Measuring Labour Markets in Canada and the United States

2018 Edition

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Executive Summary

Labour markets are critical components of an economy. They are the mechanism through which we allocate one of our most valuable and productive resources: human work, effort, creativity, and ingenuity. Labour markets match human skills, supplied by individuals seeking to earn a living, with the demand for labour by firms, governments, and households.

Because labour markets are important, the public is often inundated with news stories, usually about changes in employment levels or unemployment rates. However, such stories do not generally provide a clear picture of how a jurisdiction's labour market is performing. There is a need for a comprehensive measure of the performance of labour markets to allow comparisons, which is the first step toward understanding differences in labour market conditions and addressing possible problems.

Measuring Labour Markets in Canada and the United States: 2018 Edition is the latest installment in ongoing research to assess the performance of labour markets. Indicators such as job creation, unemployment, and labour output are used to assess the performance of labour markets in the Canadian provinces and US states over the three-year period from 2015 to 2017. The study calculates an Index of Labour Market Performance, which is a composite measure of labour market performance based on eight equally weighted indicators: [1] average annual total employment growth, [2] average annual private-sector employment growth, [3] average total employment rate, [4] average private-sector employment rate, [5] average unemployment rate, [6] average long-term unemployment, [7] average share of involuntary part-time workers, and [8] average output per worker. The index scores range from zero to 100. A higher score means a jurisdiction has a stronger performing labour market while a lower index score indicates a labour market with weaker performance.

Overall, Canada performed poorly on the Index of Labour Market Performance. All Canadian provinces are ranked in the bottom half of the 60 jurisdictions, including the traditional economic engines of Canada, Alberta (ranked 48th, with an index score of 48.1 out of 100) and Ontario (ranked 52nd, with a score of 44.5 out of 100).

British Columbia (ranked 35th, score of 53.6) and Saskatchewan (41st, 52.3) are the highest performing Canadian provinces, but neither is in the top half of jurisdictions on the overall index. Nine out of 10 Canadian provinces are in the bottom third (lowest 20 out of 60) of the index and four of the five lowest-ranked jurisdictions are Canadian provinces: Prince Edward Island (ranked 56th, score of 36.6), New Brunswick (57th, 35.4), Nova Scotia (59th, 31.3), and Newfoundland & Labrador (60th, 16.6).

The results for Canada's four most populous provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, and British Columbia) are not encouraging. Ontario and Quebec both ranked around the middle or in the bottom half of jurisdictions on all indicators with the exception of average long-term unemployment. British Columbia fared better, ranking in the top 10 of jurisdictions for total and private-sector employment growth, but ranking near the bottom on several measures including private-sector employment rate and output per worker. A notable result for Alberta is its low private-sector employment growth: Alberta ranked 58th out of 60 jurisdictions on this measure with average annual private-sector employment growth of negative 1.1%.

North Dakota topped the list of US states and Canadian provinces for overall labour market performance over the three-year period. The state's strong performance in total employment rate (1st out of 60 jurisdictions), private-sector employment rate (1st), unemployment rate (1st), and share of involuntary part-time workers (2nd) enabled it to achieve the highest overall index score of 80.4 out of 100. The US states in the Midwest dominated the top of the rankings. Six states from the Midwest—North Dakota, Minnesota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Wisconsin—are among the top 10. All of the 10 top performing jurisdictions are US states.

Introduction

Labour markets are critical components of an economy. They are the mechanism through which we allocate one of our most valuable and productive resources: human work, effort, creativity, and ingenuity. Labour markets match human skills, supplied by individuals seeking to earn a living, with the demand for labour by firms, governments, and households. Because labour markets are important, the public is often inundated with news stories, usually about changes in employment levels or unemployment rates. However, such stories do not generally provide a clear picture of how a jurisdiction's labour market is performing. There is a need for a comprehensive measure of the performance of labour markets to allow comparisons, which is the first step toward understanding differences in labour market conditions and addressing possible problems.

This study is the latest edition of *Measuring Labour Markets in Canada and the United States*, which provides an overview of labour market conditions in the two countries over the three-year period from 2015 to 2017. [1] The next section of the report presents the results for the 10 Canadian provinces and 50 US states [2] on the overall Index of Labour Market Performance. This is followed by a presentation and discussion of the results on the eight specific indicators that make up the index. Appendix A provides methodological details and Appendix B examines indicators of labour market performance not included in the Index.

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[1] The most recent previous edition is Lammam, MacIntyre, Hunt, and Hasan, 2017.

[2] Throughout this study, US states are often described as belonging to a geographical region. Definitions for these geographical regions come from the United States Census Bureau's *Geographic Areas Reference Manual* (US, Dep't of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1994). In this manual, the United States is divided into four major regions: West, Midwest, Northeast, and South. Each of these regions is further subdivided. The West consists of the Pacific region (Alaska, Hawaii, Washington, Oregon, and California) and the Mountain region (Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico). The Midwest consists of the West North Central region (North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri) and the East North Central region (Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan). The East North Central group of states is often referred to as the Industrial Belt; the two terms are used interchangeably throughout the study. The Northeast region consists of the New England region (Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island) and the Middle Atlantic region (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania). The South consists of the West South Central region (Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana), the East South Central region (Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama), and the South Atlantic region (Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida).

Index of Labour Market Performance

The Index of Labour Market Performance is a comprehensive measure of labour market performance in Canada and the United States (p. 3). It is based on the following eight key indicators: (1) average annual total employment growth; (2) average annual private-sector employment growth; (3) average total employment rate; (4) average private-sector employment rate; (5) average unemployment rate; (6) average long-term unemployment; (7) average share of involuntary part-time workers; and (8) average output per worker (or average labour productivity). It is important to consider all eight indicators for a complete perspective on the state of labour market performance in any of the 60 jurisdictions included in the index. Examining any one indicator in isolation can lead to incomplete conclusions.

A comprehensive index is also valuable for comparisons among jurisdictions, as it allows us to rank the overall performance of jurisdictions based on a scoring system with values ranging from zero to 100. For each indicator, the lowest possible score is zero, which signals weak relative performance, and the highest possible score is 100, which signals strong relative performance. The scores of the eight indicators are averaged, with all eight indicators receiving equal weight, to obtain an overall index score. The jurisdictions are then ranked according to their final score. For a more detailed explanation of the methodology, see Appendix A. [3]

The data for the individual indicators are calculated using a three-year average (2015–2017) to measure current performance—minimizing recent anomalous data, while avoiding reliance on information that no longer reflects the performance of a given jurisdiction.

Three indicators were added to the 2018 edition of the Index of Labour Market Performance. The first two, (3) average total employment rate and (4) average private-sector employment rate, have been added to help address a growing concern over the reliability of the unemployment rate as an indicator of labour market performance

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[3] For each indicator, except average output per worker, mean sample estimates were provided by Statistics Canada and the US Bureau of Labor Statistics from their respective labour force and current population surveys.

Index of Labour Market Performance (score out of 100), 2015–2017

State/Province	Score
North Dakota	80.4
Utah	78.3
Minnesota	75.8
Colorado	73.9
South Dakota	72.6
Idaho	71.8
Iowa	70.4
Nebraska	69.9
Wisconsin	69.1
Oregon	68.3
Massachusetts	67.4
Indiana	66.3
Delaware	65.5
Washington	65.4
New Hampshire	65.3
Hawaii	64.0
Vermont	63.5
Texas	62.8
Kansas	61.3
Missouri	61.3
Tennessee	61.3
Maryland	59.6
North Carolina	59.0
Oklahoma	59.0
Georgia	57.5
Virginia	57.3
Arkansas	56.3
New York	56.0
Maine	55.6
Arizona	55.1
California	54.9
Wyoming	54.9
Connecticut	54.8
Michigan	54.0
British Columbia	53.6
Ohio	53.5
Montana	53.4
Rhode Island	53.0
Alaska	52.8
Pennsylvania	52.4
Saskatchewan	52.3
Nevada	52.1
Kentucky	51.9
Illinois	51.5
Manitoba	51.1
New Jersey	50.1
South Carolina	48.6
Alberta	48.1
Florida	47.8
Quebec	45.3
Alabama	44.8
Ontario	44.5
Louisiana	44.4
Mississippi	41.4
New Mexico	41.4
Prince Edward Island	36.6
New Brunswick	35.4
West Virginia	35.1
Nova Scotia	31.3
Newfoundland & Labrador	16.6

Score (out of 100)

Sources: see Indicators 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

(Clemens and Palacios, 2018; Cross, 2018). The unemployment rate is the number of unemployed persons (those who do not have a job but are seeking work) divided by the level of labour force participation (employed plus unemployed). As a result, the unemployment rate is closely tied to labour force participation, which has been falling in recent years (see Appendix B). The fall in labour-force participation is partly due to demographic changes, specifically an aging population (Fields, Uppal, and LaRochelle-Cote, 2017). Thus, a structural shift in demographics has meaningfully affected the unemployment rate, weakening it as a broad measure of labour market performance. While the unemployment rate remains an important measure, it is bolstered in the index by the inclusion of the total employment rate and private-sector employment rate.

The third indicator added to this edition of the Index of Labour Market Performance is (7) average share of involuntary part-time workers. An involuntary part-time worker desires full-time work but cannot find it because of economic conditions. This indicator was added to capture a growing concern that some workers may be underemployed; that is, not employed to their full potential. [4]

Observations

Overall, Canadian provinces performed poorly on the Index of Labour Market Performance. All Canadian provinces are ranked in the bottom half of the 60 juris-dictions, including the traditional economic engines of Canada, Alberta (ranked 48th, with an index score of 48.1 out of 100) and Ontario (ranked 52nd, with a score of 44.5) (table 1). British Columbia, with a score of 53.6, ranked 35th and Saskatchewan, with a score of 52.3, ranked 41st are the highest performing Canadian provinces, but neither is in the top half on the overall index. In fact, British Columbia is the only Canadian province that is not in the bottom third (lowest 20 out of 60) of the index; four of the five lowest ranked jurisdictions are Canadian provinces (the lowest ranked US state is West Virginia): Prince Edward Island (scoring 36.6 and ranked 56th), New Brunswick (35.4, 57th), Nova Scotia (31.3, 59th), and Newfoundland & Labrador (16.6, 60th). The province of Newfoundland & Labrador has the lowest score on the Index of Labour Market Performance.

All of the top performing jurisdictions are from the United States. North Dakota ranked first overall with a score of 80.4 out of 100. That state performed strongly on

[4] An additional indicator was considered to measure the extent that non-workers are discouraged by labour market conditions from looking for work. However, comparable data on so-called "discouraged workers" for US and Canadian jurisdictions were not available.

total employment rate (ranked 1st out of 60 jurisdictions), the private-sector employment rate (1st), unemployment rate (1st), and share of involuntary part-time workers (2nd). North Dakota is not the only Midwest state in the top 10. In fact, including North Dakota, six of the 10 jurisdictions are from the Midwest: Minnesota (3rd, with a score of 75.8), South Dakota (5th, scoring 72.6), Iowa (7th, 70.4), Nebraska (8th, 69.9), and Wisconsin (9th, 69.1). The remaining four jurisdictions in the top 10 are from the West— Utah (2nd, 78.3), Colorado (4th, 73.9), Idaho (6th, 71.8), and Oregon (10th, 68.3).

