

The Size of Government in Canada in 2022

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Summary

- This bulletin measures the size of government in Canada, by province, based on total government spending as a share of the economy, as well as public sector employment as a share of total employment, between 2007 and 2022.
- Research shows that the size of government (relative to the economy) has an effect on economic growth and social progress. This makes it important to measure and track—especially given the scope of government spending and intervention during the COVID-19 pandemic.
- In 2022, the size of government relative to the economy among the provinces ranged from a high of 63.0 percent in Nova Scotia to a low of 26.8 percent in Alberta. For Canada as a whole, the size of government represented 40.5 percent of the economy.
- From 2007 to 2022, government spending as a share of the economy increased in eight out of ten provinces. Furthermore, seven provinces experienced an increase in the size of government since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic.
- For Canada as a whole, public-sector employment represented 21.2 percent of total employment. From 2007 to 2022, public-sector employment as a share of total employment increased in every province.
- Provinces in the Maritimes tended to have larger governments relative to the economy, which employed a higher share of total workers, than provinces in western Canada. However, the size of government in general has been increasing across the country.

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Introduction

The size of government can be considered the extent to which resources in the economy are controlled by government. In Canada, federal, provincial, and municipal governments all tax and spend a significant share of the country's overall resources. The share of economic activity that is directed or controlled by government activities has important implications for economic freedom, growth, and standards of living.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Canada experienced an enormous increase in the size of government due to unprecedented levels of spending and intervention. In response, a previous version of this study explored the size of government in Canada leading up to 2019, right before the pandemic. It found that the size of government increased in eight of ten provinces from 2007 to 2019, and as a whole, government in Canada represented 40.4 percent of the economy in 2019 (Whalen and Li, 2022).

What has happened to the size of government as Canada has emerged from the pandemic? This bulletin focuses on answering this question by measuring the size of government from 2007 up to and including 2022. The period includes the significant spike in government spending during the pandemic, and allows comparison of the size of government prior to and following that spike. To conclude, the bulletin presents data on the distribution of government spending (how government spends) along with changes in distribution since 2007.

Size of government in Canada as a share of the economy (GDP)

In this bulletin, the size of government is primarily measured by calculating total consolidated government spending as a share of the economy (GDP). Total consolidated

government spending is drawn from Statistics Canada data¹ on spending by governments at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels. Furthermore, it includes spending across all categories, namely spending on goods and services, transfer payments, as well as capital transfers and subsidies. By comparing total spending numbers with the size of the economy, as measured by gross domestic product (GDP), the resulting measure is consistent across jurisdictions. Therefore, the size of government in all provinces can be compared, or combined to give a measure for the country as a whole.

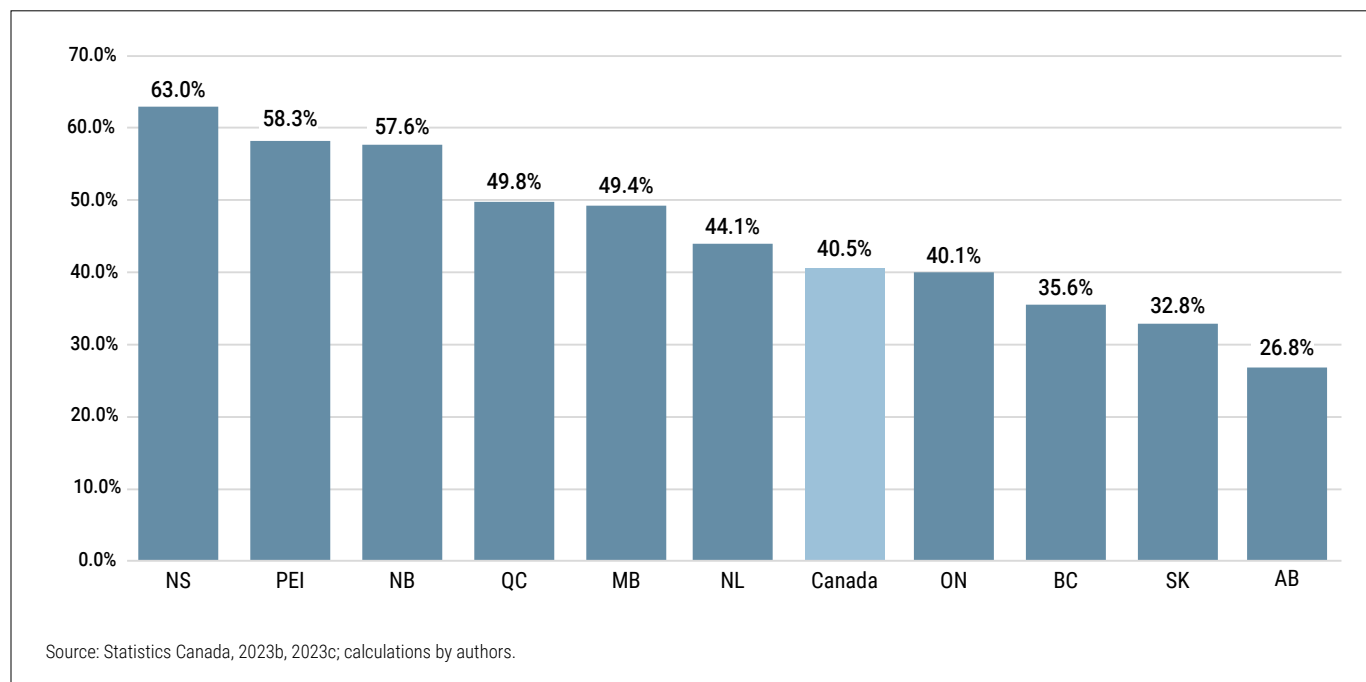
Utilizing this measure, figure 1 displays data on the size of government in Canada in 2022 for each province and for Canada as a whole. Total consolidated government spending refers to spending at all levels of government, meaning that spending in each province includes transfers between governments in addition to simply provincial spending. The figure shows the variation in the size of government across the country, from a high of 63.0 percent in Nova Scotia to a low of 26.8 percent in Alberta. As a whole, the size of government in Canada represented 40.5 percent of the economy in 2022.

