mining industry in Pugwash and Nappan in Cumberland County, with sales estimated at \$67 million in 1995. Next in importance are a number of stone quarries and sources of industrial gravel, limestone, and barite. Coal mining, which was once a major activity in both the Springhill and Stellarton areas (most recently with the ill-fated Westray mine), has dwindled to only four mines, all either small or dormant. A strip-mining operation in Stellarton has aroused local controversy, and fears about the impact of a similar strip mine in Springhill have been allayed by a failure thus far to go ahead with the proposal.

Nova Scotia Power Inc., with an American partner, is continuing an exploration program to determine whether commercial production of methane gas is possible in either the Springhill or Stellarton area. Even if realized, however, it is expected that the harvesting of gas reserves would provide only limited employment. The economics of production may be enhanced if the planned Sable gas export

pipeline is routed nearby. It does not appear that the question of the local use of gas resources has yet been fully explored. Contrary to early reports that few if any potential customers for gas exist in the Cumberland County area, it has now been suggested that it might be very useful in fueling the energy-intensive process of refining salt.

■ Agriculture

With the exception of Guysborough County, farm production is a strong element of the business base of all of Northeastern Nova Scotia. The region's major agricultural strengths are in dairy, beef, and fruit crops, and there is some evidence of product and crop diversification in such areas as ginseng farming and lamb and even emu husbandry.

Most of the agricultural activity in the NENS region is in dairy operations. There has been a small increase in allowable production quotas, partly through an interprovincial swap of dairy quota with Quebec. The sector was relieved to hear last year that an American challenge to Canada's regime of domestic supply management had been rejected, at least until the year 2003. The industry's income stability has led to a considerable investment in high-tech milking parlours; the technical capacity of some producers has outstripped their production quota.

About half of the 165 million litres of milk produced annually in Nova Scotia comes from the NENS region, and within the region the largest concentration of producers is in Colchester County.¹² Nova Scotia's dairy industry concentrates on higher-priced fluid milk; some industrial milk goes through a cheese/skim milk plant in Truro. Most of the milk in the province is bought by two producer cooperatives: Scotsburn and Farmers; Scotsburn is the more active in the study region.¹³ Cumberland County is the centre of the region's beef industry,¹⁴ but prices are languishing at the bottom of a ten-to-twelve-year cycle. Some producers, it is reported, have been cannibalizing their capital reserves to stay in business. Most of Nova Scotia's hog

12. Gabriel Comeau, manager of the Nova Scotia Dairy Commission. The commission is a branch of the Department of Agriculture, not an industry marketing board as in New Brunswick.

13. There has been some activity and more interest in developing specialty cheeses, but at present there is only one producer in the area. The quota system limited such initiative, since milk used for innovative purposes was subtracted from the global quota for all producers. However, policy now allows extra quota for "growth opportunities."

14. Lawrence Mason of the Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture.

production comes from the Annapolis Valley, but there are large individual operations in Cumberland, Colchester, and Antigonish counties.

The recent abolition of federal feed-grain subsidies (a ten-year average of \$3 million a year to the province) hurt the livestock industry. Its effects to the region was somewhat mitigated by the excellent climate for forage (hay and alfalfa) production. There has been talk of bringing in feed grains from the southern United States by barge, as well as some interest in developing an indigenous supply of feed grain. The development of the latter would take time and involve investment in equipment, storage, and land cultivation.

Blueberries are a major cash crop in the region. Three-quarters of the province's production, which in recent years has averaged about thirty million pounds, comes from Cumberland County alone. There is some blueberry production in nearly every part of the region, except for Guysborough.¹⁵

There is an ancillary demand for bees for fertilization of the berry flowers, and the blueberry sugar and flavour have aroused the interest of wine-makers and distillers. As well, there are some enterprises specializing in the sale of honey with various flavours; a producer of fruit wines in nearby Hants County markets a brand containing honey.

The major industrial player in the blueberry industry is Oxford Frozen Foods Limited, which handles the vast majority of the province's blueberry production and buys from other provinces as well. In recent decades, markets in both Europe and Japan have shown considerable strength; in some years they have bought most of the province's production. Though production was off by a million pounds in 1996 compared to 1995's harvest of just over thirty million pounds, the price more than made up for it, with growers' receipts up from 1995's producer price of forty to seventy cents a pound.¹⁶

15. Guysborough County, with only a small proportion of suitable land in private ownership, craggy terrain unsuited for mechanical harvest, and significant risk of winterkill, stands outside the area of promise.

16. This may well be a transitory spike. Average prices remained at sixty cents a pound for three years in the late 1980s, then fell to forty-two cents in 1990, rebounded somewhat, and then fell to thirty-five cents in 1993.

■ The Fishery

The fishery is important to the economy of the area, particularly in Guysborough County, where two fish plants are by far the largest private sector employers. The lobster and herring fisheries along the Northumberland shore of the province are also important, supplying one medium-sized plant in Arisaig. As well, there is a mollusc operation on the Fundy side, in Parrsboro, and a fish-exporting business in Wallace.

Although the fish plants in Guysborough County (Seafreez Foods Inc. and Bickerton Industries Ltd.) were seriously affected by the closure of the cod fishery, both have managed to increase the size of their operations. Seafreez Foods has done it by diversifying from a base of turbot, redfish, and shrimp to add silver hake (for surimi), crab, and herring; Bickerton has expanded (despite relying on cod imported from Europe's Arctic seas) by adding more value to its production. The fish plant in Arisaig, Antigonish County, has suffered from what its owner regards as unnecessary cuts in herring-stock allocations, which in the fall of 1996 resulted in a severe loss of income for both fishermen and the 110 plant workers.