Notably, there are marked differences in labour market conditions in energy producing jurisdictions. [5] Three energy producing jurisdictions are in the top three of all jurisdictions on the Index of Labour Market Performance, namely North Dakota (1st, 80.4), Colorado (4th, 73.9), and Texas (18th, 62.8). In contrast, the three lowest performing energy producing jurisdictions are all in the bottom third of all jurisdictions, Alberta (48th, 48.1), Louisiana (53rd, 44.4), and Newfoundland & Labrador (60th, 16.6).

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[5] In this publication, "Energy producing jurisdictions" refers to the 10 Canadian and US jurisdictions identified by Di Matteo, Clemens, and Emes (2014), based on the energy sector's share of the jurisdiction's economy (for Canadian provinces) and oil and gas sector (for American states). These jurisdictions include Alaska, Alberta, Colorado, Louisiana, Newfoundland & Labrador, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Saskatchewan, Texas, and Wyoming.

Table 1: Summary of provincial and state scores (out of 100) and rankings

	Index of Labour Market Performance, 2017		Indicator 1 Average total employment growth, 2015–2017		Indicator 2 Average private employment growth, 2015–2017		Indicator 3 Average total employment rate, 2015–2017	
	Score	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Alberta	48.1	48	0.2	46	−1.1	58	67.3	3
British Columbia	53.6	35	2.7	8	2.9	7	60.7	29
Manitoba	51.1	45	0.9	36	1.1	30	63.8	15
New Brunswick	35.4	57	−0.1	54	−0.2	54	56.5	50
Newfoundland & Labrador	16.6	60	−2.1	60	−2.2	60	52.0	59
Nova Scotia	31.3	59	0.1	47	−0.3	55	56.7	49
Ontario	44.5	52	1.2	28	1.3	28	60.8	26
Prince Edward Island	36.6	56	−0.1	54	0.9	38	59.6	35
Quebec	45.3	50	1.3	26	1.4	26	60.3	32
Saskatchewan	52.3	41	−0.2	56	0.2	50	65.6	10
Alabama	44.8	51	1.0	32	1.0	31	53.5	57
Alaska	52.8	39	−0.4	58	0.1	51	61.9	20
Arizona	55.1	30	3.1	3	2.8	8	57.0	48
Arkansas	56.3	27	1.8	16	1.9	20	55.9	54
California	54.9	31	2.0	15	1.7	23	58.8	41
Colorado	73.9	4	3.0	4	2.8	8	65.1	11
Connecticut	54.8	33	1.1	29	0.4	48	62.7	17
Delaware	65.5	13	2.2	13	2.7	10	59.6	35
Florida	47.8	49	2.5	11	2.6	11	56.2	52
Georgia	57.5	25	3.0	4	3.3	4	59.1	40
Hawaii	64.0	16	1.6	20	2.0	18	60.5	31
Idaho	71.8	6	2.9	6	3.5	3	61.7	22
Illinois	51.5	44	0.7	40	0.6	41	61.1	25
Indiana	66.3	12	1.8	16	1.4	26	61.5	23
Iowa	70.4	7	0.0	50	0.0	53	66.8	6
Kansas	61.3	19	0.0	50	0.6	41	64.4	13
Kentucky	51.9	43	1.4	25	2.1	17	55.0	55
Louisiana	44.4	53	−0.2	56	−0.7	56	56.1	53
Maine	55.6	29	1.0	32	1.3	28	60.7	29
Maryland	59.6	22	1.5	23	1.9	20	64.3	14

(out of 60), labour market performance, 2015–2017

Indicator 4 Average private-sector employment rate, 2015–2017		Indicator 5 Average unemployment rate, 2015–2017		Indicator 6 Average long-term unemployment, 2015–2017		Indicator 7 Average share of involuntary part-time workers, 2015–2017		Indicator 8 Average output per worker, 2014–2016	
%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	CA$2016	Rank
43.8	48	6.4	54	21.4	27	4.4	45	143,467	21
38.9	54	4.8	27	18.5	13	4.7	52	109,800	54
38.9	54	4.8	27	14.5	6	4.5	49	105,341	56
36.1	57	7.7	58	17.1	9	4.1	39	95,617	57
33.3	60	11.7	60	17.6	10	5.3	58	131,078	39
35.1	58	7.1	57	17.8	11	5.2	57	92,368	59
40.0	52	5.5	45	19.8	20	5.3	58	111,634	52
34.8	59	8.4	59	12.8	1	4.8	54	85,077	60
39.1	53	5.9	52	19.1	17	4.4	45	95,167	58
37.6	56	4.9	31	15.6	8	3.8	31	132,691	34
45.3	47	5.5	45	26.9	46	3.5	19	124,135	45
46.9	46	6.9	56	21.2	25	4.1	39	191,317	3
49.9	37	5.4	43	22.6	32	4.8	54	125,338	43
47.2	44	4.2	18	22.2	31	3.0	6	118,503	48
50.8	31	5.5	45	26.5	45	5.0	56	177,646	6
56.0	10	3.3	6	21.1	24	3.4	18	144,547	20
54.0	16	5.2	39	30.7	54	4.4	45	179,660	5
51.7	26	4.7	25	27.5	49	3.7	27	199,285	2
49.5	38	4.8	27	33.5	59	4.6	50	122,288	46
51.1	29	5.4	43	32.5	58	3.7	27	141,656	24
49.3	40	3.0	2	22.1	30	3.6	21	158,066	12
53.1	19	3.7	10	12.8	1	3.5	19	108,571	55
54.1	14	5.6	48	31.6	56	4.0	36	160,244	11
54.6	13	4.3	19	18.5	13	3.1	8	136,371	28
57.0	7	3.5	9	13.3	3	2.7	4	137,710	27
55.0	12	3.9	13	21.8	29	3.1	8	131,640	37
47.0	45	5.1	35	23.7	37	3.6	21	128,288	41
47.4	43	5.8	49	24.8	42	3.6	21	145,953	17
52.8	21	3.8	12	21.4	27	4.1	39	110,447	53
50.0	36	4.6	23	32.2	57	3.1	8	155,338	14

Table 1 (cont'd): Summary of provincial and state scores (out of 100) and

	Index of Labour Market Performance, 2017		Indicator 1 Average total employment growth, 2015–2017		Indicator 2 Average private employment growth, 2015–2017		Indicator 3 Average total employment rate, 2015–2017	
	Score	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Massachusetts	67.4	11	1.6	20	2.2	16	62.6	18
Michigan	54.0	34	1.8	16	1.6	24	58.0	45
Minnesota	75.8	3	1.3	26	1.9	20	67.7	2
Mississippi	41.4	54	1.7	19	2.0	18	52.7	58
Missouri	61.3	19	0.9	36	0.6	41	61.9	20
Montana	53.4	37	1.1	29	−0.7	56	60.8	26
Nebraska	69.9	8	0.0	50	0.1	51	66.9	5
Nevada	52.1	42	2.7	8	2.3	15	58.7	43
New Hampshire	65.3	15	0.8	38	0.5	46	66.3	8
New Jersey	50.1	46	0.7	40	0.5	46	60.3	32
New Mexico	41.4	54	0.3	45	2.4	14	53.9	56
New York	56.0	28	1.0	32	1.0	31	57.9	46
North Carolina	59.0	23	2.3	12	3.0	6	58.4	44
North Dakota	80.4	1	0.0	50	0.6	41	69.4	1
Ohio	53.5	36	0.7	40	0.4	48	59.5	38
Oklahoma	59.0	23	0.8	38	1.6	24	58.8	41
Oregon	68.3	10	3.8	1	4.5	1	59.5	38
Pennsylvania	52.4	40	0.5	44	0.6	41	59.6	35
Rhode Island	53.0	38	1.1	29	1.0	31	61.3	24
South Carolina	48.6	47	2.1	14	0.7	39	56.3	51
South Dakota	72.6	5	0.7	40	1.0	31	67.1	4
Tennessee	61.3	19	2.9	6	3.1	5	57.4	47
Texas	62.8	18	1.6	20	1.0	31	60.8	26
Utah	78.3	2	3.2	2	3.8	2	66.4	7
Vermont	63.5	17	0.1	47	0.7	39	64.8	12
Virginia	57.3	26	1.0	32	1.0	31	62.2	19
Washington	65.4	14	2.7	8	2.5	13	60.3	32
West Virginia	35.1	58	0.1	47	1.0	31	49.9	60
Wisconsin	69.1	9	1.5	23	2.6	11	65.7	9
Wyoming	54.9	31	−1.5	59	−1.9	59	63.6	16

Sources: see figure 1; Indicators 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

rankings (out of 60), labour market performance, 2015–2017

Indicator 4 Average private-sector employment rate, 2015–2017		Indicator 5 Average unemployment rate, 2015–2017		Indicator 6 Average long-term unemployment, 2015–2017		Indicator 7 Average share of involuntary part-time workers, 2015–2017		Indicator 8 Average output per worker, 2014–2016	
%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	CA$2016	Rank
55.2	11	4.1	15	27.3	48	3.3	16	180,078	4
51.8	25	5.0	33	23.4	36	4.4	45	132,225	35
58.8	2	3.7	10	14.2	5	3.2	13	143,337	22
43.1	49	5.8	49	29.1	53	4.1	39	113,275	51
54.1	14	4.4	20	19.9	21	3.0	6	127,011	42
50.7	32	4.1	15	19.4	18	3.8	31	114,546	50
57.8	3	3.0	2	18.5	13	2.6	3	147,466	16
51.5	27	5.8	49	24.4	41	5.5	60	135,298	31
57.6	4	3.0	2	22.8	34	3.2	13	131,353	38
52.0	24	5.1	35	33.8	60	3.9	34	166,248	9
42.5	50	6.5	55	25.0	43	4.7	52	133,470	33
49.1	41	4.9	31	30.7	54	3.6	21	202,931	1
50.9	30	5.1	35	27.1	47	3.6	21	141,024	25
59.2	1	2.8	1	13.5	4	2.2	2	172,371	7
52.2	22	5.0	33	23.9	39	3.8	31	142,351	23
49.4	39	4.5	22	21.2	25	2.8	5	132,216	36
52.1	23	4.8	27	19.5	19	4.6	50	145,935	18
53.4	17	5.2	39	25.5	44	4.1	39	145,809	19
53.3	18	5.2	39	28.6	52	3.9	34	136,333	29
47.7	42	5.1	35	27.7	51	3.6	21	119,787	47
57.4	5	3.1	5	20.2	22	2.0	1	136,309	30
50.1	35	4.7	25	23.7	37	3.7	27	138,193	26
52.9	20	4.4	20	22.6	32	3.3	16	157,003	13
56.9	8	3.4	8	19.0	16	3.2	13	133,507	32
56.2	9	3.3	6	18.0	12	3.1	8	115,191	49
50.2	33	4.1	15	24.1	40	4.0	36	150,142	15
51.3	28	5.2	39	20.8	23	4.0	36	169,898	8
40.9	51	6.0	53	27.5	49	4.1	39	124,332	44
57.4	5	3.9	13	23.1	35	3.1	8	129,584	40
50.2	33	4.6	23	14.9	7	3.7	27	165,889	10