There are geographic trends that stand out in the data, as three Atlantic provinces have the largest size of government in the country. Nova Scotia has the largest size of government at 63.0 percent, followed by Prince Edward Island at 58.3 percent, and New Brunswick at 57.6 percent. In addition to being the three largest, these provinces are the only jurisdictions in the country where government spending accounts for more than half the size of the economy. Conversely, the three western-most provinces have the smallest size of government. Government spending as a share of the economy is lowest in Alberta at 26.8 percent, followed by Saskatchewan at 32.8 percent, and British Columbia at 35.6 percent. Alberta not only has the

¹ For the purposes of this bulletin, government sector spending is utilized as the primary measure of the size of government. While this is a good measure, it should be noted that the economic influence of government is larger than simply what it spends. Governments also influence the economy through tax expenditures and regulatory costs, with the effects of these being significant. For example, when incorporating tax expenditures into the measurement of the size of government in Canada, Sheikh (2014) found that the “true” size of government was roughly 25 percent larger than is generally reported.

The Size of Government in Canada in 2022

Figure 1: Total Consolidated Government Spending as a Percentage of GDP, 2022



smallest size of government compared to the economy, but maintains a material gap of roughly 6.0 percentage points between it and second-lowest Saskatchewan.²

To show how the size of government in Canada has changed over time, Table 1 presents data from 2007 to 2022. The year 2007 is the last full year prior to the 2008 recession, while 2022 is the latest year of available data and the first full year following the end of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, Figure 2 provides a visualization of the overall change by showing government spending as a share of GDP in 2007 and 2022.

From 2007 to 2022, the size of government for Canada as a whole increased 3.1 percentage points, from 37.4 percent to 40.5 percent (see Figure 2). Looking at the provinces specifically, eight of ten provinces saw an increase in the size of government since 2007. The largest increase occurred in Nova Scotia, which saw the size of government relative to the economy rise 6.1 percentage points. Newfoundland and Labrador saw the second largest increase of 5.4 percentage points, followed by New Brunswick (4.8 percentage points) at third-largest. The only provinces to see a decrease in the size of government were Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan, which saw

² Though not explored in depth as part of this bulletin, there is a sizable body of literature exploring the relationship between the size of government relative to the economy and how the economy performs, as well as the effects on social progress. For example, Di Matteo (2013) found the growth-optimizing level of government spending to be 26 percent of the economy, concluding that “few additional benefits” occur once the size of government has reached 30 to 35 percent of GDP. In addition to Di Matteo (2013), interested readers may consult Tanzi and Schuknecht (1998) for an analysis of the relationship between the size of government and economic and social performance, or Whalen and Gliberman (2020) for a summary of research in this area. It is worth noting the relationship between size of government and economic growth, especially given research from Clemens et al. (2021) showing that Canada’s economic performance prior to the COVID-19 recession was the weakest among the last five pre-recession periods, and projections from Guillemette and Turner (2021) expecting Canada to have the worst performing economy, from 2020-2030, among OECD countries.

