

CORE AREAS AND PERIPHERAL REGIONS OF CANADA: LANDSCAPES OF CONTRAST AND CHALLENGE

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'Regions vary widely in their capacity to achieve full development, and certainly in their ability to attain heartland status. Few regions ever achieve a position of dominance in a core-periphery system' (McCANN & GUNN 1998:18)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In an age of growing concern over spatial and socio-economic disparities at regional, national, and global scales, the core-periphery concept continues to be of great scientific and applied relevance. Traditionally, the core-periphery discourse had also an ideological connotation as, in Marxist theory, cores tend to exploit peripheries in pursuit of colonial, imperial or capitalist interests.

Cores and peripheries can be defined by geographic, economic, social, cultural, and political characteristics. Core areas may develop in regions offering favorable geographic qualities, in particular superior transportation and communication conditions, an abundant endowment with resources, and a good access to population centers and markets. Some cores are rooted in historical-cultural locations of a specific significance, while others developed as a result of political decisions and administrative policies.

In Canada, the core-periphery dichotomy, or as it has been called (McCANN & GUNN 1998) the heartland –hinterland duality, is a principal paradigm to discuss the regional geography of this country. Major contributing factors for the pronounced core-periphery contrasts are the large territorial size, the different physical environments, and the uneven access to resources, as well as the spatial discrepancies of population distribution, of secondary and tertiary employment opportunities, and of the transportation infrastructure. Also, being a 'northern country' with vast expanses of the territory being located in Canadian Shield and subarctic/arctic environments, core areas in Canada have a southern spatial bias.

The above mentioned factors were of major importance for the early development of French and British colonial cores at the Atlantic coast, along the St. Lawrence River, the lower Great Lakes, and later on a narrow strip of the Pacific Coast and of Vancouver Island. Later, the utilization of rich agricultural resources led to the development of a Prairie settlement core spurred by a

massive European immigration. Most recently, the boom of oil and natural gas in Alberta has triggered a dynamic development in this province with the emergence of a new core of national significance, the Calgary-Edmonton-Ft. Mc Murray Corridor.

1. THE CORE-PERIPHERY CONCEPT

The core- periphery concept and model is based upon an unequal distribution of power in economy, society, and polity. The core is the dominating 'central' realm, while the peripheries tend to be isolated, dependent, and underprivileged. This dominance- dependency syndrome strongly impacts on the economic structures and exchanges, as well as on power distribution. The linkage between economic and political power was in particular emphasized by WALLERSTEIN (1974) in his 'Modern World System' concept. In this four- stage model of the development of the space economy, core-periphery contrasts are most pronounced at stage two, while the following stages are characterized by a greater dispersion of economic activity with a better integration of interdependent economies. This 'equilibrium stage' of economic regions has been often propagated as a policy goal for national development. Notwithstanding, a number of constraints and barriers in many instances curtail the success of these objectives. Either the forces of a 'spatial inertia' of traditional cores, or the dynamics of newly emerging cores, tend to hinder or prevent a regional equilibrium of socio-economic development.

The lure of the cores triggers major internal and international migration movements, combined with financial and commercial flows from the periphery to the core. Furthermore, economic policies at the regional or national level are often favoring the interests of the cores. Because of a population concentration, the number of electoral districts and/or of political representatives is unproportionally high in the core areas.

Thus, core areas are by and large 'centers of accumulation' with tendencies to sustain or intensify uneven developments. Still KRUEGER (1991) argues that the aggressive exploitation of resources and the creation of new economic opportunities, combined with incentive policies, may stimulate the emergence of new cores. This challenges the notion that existing geographies of development are spatially static and immutable, as 'new geographies of production' are supported by highly mobile capital, trade, and labor force flows. It may be argued that economic and political power stems less from location and other so-called geographic factors, but from the locus of control over the means of production (YEATES 1998: 116).