Indicator 1: Average total employment growth

Indicator 1 measures the average growth rate of total employment for each jurisdiction from 2015 to 2017. Total employment includes full-time and part-time employment in the private sector (business and non-profit), public sector (government), and among the self-employed. [6] Data on the average total employment growth for all 60 jurisdictions is summarized in the figure below. [7]

Observations

Only one Canadian province ranked in the top 20 on this indicator. British Columbia, the highest ranked province, ranked 8th with an average total employment growth rate of 2.7% (tying with Washington and Nevada). [8] The next highest Canadian jurisdiction on this indictor is Quebec, with a rank of 26 and an average total employment growth rate of 1.3%. Ontario has the next highest growth rate (1.2%) among Canadian provinces but ranks only 28th out of all 60 jurisdictions. Four provinces had negative average total employment growth, including three of the four bottom ranking jurisdictions—Newfoundland & Labrador (ranked 60th at –2.1%), Saskatchewan (56th, –0.2%), Prince Edward Island (54th, –0.1%), and New Brunswick (54th, –0.1%). Three other provinces also ranked in the bottom half. Manitoba ranked 36th (0.9%), Alberta ranked 46th (0.2%), and Nova Scotia ranked 47th (0.1%).
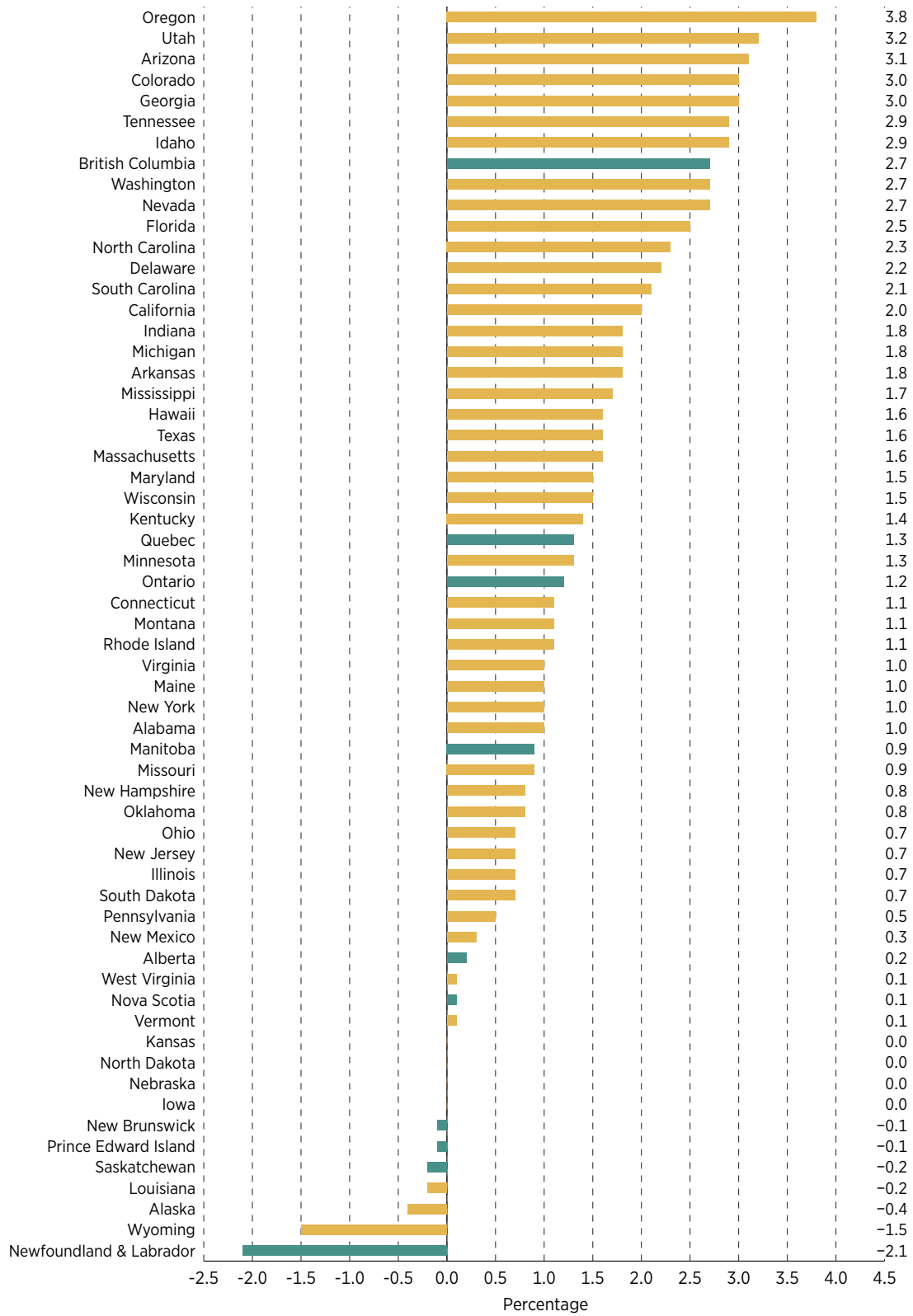
All but one of the top 10 jurisdictions for average total employment growth are from the United States. The top three are Oregon (with 3.8% growth), Utah (3.2% growth), and Arizona (3.1% growth). Including these three states, seven of the top 10 jurisdictions are states from the West—Arizona (3.1%), Colorado (3.0%), Idaho (2.9%), Washington

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[6] There is a minor difference between the Canadian and US definitions of "employable": Canada tabulates employment data for those of age 15 and above while the United States does so for those aged 16 and above.

[7] One aspect of the labour market that is not reflected in the Index of Labour Market Performance is how labour market conditions can differ for different individuals depending on age and skill-set. For example, employment rates for youths (aged 15 to 24) tend to be lower and unemployment rates, higher, than those of the general population. There is an interesting contrast between the trend of the employment rate for youths in Canada and the United States. In Canada, the youth employment rate fell from 59.5% in 2008 to 55.3% in 2009 and then remained largely flat for the subsequent years (Statistics Canada, 2018d). In the United States, youth employment rates fell over a longer period from 59.7% in 2000 to 45% in 2010—with about two fifths of the overall decline taking place from 2008 to 2010. However, unlike Canada's, the United States' youth employment rate has begun to recover—although at a level still below Canada—rising to 50.4% in 2017 (US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018f).

[8] Throughout this study, rankings of individual indicators are based on rounded numbers but the index scores are derived from unrounded numbers.

Indicator 1: Average total employment growth (%), 2015–2017

State/Province	Percentage
Oregon	3.8
Utah	3.2
Arizona	3.1
Colorado	3.0
Georgia	3.0
Tennessee	2.9
Idaho	2.9
British Columbia	2.7
Washington	2.7
Nevada	2.7
Florida	2.5
North Carolina	2.3
Delaware	2.2
South Carolina	2.1
California	2.0
Indiana	1.8
Michigan	1.8
Arkansas	1.8
Mississippi	1.7
Hawaii	1.6
Texas	1.6
Massachusetts	1.6
Maryland	1.5
Wisconsin	1.5
Kentucky	1.4
Quebec	1.3
Minnesota	1.3
Ontario	1.2
Connecticut	1.1
Montana	1.1
Rhode Island	1.1
Virginia	1.0
Maine	1.0
New York	1.0
Alabama	1.0
Manitoba	0.9
Missouri	0.9
New Hampshire	0.8
Oklahoma	0.8
Ohio	0.7
New Jersey	0.7
Illinois	0.7
South Dakota	0.7
Pennsylvania	0.5
New Mexico	0.3
Alberta	0.2
West Virginia	0.1
Nova Scotia	0.1
Vermont	0.1
Kansas	0.0
North Dakota	0.0
Nebraska	0.0
Iowa	0.0
New Brunswick	−0.1
Prince Edward Island	−0.1
Saskatchewan	−0.2
Louisiana	−0.2
Alaska	−0.4
Wyoming	−1.5
Newfoundland & Labrador	−2.1

Percentage

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018e; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; calculations by authors.

(2.7%), and Nevada (2.7%). Two of the remaining US states in the top 10 are from the South, Georgia (3.0%) and Tennessee (2.9%). None are from the Northeast or Midwest regions. The only region that is not in the bottom 10 is the Northeast.

Indicator 2: Average private-sector employment growth

An important aspect is missing from the first indicator of labour market performance: the nature of employment growth. Total employment growth does not reveal whether employment growth was driven by growth in the public or the private sector. Strong employment growth that is largely fuelled by the public sector can have harmful economic consequences (Clemens, Karabegović, and Veldhuis, 2003; Karabegović, Gabler, and Veldhuis, 2012; and Di Matteo, 2015). The second indicator of labour market performance measures the average growth in private-sector employment for each jurisdiction from 2015 to 2017; growth is defined as new full-time and part-time private-sector employment. [9] The average private-sector employment growth for all 60 jurisdictions is summarized in the figure below.
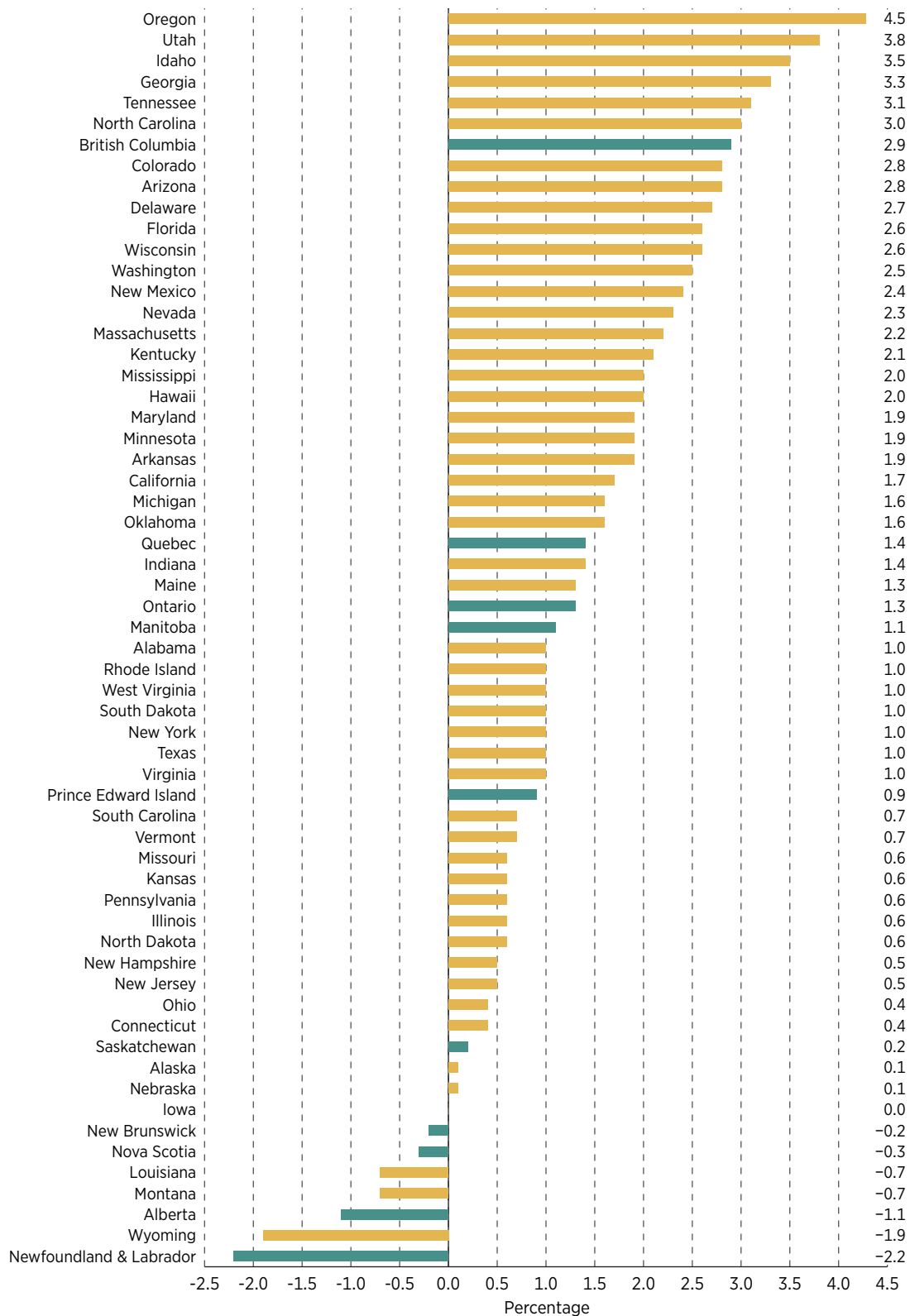
Observations