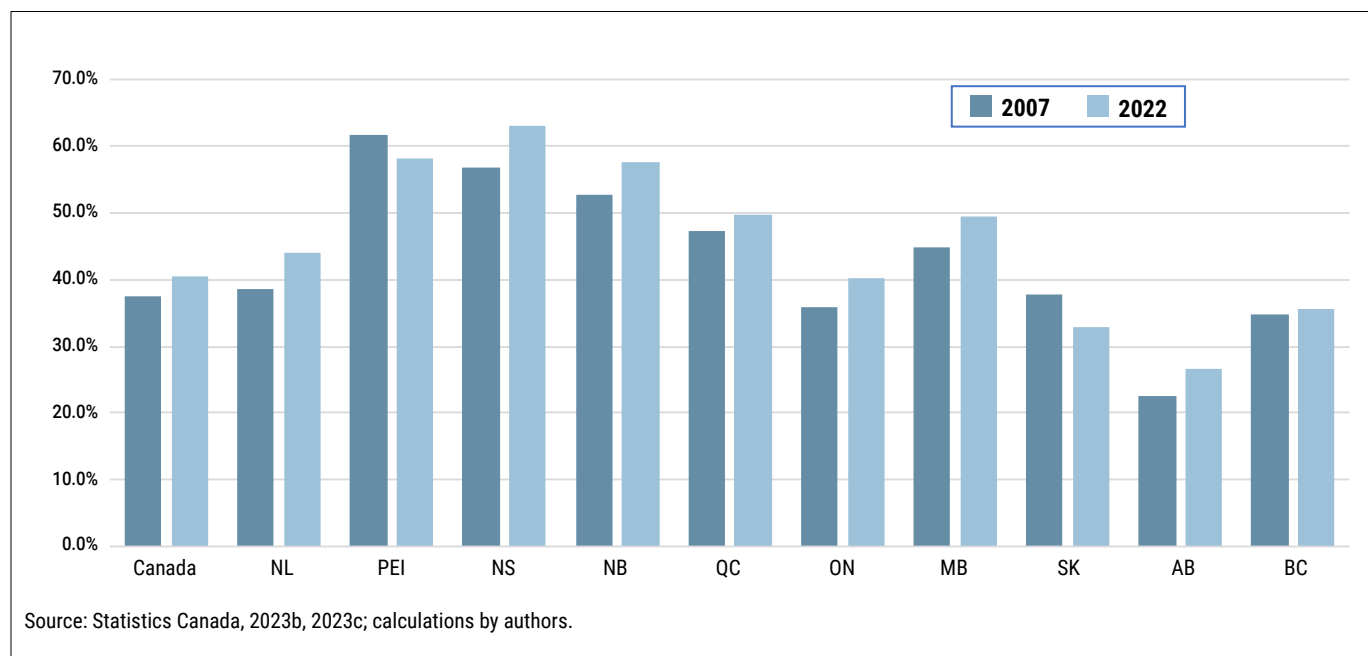
The Size of Government in Canada in 2022

Table 1: Total Consolidated Government Spending as a Percentage of GDP, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Canada	37.4%	37.9%	42.0%	41.3%	40.4%	39.9%	39.3%	38.2%	39.6%	40.3%	39.8%	40.0%	40.3%	51.9%	45.3%	40.5%
NL	38.7%	36.0%	50.4%	44.7%	40.5%	43.2%	40.1%	40.1%	45.4%	46.4%	44.2%	44.4%	43.8%	56.7%	47.5%	44.1%
PEI	61.6%	63.8%	65.7%	63.8%	62.8%	61.6%	60.5%	59.1%	58.5%	57.3%	57.4%	58.4%	58.0%	70.0%	62.3%	58.3%
NS	56.9%	57.5%	60.4%	59.2%	60.8%	62.6%	61.6%	60.9%	61.0%	60.6%	60.4%	60.9%	59.6%	71.0%	65.6%	63.0%
NB	52.7%	55.2%	57.2%	56.5%	55.4%	55.9%	56.7%	56.0%	56.2%	56.7%	56.6%	56.7%	57.3%	68.3%	60.3%	57.6%
QC	47.4%	48.1%	49.5%	49.0%	48.9%	48.9%	49.0%	48.7%	48.4%	48.5%	48.2%	47.8%	47.7%	59.0%	52.7%	49.8%
ON	35.8%	37.7%	41.0%	41.0%	40.8%	39.6%	39.7%	38.6%	38.2%	37.8%	38.0%	38.7%	38.7%	49.4%	44.7%	40.1%
MB	45.0%	45.7%	48.9%	47.6%	48.6%	46.7%	46.1%	45.4%	45.9%	46.7%	46.0%	46.4%	47.5%	58.2%	53.4%	49.4%
SK	37.7%	31.0%	36.5%	37.0%	33.0%	32.0%	29.9%	30.7%	33.6%	36.7%	35.7%	35.4%	36.8%	47.4%	41.7%	32.8%
AB	22.4%	21.9%	27.8%	26.6%	24.8%	24.7%	23.3%	22.0%	27.0%	30.3%	29.3%	28.9%	29.5%	43.9%	33.3%	26.8%
BC	34.8%	36.1%	39.0%	38.4%	37.6%	37.9%	37.6%	36.0%	36.5%	36.0%	35.3%	35.4%	36.0%	46.6%	39.8%	35.6%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2023b, 2023c; calculations by authors.

Figure 2: Total Consolidated Government Spending as a Percentage of GDP, 2007 and 2022



Source: Statistics Canada, 2023b, 2023c; calculations by authors.

government spending as a share of GDP fall by 3.3 and 4.9 percentage points, respectively. Though the size of government in Prince Edward Island has decreased, it fell from an already elevated level as Prince Edward Island had the largest size of government in the country in 2007.

Table 1 allows further investigation into how the size of government has changed over the course of the COVID-19

pandemic. As was expected, the size of government spiked dramatically at the beginning of the pandemic, rising 11.6 percentage points nationally from 2019 to 2020. Over that year, the size of government in every province increased at least 10.6 percentage points as a result of the substantial COVID-19 emergency spending implemented by every jurisdiction. However, since the 2020 peak, the

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size of government in Canada has largely fallen back to pre-pandemic levels. From 2019 to 2022, government spending relative to the economy for Canada as a whole rose 0.2 percentage points. Notable exceptions among the provinces include Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan, which both saw significant changes in the size of government relative to the economy since 2019.