Fisheries-related employment in most of the region is highly seasonal, reflecting on wages which tend to remain low. The case is quite different in Guysborough County, however. Lobster landings there were worth \$34 million in 1995, more than all the fish landings in the other four counties combined.¹⁷ The processors contributed to employment stability in this sector by adding to imported fish a wider variety of species. Average fish-processing wages in Guysborough County are also higher (\$9.71 per hour in 1993, nearly \$3.00 per hour more than the average in other counties).¹⁸

Annual aquaculture production in Nova Scotia as a whole is low, only \$10.9 million (New Brunswick's production is more than \$100 million a year). In the NENS region, total aquaculture produc-

17. Nova Scotia Department of Fisheries, "Nova Scotia Fisheries Statistical Overview, 1995," pp. 41–42.

18. Nova Scotia Department of Fisheries, "Nova Scotia Plant Survey, 1994," pp. 13–17. Average per hour wages in other counties: Colchester, \$7.63; Cumberland, \$6.20; Pictou, \$6.17. Antigonish County, with only one fish plant, is not reported in the statistics: it too handles mainly lobster. Landed values, by county, in 1995: Antigonish, \$9 million; Colchester, \$1 million; Cumberland, \$4 million; Guysborough, \$44 million (\$34 million in shellfish); Pictou, \$11 million (\$2 million in pelagics).

tion amounted to just \$1.6 million. Cumberland County is highly responsible of that, owing in large part to the operation of a federal fish hatchery near Collingwood which future is jeopardized.¹⁹

■ Forestry

Various forest products make an important contribution to the economy of the NENS region. Stora in Port Hawkesbury, Cape Breton, gets 70 percent of its wood fiber from the area, and directly and indirectly contributes more than 1,000 jobs to its economy.²⁰ Although smaller, the Kimberly-Clark (formerly Scott) pulp mill in Trenton, Pictou County, contributes another 450 mill jobs.

There is also a widely dispersed sawmill sector, and some of its players, two in particular, are prospering: (1) the Mactara Sawmill in Upper Musquodoboit, Halifax County, which obtains much of its wood from nearby Colchester and Pictou counties, and (2) the Sproule Lumber Mill near Truro, bought this year by the Irvings and put on double-shift. There are, in addition, another eighteen sawmills or other businesses (log homes, pallets, wood treatment) closely allied to primary wood production that employ a total of about 465 workers (excluding Mactara's 100+).²¹

While pulp prices have been depressed, the United States demand for the region's production of sawn softwood lumber has been very strong. There has also been some recent development in hardwood production with a view to the European market.

■ Transportation

Not only does much of the product of the region's manufacturing economy involve transportation, but it also has to be delivered over long distances to reach its point of use. Consequently, the transportation system that manufacturers and commodity producers rely on is of great importance.

19. "Nova Scotia Fisheries Statistical Overview, 1995," p. 44.

20. Of the company's mill and office employees, 165 live in the four eastern counties in the study area. The company believes its total woods-contractor employment (cutting and trucking) of 1,300 follows the regional source of its wood (70 percent from the mainland of Nova Scotia) — hence our estimate of about 900 jobs.

21. *Nova Scotia Directory of Manufacturers*, 1997.

Highway transportation within the study area is getting quicker and safer as a result of progress in four-laning the Trans Canada Highway. The imposition of tolls on the stretch of the Trans Canada Highway that crosses the Cobequid range is a matter of indifference to some, an irritation to more, and a significant additional cost to a few.²² The adequacy of some of the other highways is questionable. Business people on the Northumberland shore say the poor quality of their highway has stunted growth; similar complaints are heard in Guysborough County.

Rail transportation remains important to heavy industry in the region both as a source of supplies (chemicals and fuel) and as a means of export (pulp, cement, and rail cars). CN's main line from Halifax to central Canada appears secure, and the Cape Breton and Central Nova Scotia Railway, a short line which assumed operation of the CN line from Truro to Sydney in 1993, is profitable and projects growth.

The region does not have regular air service, other than through Halifax and Moncton. Attempts to develop an air industrial park using the airstrip of a former Canadian Forces base in Debert have not yet succeeded but are expected to figure in the long-range plans for development there. It is expected that the present provincially owned Debert industrial park and a new park authority taking over a base closed in 1996 (it gets the buildings and associated land) will come together to form a combined park. Its three thousand acres of easy-to-service land could become one of the largest industrial parks in Atlantic Canada, with access by road, rail, and air. In addition, \$3.5 million is being spent on runway extension and hangar construction at the Trenton airport in Pictou County, with the object of encouraging corporate air travel and serving Sable gas pipeline development. The eastern portion of the study region is similarly served by an airfield at Port Hawkesbury, Cape Breton.

The gas pipeline just mentioned will be another kind of transportation corridor (for the movement of energy), and its route by New Glasgow, Amherst, and along the Northumberland shore may lower energy costs to encourage both development of new business and energy-source conversion among existing industries. Its construction, and that of an onshore processing facility at Country Harbour, is also expected to have the long-wished-for effect of providing easy

22. Particularly Sobey's and Oxford Frozen Foods.

road access to the central portion of Guysborough County, with likely benefits to the area's tourism.

The electronic road in and out of the region is already of excellent quality in major centres, and proven demand has even accelerated MT & T plans to extend fiber into small communities. Canso, for example, received fiber service this year (well ahead of earlier plans) in response to local pressure. Despite the cancellation of a strategic alliance between MT & T and Oxford-based Bragg Communications for the development of Internet service, Bragg is planning to extend the high-speed-cable Internet access it is launching in Halifax this fall to much of its nonmetropolitan territory within the next year.

■ **Tourism**

Tourism development is viewed as a necessary priority in every part of Northeastern Nova Scotia, and considerable collective and individual effort is going into its nurture and development. The region's tourism facilities may seem by some standards to be underdeveloped: there is nothing here that would be considered a large resort, even by Nova Scotia standards. Nevertheless, the potential exists for the area to become a complete package, one that can satisfy the leisure appetite for nature, recreational activities, culture, and fine food that tourism experts see growing rapidly, partly in response to the demands of aging baby boomers.

The province has commissioned and released a number of studies on the various forms of tourism (among them nature, golf, cultural, agri-vacation, winter), and all have the potential for expansion within the region. Nature or eco-tourism used to be disdained by the industry, because in past decades most hikers brought their tents and granola with them and spent very little money; now, age and prosperity have changed their means and taste for comfort, and they are staying under local roofs and are eager to sample good local cuisine and to browse through galleries and craft stores. Nature tourists spend more on everything — shopping, auto repair, even in pubs — than non-nature tourists, and their appetites are broad, extending to golf, theatre, and music.