British Columbia is the only Canadian provinces in the top 10 on the rankings for average private-sector employment growth, with a growth rate of 2.9% and a rank of 7th. No other Canadian province is in the top 20 of jurisdictions. Quebec, the next highest ranked province (26th), had average private-sector employment growth of 1.4%, half British Columbia's rate. Ontario (28th, 1.3%) is the third highest ranking Canadian province on this indicator, followed closely by Manitoba (30th, 1.1%). The remaining six Canadian provinces are ranked among the bottom half of jurisdictions. Four provinces experienced an average decline in private-sector employment: New Brunswick (54th, –0.2%), Nova Scotia (55th, –0.3%), Alberta (58th, –1.1%), and Newfoundland & Labrador (60th, –2.2%). Alberta's near-bottom ranking is noteworthy, as historically it has ranked near the top on this indicator in past editions of the index.

As on the first indicator, Oregon led all jurisdictions with an average growth rate of 4.5% in private-sector employment over the three-year period. Utah is next at 3.8%, followed by Idaho (3.5%), Georgia (3.3%), and Tennessee (3.1%). Besides British Columbia, jurisdictions in the top 10 rankings were found in two census regions of the United

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[9] In this instance as well, Canada tabulates employment data for those of age 15 and above while the United States does so for those age 16 and above.

Indicator 2: Average private-sector employment growth (%), 2015–2017

State/Province	Percentage
Oregon	4.5
Utah	3.8
Idaho	3.5
Georgia	3.3
Tennessee	3.1
North Carolina	3.0
British Columbia	2.9
Colorado	2.8
Arizona	2.8
Delaware	2.7
Florida	2.6
Wisconsin	2.6
Washington	2.5
New Mexico	2.4
Nevada	2.3
Massachusetts	2.2
Kentucky	2.1
Mississippi	2.0
Hawaii	2.0
Maryland	1.9
Minnesota	1.9
Arkansas	1.9
California	1.7
Michigan	1.6
Oklahoma	1.6
Quebec	1.4
Indiana	1.4
Maine	1.3
Ontario	1.3
Manitoba	1.1
Alabama	1.0
Rhode Island	1.0
West Virginia	1.0
South Dakota	1.0
New York	1.0
Texas	1.0
Virginia	1.0
Prince Edward Island	0.9
South Carolina	0.7
Vermont	0.7
Missouri	0.6
Kansas	0.6
Pennsylvania	0.6
Illinois	0.6
North Dakota	0.6
New Hampshire	0.5
New Jersey	0.5
Ohio	0.4
Connecticut	0.4
Saskatchewan	0.2
Alaska	0.1
Nebraska	0.1
Iowa	0.0
New Brunswick	−0.2
Nova Scotia	−0.3
Louisiana	−0.7
Montana	−0.7
Alberta	−1.1
Wyoming	−1.9
Newfoundland & Labrador	−2.2

Percentage

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018e; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018b; calculations by authors.

States: five are from the West—Oregon (1st), Utah (2nd), Idaho (3rd), and Colorado and Arizona (tied for 8th). Four are from the South—Georgia (4th), Tennessee (5th), North Carolina (6th), and Delaware (10th). None are from the Northeast or Midwest.

Three states experienced an average decrease in private-sector employment over the three-year period: Louisiana (56th, –0.7%); Montana (56th, –0.7%), and Wyoming (59th, –1.9%). The only US census region not represented in the bottom 10 is the Northeast; there are three from the West (Alaska, Montana, and Wyoming), two from the Midwest (Nebraska and Iowa), and one from the South (Louisiana).

Total and private-sector employment growth compared

The relationship between the results on the first indicator of labour market perform-ance—average total employment growth—and the second indicator—average private-sector employment growth—is noteworthy. Several jurisdictions were in the midst of altering the size of their public sector during the period analyzed. There is, therefore, a stark contrast between the two indicators for those jurisdictions. For example, Alberta's average total employment growth was 0.2% but its private-sector employment growth declined by 1.1%, indicating an increase in the province's public-sector employment. Prince Edward Island shows the opposite: significant total employment declines in spite of modest private-sector gains, indicating a reduction in the public sector.

Indicator 3: Average total employment rate

It is important to consider not just the growth in employment but also the overall level of employment. For example, a jurisdiction with a relatively low level of employment may score well on the first two indicators if its growth is catching up to that of other jurisdictions, but this does not fully reflect employment conditions in that jurisdiction. This indicator measures the total employment level—which includes full-time and part-time work as well as private employees, public employees, and the self-employed—as a percentage of the working age population (15 years and above in the case of Canada and 16 years and above in the case of the United States). The employment rate is the average over the years from 2015 to 2017.

Observations

Two Canadian provinces ranked in the top 10 jurisdictions for average employment rate. Alberta, first among Canadian provinces, ranks third out of 60 jurisdictions with an average employment rate of 67.3%. Saskatchewan ranks 10th with an average

Indicator 3: Average total employment rate (%), 2015–2017

State/Province	Rate
North Dakota	69.4
Minnesota	67.7
Alberta	67.3
South Dakota	67.1
Nebraska	66.9
Iowa	66.8
Utah	66.4
New Hampshire	66.3
Wisconsin	65.7
Saskatchewan	65.6
Colorado	65.1
Vermont	64.8
Kansas	64.4
Maryland	64.3
Manitoba	63.8
Wyoming	63.6
Connecticut	62.7
Massachusetts	62.6
Virginia	62.2
Alaska	61.9
Missouri	61.9
Idaho	61.7
Indiana	61.5
Rhode Island	61.3
Illinois	61.1
Ontario	60.8
Montana	60.8
Texas	60.8
British Columbia	60.7
Maine	60.7
Hawaii	60.5
New Jersey	60.3
Quebec	60.3
Washington	60.3
Delaware	59.6
Prince Edward Island	59.6
Pennsylvania	59.6
Ohio	59.5
Oregon	59.5
Georgia	59.1
Oklahoma	58.8
California	58.8
Nevada	58.7
North Carolina	58.4
Michigan	58.0
New York	57.9
Tennessee	57.4
Arizona	57.0
Nova Scotia	56.7
New Brunswick	56.5
South Carolina	56.3
Florida	56.2
Louisiana	56.1
Arkansas	55.9
Kentucky	55.0
New Mexico	53.9
Alabama	53.5
Mississippi	52.7
Newfoundland & Labrador	52.0
West Virginia	49.9

Percentage

Note: Canada tabulates employment data for those of age 15 and above while the United States do so for those age 16 and above.
Sources:Statistics Canada, 2018d; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018c; calculations by authors.

employment rate of 65.6%. Three other Canadian provinces are in the top half of jurisdictions: Manitoba (15th, 63.8%), Ontario (26th, 60.8%), and British Columbia (29th, 60.7%). Only two Canadian provinces are in the bottom 10, New Brunswick (50th, 56.5%) and Newfoundland & Labrador (59th, 52.0%).

Six of the top 10 US jurisdictions are from the Midwest, including the top two jurisdictions, North Dakota (69.4%) and Minnesota (67.7%). The other Midwest states in the top 10 are South Dakota (4th, 67.1%), Nebraska (5th, 66.9%), Iowa (6th, 66.8%), and Wisconsin (9th, 65.7%). The West is represented by Utah (7th, 66.4%) and the Northeast is represented by New Hampshire (8th, 66.3%). No jurisdiction from the South census region is in the top 10 of this indicator.

States from the South, however, feature prominently among the bottom 10 jurisdictions for average employment rate. In fact, eight of the bottom 10 are southern states. This includes South Carolina (51st, 56.3%), Florida (52nd, 56.2%), Louisiana (53rd, 56.1%), Arkansas (54th, 55.9%), Kentucky (55th, 55%), Alabama (57th, 53.5%), Mississippi (58th, 52.7%), and the lowest ranked jurisdiction on this indicator, West Virginia (49.9%). West Virginia is also notable for being the only jurisdiction where less than half of its working age population is employed. New Mexico (56th, 53.9%) is the other American state in the bottom 10.

Indicator 4: Average private-sector employment rate

The total employment rate does not distinguish between employment in the public and private sectors, which as noted above, is important because of the different economic implications. Thus, the fourth indicator of labour market performance measures the average private-sector employment rate from 2015 to 2017; it is calculated as the total full-time and part-time employment in the private sector relative to the working age population. [10] The average private-sector employment rate for all 60 jurisdictions is summarized in the figure below.

Observations

The bottom nine jurisdictions for average private-sector employment rate are all Canadian provinces. The only province that is not in the bottom 10 is Alberta (43.8%), which places 48th—still in the bottom third of jurisdictions. The second highest ranked Canadian province in Ontario (40.0%), followed by Quebec (39.1%). The Atlantic

[10] Canada tabulates employment data for those of age 15 and above while the United States does so for those of age 16 and above..

Indicator 4: Average private-sector employment rate (%), 2015–2017

State/Province	Value
North Dakota	59.2
Minnesota	58.8
Nebraska	57.8
New Hampshire	57.6
South Dakota	57.4
Wisconsin	57.4
Iowa	57.0
Utah	56.9
Vermont	56.2
Colorado	56.0
Massachusetts	55.2
Kansas	55.0
Indiana	54.6
Missouri	54.1
Illinois	54.1
Connecticut	54.0
Pennsylvania	53.4
Rhode Island	53.3
Idaho	53.1
Texas	52.9
Maine	52.8
Ohio	52.2
Oregon	52.1
New Jersey	52.0
Michigan	51.8
Delaware	51.7
Nevada	51.5
Washington	51.3
Georgia	51.1
North Carolina	50.9
California	50.8
Montana	50.7
Wyoming	50.2
Virginia	50.2
Tennessee	50.1
Maryland	50.0
Arizona	49.9
Florida	49.5
Oklahoma	49.4
Hawaii	49.3
New York	49.1
South Carolina	47.7
Louisiana	47.4
Arkansas	47.2
Kentucky	47.0
Alaska	46.9
Alabama	45.3
Alberta	43.8
Mississippi	43.1
New Mexico	42.5
West Virginia	40.9
Ontario	40.0
Quebec	39.1
Manitoba	38.9
British Columbia	38.9
Saskatchewan	37.6
New Brunswick	36.1
Nova Scotia	35.1
Prince Edward Island	34.8
Newfoundland & Labrador	33.3

Percentage

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018e; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018b, 2018c; calculations by authors.