These exceptions are worth examining in detail. Nova Scotia's increase in the size of government of 6.1 percentage points, from 2007 to 2022, was relatively large compared to most other provinces except for Newfoundland and Labrador's. But unlike Newfoundland and Labrador, which saw the majority of its increase occur before the pandemic, Nova Scotia experienced the majority (3.4 percentage points) of its increase following 2019. The size of government in Saskatchewan represents the opposing case, falling 4.9 percentage points from 2007 to 2022. Similar to Nova Scotia, however, the majority of that change occurred during the pandemic. While it may be tempting to attribute these changes solely to government spending, it should be noted that changes in GDP also contribute to the relative changes in the size of government. From 2019 to 2022, Nova Scotia experienced an average annual growth in nominal GDP of 5.0 percent,

which was on the lower end among the provinces, while Saskatchewan had the largest average annual growth at 9.0 percent (Statistics Canada, 2023b). These changes in the size of provincial economies represent one factor contributing to relative changes in the size of government.

Public-sector employment as a share of total employment in Canada

A second measure of the size of government, which is ultimately reflected in government spending, is public-sector employment as a share of total employment in Canada. Governments in Canada represent some of the largest employers in the country, and spending on public employment represents the single biggest driver of overall government spending (Whalen and Gliberman, 2020). With this being the case, Table 2 presents data on public sector employment as a share of total employment, from 2007 to 2022.

For Canada as a whole, 21.2 percent of workers were employed in the public sector in 2022. This is up 2.0 percentage points from 2007, when 19.2 percent of workers were employed in the public sector. Among the provinces in 2022, Newfoundland and Labrador's public

Table 2: Public Sector Employment as a Percentage of Total Employment, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Canada	19.2%	19.4%	20.0%	20.0%	19.7%	19.7%	19.6%	19.5%	19.7%	19.6%	19.6%	19.7%	19.7%	20.7%	21.2%	21.2%
NL	26.3%	27.5%	28.6%	27.7%	28.1%	28.0%	28.0%	26.7%	24.7%	25.4%	27.1%	27.8%	28.9%	30.2%	31.6%	30.3%
PEI	24.5%	27.0%	28.0%	28.4%	28.6%	28.4%	27.8%	26.7%	28.1%	27.0%	27.3%	26.1%	26.7%	27.7%	28.8%	29.1%
NS	23.5%	23.7%	24.3%	23.8%	23.9%	22.9%	23.0%	23.4%	24.2%	24.8%	25.3%	24.6%	24.8%	25.7%	25.7%	25.3%
NB	23.0%	24.1%	24.8%	24.9%	23.8%	24.8%	23.5%	23.0%	23.8%	23.4%	23.8%	24.1%	23.8%	25.0%	26.8%	26.9%
QC	20.3%	20.2%	20.6%	20.8%	20.4%	20.6%	20.7%	20.9%	21.1%	20.8%	21.0%	21.2%	21.5%	22.5%	23.5%	23.3%
ON	18.2%	18.5%	18.9%	18.9%	19.0%	18.8%	18.8%	18.4%	18.5%	18.4%	18.3%	18.2%	18.1%	18.9%	19.3%	19.6%
MB	24.7%	25.3%	26.0%	26.2%	25.5%	25.0%	24.8%	25.6%	25.6%	25.7%	25.3%	25.1%	24.7%	25.7%	25.5%	26.5%
SK	24.1%	24.3%	25.0%	24.4%	24.2%	24.2%	24.3%	23.8%	24.1%	24.5%	24.6%	24.7%	24.4%	26.1%	26.7%	27.0%
AB	16.7%	16.9%	18.0%	18.1%	17.0%	17.0%	16.9%	16.4%	17.3%	17.7%	18.3%	18.5%	18.7%	19.3%	19.6%	18.5%
BC	17.3%	17.6%	18.3%	18.0%	18.0%	18.1%	18.1%	18.3%	18.6%	18.1%	17.3%	17.3%	17.3%	18.9%	19.5%	19.7%

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023a; calculations by authors.

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sector made up the largest share of total employment at 30.3 percent, followed by Prince Edward Island (29.1 percent) and Saskatchewan (27.0 percent). Alberta had the smallest public sector employment relative to total employment, at 18.5 percent, followed by Ontario (19.6 percent) and British Columbia (19.7 percent). From 2007 to 2022, every province experienced an increase in public sector employment as a share of total employment. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador had the largest increases (4.6 and 4.0 percentage points respectively) while Ontario and Alberta had the smallest increases (1.4 and 1.7 percentage points respectively).