2. CORE AREAS IN CANADA: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Interpreting the geographical and socio-economic features of the 'Canadian archipelago', the heartland at the national scale evolved in what YEATES (1975) called 'Mainstreet Canada'. This densely populated urban ribbon at a length of some 1000 km and a width of 100-300 km extends from the City of Windsor along the US-Canadian border, following the northern shores of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River to Quebec City (Fig. 1). It is anchored by the two dominating metropolitan centers of Toronto (population 2006: 5, 113, 282) and of Montreal (population 2006: 3,635,571). With an additional 12 Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), the combined metropolitan population of 'Mainstreet Canada' amounts to some 14 million people. This Canadian 'heartland', however, does not represent a contiguous, zone but is characterized by two sub-cores, the so-called Greater 'Golden Horseshoe' in Ontario and the St. Lawrence Lowlands in Quebec separated by a wedge of the Canadian Shield protruding southwards into the United States territory. The early rise of the lower Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River Valley region was the result of a favorable location and accessibility, of advantageous geographical conditions with a diversified resource base, of an early concentration of European immigrants and American refugee Loyalists, and of representing the nascent nuclei of political consolidation of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec) forming the core of the Canadian Confederation in 1867. In the 20th century, factors of cumulative advantage –geographic situation, large local markets, the nexus of transportation routes, and political power– continued to reinforce the heartland status of Central Canada (McCANN 1998:32). Thus, by the 1950s, the Industrial Heartland functioned as the undisputed core of Canadian economic development. In all spheres of economic activity –trade, transportation, manufacturing and finance– the heartland predominated (YEATES 1998:109).

The Canadian Heartland is characterized by high population densities above average growth rates and young population segments. This is reflected in a proportion of children under 15 years above the national average of 17.7% (e.g. Oshawa 20.5%; Toronto 18.6%). The relative youth of these CMAs is mainly a result of higher fertility rates, and of a large influx of internal and international immigrants of child-bearing age (Statistics Canada 2008:32). Conversely, the CMA of Kelowna in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia –a fast-growing Canadian retirement region– has the highest proportion of people aged 65 and over (19%) compared to the national average of some 14% (ibid.: 34)

The 'Greater Golden Horseshoe' is the most heavily urbanized region in Canada. It contains 9 CMAs and more than 100 municipalities, 16 of which have a population of more than 100,000 (Statistics Canada 2008). Most of

the current population growth is concentrated in a zone extending from the western shores of Lake Ontario (CMA of Hamilton) in an arc encircling the Municipality of Toronto to the north to the CMA of Oshawa at the eastern periphery of Toronto.

The second focus of the Windsor-Quebec city heartland are the St. Lawrence lowlands, in particular the Montreal metropolitan area and its adjacent region, accounting for some 4 million people, approximately 53% of Quebec's population, and some 12% of the Canadian population. Its growth though is lagging behind that of the 'Golden Horseshoe' of Ontario. Whereas the 'Golden Horseshoe' was the historical core of British Upper Canada, the St. Lawrence Lowland core with the two anchor cities Montreal and Ville de Québec was the cradle of French Lower Canada. Today, the CMA of Montreal maintains its status of the second-largest urban center of Canada and of the primate city of the province of Quebec, with a population of 3,635,571 in 2006.

As is the case in the Toronto area, the fastest growing parts of the Montreal Metropolitan Area are located in its periphery, the fast expanding new suburbs and 'exurbs' of the sprawling 'urban field'.

The third major focus – in contrast to the 'Golden Horseshoe' of Ontario and the St. Lawrence lowlands of Quebec a comparatively new one developing only since the 20th century, is the lower Fraser Valley and the Georgia Strait area of the Vancouver Metropolitan Area. The growth of this region was triggered by the arrival of the transcontinental railway line in 1885 and the subsequent development of the Pacific port. The growth of Vancouver was then spurred by the boom of natural resources exploitation in the Cordillera hinterland and by a massive influx of European and Asian immigrants. Today, the Vancouver area benefits from its role as the 'gateway city' to the Pacific Ocean and the economic powers of Japan, China and South Korea in particular. It also profits from the proximity to the dynamic economic region of the Seattle urban region of the US State of Washington. This relatively small, and from the rest of Canada isolated core area with Vancouver (pop. 2,116,581 in 2006) and the provincial capital of Victoria (pop. 330,088 in 2006) on Vancouver Island has experienced a fast population growth and dynamic economic development during the past few decades, although there are recent indications that the boom may now be slowing down.