Provinces all make up the bottom four jurisdictions: New Brunswick (36.1%), Nova Scotia (35.1%), Prince Edward Island (34.8%), and Newfoundland & Labrador (33.3%).

Midwestern states tend to do well on this indicator, with six of the top 10 jurisdictions coming from the Midwest. This includes the top three jurisdictions—North Dakota (59.2%), Minnesota (58.8%), and Nebraska (57.8%). The three other Midwest states in the top 10 are: South Dakota (57.4%), Wisconsin (57.4%), and Iowa (57.0%). Two states in the top 10 come from the Northeast—New Hampshire (57.6%) and Vermont (56.2%)—and two states come from the West—Utah (56.9%) and Colorado (56.0%). The only state in the bottom 10 of jurisdictions is West Virginia (40.9%).

Total and private-sector employment rate compared

There are several noteworthy differences in the rankings for the total employment rate and the private-sector employment rate, particularly for Canadian provinces. A considerable portion of employment in many jurisdictions comes from the public sector and that explains the general lower rankings and poorer performance on the private-sector employment rate compared to the total employment rate. For example, Alberta ranks 3rd for total employment (67.3%) but ranks 48th for private-sector employment (43.8%). Saskatchewan is in the top 10 for the total employment rate but is in the bottom 10 for the private-sector employment rate. The difference in Ontario's rank is also notable—26th highest average total employment rate (60.8%) but the 52nd highest private-sector rate (40.0%). Finally, British Columbia is in the top half of jurisdictions (29th) when it comes to its average total employment rate but is in the bottom 10 for its private-sector employment rate (54th). Overall, the third and fourth indicators together suggest that Canadian provinces rely more heavily on public-sector employment than US states.

Indicator 5: Average unemployment rate

Indicator 5 reflects the first two indicators in that an economy that is unable to generate employment growth will also, to a certain extent, have a higher unemployment rate, assuming a steady flow of new entrants to the labour force. Indicator 5 measures the three-year average (2015–2017) percentage of citizens who, though actively seeking work, were unable to find it. [11]

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[11] Statistic Canada's R3 unemployment rate was used for the Canadian provinces, instead of a traditional (that is, official) unemployment rate. R3 alters the official Canadian rates to make them comparable to the US unemployment rates. The R3 unemployment rates are slightly lower than the official unemployment rate but the difference is less than one percentage point, on average, for Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018g).

Indicator 5: Average unemployment rate (%), 2015–2017

State/Province	Percentage
North Dakota	2.8
Hawaii	3.0
New Hampshire	3.0
Nebraska	3.0
South Dakota	3.1
Vermont	3.3
Colorado	3.3
Utah	3.4
Iowa	3.5
Minnesota	3.7
Idaho	3.7
Maine	3.8
Kansas	3.9
Wisconsin	3.9
Virginia	4.1
Montana	4.1
Massachusetts	4.1
Arkansas	4.2
Indiana	4.3
Missouri	4.4
Texas	4.4
Oklahoma	4.5
Maryland	4.6
Wyoming	4.6
Delaware	4.7
Tennessee	4.7
Manitoba	4.8
British Columbia	4.8
Florida	4.8
Oregon	4.8
Saskatchewan	4.9
New York	4.9
Ohio	5.0
Michigan	5.0
South Carolina	5.1
Kentucky	5.1
North Carolina	5.1
New Jersey	5.1
Connecticut	5.2
Pennsylvania	5.2
Rhode Island	5.2
Washington	5.2
Georgia	5.4
Arizona	5.4
Alabama	5.5
California	5.5
Ontario	5.5
Illinois	5.6
Mississippi	5.8
Louisiana	5.8
Nevada	5.8
Quebec	5.9
West Virginia	6.0
Alberta	6.4
New Mexico	6.5
Alaska	6.9
Nova Scotia	7.1
New Brunswick	7.7
Prince Edward Island	8.4
Newfoundland & Labrador	11.7

Percentage

Note: Statistic Canada's R3 unemployment rate was used for the Canadian provinces to ensure data comparability with the United States.
Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018g; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; calculations by authors.

An important limitation of this measure is that a reduction in unemployment could occur for two reasons. First, it could be that individuals are moving from being unemployed to being employed. Second, it could be that individuals are abandoning an active search for work and leaving the labour force altogether (see the discussion of labour force participation in Appendix B). An individual may leave the labour force as a result of age (that is, retire), because they have suffered some calamity that leaves them too injured or sick to work, as a result of choosing a change in lifestyle (for instance, staying home with young children), because they feel discouraged from the lack of job opportunities, or for some other reason. In any case, the unemployment rate by itself can only reveal part of what is happening in a labour market. This is one reason that an index that has multiple measures, such as employment growth and employment rate, is used to capture labour market conditions across jurisdictions. Average unemployment rates for all 60 jurisdictions are summarized in the figure below.

Observations

Canada, again, performed poorly on this indicator. The Atlantic Provinces had the four highest average unemployment rates of all 60 jurisdictions (Newfoundland & Labrador at 11.7%, Prince Edward Island at 8.4%, New Brunswick at 7.7%, and Nova Scotia at 7.1%) and therefore ranked the lowest. Canada's two most populous provinces, Ontario and Quebec, also underperformed. Ontario ranked in the bottom 20 (45th) with an average unemployment rate of 5.5%. Quebec fared even worse, ranking in the bottom 10 (52nd) with an average unemployment rate of 5.9%. Alberta, which for decades had one of the lowest unemployment rates of any jurisdiction, is also in the bottom 10 (54th) with an average unemployment rate of 6.4%. Manitoba is the highest-ranking Canadian province on this indicator, placing 27th overall with an average unemployment rate of 4.8%, followed by British Columbia (ranked 27th at 4.8%) and Saskatchewan (ranked 31st at 4.9%).

The four Great Plain states of the US Midwest performed strongly with exceptionally low unemployment rates—North Dakota ranked 1st with the lowest average unemployment rate (2.8%), followed by Nebraska (tied at 3.0% with Hawaii and New Hampshire), and South Dakota (5th at 3.1%). Kansas ranked slightly outside the top 10 at 13th (3.9%). A total of five Midwest states are in the top 10, along with four West and two Northeast states (there are 11 states in the top 10 because Minnesota and Idaho are tied for 10th place). None are from the South, although all jurisdictions that ranked in the top 10 are from the United States.

Notably, Newfoundland & Labrador's average unemployment rate of 11.7% is nearly two and a half times greater than the rate of the top-ranked Canadian province, Manitoba, and more than four times higher than the rate of the top-ranked US state, North Dakota. And, in stark contrast, the two Northeast states bordering eastern Canada— New Hampshire (3.0%) and Vermont (3.3%)—are in the top 10, with less than half the unemployment rate of any Atlantic province.
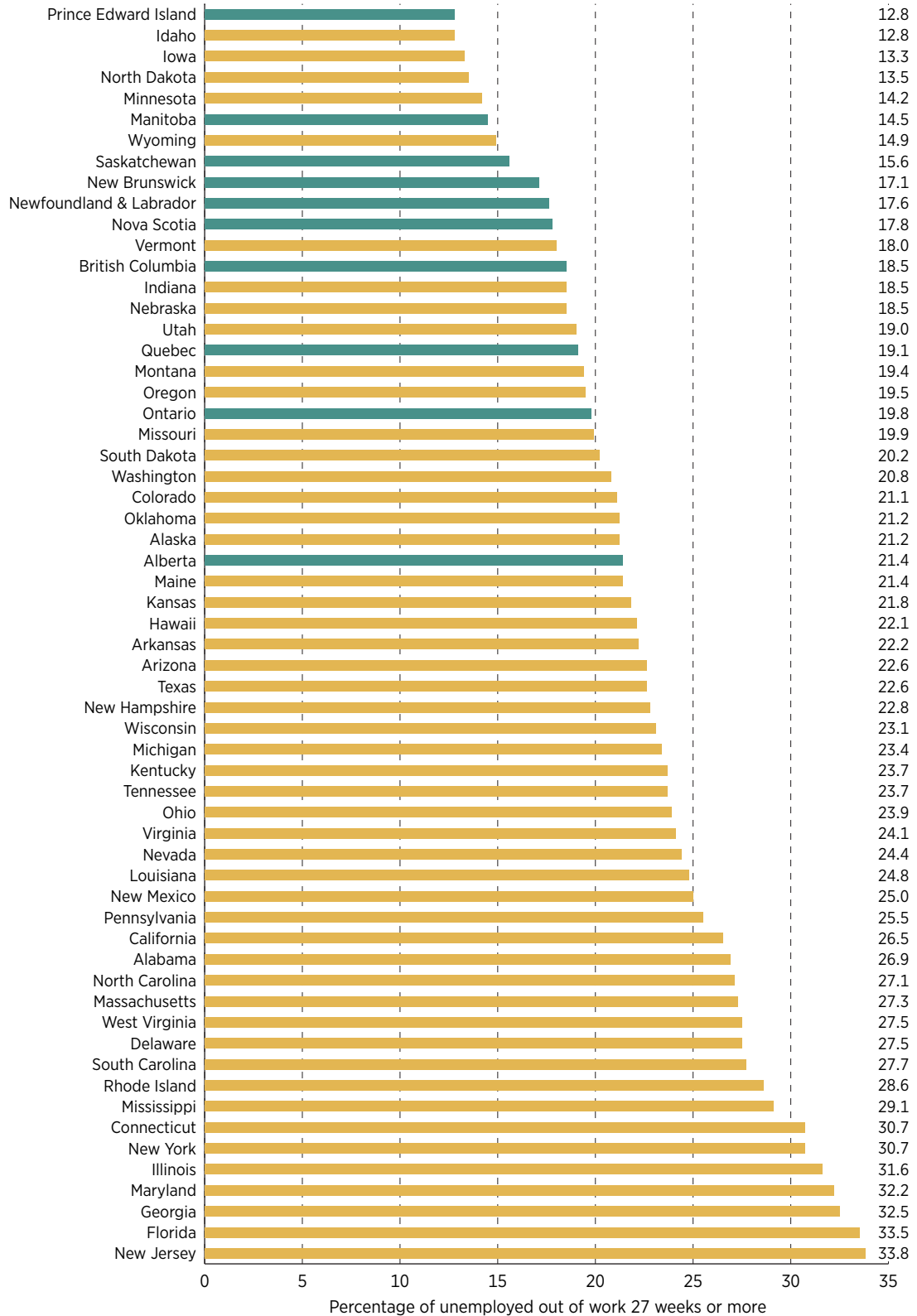
Indicator 6. Average long-term unemployment