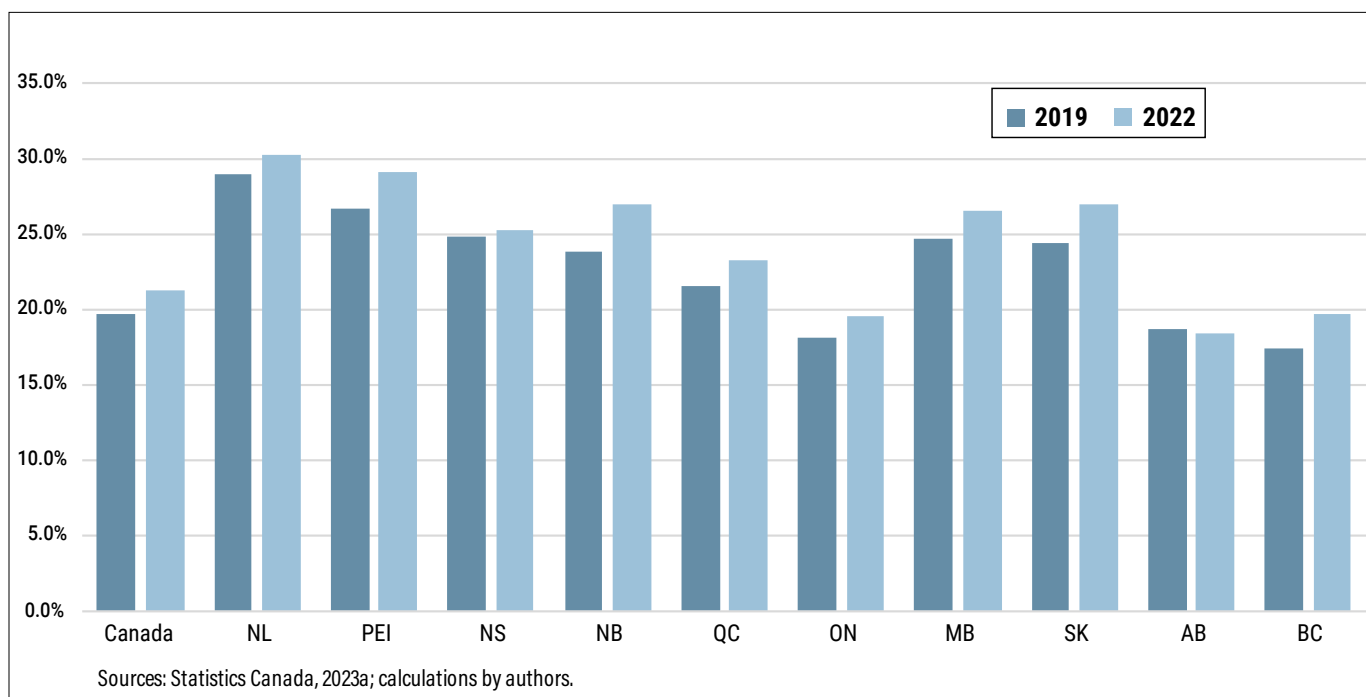
To see the change since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, Figure 3 displays public sector employment as a share of total employment in 2019 and 2022. For Canada as a whole, public sector employment as a share of total employment rose 1.5 percentage points from 2019 to 2022. Furthermore, every province except one experienced a rise in public sector employment relative to total employment. The largest increase occurred in New

Brunswick, at 3.1 percentage points, followed by a 2.5 percentage point increase in Saskatchewan. While Nova Scotia has experienced the largest increase in government spending relative to the economy since 2019, it experienced the smallest increase (0.5 percentage points) in public sector employment relative to total employment. Alberta was the only province to see a decline, with public sector employment as a share of total employment falling by 0.3 percentage points. Overall, the data shows that job growth in Canada's public sector has largely outpaced growth in the private sector, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Distribution of government spending in Canada

Having examined the change in government spending as a share of GDP this bulletin concludes with data on the distribution of government spending by different categories. This provides insight into how government spends on a yearly basis. Government spending can be broken into four main categories: goods and services, transfer

Figure 3: Public Sector Employment as a Percentage of Total Employment, 2019 to 2022