A more recently emerging 'heartland' of national significance is the Lethbridge – Calgary – Red Deer – Edmonton Corridor. Spatially non-contiguous, this evolving urban axis, is anchored by the two dynamically growing metropolitan areas of Calgary (2006: 1,679,310) and Edmonton (2006: 1,034,945). The phenomenal population growth of this Corridor has been fuelled by the dynamic development of the petroleum and natural gas resources, a host of ancillary industries, and also by a highly successful tertiary sector – mainly of financial, educational and health institutions. By 1996, Calgary was second

only to Toronto in the number of corporate head offices and home to 92 of the *'Financial Post'* top 750 companies (Lehr 1998:300). This in turn has attracted a large number of natural and international migrants in search of jobs and higher income opportunities. However, this economic dynamism has also resulted in a rather reckless building boom in the major cities and their commuter shed, in real estate speculation, and in inflationary price developments. Although the resource boom has only recently (end of 2008) somewhat abated, the 'speculative bubble' had weakened in the months before and generated lesser population growth rates and even a drop in real estate prices.

The growth of the Alberta Heartland occurred largely at the expense of the rural regions of the Canadian Prairie provinces, but also of the urban and even metropolitan regions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Calgary and Edmonton overtook Winnipeg – the former Gateway City to the West in population numbers in the early 1980s. Since that time, the growth rates of Winnipeg and the two Saskatchewan CMAs, Saskatoon and Regina, clearly lagged behind those of the two Alberta Metropolitan Areas. However, most recently, the resource boom (petroleum, natural gas, potash and metal ores) has 'awakened' Saskatchewan to a new economic dynamism, and Saskatoon and Regina experienced in 2008 unprecedented proportional population increases. The economic boom of the Canadian West is paralleled by a regional shift of immigrant flows, away from the traditional heartland of 'Mainstreet Canada', mainly to the urban centers of the western Provinces, but also to the larger and medium-sized cities in other parts of the country. (Bourne quoted in Winnipeg Free Press 2008: A 20).

While Toronto remains overwhelmingly the dominant hub for newcomers, its proportion of Canada's total annual immigrant intake dropped to nearly one third in 2007 from one half in 2001. In contrast, the number of immigrants settling in western and Atlantic cities have increased every year in the past five years: between 2000 and 2007, the number of foreign permanent residents increased in Moncton, New Brunswick by 74%; in Edmonton by 52%, in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island by + 50%; in Halifax by 45%; in Montreal by 36%; and in Calgary by 32%, whereas it declined in the traditional immigration centers Toronto and Vancouver by 21% and 1% respectively (Winnipeg Free Press 2008: A 20).

3. HINTERLANDS OF CANADA: STAGNATING HISTORICAL CORES AND PERIPHERAL SETTLEMENT ISLANDS

By far, the geographically largest part of Canada must be considered as a peripheral realm, the hinterlands of the country in terms of population