Coincidentally, in our survey of material on agri-food initiatives in Northeastern Nova Scotia, we found literally dozens of small-to-medium producers of specialized gourmet products, from meats to

wine²³ to cheese, well distributed around the study area. The potential is clearly there for these local producers of value-added gourmet products to form strategic alliances with their local tourist and resident-hospitality businesses, and in many cases they have done so. Similarly, the region has a wide variety of craft producers and artists, and the requisite gift shops and galleries to market their works. Indeed, if one were to concentrate all the craft and cultural economic activity in the region into one city of 160,000 people, it would have an artists' quarter of considerable size and diversity.

There has already been some development of summer performing arts activity in the area, including the Ship's Company Summer Theatre in Parrsboro, a performing arts series at the deCoste Centre in Pictou, and both the Highland Games and Festival Antigonish. This year (1997) also saw the addition of the Stan Rogers folk festival in Canso, and there are plans to develop the old Capitol Theatre in Oxford as a performance venue.

We have not yet mentioned private sector tourism in Colchester and Cumberland counties in our brief surveys of those subregions. This is because tourism in the two counties has a split focus: each has one coast on the Northumberland Strait and another on the Bay of Fundy, and both coasts are being developed in a way that reflects their unique character. The Fundy side has rugged terrain and frigid water and a wide variety of geological attractions: succinctly put, it is windbreaker-and-boots country. The Northumberland shore, on the other hand, is gentle country with warm beaches and is better suited to sailing and paddling: it might be described as shorts-and-sandals country.

Thus tourism officials on both coasts are developing their initiatives in concert with peers in neighbouring counties: Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, and Antigonish for the northern or Sunshine shore, and Cumberland, Colchester, and Hants for the Fundy or Glooscap shore.²⁴ The province has put some money into developing the thematic unity of the Marine Drive that serves the Eastern

23. Jost Vineyards in Malagash, with twelve employees, has become a significant business and is taking a leadership role in the young Nova Scotia wine industry.

24. Antigonish County can also be said to have a split focus. It is on the Sunshine side with the three western counties and also functions as an eastern service pole to the Marine Drive thematic development in Guysborough and eastern areas. On the other hand, the craggy shores and steep hillsides of the Cape George area might actually be more in keeping with the general flavour of the Fundy shore. But then complementarity is probably more beneficial than homogeneity in the tourism sector.

Shore, including Guysborough and Antigonish counties, and it did the same this year with the Sunshine Coast along the Northumberland shore.

New paths to nature are being developed in many areas. New businesses have introduced river rafting to the Shubenacadie and Salmon rivers in Colchester County. And hiking and biking trails, both through the woods and over abandoned railbeds, are being extended, developed, or planned in several areas. The region is well-served by small inns and bed and breakfast operations that appeal to nature (and mature) tourists.

Small-scale tourism of the kind regarded as most feasible in Northeastern Nova Scotia may never be a source of anything more than summertime employment for the youth of the area. Nevertheless, it does have substantial appeal and promise for older people, particularly as a second or supplementary career. Beyond tourism's capacity to draw transient visits, however, the development of a broad variety of tourist-related services plays an important role in attracting to the region the investors and professionals its companies need to create new employment in other pursuits more likely to produce work for the young. Lifestyle considerations are an important factor for industrial recruiters, whether it is companies or skilled individuals that are being sought. In this way, the development of leisure-related amenities and cultural events can be an important support to growth in other sectors of business, be they manufacturing or professional services.

An overall improvement in the quality of the region's amenities and activities is essential to making it a destination of choice. Attaining this goal will require money, good aesthetic judgment, intelligent management, coordination, and time.

■ Research and Development

To build on existing strengths in the NENS economy and to take advantage of new opportunities, the private sector will have to foster ties with the institutions interested in identifying and developing promising ideas. It is a sign of hope, therefore, that both of the region's institutions of higher learning (St. Francis Xavier University and the Nova Scotia Agricultural College) are working to hone their expertise in research and its application and are resolved to make available to business their skills in product and market development.

The business community expresses a general hope that the university's skills in the biological sciences and the college's experience in animal genetics can create entirely new industries. If this hope is realized, the result would be a biotechnology that would create high-value jobs selling tools of production to the world market. To give one example: NSAC has inherited from a research station in Ottawa a herd of mice that farmers may come to appreciate given their high reproductive capacities. This genetic application might eventually be extended to other species, for example, to speed up the reproductive cycle of cows and sows. It could also be an intellectual property that could pay huge returns in royalties.

Businesses in the region are also taking development issues into their own hands, reaching for the available tools, and building the products themselves. Here is one example: The Bartlett group of companies in Debert, known chiefly as Canadian Automotive Radiator, manufactures parts for radiators, by itself a relatively prosaic metal trade. But that is not all it does. The company is also busy providing frames and housings to a wide range of manufacturers for everything from parking meters to naval sonar buoys. It has taken its place on the development side of R & D, bringing to the production stage prototypes developed by organizations like RPC, Concept +, and the Nova Scotia Research Foundation. In so doing, it has become a custom producer of short runs of parts for an international market of small and developing companies.

And the technology of making fish products at Seafreez Foods Inc. in Canso has evolved beyond conveyor belts and repetitive operations with a knife. There are good jobs here for people with the scientific lab skills to verify protein strength and enzyme activity in the hake stock that becomes surimi (mock crab), people who, like makers of fine wines, can develop blends with authentic flavours.

■ Information Technology

One area that shows promise is information technology and the creation of software products and services. These include advertising, videos, records, CD-ROMs with course material, short stories, and virtual-reality geographical maps. Some people say you can build a video animation business in Pictou County, that you can run a graphic design company from a farmhouse in River John, and that you can spearhead a folk festival while bidding to win a data digitization industry for Canso, the last while working in the town clerk's office. And they say it because they are doing it.

Even a year ago, an Internet visitor to Northeastern Nova Scotia might have been surprised by the degree to which even the most remote communities were present on the 'net. Residents of the region are doing business on the 'net, they have institutional and individual sites and pages on the 'net, and hundreds of them are listed in the *Truro Internet* white pages. This work reflects the presence in each area of a small band of Internet evangelists with fire in their eyes and a feasible technology in their hands, and they have found a receptive business audience for applications as diverse as major corporate sites to pages for small hobby businesses. There are in the region hundreds of inns and bed and breakfasts, arts and crafts enterprises, and business-service professionals with an Internet presence. And it is possible to "visit" natural, historic, and cultural attractions on the 'net: to get views of them, maps and text, and to plan actual visits.