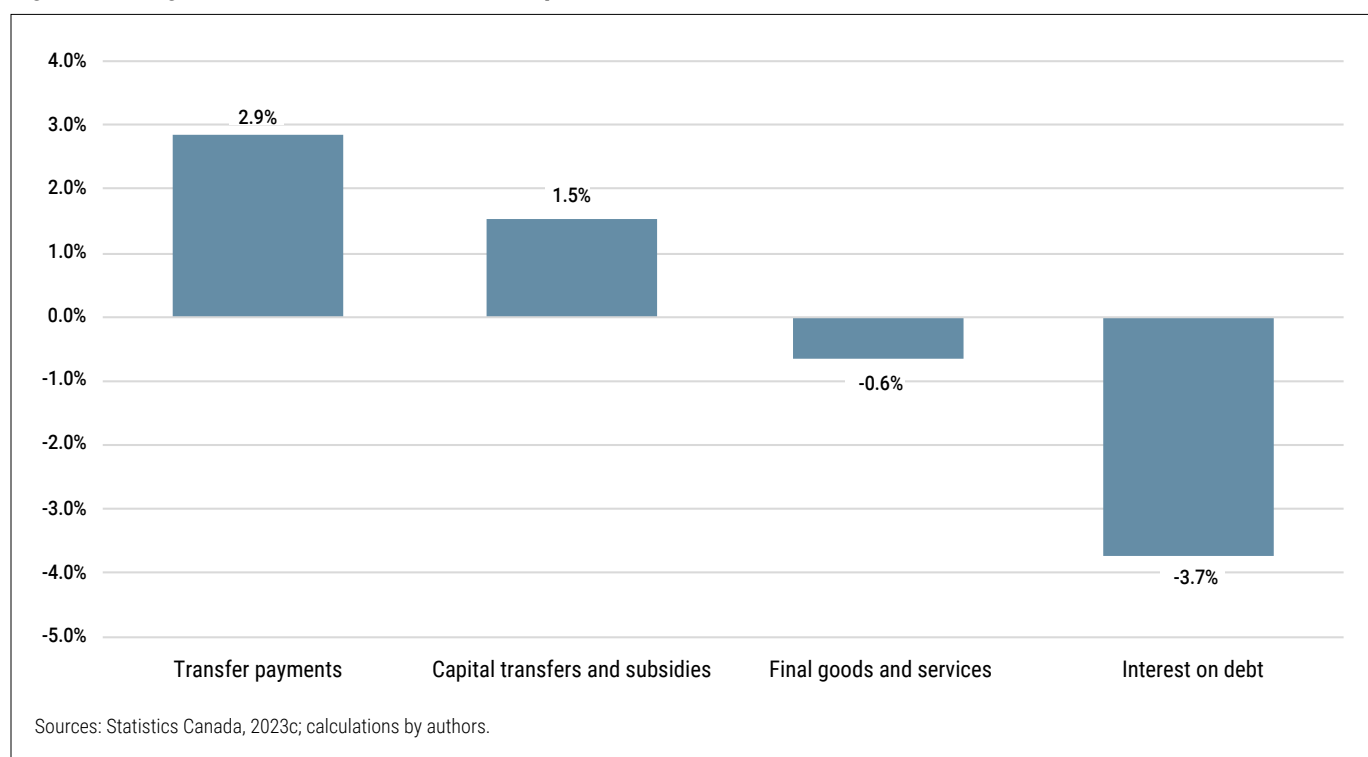
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Table 3: Distribution of Government Expenditures, Canada, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Final goods and services	60.5%	61.1%	61.4%	61.0%	61.5%	62.0%	62.1%	62.6%	62.3%	61.9%	61.6%	61.5%	61.0%	51.1%	55.5%	59.9%
Transfer payments	25.9%	26.1%	26.6%	26.7%	26.0%	25.9%	26.3%	26.2%	26.9%	27.5%	27.9%	27.6%	27.8%	33.3%	30.9%	28.7%
Capital transfers and subsidies	3.1%	3.1%	3.2%	3.5%	3.7%	3.5%	3.2%	3.1%	3.1%	3.2%	3.4%	3.5%	3.9%	9.9%	7.8%	4.7%
Interest on debt	10.5%	9.7%	8.8%	8.7%	8.8%	8.6%	8.4%	8.1%	7.7%	7.4%	7.1%	7.3%	7.3%	5.7%	5.8%	6.8%

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2023c; calculations by authors.

Figure 4: Change in Distribution of Government Expenditures, Canada, 2007 to 2022



payments, capital transfers and subsidies, and interest on debt.

Table 3 presents data on government spending for Canada as a whole, distributed into the aforementioned categories, from 2007 to 2022. This data incorporates government spending at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels. The distribution of government spending in 2022 was as follows: 59.9 percent for goods and services, 28.7 percent for transfer payments, 4.7 percent for capital

transfers and subsidies, and 6.8 percent for paying interest on government debt.

These shares fluctuated somewhat during the period from 2007 to 2022, with the most significant fluctuations during the COVID-19 pandemic. The share of overall spending directed towards goods and services fluctuated between a low of 51.1 percent in 2020 and a high of 62.6 percent in 2014. Spending on transfer payments fluctuated between a low of 25.9 percent of overall spending (seen in multiple

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years), and a high of 33.3 percent in 2020. The share of spending directed towards capital transfers and subsidies fluctuated between a low of 3.1 percent (seen in multiple years) and a high of 9.9 percent in 2020. Finally, spending on debt interest fluctuated between a low of 5.7 percent of overall spending in 2020, and a high of 10.5 percent in 2007. Fluctuations in the distribution of government spending in 2020 are likely the result of the introduction of substantial new COVID-19 emergency spending, which largely took the form of transfers and subsidies.

To see the overall change in the distribution of government spending, Figure 4 displays the percentage point changes in each category between 2007 and 2022. Among the four categories, spending on transfers payments (as a share of total spending) saw the largest overall increase of 2.9 percentage points, followed by a 1.5 percentage point increase in spending on capital transfers and subsidies. Conversely, the share of spending directed towards interest on debt fell by 3.7 percentage points, along with a 0.6 percentage point decline in the share of spending directed towards goods and services.

Overall, despite larger fluctuations during the pandemic, the shares of government spending by category remained relatively stable between 2007 and 2022. Including all levels of government in Canada, the largest proportional increase during the period was for transfer payments,

while the largest decrease was for interest costs on government debt. For a full accounting of these changes in each year, by category, see Tables A1 to A4 in the appendix.