concentration and economic power. In contrast to many other nations, the original core of European settlers along the Atlantic Coast was unable to maintain its brief pivotal role and quickly shifted to the shores of the St. Lawrence River and later to those of the lower Great Lakes. These regions of the 'Maritimes' (provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) and Newfoundland, the latter joining the Canadian Confederation as late as 1949, are highly scenic, rich in heritage, and still have compared to their modest spatial extension (5.4% of the Canadian territory) an above average share of the Canadian total population (app. 8%). Yet, over the past centuries, their role declined to that of 'Places at the Margin' (WYNN 1998), economically troubled, at times 'frozen' in traditional ways, with their importance and dynamism siphoned off by the competition of newly emerging cores and a marked outmigration, especially by younger population groups. However, at the turn of the millennium, new pockets of resource – driven development, in particular an oil-boom off the shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as new forms of service industries in the high-tech communication, information, and business-service sector have instilled in some cities (e.g. Moncton, New Brunswick) and regions (especially the Halifax region) new vigor and optimism. Also, new manufacturing jobs in the high – quality metal construction and food industries have been created in recent years. In addition, the Atlantic region has also witnessed a mobilization of its tourism and recreation potential for Canadians, Americans and Europeans. On the other hand, the traditional fishing industry and the fishing villages remain in a crisis situation with little hope for improvement. Thus, the Maritimes and Newfoundland will be adapted to the new opportunities and constraints, and the economic landscapes will be reshaped. The question quite vividly debated in the Maritimes is whether it will be possible to maintain the rich cultural identity and legacy of the region in the wake of neo –liberal and economic demands and macro– economic rationales.

A second major hinterland region of Canada is that of the Western Interior, or the Canadian Prairies. Settled only after the extensive land surveying of the 1870s and the 'opening up' of the region by a hectic development of the railway system, the region witnessed a spectacular boom of settlement by mostly European immigrants, and of an unprecedented economic rise driven by a burgeoning wheat economy. However, since the 1920s, the Canadian Prairies were seriously affected by environmental and economic problems, by the crisis of rural life, and by the competition of the traditional cores in the Toronto and Montreal region, as well as by the dynamic urban centers of Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton. Thus, the Western Interior became a region increasingly dominated by the economic force and political power of Central Canada, and since the second half of the 20th century also of British Columbia and Alberta. Since World War I, the influx of immigrants dried up,

while many people from the Prairies, especially from rural areas, migrated to the new centers of opportunities:

'From a heartland – hinterland perspective, therefore, the Western Interior has shown many characteristics of hinterland dependency. In this world order, change and innovation are diffused from developed regions into areas struggling with remoteness, environmental obstacles, and limited social and economic opportunities' (LEHR 1998: 269)

In spite of the widely accepted hinterland status of the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, a number of economic and social restructuring processes, the enhanced importance of agricultural and non - agricultural resources, and a slowing - down

trend of growth of the core areas, combined with a certain disillusion of people with the opportunities and lifestyles in the large metropolitan areas, a certain 'rediscovery' of the assets and chances offered by the Prairie region are hopeful signs for its future development.

The 'Canadian North' is a vast territory, comprising a large proportion of Canada's land area but only a very small part of its population. No unanimity exists where 'the North' begins, i.e. about its southern limit. A rather arbitrary delimitation is the meridian of 60° N. Another, likely more satisfactory, limit is the marked landscape change that occurs as one enters the sparsely populated forest and lake country of the Canadian Shield. However, this designation is not applicable in the realm of the Canadian Cordillera and on the Pacific Coast and appears problematic in Ontario and Quebec where the Canadian Shield extends far to the south, in parts even beyond the Canadian boundary into the territory of the United States. A definition of the Canadian North on the basis of political -administrative criteria could identify the 'North' as the realm occupied by the northern Territories of the Canadian Confederation, i.e. the Northwest Territories, the Yukon Territory and Nunavut. In the Territories, the federal government has guided the development in a more direct fashion than in the Provinces. This agrees well with the designation of a Hinterland which has limited political and economic autonomy and is subject to a high degree of dependency. But somewhat contradictory to this assumption is the fact that a substantial proportion of the residents in the Territories is a native or 'First Nation' population, foremost in Nunavut. In the wake of an enhanced empowerment, self-determination and autonomy of these people, the Territories may be considered today as the cultural core regions of 'ancestral Canada.