The sixth indicator of labour market performance is the average percentage of the unemployed who have been out of work for 27 weeks. It is an adjunct to the previous measure and is intended to indicate the severity (or long-term nature) of unemployment, as the labour market of two jurisdictions with similar unemployment rates may face different problems if the extent of long-term unemployment in one or the other is drastically different. This indicator measures the share of those who experience unemployment for 27 weeks or longer relative to the total unemployed, on average, from 2015 to 2017. The result for all 60 jurisdictions are summarized in the figure below.
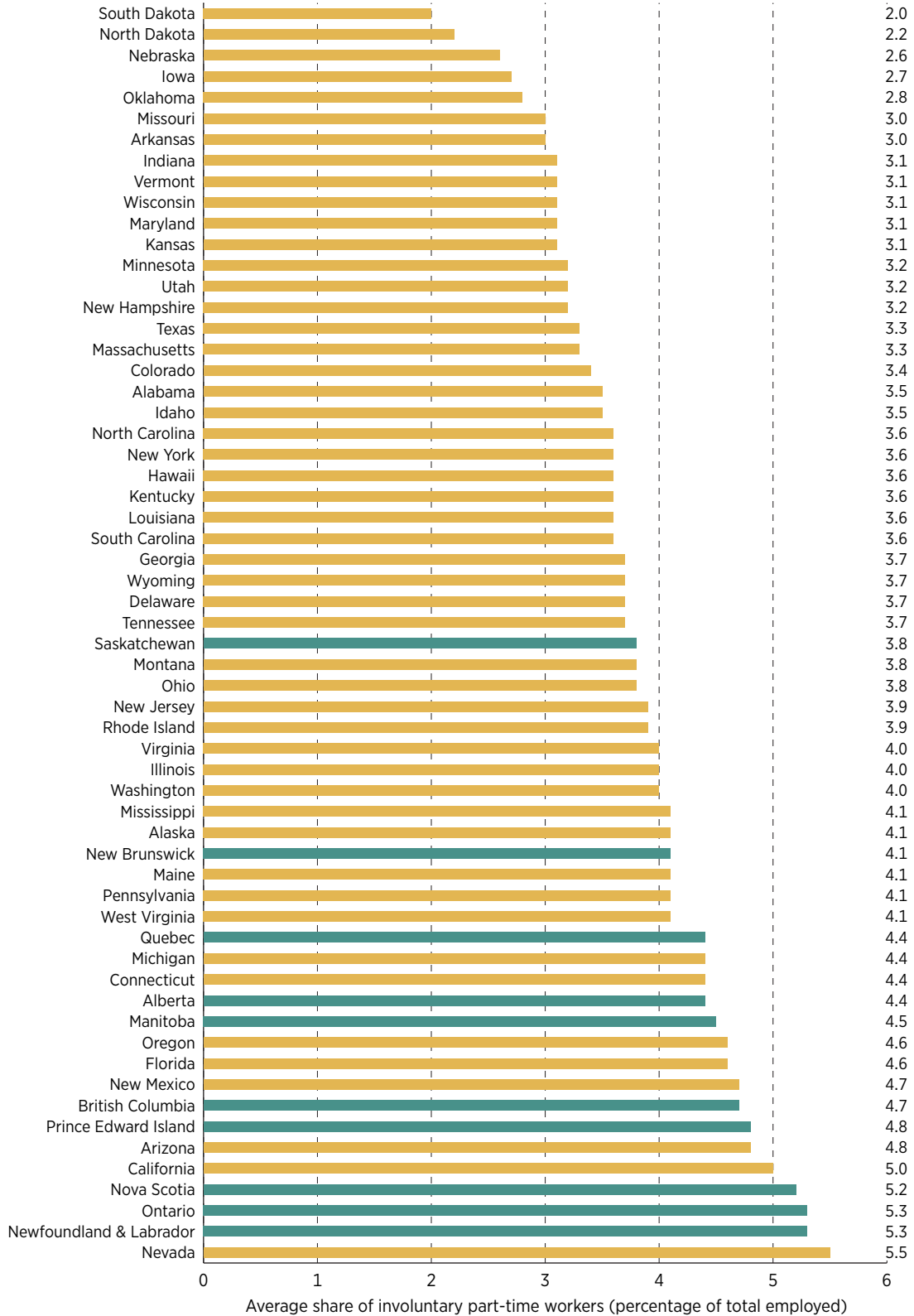
Observations

Prince Edward Island and Idaho tied for first place: the lowest percentage of their unemployed (12.8%) were out of work for 27 weeks or longer. Overall, Canadian jurisdictions performed better on the severity of long-term unemployment than on the unemployment rate. Five provinces ranked among the top 10—Prince Edward Island (1st), Manitoba (6th), Saskatchewan (8th), New Brunswick (9th), Newfoundland & Labrador (10th). The remaining five provinces all ranked in the top 30—Nova Scotia (11th), British Columbia (13th), Quebec (17th), Ontario (20th), and Alberta (27th).

Five US states are in the top 10: three Midwest—Iowa (3rd), North Dakota (4th), Minnesota (5th)—and two from the West—Idaho (1st), Wyoming (7th). The bottom 30 jurisdictions are all US states—14 from the South, nine Northeast, five West, and three Midwest. New Jersey ranked last, with 33.8% of its unemployed out of work for 27 weeks or longer, and the situation in Florida was nearly as bad, at 33.5%.

Indicator 6: Average long-term unemployment, 2015–2017

	Value
Prince Edward Island	12.8
Idaho	12.8
Iowa	13.3
North Dakota	13.5
Minnesota	14.2
Manitoba	14.5
Wyoming	14.9
Saskatchewan	15.6
New Brunswick	17.1
Newfoundland & Labrador	17.6
Nova Scotia	17.8
Vermont	18.0
British Columbia	18.5
Indiana	18.5
Nebraska	18.5
Utah	19.0
Quebec	19.1
Montana	19.4
Oregon	19.5
Ontario	19.8
Missouri	19.9
South Dakota	20.2
Washington	20.8
Colorado	21.1
Oklahoma	21.2
Alaska	21.2
Alberta	21.4
Maine	21.4
Kansas	21.8
Hawaii	22.1
Arkansas	22.2
Arizona	22.6
Texas	22.6
New Hampshire	22.8
Wisconsin	23.1
Michigan	23.4
Kentucky	23.7
Tennessee	23.7
Ohio	23.9
Virginia	24.1
Nevada	24.4
Louisiana	24.8
New Mexico	25.0
Pennsylvania	25.5
California	26.5
Alabama	26.9
North Carolina	27.1
Massachusetts	27.3
West Virginia	27.5
Delaware	27.5
South Carolina	27.7
Rhode Island	28.6
Mississippi	29.1
Connecticut	30.7
New York	30.7
Illinois	31.6
Maryland	32.2
Georgia	32.5
Florida	33.5
New Jersey	33.8

Percentage of unemployed out of work 27 weeks or more

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018f; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018b; calculations by authors.

Indicator 7: Average share of involuntary part-time workers

The seventh indicator captures an aspect of the labour market that is a growing concern among some observers—the quality of jobs available. Some worry that those who have jobs may be underemployed (not employed to their full potential). For instance, there are individuals working a part-time job but desire to be working full-time. However, many individuals also desire to work part-time for personal or family reasons. It is important to distinguish between voluntary part-time workers and involuntary part-time workers. Someone who is an involuntary part-time worker desires full-time work but could not find it as a result of economic conditions. The indicator measures the percentage of total employed that is involuntary part-time, on average, from 2015 to 2017. The result for all 60 jurisdictions are summarized in the figure below.

Observations

No Canadian province is in the top half of the 60 jurisdictions on this indicator, meaning all have relatively high percentages of involuntary part-time workers. Saskatchewan is the best ranked Canadian province, ranking 31st with 3.8% of the workforce involuntary part-time. New Brunswick (4.1%) is the second highest ranked Canadian province but ranks 39th overall. Five of the bottom 10 jurisdictions are Canadian: British Columbia (4.7%), Prince Edward Island (4.8%), Nova Scotia (5.2%), Ontario (5.3%), and Newfoundland & Labrador (5.3%). Notably, in Canada's most populous province, Ontario, more than one in 20 workers is involuntary part-time. That is more than two-and-a-half times the share as the highest ranking jurisdiction on this indicator (South Dakota with 2.0%).

Once again, in the United States the top 10 is dominated by states of the Midwest, with South Dakota taking the top spot with 2.0%. North Dakota has the second lowest involuntary part-time rate (2.2%), followed by Nebraska (2.6%) and Iowa (2.7%). The Midwest states of Indiana, Wisconsin, and Kansas all tie for 8th place (with a rate of 3.1%), along with Northeast states Vermont and Maryland. None of the states in the top 10 are from the West but two are from the South—Oklahoma (2.8%) and Arkansas (3.0%).

The US states that are in the bottom 10 of this indicator are mainly from the West. Nevada has the highest average involuntary part-time rate of all 60 jurisdictions, with 5.5%. California is the state with the next highest rate (5.0%), followed by Arizona (4.8%)—although both jurisdictions do better on this indicator than Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Newfoundland & Labrador. New Mexico (52nd, 4.7%) and Oregon (50th, 4.6%) are two West states that are also in the bottom 10. The only jurisdiction in the bottom 10 that is not from the West census region or a Canadian province is Florida, with a rate of 4.6%.

Indicator 7: Average share of involuntary part-time workers, 2015–2017

State/Province	Value
South Dakota	2.0
North Dakota	2.2
Nebraska	2.6
Iowa	2.7
Oklahoma	2.8
Missouri	3.0
Arkansas	3.0
Indiana	3.1
Vermont	3.1
Wisconsin	3.1
Maryland	3.1
Kansas	3.1
Minnesota	3.2
Utah	3.2
New Hampshire	3.2
Texas	3.3
Massachusetts	3.3
Colorado	3.4
Alabama	3.5
Idaho	3.5
North Carolina	3.6
New York	3.6
Hawaii	3.6
Kentucky	3.6
Louisiana	3.6
South Carolina	3.6
Georgia	3.7
Wyoming	3.7
Delaware	3.7
Tennessee	3.7
Saskatchewan	3.8
Montana	3.8
Ohio	3.8
New Jersey	3.9
Rhode Island	3.9
Virginia	4.0
Illinois	4.0
Washington	4.0
Mississippi	4.1
Alaska	4.1
New Brunswick	4.1
Maine	4.1
Pennsylvania	4.1
West Virginia	4.1
Quebec	4.4
Michigan	4.4
Connecticut	4.4
Alberta	4.4
Manitoba	4.5
Oregon	4.6
Florida	4.6
New Mexico	4.7
British Columbia	4.7
Prince Edward Island	4.8
Arizona	4.8
California	5.0
Nova Scotia	5.2
Ontario	5.3
Newfoundland & Labrador	5.3
Nevada	5.5

Average share of involuntary part-time workers (percentage of total employed)

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018e, 2018i; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a, 2018e; calculations by authors.

Indicator 8. Average output per worker

A final indicator of a well-functioning labour market is high and growing labour productivity. The ability to produce more with the same amount of labour translates into higher compensation for workers (including wages, salaries, and other benefits). A common measure of labour productivity is output per hour of labour work. However, data on the number of hours worked is not available for all US states (although it is for the Canadian provinces). In place of this preferred measure, the final indicator of labour market performance measures the average real gross domestic product (GDP) per worker from 2014 to 2016, adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP). This indicator reveals the average total value of goods and services produced per worker over the three-year period. Average output per worker for all 60 jurisdictions is summarized in the figure below.