Conclusion

To help build an understanding of the degree to which government at all levels directs resources in Canada and the provinces, it is critical to measure the size of government. In this bulletin the size of government was measured primarily by comparing total consolidated spending in each jurisdiction relative to the size of its economy. A second measure was also utilized, public sector employment as a share of total employment, to further characterize the size of government. Finally, the bulletin also explored the composition of government spending in Canada as a whole.

From the data above, it is clear the size of government in Canada has been growing for some time. Canada as a whole, and all but two provinces, saw an increase in government spending relative to the economy since 2007. Furthermore, every province experienced an increase in public sector employment as a share of total employment since 2007. While governments in eastern Canada were larger and employed a higher proportion of workers than the western governments, the size of government has generally been growing across the country.

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Appendix

This appendix gives a full accounting of the proportional changes in each category of government spending from 2007 to 2022, for Canada as a whole and by province.

Table A1: Total Consolidated Government Spending on Goods and Services as a Percentage of Total Government Spending, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Canada	60.5%	61.1%	61.4%	61.0%	61.5%	62.0%	62.1%	62.6%	62.3%	61.9%	61.6%	61.5%	61.0%	51.1%	55.5%	59.9%
NL	61.1%	60.2%	60.8%	62.2%	62.5%	61.2%	62.1%	62.6%	62.6%	61.6%	61.0%	61.2%	60.8%	53.5%	56.6%	60.3%
PEI	60.9%	61.7%	60.7%	61.8%	61.3%	61.4%	61.9%	62.5%	61.8%	60.9%	60.2%	59.6%	59.3%	51.2%	55.4%	58.6%
NS	63.7%	64.6%	64.1%	64.4%	64.6%	64.5%	65.0%	65.5%	65.1%	64.9%	64.8%	65.1%	65.0%	57.4%	61.9%	65.8%
NB	61.4%	62.2%	62.2%	62.4%	62.1%	62.4%	62.1%	62.4%	61.6%	61.7%	61.6%	62.0%	62.0%	54.7%	58.6%	63.0%
QC	54.6%	54.1%	55.0%	55.0%	55.2%	55.2%	55.6%	56.0%	55.7%	55.6%	55.8%	55.7%	55.6%	47.9%	52.5%	55.1%
ON	62.4%	63.4%	62.9%	61.9%	62.3%	63.3%	63.0%	63.6%	63.4%	63.1%	62.6%	62.1%	61.4%	50.6%	54.8%	60.2%
MB	63.0%	64.6%	65.0%	64.6%	64.5%	66.1%	66.5%	66.7%	65.9%	65.0%	64.9%	64.9%	64.4%	57.2%	61.8%	64.9%
SK	60.8%	61.6%	62.7%	61.4%	62.2%	62.6%	64.2%	64.5%	64.9%	63.5%	64.3%	64.1%	63.3%	54.6%	58.6%	61.9%
AB	66.4%	67.2%	68.3%	67.9%	70.1%	70.7%	70.5%	71.0%	70.0%	68.9%	67.7%	68.1%	66.8%	53.2%	57.7%	63.2%
BC	62.0%	62.7%	63.1%	63.0%	63.0%	63.2%	63.8%	64.0%	63.5%	62.9%	63.0%	62.9%	63.0%	51.6%	56.5%	62.4%

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2024b; calculations by authors.

Table A2: Total Consolidated Government Spending on Transfer Payments as a Percentage of Total Government Spending, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Canada	25.9%	26.1%	26.6%	26.7%	26.0%	25.9%	26.3%	26.2%	26.9%	27.5%	27.9%	27.6%	27.8%	33.3%	30.9%	28.7%
NL	25.9%	26.9%	26.5%	25.6%	25.6%	26.5%	26.4%	26.7%	27.5%	29.2%	30.7%	30.5%	30.4%	34.8%	33.4%	31.1%
PEI	26.1%	25.6%	26.4%	26.4%	26.5%	27.1%	27.3%	27.7%	28.5%	29.5%	29.7%	29.9%	30.2%	34.3%	32.3%	29.7%
NS	24.5%	24.5%	25.6%	25.5%	25.3%	25.8%	25.9%	25.7%	26.5%	27.1%	27.5%	27.2%	27.4%	32.4%	30.2%	27.3%
NB	26.5%	26.5%	27.1%	27.0%	27.0%	27.5%	28.2%	28.5%	29.7%	30.4%	30.7%	30.4%	30.6%	34.5%	32.7%	29.7%
QC	27.4%	28.8%	29.1%	28.9%	28.3%	28.7%	28.8%	29.0%	29.8%	30.0%	30.0%	29.6%	29.6%	33.3%	31.0%	30.5%
ON	25.2%	25.0%	26.3%	26.8%	25.7%	25.0%	25.5%	25.3%	25.8%	26.2%	27.0%	26.6%	26.8%	33.5%	30.7%	28.1%
MB	22.2%	22.1%	22.4%	22.5%	21.9%	22.1%	22.3%	22.7%	23.8%	24.7%	25.0%	24.7%	25.2%	29.9%	27.6%	24.9%
SK	25.4%	26.5%	25.7%	24.2%	24.3%	25.1%	26.2%	25.7%	26.3%	26.8%	27.2%	27.2%	27.6%	33.5%	30.7%	29.3%
AB	22.6%	22.1%	21.9%	22.0%	21.2%	20.6%	21.4%	21.3%	22.4%	24.0%	24.2%	24.1%	24.3%	30.7%	29.6%	25.8%
BC	25.4%	25.4%	25.8%	26.0%	25.9%	26.2%	26.1%	26.3%	27.0%	27.9%	28.0%	28.1%	28.1%	34.6%	31.0%	27.9%

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2024b; calculations by authors.