Thus, the North' is at once a political and an economic definition, and one which emphasizes the North's special status within Canada' (USHER 1998:357)

Hinterlands are generally characterized by low overall population densities and in some instances by non-contiguously settled areas. This is certainly the case for the Canadian North. While the overall population density of Canada is already quite low (3.5 p./km²), it is even lower for the North, and in the Case of the Territories statistically close to zero. The combined population of the Territories with their large size of 3,547,801 km² amounted in 2006 to only 101,310. This population predominantly lives in the few urban centers and Territorial capitals (Yellowknife, Northwest Territories; White Horse Yukon; Iqaluit, Nunavut), at some mining sites and in resource towns, and also in scattered native reserves or villages. On the other hand, the population increases from 2001 to 2006 for the Territories and for its primate urban areas have been for considerably higher than the national average (Northwest Territories: + 11%; Yukon Territory: + 5,9 %; Nunavut: + 10,2 % Iqaluit: + 18,1 %). This could be interpreted as a sign a new economic dynamism.

In the Heartland – Hinterland concept, the assumed role of hinterlands is to act as resource pools for the manufacturing centers of the heartland, or for export. In the early days of European colonization, the Hudson's Bay Company (since 1670) and the Northwest Company exploited the furs of the Canadian Shield and Arctic lowlands. The furs were supplied largely by the local native population, were transported to the Forts mostly by Métis people (*Voyageurs*) and were shipped to Europe. In return, the European centers and the Forts supplied the native population with a range of manufactured goods. The fur trade can therefore be considered as the first North American example of a globalized periphery-core economic relationship. Later, the other natural resources exploited of the Canadian Shield were in particular the forest and the mineral resources. Whereas the fur trade has long disappeared, the timber, pulp and paper, and mineral resource industries have continued to the present, albeit with a succession of 'boom and bust' cycles. Today, the location of wood –processing industries, of mining sites and mineral– processing industries are 'islands' of settlement and local infrastructural development within vast largely empty spaces. Mining sites are not limited to the region of the Canadian Shield but are also found in the Arctic tundra environments and, in the case of the petroleum and natural gas exploitation sites, even off the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Another resource fuelling the urban centers and the industries of the heartlands to the south are the hydroelectric resources. These resources are harnessed at reservoirs and hydro-electric power plants along the large rivers of the Canadian Shield and the Arctic lowlands. In all these cases of resource exploitation in the Canadian North, the environmental impacts have resulted in frequent and serious land degradation, water and air pollution, but also in a threat to traditional livelihood patters. In recent decades, increasingly, the Canadian North has also become a favorite destination for Canadian and international tourists.

The Canadian North is today in a state of rapid changes and far-reaching transitions. These transformations offer to the people new opportunities and often also better incomes and services. But they also generate new challenges and problems emanating from deep economic and socio-cultural transformations. In his book *The Geography of the Canadian North*, BONE (1992) speaks of the 'dual economies' and 'dual populations' of the Canadian North. The resource economy as the dominant commercial force produces the primary products for export to world markets. Multinational companies and Crown Corporations with an input of large amounts of capital dominate this resource – based industry. The Native economy, in contrast, evolved from a subsistence hunting and fishing economy to one in which wage employment and transfer payments from the Canadian government play a major role:

'This dualistic North can best be described as frontier dualism. Frontier dualism occurs where two cultures share the same territory: one culture is engaged in an export –oriented commercial economy, while the other one is more concerned subsistence and land-based activities.' (BONE 1992: 16)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Cole HARRIS (1998) has characterized the Canadian geography as one of a fragmented ecumene and an archipelago of settlement islands spread over some 7200 east –west kilometers and separated by vast expanses of the rocks, lakes and forests of the Canadian Shield, by the muskegs of the Arctic region, and by the mountainous topography of the Cordillera. These natural environmental conditions, since the foundation of the Canadian Federation, formed the basis for the development of pronounced regional identities and of the duality between core regions and peripheral areas. After having established an initial foothold on the Atlantic Coast in the 17th century, the core of European settlement shifted quickly to the St. Lawrence Lowlands and the shores of the lower Great Lakes. Here, a cultural and economic duality developed between the French speaking and Roman Catholic 'Lower Canada' with their centres Quebec City and Montreal, and English- speaking, Protestant 'Upper Canada' with the urban foci of Kingston and later Toronto. Since that time, 'Mainstreet Canada' has remained the principal Heartland of Canada, with the Toronto region becoming the major focus of industrial and population concentration, and the Quebec St. Lawrence Lowland gradually lagging behind in development. With the consolidation of the Canadian Confederation, the railway linkage of the Pacific Coastal area to the rest of Canada, the settlement of the American and Canadian West, the boom of gold