Businesses and business-service organizations are also using the Internet as a research tool that offers access to market intelligence. They are using bookmarks assembled by development officers, professors, students, and peers. This local development of the Internet and of its first cousins, CD-ROM and video, is being aided both formally and informally by the area's institutions of higher learning: their own constant development of distance education materials adds to the proof of the sector's feasibility. The community college and school systems are also rapidly becoming part of the scene, with local fund raising helping to create large clusters of accessible equipment in quite small communities. And with the assistance of Industry Canada's Community Access Program, several other communities in the area have programs to introduce the general and business public to Internet technology and its multiple resources. In short, spreading Internet access and awareness has become a common priority for community and business development within the region.

Nonetheless, it is possible to overestimate the technology's direct job-creation potential. It will certainly create opportunities for designers, editors, imagists, and musicians, but it is also a technology where last year's prodigious mastery of text-coding skills is this year's ordinary one-click option in generic office software. Success in this industry involves high-level editorial, design, and marketing skills. And while the software tools of the lingua franca are available at low cost, the price of equipment required for high-level work on images and sounds remains an obstacle to market entry.



The Public Sector

We know all too well that the Maritime economy is highly dependent on the public sector, in particular on the government of Canada. And we also know that the region must adapt to a new economic order that will inevitably see less government in the economy. Indeed, the policy state has had its run and is probably finished for at least the near term. By policy state we mean the use of government to plan, develop, and implement major new policy initiatives involving a substantial amount of new public funds. The challenge for governments, in particular the federal government, is to repair their balance sheets and to deal with a large accumulated debt. Spending cuts rather than new spending proposals are the order of the day.

But this is not news to Maritimers. The region has been dealing with federal spending cuts for some time. We know, for example, that as a result of the 1994 Program Review exercise, the federal government cut ACOA's expenditure budget by over one-third and that soft loans have replaced cash grants as a tool for regional economic development. We also know that the budget of every federal government department, with the exception of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), has been reduced in recent years. Transfer payments to the provinces and to individuals have also been reduced. And the Unemployment Insurance Program has been overhauled and renamed; it is well known that over the years the Unemployment Insurance Program has transferred huge financial resources to every area of the Maritime provinces and has considerably strengthened the region's purchasing power.

Given the above, there are two questions we need to answer here. First, to what extent, relatively speaking, is Northeastern Nova Scotia dependent on government spending? Second, how far has the adjustment to a different economic order progressed? To answer the first question, economic data are readily available from Statistics Canada. But the same is not true for the second question, and to answer it we have had to rely on consultations and interviews with area residents to try to get a sense of how well the region is doing.

The latest data reveal that Northeastern Nova Scotia is, relatively speaking, highly dependent on the Employment Insurance Program. In 1992 the region had 29,000 people out of a total population of 162,560 who benefited from the Employment Insurance Program, receiving over \$160 million in benefits. What is more revealing is that the benefits paid under the insurance program represented 7.8 percent of total income. This figure is much higher than the provincial average (5.6 percent), the Maritime average (6.9 percent), and the Canadian average (3.6 percent) and should be cause for deep concern to the region, given recent reforms to the Employment Insurance Program.

What about the federal and provincial presence? The data from Statistics Canada and the federal Treasury Board Secretariat reveal that the region has fewer public servants per capita than the Maritime or national average. It also reveals, however, that public sector employment in the region grew substantially between 1971 and 1981, again between 1981 and 1986, and once more between 1986 and 1991. In addition, public sector jobs account for an important share of total earned revenues in the region, exceeding the national average by over 3 percentage points.

In Canada, 22.7 percent of total jobs in 1991 were drawn from the public sector. In the case of the Maritime provinces, the number jumped to 27.1 percent (up to 28.0 percent for Nova Scotia). The province of New Brunswick at 26.2 percent trails both Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (26.7 percent) in its reliance on public sector jobs as a source of employment. For Northeastern Nova Scotia, however, the number drops even further, 22.6 percent (1 percentage point below the Canadian average and 5.4 points below the Maritime average).

Though the NENS region trails everybody in the number of public sector jobs in percentage terms, the same is not true when one compares revenues from public sector jobs as a part of total revenues. What table 10 reveals is that public sector jobs in Northeastern Nova Scotia are, relatively speaking, not only stable but also well-paying jobs. Indeed, though they represent only 22.6 percent of total jobs, they account for 30 percent of total revenue earned from employment, which is 3.3 percentage points higher than the national average.

Table 10
Employment and Revenues, Public Sector, 1991

	All Sectors	Education	Health	Public Administration and Defence	Public Sector
Employment					
Canada	100.0	6.5	8.7	7.5	22.7
New Brunswick	100.0	6.9	9.5	9.8	26.2
Prince Edward Island	100.0	6.6	8.6	11.5	26.7
Maritimes	100.0	6.9	9.4	10.8	27.1
Nova Scotia	100.0	7.0	9.5	11.5	28.0
Northeastern Nova Scotia	100.0	6.8	8.6	7.3	22.6
Colchester County	100.0	6.2	7.7	8.1	22.1
Cumberland County	100.0	5.5	8.6	9.2	23.3
Pictou County	100.0	6.2	9.0	5.4	20.6
Guysborough County	100.0	8.0	6.0	8.7	22.6
Antigonish County	100.0	11.7	11.1	5.4	28.1
Revenues					
Canada	100.0	8.1	9.2	9.4	26.7
New Brunswick	100.0	9.3	10.3	13.1	32.7
Prince Edward Island	100.0	9.7	9.9	17.3	36.9
Maritimes	100.0	9.5	10.3	14.9	34.7
Nova Scotia	100.0	9.7	10.4	15.9	36.0
Northeastern Nova Scotia	100.0	10.6	10.1	9.4	30.0
Colchester County	100.0	9.9	9.1	11.4	30.4
Cumberland County	100.0	6.7	11.1	13.8	33.6
Pictou County	100.0	9.3	9.3	6.0	24.6
Guysborough County	100.0	11.8	7.4	10.2	29.4
Antigonish County	100.0	17.7	14.1	5.6	37.7

Source: 1991 census, Small Area Administrative Unit; compiled by Donald J. Savoie.