Observations

The five least productive jurisdictions are all Canadian provinces—Prince Edward Island (ranked 60th), Nova Scotia (59th), Quebec (58th), New Brunswick (57th), and Manitoba (56th). Quebec and the three Maritime provinces had an average GDP per worker of less than half the top ranked jurisdiction, New York ($202,931). Seven of the 10 lowest ranked jurisdictions are Canada, with Ontario ranked 52nd and British Columbia, 54th on this indicator. Alberta, in 21st place, was the top-ranked Canadian province, with an average GDP per worker of $143,467.

The Northeast US states and the Western states each have four states in the top 10 of most productive per worker. The four Northeast states are: New York ($202,931), Massachusetts ($180,078), Connecticut ($179,660), and New Jersey ($166,248). The four Western states are: Alaska ($191,317), California ($177,646), Washington ($169,898), and Wyoming ($165,889). However, the two least productive states are also from the West and Northeast: Idaho (ranked 55th) had an average GDP per worker of $108,571 and Maine (53rd) had $110,447 per worker. Overall, US states significantly outperformed Canadian provinces, with the 50 states averaging $152,668 GDP per worker compared to an average of $111,992 for the 10 Canadian provinces.

Indicator 8: Average output per worker (adjusted GDP, CA$2016), 2014–2016

New York	202,931
Delaware	199,285
Alaska	191,317
Massachusetts	180,078
Connecticut	179,660
California	177,646
North Dakota	172,371
Washington	169,898
New Jersey	166,248
Wyoming	165,889
Illinois	160,244
Hawaii	158,066
Texas	157,003
Maryland	155,338
Virginia	150,142
Nebraska	147,466
Louisiana	145,953
Oregon	145,935
Pennsylvania	145,809
Colorado	144,547
Alberta	143,467
Minnesota	143,337
Ohio	142,351
Georgia	141,656
North Carolina	141,024
Tennessee	138,193
Iowa	137,710
Indiana	136,371
Rhode Island	136,333
South Dakota	136,309
Nevada	135,298
Utah	133,507
New Mexico	133,470
Saskatchewan	132,691
Michigan	132,225
Oklahoma	132,216
Kansas	131,640
New Hampshire	131,353
Newfoundland & Labrador	131,078
Wisconsin	129,584
Kentucky	128,288
Missouri	127,011
Arizona	125,338
West Virginia	124,332
Alabama	124,135
Florida	122,288
South Carolina	119,787
Arkansas	118,503
Vermont	115,191
Montana	114,546
Mississippi	113,275
Ontario	111,634
Maine	110,447
British Columbia	109,800
Idaho	108,571
Manitoba	105,341
New Brunswick	95,617
Quebec	95,167
Nova Scotia	92,368
Prince Edward Island	85,077

Real GDP per worker (CA$2016), adjusted by Purchasing Power Parity

Sources: OECD, 2018; Statistics Canada, 2018c, 2018d; US, Dep't of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2018; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; calculations by authors.

Conclusion

The Index of Labour Market Performance shows that labour markets in Canadian provinces have generally under-performed compared to those in many US states. Indeed, Canadian provinces generally rank poorly on six out of the eight indicators used in the index. Given the importance of labour markets for the economy and our overall prosperity, this is a worrisome result for Canadians. The next step for research is to understand more fully what is holding back Canada's labour markets and, in particular, the extent to which the cause is external factors such as changes in commodity prices or counterproductive government policies.

Appendix A. Methodology

Computing the Index of Labour Market Performance

The Index of Labour Market Performance assesses the performance of labour markets in the 10 Canadian provinces and 50 US states across eight indicators:

Indicator 1. average total employment growth (2015–2017)

Indicator 2. average private-sector employment growth (2015–2017)

Indicator 3. average total employment rate (2015–2017)

Indicator 4. average private-sector employment rate (2015–2017)

Indicator 5. average unemployment rate (2015–2017)

Indicator 6. average long-term unemployment (2015–2017)

Indicator 7. average share of involuntary part-time workers (2015–2017)

Indicator 8. average output per worker (2014–2016).

Each indicator is standardized so that the lowest possible score is zero and the highest possible score is 100. The scores of the five indicators are then averaged, with all eight indicators given equal weighting, to obtain an overall score ranging from zero to 100. The jurisdictions are then ranked according to their final score.

Depending on whether higher values are indicative of better or worse performance of the labour market, alternative formulas are used to transform the eight indicators to a zero-to-100 scale. When higher values are indicative of better labour market performance, the formula used to derive the zero-to-100 ratings is:

$$(V_i - V_{min}) / (V_{max} - V_{min}) \times 100.$$

V_i is the jurisdiction's actual value for the indicator, V_{max} is the maximum value among all of the jurisdictions, and V_{min} is the minimum value among all of the jurisdictions. A jurisdiction's rating will be 100 when its value for the indicator is the highest among all jurisdictions and zero when it is the lowest among all the jurisdictions.

When higher values are indicative of worse labour market performance, the formula used to derive the zero-to-100 ratings is:

$$(V_{max} - V_i) / (V_{max} - V_{min}) \times 100.$$

Appendix B. Other Important Labour Market Performance Indicators

There are three other indicators of labour market performance that are noteworthy but not included in the Index of Labour Market Performance: [1] participation rate, [2] migration, and [3] working days lost as a result of labour disputes. The latter two are not part of the index because the data for Canadian provinces and US states are either not comparable or lack sufficient detail to draw accurate conclusions. Nevertheless, migration and time lost due to labour disputes are important indicators of labour market performance, so they are examined here, along with the participation rate.

Indicator B1: Participation rate

The labour force participation rate is the number of people in the labour force as a percentage of the working age population. The labour force comprises individuals who are employed or unemployed but looking for work. In other words, the participation rate is the percentage of those old enough to work that either have a job or want one. This measure is not included in the Index of Labour Market Performance because the average participation rate is highly correlated with the average employment rate ($r = 0.97$). The labour force participation rate is important, however, for understanding changes in the unemployment rate. While a declining unemployment rate can be driven by a greater proportion of individuals finding work, it can also be driven by people leaving the labour force. Examining trends in the participation rate can help clarify why the unemployment rate is changing.

It is possible for the participation rate to drop following an economic recession if workers become discouraged and stop looking for employment. The rate can also drop for structural reasons such a demographic shift in the population. For instance, a structural drop in the participation rate is likely to occur as a result of baby boomers entering retirement (Fields, Uppal, and LaRochelle-Côté, 2017). While it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the causes of shifts in the participation rate, it is notable that in recent years the overall participation rate has declined in both Canada and the United States.

Figure B1: Labour force participation rate (%) in Canada and the United States, 1976–2017

Note: The labour force participation rate in Canada is measured for ages 15 and up while in the United States it is measured for ages 16 and up.
Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018d; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; calculations by authors.

Figure B1 displays the labour participation rate in both countries from 1976 to 2017. It shows a downward trend in the overall labour force participation rate since 2008. In Canada, the overall participation rate fell from 67.6% in 2008 to 65.8% in 2017. Over the same time period, the US participation rate dropped from 66.0% to 62.8%. The decline in the United States has been more pronounced, where the 3.2 percentage-point decline amounts to a 4.8% drop, compared to the 1.8 point decline in Canada, the equivalent of a 2.7% reduction. It is also notable that, unlike the situation in Canada, the labour force participation rate in the United States fell over the period from 2000 to 2004 (67.1% to 66.0%) and then remained flat until 2008. In other words, the labour force participation rate in the United States has dropped by a total of 4.2 percentage points since 2000. Partly as a result of this, since 2002 the labour force participation rate in Canada has been higher than in the United States.

However, the countrywide data masks important differences between jurisdictions within both countries; some Canadian provinces perform better, while others perform worse, than US states. Figure B2 presents the average labour force participation rate from 2015 to 2017 in the 10 Canadian provinces and 50 US states. At 72.6%, Alberta had the highest rate. The other Prairie provinces—Saskatchewan, ranking 4th (69.6%) and Manitoba, 11th (67.8%)—also performed well. One other province finished in the top 20—Prince Edward Island (ranked 19th, 65.5%). Three Canadian provinces are

Figure B2: Average labour force participation rate (%), 2015–2017

State/Province	Rate
Alberta	72.6
North Dakota	71.4
Minnesota	70.3
Saskatchewan	69.6
South Dakota	69.3
Iowa	69.3
Nebraska	69.1
Utah	68.9
Wisconsin	68.4
New Hampshire	68.3
Manitoba	67.8
Maryland	67.4
Colorado	67.4
Kansas	67.1
Vermont	67.0
Alaska	66.6
Wyoming	66.6
Connecticut	66.2
Prince Edward Island	65.5
Massachusetts	65.4
Ontario	65.0
Virginia	64.8
Illinois	64.8
Missouri	64.7
Rhode Island	64.7
Quebec	64.6
British Columbia	64.3
Indiana	64.2
Idaho	64.1
Texas	63.6
New Jersey	63.6
Washington	63.6
Montana	63.4
Maine	63.1
Pennsylvania	62.8
Ohio	62.6
Delaware	62.6
Oregon	62.5
Nevada	62.4
Hawaii	62.4
Georgia	62.4
California	62.2
Nova Scotia	61.7
New Brunswick	61.7
Oklahoma	61.6
North Carolina	61.5
Michigan	61.1
New York	60.8
Arizona	60.2
Tennessee	60.2
Louisiana	59.5
Newfoundland & Labrador	59.4
South Carolina	59.2
Florida	59.0
Arkansas	58.3
Kentucky	58.0
New Mexico	57.7
Alabama	56.6
Mississippi	56.0
West Virginia	53.1

Three-year average labour force participation rate (percentage)

Note: The rate is calculated for ages 16 and up both for Canada and the United States.
Sources: Statistics Canada, 2018h; US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018b; calculations by authors.

ranked in the bottom 20—Nova Scotia (43rd, 61.7%) New Brunswick (43rd, 61.7%), and Newfoundland & Labrador (52nd, 59.4%). Newfoundland & Labrador is the only Canadian province that ranks in the bottom 10.

In the United States, the Midwest has the most representation in the top 10 of any census region, with five states—North Dakota (2nd, 71.4%), Minnesota (3rd, 70.3%), South Dakota (5th, 69.3%), Iowa (5th, 69.3%), and Nebraska (7th, 69.1%).. The Northeast also performed well, with two states in the top 10—Wisconsin (9th, 68.4%) and New Hampshire (10th, 68.3%).. One jurisdiction in the top 10 is from the West—Utah (8th, 68.9%)—and none are from the South.

The bottom three jurisdictions are Southern states—Alabama (56.6%), Mississippi (56.0%), and West Virginia (53.1%). Five more Southern states are in the bottom 10—Tennessee (50th, 60.2%), Louisiana (51st, 59.5%), South Carolina (53rd, 59.2%), Florida (54th, 59.0%), Arkansas (55th, 58.3%), and Kentucky (56th, 58.0%). The only other US state in the bottom 10 is New Mexico (57th, 57.7%), from the West.

Indicator B2: Migration

The flow of workers into and out of jurisdictions is an important indicator of the performance of labour markets and of economic performance generally. These flows can often be explained by a lack of labour opportunities in the worker's home province or state. For example, using data from 1982 to 1995, Ross Finnie found that interprovincial migration is generally "the route to better labour market opportunities for men, particularly for those coming from the lower income provinces and moving to higher income ones, and [is] especially the case in younger men" (1999: 259). Thus, the net addition or subtraction of workers can be an important indicator of larger economic successes or challenges.