exploitation, as well as the nascent Pacific Ocean trade route, a new, spatially highly restricted core region developed in the lower Fraser River Valley around the rapidly developing city of Vancouver. The most recently emerging core region of Canada was the Calgary-Edmonton Corridor benefitting from the oil boom in Alberta during the last decades.

While a certain consistency can be observed for the eminence of these core areas in terms of population concentration and economic power, considerable fluctuations in the dynamism and attractiveness of the core regions can be noted. During the last decades of the 20th, the boom of the 'Golden Horseshoe' of southern Ontario abated to a certain extent at the expense of the heartlands of western Canada. Most recently, a certain slowing down trend of the economy of the Vancouver area and a stagnation of the real estate market has become evident, and even the spectacular boom of the Calgary-Edmonton Corridor may be affected by greater fluctuations resulting from the uncertain development of the fossil energy resources and the general crisis of financial and real estate markets.

The traditional peripheral regions of Canada, the Atlantic Provinces, the Prairie regions of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and the Canadian North-are also undergoing major changes. It has become evident that they can no longer be generally classified as stagnating 'hinterlands' given the fact that some clusters within these peripheral regions have exhibited lately population and economic growth rates well above the national average.

Thus, in spite of the vast extent of the nation all territory extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, and from the US-boundary to the Arctic Ocean (with sectoral national claims to the North Pole!), Canada is a country of great regional contrasts and pronounced regional identities - at times even at small geographical scales.

The paper has shown that while the heartland-hinterland paradigm still shapes the demographic, economic and political landscape of Canada, recent significant changes both in the cores and in the peripheral regions have resulted in significant transformations of environments and livelihoods. It has also become apparent that the complex web of small-scale and larger-scale regions is interconnected as never before. Furthermore, the traditional assumption of the functional role of heartlands and hinterlands has to be re-evaluated. While the hinterlands may still be major suppliers of staples for the heartlands and their industries, in many cases, the hinterlands are now fulfilling additional roles with an array of multiplier effects which have made them less dependent upon the heartland. In addition, both the heartlands and the hinterlands are greatly affected by developments at the continental and global scales with consequences that are difficult to predict. Also, in the wake of the recent economic and financial crises, the heartlands have tended to become attractive as suppliers of capital, labor, entrepreneurship and technological advancement.

This could well lead to an attenuation of regional disparities and to a re-assessment of the traditional 'Heartland-Hinterland Model' of Canada.

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The Process of Urban Growth in a Heartland and Hinterland Economic System