Raw statistics alone tell only part of the story of the contribution of the public sector in Northeastern Nova Scotia. Quite apart from transfer payments, there are individual government offices and public institutions that make an important economic contribution to the region.

The Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has located its regional office in Amherst. It has about 140 employees, and its payroll constitutes a substantial purchasing power for the immediate Amherst region and beyond. No less significant is the fact that an important part of the office's mandate is to promote economic development in native communities. Accordingly, the office houses a reservoir of knowledge concerning pilot projects and test cases on what works in the economic development field.

St. Francis Xavier University is located at the opposite end of the region. It has a long and distinguished history and has made important contributions to the area on several fronts. The university enjoys a particularly strong reputation in the fields of cooperative education and adult education. In addition, it has 500 permanent full-time employees, between 300 and 400 part-time employees (including students), and an operating budget of \$40 million.

As is the case in other communities and regions, the university is able to play a pivotal role in economic development. We have already noted that St. F.X. executives are more than willing to enlist the university's strengths in promoting economic development in the local community and beyond. Sean Riley, the president, argues that "the university has an awful lot of legs that aren't being used. . . . It could be the technological skills relating to CD-ROM production and web/multimedia development and other knowledge-based economic activities." He also sees development opportunities in tourism and in aquatic resources and has ambitious plans to promote the development of Crystal Cliffs, a waterfront property owned by the university. The estimated \$600,000 cost of upgrading the facility could pay handsome dividends for the region if the result encouraged tourists to extend their visits.

St. F.X. also hopes to cooperate with the town of Antigonish in establishing a \$12 million conference and special events' facility seating two thousand people. The facility would also serve to strengthen the tourism sector.

The Nova Scotia Agricultural College is yet another important local public institution. The college currently has about a thousand students, a payroll of 300 employees, an annual budget of about \$9 million, and research contracts worth between \$3 and \$4 million annually. The college reports that it is quite prepared to promote economic development in the region in the areas of food processing, aquaculture, and related activities. We noted earlier that the

college is demonstrating a capacity to be creative and a willingness to look to its immediate region to identify research and development initiatives to promote economic development.

The region, as stated in earlier sections, is made up of a number of small municipalities, three good-sized towns, but no large urban area that can compare to Halifax, Moncton, or Saint John. Municipal governments therefore tend to be small, and with their necessarily modest staffs, they are forced to focus almost exclusively on the delivery of public services and day-to-day administrative matters. Consequently, there is, comparatively speaking, a limited capacity in both human and financial terms to promote economic development. That said, local government, health care, local schools, and nursing homes are an important source of stable jobs for the region.

To further economic development, ACOA and the provincial government have established ten community-business-development corporations in the province; the region has three, with locations in Amherst, Guysborough, and New Glasgow. The corporations are autonomous and nonprofit, with the stated purpose of assisting in the creation of small businesses and in the expansion, modernization, and stabilization of existing businesses. They offer both technical and financial services to entrepreneurs in their respective regions: technical assistance usually takes the form of information, counseling, and advice on small-business-related matters. Financial assistance is usually in the form of a loan but may include equity or loan guarantees. Financial services are targeted to entrepreneurs who have difficulty securing capital through traditional sources of funding. All loans are repayable, and the maximum amount that can be invested in a business is \$75,000. Investment decisions are made by an independent local board of directors sensitive to the needs of the community.

The region also has four regional economic development agencies: Guysborough-Antigonish, Colchester, Pictou, and Cumberland counties. The four agencies are funded equally by the three levels of government, with the federal, provincial, and local governments all contributing \$100,000. The role of the agencies is to provide planning, guidance, and advice to local businesses and groups.

Consultations with various leaders of opinion and active figures in the economy reveal that the region applauds the role of government in economic development, which includes entrepreneurial-type development. We detected very little government or bureaucracy

bashing of the kind that has become the fashion in so many other regions in Canada. This suggests that the region would welcome new government efforts in promoting economic development, although residents would not hesitate to offer their views about what would and would not work. We heard, for example, that government should be “less risk averse,” should promote entrepreneurship, and should be more willing to take the lead in several possibly high-profile initiatives, particularly in tourism. All of this suggests that residents of Northeastern Nova Scotia, including business leaders, are in favour of striking new partnership arrangements with the public sector to promote economic development. Unlike other regions, residents there see governments as part of the solution, not part of the problem.



Conclusion

We have organized this series of reviews of the Maritime economy according to the eleven regions into which Statistics Canada subdivided the three provinces. It is clear that Northeastern Nova Scotia is not a natural economic region. Rather, it is a series of regions linked together by corridors, principally the Trans Canada Highway but also by rail, electricity, telecommunications, and, soon, a natural gas pipeline. It takes only a moment's reflection to see that economic circumstances in Antigonish are vastly different from those found in Truro or in Guysborough County. Pictou County has heavy industry, Antigonish a relatively large public sector, and so on. In addition, many residents take the view that the highway corridor siphons off the region's commerce to larger retail centres like Halifax and Moncton, and conveys tourists to other destinations. Accordingly, it is impossible to speak about common areas of development in the region. Some communities can point to a strong retail distribution sector, others to a strong public sector, and still others to a strong agri-food sector.

There is no denying that the region has been and continues to be plagued by slow population growth. One of the consequences of this low demographic vitality is that the region's population is aging more quickly than the Maritime population as a whole. Nevertheless, statistical data reveal that out-migration is a much less serious problem than our interviews with the region's opinion and business leaders would lead us to believe. Indeed, during the past eighteen years, net out-migration showed only a modest deficit (-112 people), which compares favourably with other areas of the Maritime provinces (see table 3).

The region's economic base is much more dependent on the resource sector than other regions of the Maritimes. Some 26 percent of its labour force is employed in the resource sector (41 percent in the case of Guysborough County), compared with about 20 percent for the Maritime provinces. In addition, the region trails the Maritimes in employment in key economic sectors like transport, communications, and financial services (8.9 versus 11 percent for the Maritimes).

The region's labour force is also less educated: only 9.3 percent have a university degree, compared with 12.8 percent for the Maritimes as a whole.