The following section presents information on the net flow of citizens from one Canadian province to another and from one US state to another, and compares these flows with the labour market performance of these jurisdictions. The data in this section comes from census information from both countries. The measure used, net migration, is the difference between the number of people migrating out of a particular jurisdiction and the number of people migrating into the same jurisdiction. The figures throughout this section refer exclusively to domestic migration; foreign migration is excluded.

Table B1: Net interprovincial migration by province, 2014/15–2016/17

	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	Total 2014/15–2016/17	As % of 2017 population
Alberta	21,594	−15,108	−15,131	−8,645	−0.2%
British Columbia	20,379	26,573	16,163	63,115	1.3%
Manitoba	−6,678	−4,881	−6,906	−18,465	−1.4%
New Brunswick	−2,790	−1,113	−849	−4,752	−0.6%
Newfoundland & Labrador	161	232	−1,954	−1,561	−0.3%
Nova Scotia	−2,311	754	645	−912	−0.1%
Ontario	−8,695	9,077	25,689	26,071	0.2%
Prince Edward Island	−682	30	−436	−1,088	−0.7%
Quebec	−16,142	−11,118	−10,759	−38,019	−0.5%
Saskatchewan	−4,528	−4,272	−5,615	−14,415	−1.2%

Notes: [1] Net interprovincial migration is defined as the difference between the number of incoming and outgoing migrants. The figures refer exclusively to domestic migration; foreign migration is excluded.   [2] Period from July 1 to June 30.

Sources: Statistics Canada 2018a, 2018b; calculations by authors.

Canada

Table B1 contains migration data for the Canadian provinces from 2014/15 to 2016/17. British Columbia had both the highest positive number of net migrants and the highest percentage of net migration: 63,115 people or 1.3% of British Columbia's population. Ontario was the only other province to have positive net migration during the time period considered, with a net inflow of 26,071 people, equalling 0.2% of its population. Quebec (38,019 leaving) and Manitoba (18,465 leaving) had the highest negative net migration. And Manitoba (–1.4%) had the highest negative net migration as a percentage of population, followed by Saskatchewan (–1.2%).

United States

Nevada ranked first for positive net migration rates. It attracted 100,761 net migrants over the past three years (2014/15–2016/17), or 3.4% of its population (table B2). Oregon (122,837 net migrants) and Idaho (48,620) followed, attracting about 3.0% and 2.8% of their population, respectively. On the other hand, Alaska had the greatest negative net migration rate in the United States, –3.0%. The second and third most negative net migration rates belong to New York (–2.7%, 539,867 people) and Illinois (–2.6%, 334,140).

Table B2: Net domestic migration by state, 2014/15–2016/17

	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	Total (2014/15-2016/17)	As % of 2017 population
Alabama	−2,268	−864	3,840	708	0.0%
Alaska	−7,678	−4,587	−9,938	−22,203	−3.0%
Arizona	45,934	61,544	63,111	170,589	2.4%
Arkansas	−1,212	195	4,718	3,701	0.1%
California	−77,219	−109,023	−138,195	−324,437	−0.8%
Colorado	54,459	50,216	36,653	141,328	2.5%
Connecticut	−27,619	−29,880	−22,270	−79,769	−2.2%
Delaware	4,225	3,027	4,484	11,736	1.2%
Florida	202,510	207,155	160,854	570,519	2.7%
Georgia	34,013	36,781	41,107	111,901	1.1%
Hawaii	−7,026	−10,021	−13,537	−30,584	−2.1%
Idaho	6,880	17,143	24,597	48,620	2.8%
Illinois	−105,217	−114,144	−114,779	−334,140	−2.6%
Indiana	−14,881	−12,135	−976	−27,992	−0.4%
Iowa	−3,949	−3,392	−2,724	−10,065	−0.3%
Kansas	−13,030	−18,595	−14,150	−45,775	−1.6%
Kentucky	−7,441	−3,429	1,024	−9,846	−0.2%
Louisiana	−7,358	−12,243	−27,515	−47,116	−1.0%
Maine	−1,718	2,169	5,376	5,827	0.4%
Maryland	−24,738	−26,232	−23,984	−74,954	−1.2%
Massachusetts	−21,805	−25,606	−23,089	−70,500	−1.0%
Michigan	−38,911	−27,839	−12,698	−79,448	−0.8%
Minnesota	−12,242	−1,762	7,941	−6,063	−0.1%
Mississippi	−12,230	−9,690	−9,885	−31,805	−1.1%
Missouri	−8,744	−6,250	−1,050	−16,044	−0.3%
Montana	5,268	6,853	8,666	20,787	2.0%

Table B2 (cont'd): Net domestic migration by state, 2014/15–2016/17

	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	Total (2014/15-2016/17)	As % of 2017 population
Nebraska	−2,775	−2,144	−3,493	−8,412	−0.4%
Nevada	27,959	34,575	38,227	100,761	3.4%
New Hampshire	−1,167	2,187	4,687	5,707	0.4%
New Jersey	−65,254	−66,791	−57,274	−189,319	−2.1%
New Mexico	−13,352	−9,748	−7,437	−30,537	−1.5%
New York	−157,992	−191,367	−190,508	−539,867	−2.7%
North Carolina	38,197	59,584	66,051	163,832	1.6%
North Dakota	9,966	−6,259	−6,653	−2,946	−0.4%
Ohio	−31,297	−27,558	−8,205	−67,060	−0.6%
Oklahoma	8,199	−3,822	−10,470	−6,093	−0.2%
Oregon	34,824	50,038	37,975	122,837	3.0%
Pennsylvania	−41,607	−45,565	−25,793	−112,965	−0.9%
Rhode Island	−4,693	−3,784	−3,854	−12,331	−1.2%
South Carolina	45,582	47,084	49,015	141,681	2.8%
South Dakota	−1,780	941	1,976	1,137	0.1%
Tennessee	21,425	30,519	40,232	92,176	1.4%
Texas	170,103	125,703	79,163	374,969	1.3%
Utah	9,303	19,778	17,568	46,649	1.5%
Vermont	−2,223	−2,865	−918	−6,006	−1.0%
Virginia	−23,813	−25,343	−12,395	−61,551	−0.7%
Washington	40,799	67,571	64,579	172,949	2.3%
West Virginia	−4,685	−7,659	−10,507	−22,851	−1.3%
Wisconsin	−15,568	−12,395	−2,086	−30,049	−0.5%
Wyoming	−1,885	−4,347	−8,613	−14,845	−2.6%

Notes: [1] This data is collected from July to July.   [2] A negative value for net migration is indicative of net out-migration, meaning that more migrants left an area than entered it. Positive values reflect net in-migration to an area. The figures refer exclusively to domestic migration; foreign migration is excluded.

Sources: US, Dep't of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; calculations by authors.

Indicator B3: Working days lost as a result of labour disputes

Labour disputes are an indicator of labour market performance as they help to explain differences in employment opportunities for workers. Labour disputes affect employment opportunities adversely by decreasing investment and business activity. They also discourage investment and negatively affect business activity because labour disputes can cause profits and market share to decline. Investment and business activity are critical to workers as they have a positive effect on high and growing wages and, ultimately, on living standards.

Research shows that the primary way in which labour disputes discourage investment and business activity is by lowering the value of firms. They do so because they tend to reduce the rate of return to potential investors. A study by Hanrahan, Kushner, Martinello, and Masse (1997) in the *Review of Financial Economics* examined the impact of labour disputes on the expected profitability of Canadian firms listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange. The authors found that disputes during collective bargaining decreased returns by 4.5%. Moreover, the main findings suggest that the longer the dispute, the greater the harmful impact on returns. There is similar evidence from the United States. A study in *Industrial Relations* by Jonathan Kramer and Thomas Hyclak (2002) examined the reaction of the stock market to labour disputes in US manufacturing industries from January 1982 to July 1999. They found that strikes had negative effects on the cumulative stock-market returns of firms involved in those strikes: such firms saw a decrease in their returns of –0.7% to –0.8%.

Lower rates of return caused by labour disputes have been shown to discourage investors. A study by Morris Kleiner and Hwikwon Ham (2002) examined the impact of national levels of unionization, strike levels, public policies toward labour, and the structure of collective bargaining within a nation on a country's foreign direct investment (FDI). Examining 20 OECD nations from 1985 to 1995 and all US states from 1990 to 1999, the authors found that strikes indeed have a direct effect on FDI: jurisdictions with more days lost from strikes (per 1,000 employees, per year) are associated with lower levels of FDI. A study by Paroma Sanyal and Nidhiya Menon (2005), using data on investment and business activity (defined as the place where an employer chooses to conduct business) from India for the period from 1997 to 1999, found that jurisdictions that suffer frequent labour disputes have less investment and less business activity than jurisdictions with fewer work stoppages.

Canada

Figure B3 displays the number of working days lost per 1,000 workers as a result of labour disputes in Canada from 2015 to 2017. Quebec (553 days) had the most working days lost per 1,000 workers. Ontario is in distant second with 147 days lost per 1,000 workers. Alberta has the fewest days lost per 1,000 workers (only three) among all the provinces.

Figure B3: Canada—working days lost per 1,000 workers as a result of labour disputes, 2015–2017

Note: This graph shows work stoppages where 10 or more person days were lost. Figures B3 and B4 are not directly comparable because data is only readily available in the United States for strikes involving 1,000 or more workers.
Sources: Canada, Employment and Social Development, 2018; Statistics Canada, 2018e; calculations by authors.

United States

Figure B4 displays the results using a similar measure for the United States. However, figures B3 and B4 are not directly comparable because data is only readily available in the United States for strikes involving 1,000 or more workers. In figure B4, 40 states did not have a strike that involved 1,000 workers or more, which likely explains why they had zero work days lost. Minnesota stands out as having the most work days lost, with 54 days lost per 1,000 workers. Washington has the second most days lost per 1,000 workers (15 days).

Figure B4: United States—working days lost per 1,000 workers as a result of labour disputes, 2015–2017

State	Days
Alabama	0.0
Alaska	0.0
Arizona	0.0
Arkansas	0.0
Colorado	0.0
Connecticut	0.0
Delaware	0.0
Florida	0.0
Georgia	0.0
Hawaii	0.0
Idaho	0.0
Indiana	0.0
Iowa	0.0
Kansas	0.0
Kentucky	0.0
Louisiana	0.0
Maine	0.0
Maryland	0.0
Mississippi	0.0
Montana	0.0
Nebraska	0.0
Nevada	0.0
New Hampshire	0.0
New Jersey	0.0
New Mexico	0.0
New York	0.0
North Carolina	0.0
North Dakota	0.0
Ohio	0.0
Oklahoma	0.0
Oregon	0.0
Rhode Island	0.0
South Carolina	0.0
South Dakota	0.0
Tennessee	0.0
Utah	0.0
Vermont	0.0
Virginia	0.0
West Virginia	0.0
Wyoming	0.0
Massachusetts	1.0
Michigan	1.4
Missouri	1.4
Texas	2.3
California	4.4
Pennsylvania	6.8
Illinois	13.5
Wisconsin	14.7
Washington	14.7
Minnesota	54.0

Days

Note: Figures B3 and B4 are not directly comparable because data is only readily available in the United States for strikes involving 1,000 or more workers.
Sources: US, Dep't of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a, 2018d; calculations by authors.

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