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Table A3: Total Consolidated Government Spending on Capital Transfers and Subsidies as a Percentage of Total Government Spending, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Canada	3.1%	3.1%	3.2%	3.5%	3.7%	3.5%	3.2%	3.1%	3.1%	3.2%	3.4%	3.5%	3.9%	9.9%	7.8%	4.7%
NL	1.5%	1.8%	1.9%	2.2%	2.5%	2.4%	2.1%	2.1%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	1.7%	1.9%	5.9%	4.4%	2.2%
PEI	3.9%	4.3%	4.9%	4.3%	4.5%	4.2%	3.4%	2.7%	2.9%	3.3%	4.2%	4.6%	4.7%	10.1%	7.8%	6.4%
NS	1.8%	1.6%	1.8%	2.0%	2.2%	2.1%	1.8%	1.9%	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	5.8%	3.6%	2.3%
NB	1.5%	1.4%	1.5%	1.5%	1.8%	1.5%	1.3%	1.1%	1.1%	0.9%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	5.6%	3.4%	1.8%
QC	4.9%	4.7%	4.6%	4.7%	4.8%	4.7%	4.4%	4.2%	4.0%	4.3%	4.3%	4.5%	4.8%	10.8%	8.2%	5.4%
ON	2.0%	1.9%	2.2%	2.7%	3.4%	3.1%	3.0%	2.9%	3.0%	3.2%	3.3%	4.1%	4.5%	10.5%	8.9%	5.1%
MB	3.2%	2.5%	3.0%	3.5%	4.4%	2.9%	2.6%	2.5%	2.3%	2.2%	2.1%	2.0%	1.9%	6.1%	3.8%	2.6%
SK	4.8%	3.6%	4.2%	7.6%	6.9%	5.9%	3.5%	4.0%	3.5%	4.7%	3.3%	3.1%	3.4%	7.0%	6.0%	3.4%
AB	3.9%	4.3%	4.3%	4.5%	3.0%	3.4%	2.8%	2.7%	2.8%	2.7%	3.6%	2.6%	3.4%	12.0%	8.2%	4.9%
BC	3.0%	3.0%	3.1%	3.0%	3.0%	3.1%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.9%	3.0%	2.9%	3.0%	9.5%	8.0%	4.3%

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2024b; calculations by authors.

Table A4: Total Consolidated Government Spending on Debt Interest as a Percentage of Total Government Spending, 2007 to 2022

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Canada	10.5%	9.7%	8.8%	8.7%	8.8%	8.6%	8.4%	8.1%	7.7%	7.4%	7.1%	7.3%	7.3%	5.7%	5.8%	6.8%
NL	11.5%	11.2%	10.7%	10.0%	9.4%	9.9%	9.5%	8.6%	8.0%	7.3%	6.4%	6.5%	6.9%	5.8%	5.7%	6.4%
PEI	9.2%	8.5%	8.1%	7.5%	7.7%	7.3%	7.3%	7.1%	6.7%	6.2%	5.9%	5.9%	5.8%	4.4%	4.5%	5.2%
NS	10.0%	9.3%	8.5%	8.1%	7.9%	7.6%	7.4%	6.9%	6.5%	6.1%	5.8%	5.8%	5.8%	4.4%	4.2%	4.6%
NB	10.6%	9.8%	9.2%	9.1%	9.2%	8.6%	8.4%	8.0%	7.5%	7.0%	6.6%	6.6%	6.4%	5.1%	5.3%	5.5%
QC	13.1%	12.3%	11.2%	11.5%	11.7%	11.3%	11.2%	10.9%	10.6%	10.2%	9.9%	10.1%	10.0%	8.0%	8.2%	9.0%
ON	10.4%	9.6%	8.6%	8.6%	8.7%	8.6%	8.5%	8.2%	7.7%	7.4%	7.1%	7.2%	7.2%	5.4%	5.6%	6.6%
MB	11.7%	10.8%	9.6%	9.4%	9.2%	8.9%	8.6%	8.2%	7.9%	8.1%	8.0%	8.4%	8.5%	6.8%	6.8%	7.6%
SK	8.9%	8.3%	7.5%	6.7%	6.6%	6.4%	6.1%	5.8%	5.3%	5.0%	5.2%	5.6%	5.8%	4.8%	4.6%	5.4%
AB	7.1%	6.4%	5.5%	5.6%	5.7%	5.3%	5.2%	5.1%	4.9%	4.4%	4.5%	5.2%	5.5%	4.2%	4.5%	6.0%
BC	9.7%	8.9%	8.1%	8.0%	8.1%	7.5%	7.4%	7.0%	6.7%	6.3%	6.0%	6.1%	5.9%	4.3%	4.5%	5.4%

Sources: Statistics Canada, 2024b; calculations by authors.

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