Still, there are some bright spots in the economy. The manufacturing sector has some solid performers. These include Michelin North America (Canada) Inc., I.M.P. Aerospace Components Ltd., Intertape Polymer Inc., and the Bartlett Plastics/Canadian Automotive Radiator Exchange & Mgr. Ltd. group of companies. Some industries that viewed the Free Trade Agreement as a threat nearly a decade ago, such as Stanfield's Limited and Crossley Carpet Mills Limited, have built on their skills and adjusted to wider markets. Also, companies in the metal-manufacturing field, such as TrentonWorks Ltd., Maritime Steel & Foundries Limited, and Dominion Steel, are benefiting from easier access to United States markets. A wide variety of other manufacturers have similar continental-market goals and are achieving them.

In addition, the region has shown some encouraging signs of diversification in the area of what may be called industrial image reproduction. The most significant example is the rapid growth over the past decade of Seagull Pewter & Silversmiths Ltd. of Pugwash, which employs four hundred people and which has achieved gross annual sales equivalent to the farm price of all the blueberries grown in Nova Scotia (about \$30 million). High-level design skills and exact-tolerance manufacturing are also involved in the growth of Advocate Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., Poly Cello, and Eastern Sign-Print.²⁵ Their success should be an inspiration to video, multimedia, and Internet enterprises, particularly in adapting material drawn from the area's various strengths: its academic institutions, cultural traditions, and community economic development.

The public sector's presence in the region is relatively strong, but sadly not in the most productive areas. The region trails other Maritime areas in public sector jobs as a percentage of total employment. Indeed, the region only draws 22.6 percent of its employment from the public sector, which compares with 27.1 percent for the Maritime provinces, 28.0 percent for Nova Scotia, and 22.7 percent for Canada. In addition, the region is more dependent on the government of Canada's Employment Insurance Program than other

25. As in the case of Canadian Automotive Radiator (see footnote 11), a name chosen years ago can be misleading: Eastern Sign-Print produces high-quality annual reports in addition to the railcar decals one might expect of a firm so named.

regions. Benefits paid out under the program in 1992 represented 7.8 percent of total income in the region, compared with 6.9 percent for the Maritimes and 3.6 percent for the Canadian average.

One also senses that much time and energy continue to go into reconstituting lines of authority in school and hospital boards. The region, like all of Nova Scotia, has not had the benefit of the kind of reform of provincial and local structures that New Brunswickers have experienced over the years. Through the limited implementation of the Graham Report recommendations in the early 1970s and the succeeding government's unwillingness to alienate local feeling, the process of government reorganization has until very recently been tentative. Over the long run, however, the existence of what amounts to 3.5 levels of government rather than 3 (the result of duplication and competition between county and town government, which is matched by their delegates to the boards of regional development agencies) is unlikely to breed economy and coherence of effort.

Although the region's private sector is dominated by family or individual ownership, there are some communities (notably Truro, but others as well) where a core group of business professionals, such as lawyers, accountants, and investor/directors, have taken a role in directing the affairs of some of the larger companies that are in the traditional family mold. But this is in contrast to the approach taken by most entrepreneurs, who fly their own kites and thus stand apart from their colleagues. The result is that they become isolated from the business community and are unable to help with the creation of new opportunities by getting involved in a program of local initiative, investment, and mentoring. This problem must be overcome if the region's economy is to grow and prosper.

The region also needs to recruit leaders. Like all net exporters of the educated young, the loss of so much potential to more prosperous regions is a cause for regret. To help compensate for this loss, it has taken measures to attract immigrant entrepreneurs and senior talent for leading businesses. It is also recruiting new teachers, doctors, and other professionals but much more has to be done on this front.

St. Francis Xavier University, with its various commitments to promote local business development, is vital to the economy of Antigonish. It is offering business advice, multimedia support, leadership training, business applications of academic expertise in the fields of biology and engineering, and help in developing the

region's tourism. To meet these commitments, the university has mobilized the Coady Institute, the Extension Department, and the newly formed Enterprise St. F.X. By creating a thriving local economy, the university is looking to its own survival. It is creating the social conditions that will produce its future generations of students, most of whom will come, as they do now, from the town and the surrounding region.

What has been said of St. F.X. applies equally to the Nova Scotia Agricultural College and its ambition to be an agent for the development of new industries and expertise in the area of biotechnology. Success in the college's plan to leave its present home within the provincial agriculture department and become an independent academic institution should enable it to develop further links with the private sector that could be of mutual benefit. Strong partnership with the private sector is also vital to the co-evolution of all the community colleges and private companies within the region; the former are in perpetual need of staff with skills in the use of new technologies. The development of community skills of many kinds also gets valuable support from the Atlantic Christian Training Centre (owned by the United Church) in Tatamagouche, which is an important site for small conferences held by various denominations and secular groups.

The tourism potential of the area is evident and should be considered in the widest possible context. The NENS region as a tourist destination should not be built around the concept of large resorts, if only because the seasons there are so distinct that it would be impossible to provide outdoor activities that would draw well throughout the year.

A further comment about the connection between tourism and the rest of the economy: residents of the Guysborough-Antigonish and Tatamagouche-Pugwash regions have become increasingly aware of the growing number of tourists and real estate investors from Germany in their midst, many of whom have settled in the area. Their presence has been a boon to local makers of wine, Kassler ribs, and German sausage. Some members of the German community have a natural desire to reach out to the rest of the population, which would do well to encourage their overtures, for people who came from Stuttgart in search of fresh air have made something of their lives and possess knowledge and skills that the local community and its young would be wise to tap.

A key to the future success of the region's economy will be whether local adoption and adaptation of information technology, both technically and creatively, can support export activity. Both information technology services in support of existing industry and the new media industry's own ambitions to export cultural, training, and entertainment software must meet this challenge. The industry not only will have to develop its technical capacity (both in human terms and in the tools it uses) but will need to draw effectively on its creative resources in order to attract attention in a highly competitive market.

The region must devote its energies to the creation of new businesses and opportunities. Without the introduction of new products and services, development in the region will cease. The status quo cannot be maintained. Evidence of present economic activity offers little security for the future.