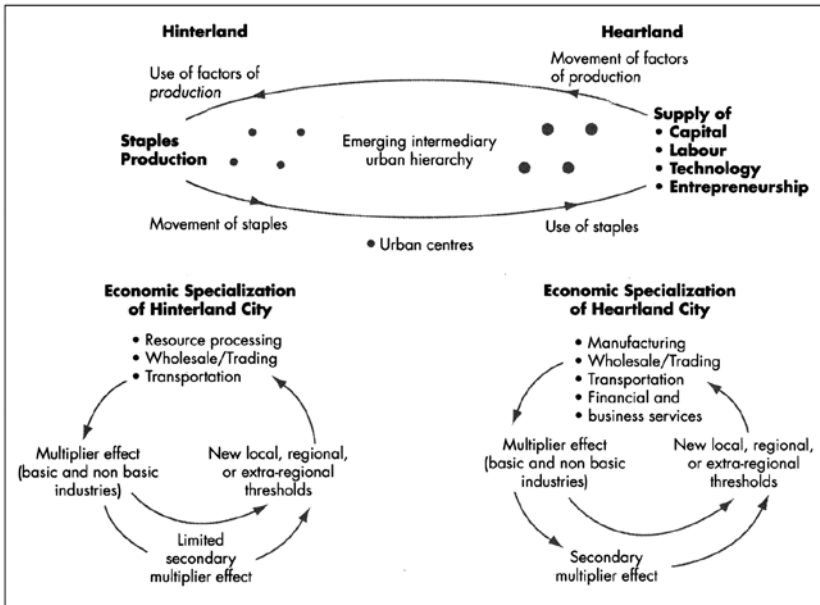


Figure 1

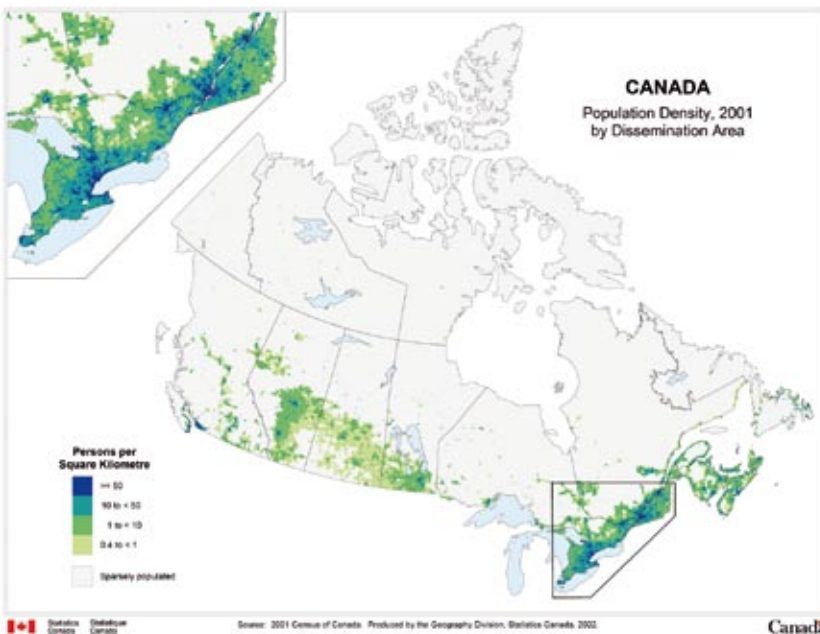


Figure 2

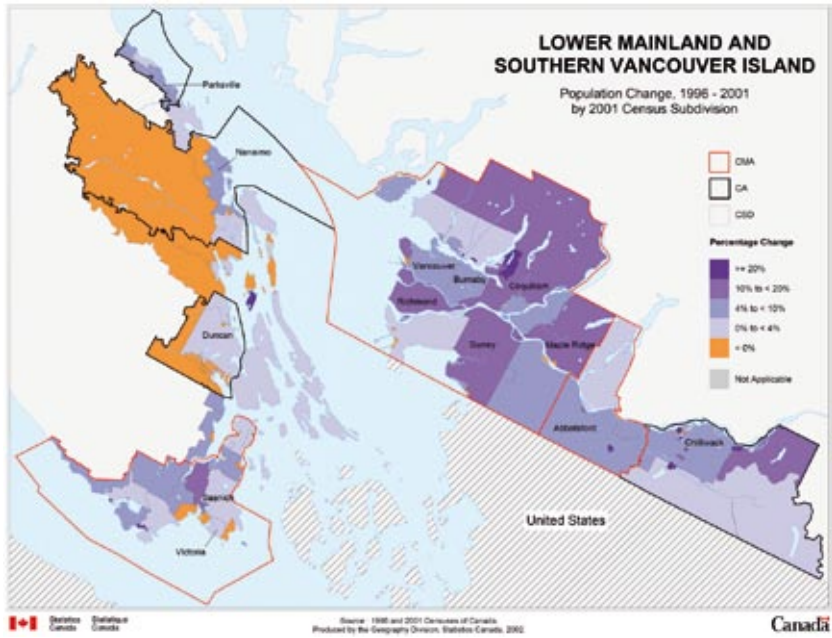


Figura 3



Figura 4

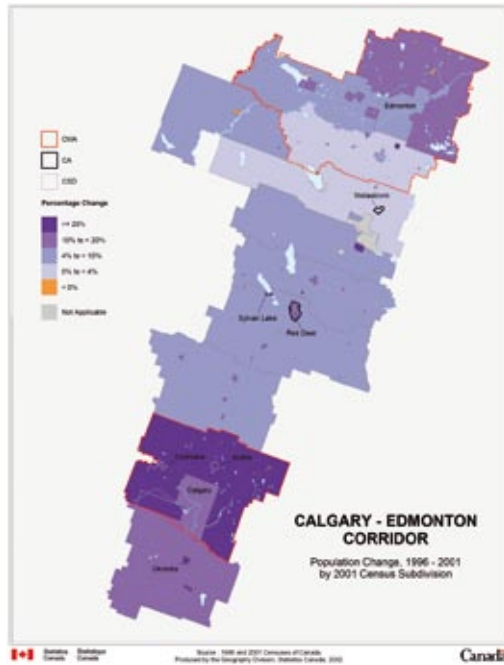


Figura 5



Figura 6



Figura 7



Figura 8

**Figura 9****Table 1.** Canada. Population by Provinces/Territories and Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA), 2006

Province/Territory CMA	Population 2006	Population change (%) 2001-2006
Ontario	12,160,282	+6.6
Toronto	5,113,149	+9.2
Ottawa-Gatineau	1,130,570	+5.9
(Ontario/Québec)		
Hamilton	962,911	+4.6
London	457,72	+5.1
Kitchener	451,235	+8.9
St. Catharines-Niagara	390,317	+3.5
Windsor	323,342	+5.0
Barrie	177,061	+19.2
Greater Sudbury	158,258	+1.7
Kingston	154,358	+3.8
Guelph	127,009	+8.2
Brantford	124,607	+5.5
Thunder Bay	122,907	+0.8

Table 1. Canada. Population by Provinces/Territories and Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA), 2006 (*cont.*)