Finally, the development of Sable Island gas and the expected construction of the pipeline are significant events that should benefit all of Northeastern Nova Scotia. Guysborough County should gain additional employment in the processing plants (at Goldboro and Point Tupper) or servicing the rigs. It should also mean an increased tax base for the county and provide a boost to tourism through the development of a better road to the interior of the county. For all of the region, the energy transportation corridor provided by a pipeline through New Glasgow, Amherst, and along the Northumberland shore should encourage the development of new industries and conversion to cheaper energy for existing industries, including Nova Scotia Power Inc. However, to maximize the benefits from construction and to ensure that the new cheap energy source is used to reinforce the existing industrial strengths of the region, there must be good cooperation between the public and private sectors.

The NENS region, given its many natural advantages and its human, material, technological, and organizational strength is well positioned to prosper. The challenge will be to realize its rich potential by taking advantage of the wide range of opportunities that are certain to come its way.

Appendixes

Appendix A: Synoptic Table, Northeastern Nova Scotia, 1991

	Canada	Maritimes	NENS	Antigonish	Colchester	Cumberland	Guysborough	Pictou
Demography								
Population (1991)	26,994,040	1,735,545	162,568	19,226	47,683	34,284	11,724	49,651
Level of urbanisation (%) (Centres 1,500 +)	76.0	43.6	36.2	25.6	24.5	46.0	—	53.3
Population growth (%) 1986-91	7.9	2.7	0.9	3.7	4.3	-1.2	-0.2	-1.1
Labour Market/Incomes								
Participation rate (%)	67.9	63.6	60.4	62.9	63.0	57.6	54.5	60.3
Unemployment rate (%)	10.2	13.8	15.0	13.9	13.9	16.6	18.3	14.9
Employment growth, 1980-92 (%)	17.7	16.7	10.4	22.4	16.9	6.1	4.6	4.4
Share of women in the labour force (%)	44.5	43.6	43.9	44.8	44.4	43.9	41.2	43.5
Share of self-employed (%)	14.3	11.6	12.7	12.8	13.2	14.6	17.5	9.8
Share of seasonal workers (%)	10.2	16.7	17.0	15.5	14.0	18.4	30.0	16.9
Ratio of income from unemployment to income from employment (%)	5.0	10.1	11.2	11.9	8.6	11.8	26.3	10.7
Index of economic dependence (Can = 1.00) ¹	1.00	2.02	2.24	2.38	1.72	2.36	5.26	2.14
Education (Adult Population)								
Less than 13 th year (%)	26.6	29.3	32.2	28.7	33.5	37.7	51.3	33.3
College/University degree without diploma (%)	42.5	43.3	44.4	45.8	43.2	43.2	34.0	48.0
University degree (%)	15.2	13.9	11.0	17.4	11.8	8.3	5.9	10.6

Education (Unemployed)									
Less than 13 th year (%)	37.8	41.2	43.8	35.1	42.1	45.5	56.3	43.9	
College/University degree without diploma (%)	39.8	39.5	41.8	51.6	40.2	40.2	32.2	43.4	
University degree (%)	7.9	6.3	4.4	8.5	5.5	2.9	3.3	3.2	
Economic Structure									
Share of the labour force in (%)									
• Primary activities	5.8	7.7	9.8	10.9	8.1	12.3	18.9	7.3	
• Manufacturing sector	14.8	12.5	16.9	7.0	14.5	17.2	23.8	21.4	
Transformation	3.9	4.9	5.5	2.1	4.7	5.6	17.7	4.8	
Manufacturing/Assembly/Repairing	10.9	7.2	11.4	5.0	9.8	11.7	6.1	16.6	
• Dynamic services ²	14.6	13.1	10.7	8.7	11.5	10.1	8.0	11.8	
• Public sector ³	22.7	27.1	22.6	28.1	22.1	23.3	22.6	20.6	
Average income per worker generated by									
• Primary activities	21,599	18,404	17,399	18,579	19,286	16,493	15,657	16,563	
• Manufacturing sector	27,071	20,974	21,783	21,502	19,438	16,249	15,028	28,484	
Transformation	24,176	16,033	15,523	15,714	16,768	12,374	10,687	20,774	
Manufacturing/Assembly/Repairing ⁴	26,318	24,144	22,678	24,769	20,000	18,707	17,778	26,841	
• Dynamic services	30,742	25,790	22,766	22,738	22,027	21,274	19,592	25,018	
• Public sector	28,654	26,071	25,644	27,875	27,289	24,966	21,364	24,238	
All industries (Can = \$25,100 = 100)	25,100	84.0	79.5	84.2	80.6	72.4	66.5	84.0	

Source: 1991 census (cat. 93-304); Regional and Administrative Data for 1992; compiled by Maurice Beaudin.

1. Region's income from unemployment insurance divided by its income from employment, in relation to the Canadian average.
2. Transport and communications services, commerce, financial services, services to business, and restaurants and accommodation.
3. Government services (public administration and defence, education, health and social services).
4. The average income is for occupation, not industry, which explains why the total average income for the manufacturing sector does not necessarily correspond to the average income of occupations related to the processing and manufacturing fields.

■ Appendix B: People Consulted

Mr. Barry Bartlett, President
Canadian Automotive Radiator Exchange and Manufacturing
Limited (Bartlett Plastics; Bartlett Precision Machine)

Mr. Mike Belliveau, Manager
Foodland Mikes

Mr. Tim Bennett, Vice President — Sales
Stright-MacKay Ltd.

Professor James Bickerton
Department of Political Science
St. Francis Xavier University

Mr. Theda M. Boyce, Community Development Officer
North Shore Community Development Association

Mr. George Buckler, Businessman

Mr. Mervin Bungay, Manager
Seafreez Foods Inc.

Mr. David Butlin, Owner/Broker
Sell-Tech Coastal Realty

Mr. Robert B. Cameron, Jr., Chief Executive Officer
Maritime Steel & Foundries Limited

Mr. John Caraberis, President
Seagull Pewter & Silversmiths Ltd.

Mr. Wilf Carter, Executive Director
Cumberland Regional Economic Development Association
(CREDA)

Ms. Deborah Clark, Executive Director
Pictou County Tourism Association

Mr. Gabriel Comeau, Manager
Nova Scotia Dairy Commission

Mr. Charles Cormier, Senior Director of Operations and
Assistant General Manager
I.M.P. Aerospace Components Ltd.