Peterborough	116,57	+5.1
QUEBEC	7,546,131	+4.3
Montreal	3,635,571	+5.3
Québec City	715,515	+4.2
Sherbrooke	186,952	+6.3
Saguenay	151,643	-2.1
Trois Rivières	141,529	+2.9
BRITISH COLUMBIA	4,113,487	+5.3
Vancouver	2,116,581	+6.5
Victoria	330,088	+5.8
Kelowna	162,276	+9.8
Abbotsford	159,02	+7.9
ALBERTA	3,290,350	+10.6
Calgary	1,079,310	+13.4
Edmonton	1,034,945	+10.4
MANITOBA	1,148,487	+2.6
Winnipeg	694,668	+2.7
SASKATCHEWAN	968,157	-1.1
Saskatoon	233,923	+3.5
Regina	194,971	+1.1
NOVA SCOTIA	913,462	+0.6
Halifax	372,858	+3.8
NEW BRUNSWICK	729,957	+0.1
Moncton	126,424	+6.5
Saint John	122,389	-0.2
NEWFOUNDLAND/LABRADOR	505,469	-1.5
St. John's	181,113	+4.7
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	135,851	+0.4
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	41,464	+11.0
YUKON TERRITORY	30,372	+5.9
NUNAVUT	29,474	+10.2
CANADA	31,612,897	+5.4
Source: Statistics Canada, 2008		