Mr. Gerry Cormier, Manager
SCL Technologies Inc.

Mr. Ron Creighton, Lawyer and Chair of the
Colchester Regional Development Agency (CORDA)

Mr. Don Crober, Head
Department of Animal Science
Nova Scotia Agricultural College

Mr. Gary Crowell, President
Amherst Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Ernie Curry, Managing Director
Best Western Claymore Inn

Mr. Alan Davidson, Facility Manager
Canadian Salt Company Limited

Mr. Joseph Deveaux, Manager
Antigonish Mall and Chair of
Antigonish Regional Development Corporation

Ms. Patricia Dietz, Communications Manager
Stora Forest Industries Limited

Professor Thomas Emodi
School of Architecture
Technical University of Nova Scotia

Mr. Peter Finley, President
Canadian Stirling Silversmith & Craft Shop

Mr. Jim Fitt, Proprietor
O'Brien Imaging
Co-chair of the Pictou County Information Technology Group
and Co-chair of the Entrepreneurs Club

Mr. John Flanagan, Businessman

Mr. Bob Flute, Vice President
Canadian Automotive Radiator Exchange and Manufacturing
Limited (Bartlett Plastics; Bartlett Precision Machine)

Dr. Marilyn Gerriets, Head
Department of Economics
St. Francis Xavier University

Mr. Richard Gerrior, Operations Manager
Intertape Polymer Inc.

The Honourable Bill Gillis, Minister of Finance
for Nova Scotia and MLA for Antigonish

Mr. Steven Grady, Development Officer
Nova Scotia Economic Renewal Agency

Mr. Troy Greencorn, Deputy Clerk
Town of Canso

Mr. Jerry Hallee, Vice President and General Manager
Poly Cello

Mr. David Harrison, Director of Finance
Highland View Regional Hospital

Mr. Steve Hatcher, President
Amherst Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Bill Hearn, P. Eng.
Special Projects Manager, Business Development
Nova Scotia Power Inc.

Mr. Bruce Hennigar, Director of Finance
North Region Hospital Board

Mr. Phil Hochman, Recreation Director
District of Guysborough

Mr. David Hoffman, Chief Financial Officer
Bragg Group (Oxford Frozen Foods, Bragg Communications,
Gordon's Greenhouses)

Ms. Liz Isenor, Facility Manager
Saint Martha's Regional Hospital

Mr. Jens C. Jensen, Executive Director
Cumberland District Planning Commission

Mr. Hans C. Jost, President
Jost Vineyards Limited

Ms. Rhonda Kelly, Community Development Coordinator
Cumberland Regional Economic Development Agency (CREDA)

Ms. Frieda Kennedy, Administrator
Guysborough Hospital

Mr. Jack Kite, Director of Public Affairs
Kimberly-Clark Nova Scotia

Mr. Gordon Laing, Vice President — Finance and Administration
Crossley Carpet Mills Limited

Mr. Harold Langille, Graphic Designer and Publisher
Langille Graphics

Mr. Jimmie LeFresne, Innkeeper
Train Station Inn

Mr. Evertje Maccallum, Bookkeeper
Atlantic Christian Training Centre

Mr. James MacConnell, President
Scotsburn Dairy Group

Dr. Bernie M. MacDonald, Vice Principal — Administration
Nova Scotia Agricultural College

Ms. Brenda MacDonald, President
Arisaig Fisheries Ltd.

Mr. Gordon MacDonald, Executive Director
Guysborough County Regional Development Authority

Mr. Eric MacKeen, Manager
J. A. MacKeen Auto Dealership

Mr. David MacLean, General Manager
Radio Station CHFX

Mr. Rod MacLennan, retired Vice President
of Scotsburn Dairy and Director of
Stanfield's and Crossley's

Mr. Barrie MacMillan, Executive Director
Pictou County Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Brent R. MacQuarrie, Marketing and Development Officer
Pictou Regional Development Commission

Mr. Lawrence Mason, Executive Director
Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture

Mr. William Muirhead, General Manager
Bickerton Industries Ltd. (Mersey Seafoods Ltd.)

Mr. Bruce Murray, President
Advocate Printing & Publishing Co.

Mr. Donald B. "Brad" Murray, Manager Special Projects
TrentonWorks (A Greenbrier Company)

Mr. Sean Murray, Assistant General Manager
Advocate Printing & Publishing Co., and
former President of the Pictou County Chamber of Commerce

Mr. John Parker, Executive Director
Antigonish Regional Economic Development Corporation

Mr. Robert Proctor, Information Technology Consultant
Grassroots Information Association

Mr. Orville Pulsifer, Marketing Consultant
Orville Pulsifer and Associates

Dr. Sean Riley, President
St. Francis Xavier University

Mr. John Robertson, Field Officer
Community Economic Development
Nova Scotia Economic Renewal Agency

Mr. Steven Rowe, Vice President — Commercial Division
I.M.P. Group Ltd.

Mr. Rob Roy, Chief Executive Officer
Pictou Regional Development Commission

Mr. Michael Sherren, Principal
Tatamagouche High School

Mr. Jack Smith, Production Manager
Ropak Canada Inc. (Can-Am Division)

Ms. Maria Smith, Executive Director
Amherst Area Development Commission

Professor Ian Spencer
Department of Business Administration
St. Francis Xavier University

Mr. Tom Stanfield, President
Stanfield's Limited

Mr. Doug Stewart, President
Sobey's Stores

Mr. Peter Touesnard, Marketing Director
Cape Breton and Central Nova Scotia Railway

Mr. Dan Uberoi, Planner/Coordinator
Colchester Regional Development Agency (CORDA)

Mr. Jim Verboom, General Manager
Nova Scotia Woods Co-op

Professor Tom Webb, Director
Extension Department
St. Francis Xavier University

Mr. Kay Wilson, President
Pictou County Trails Association

Mr. Ron Wilson, General Manager
Dominion Bridge Atlantic

Mr. J. Robert Winters, QC, President
Napwick Holdings and Chair
Colchester Park Committee

Mr. Ed Wrobel, Manager
Ballastronix Inc.

