

# THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS IN THE NEW RURAL ECONOMY: LESSONS FROM PAN-CANADIAN RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

Rural Canada has been undergoing considerable changes over the last 50 years. The Eastern Townships region has shared in these changes – including increased global competition, the mechanization of primary production, population transitions, and increased mobility. This paper explores some of the implications of these general changes with a particular focus on cultural diversity and social cohesion in the Eastern Townships region. Using examples from national research, emerging options and opportunities are identified for the types of communities in this region.

## RÉSUMÉ

*Le Canada rural a subi d'importants changements au cours des 50 dernières années. La région des Cantons-de-l'Est n'y fait pas exception – l'accroissement de la compétition sur les marchés mondiaux, la mécanisation de la production du secteur primaire et les nombreux changements démographiques caractérisent cette région. Cette présentation examinera les effets qu'ont eu ces transformations sur la région des Cantons-de-l'Est, en portant un intérêt particulier à la diversité culturelle et à la cohésion sociale. Les enjeux et les opportunités qui émergent de ces transformations seront identifiés, selon les types de communautés, par des exemples provenant d'une recherche d'envergure nationale.*

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## Introduction

People living in the Eastern Townships are fortunate. I am not stating this on behalf of the Tourist Bureau or even as personal enthusiasm, but as a result of a comparison between this region and the rest of non-metro Canada. The relative advantage of the Eastern

Townships should be treated as a challenge, however – for the region's residents, their organizations, and all three levels of government. It is an advantage that can easily be lost.

Non-metro Canada is facing considerable challenges. The country continues to urbanize, leaving fewer people in non-metro and remote places and shifting the political focus to large cities and their growing suburbs. The traditional industries of non-metro areas – agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining – require fewer people even as the quantities produced continue to grow (Bourne and Simmons, 2003). Family producers have struggled with increased costs and global competition that require them to be managers, accountants, market analysts, and salespeople on top of their usual activities. In our research work over the last nine years, we have met many non-metro people scrambling to find alternative jobs for themselves and their children, often requiring retraining for unfamiliar jobs, lower incomes in service industries, or seasonal labour that takes them away from home for much of the year (Reimer and Bollman, 2006).

Community and regional governments and organizations share in these challenges. As the populations dwindle, so does the pool of local people that form the backbone of the volunteer groups, businesses, and governance organizations making communities vital (Sullivan and Halseth, 2004). As people become preoccupied with the additional stresses of shrinking incomes and rising costs, they are less able to contribute to the many services that support their children, the elderly, and the less fortunate among them. As they seek solutions to this downward spiral, many communities are left with a sense of helplessness and frustration.

The Eastern Townships region is not immune from these pressures. Although the population has continued to rise over the last ten years (from 282,573 in 1996 to 302,161 in 2005<sup>2</sup>), the rate of increase is declining (cf. Figure 1). Estimates based on current conditions suggest that in twenty years the population of the Townships will be only slightly higher (327,000) than its current level of 302,000 – an increase of only 8.3 percent. It has already experienced the transformation of its primary industries to services. A drive around the region clearly shows the neglected or abandoned farms and the unused railways that reflect the economic basis of its past. These farms have now become the real estate for retirees and ex-urbanites, and the railway beds provide the cycle paths that attract tourists and support the associated service industries. The unfolding of the free trade agreement, with its transformation of the milk quota to a tariff-based arrangement, will contribute to this process

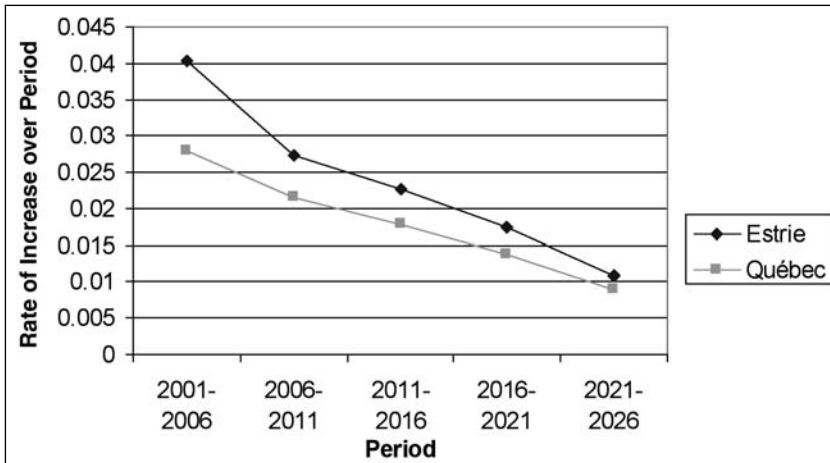


Figure 1: Projected Rate of Population Decline from 2001 to 2026: Québec and the Eastern Townships  
Source: Institut de la statistique Québec, 2006.

as farmers face greater exposure to US competition. The conditions seem set for continued decline.

So why do I suggest that those in the Eastern Townships are fortunate in the face of this rather bleak scenario? This view comes from the comparative analysis which we have been conducting across the country and around the world. This analysis shows us, first, that the trends toward urbanization and non-metro stress are general. Our Japanese, Australian, and European colleagues tell the same story in this regard. But it also shows us how these general trends have been confronted by specific communities and regions, how they have been addressed, and how many of these communities or regions have reorganized themselves to identify and successfully address the opportunities they provide. In the process, we have identified some of the components of these successes – thereby providing hints for other communities about the things to which they should pay attention as they struggle to deal with their local conditions. These suggestions are not guarantees of success, but they are elements that can be used by each community or region to deal with the challenges it faces. I will outline those that apply to the Eastern Townships region.

### Re-evaluating assets

In a fast-changing world, flexibility, knowledge, and reorganization become critically important. This means that reorganizing yourselves to find out about your financial, human, and natural

resources, and the social organizations and capacities available is more important now than ever before. This colloquium is a good example of such a process and is one of the reasons why people in the Eastern Townships are fortunate. This region has the organizations capable of making this communication happen.

This dialogue must be based on good, accurate information, however. Once again, the region has the human and social resources to make it possible. It has two universities and several colleges nearby which are repositories of critical information and forums where one can develop the skills to use it. It also has numerous associations and volunteer groups that represent interests both specific and general – from theatre to environmental sustainability. They represent a rich array of what we academics refer to as social capital, and they provide key structures for identifying available assets and the opportunities those assets provide.

The nature and significance of these assets keeps changing, however. At one point, Eastern Townships forests primarily served as the basis for forestry. By selling them to Britain, to Montreal, to Canada, or to the world, the region was able to attain the income and build the infrastructure that supported the growth and wealth of the population (Reimer, 2005). Now, these forests are viewed through a different lens – one that sees greater value in their role as an asset for tourism, recreation, or carbon sequestration. We have found that those places which recognize these new functions and integrate them into local planning are better prepared for the future.

Recognizing these new opportunities is not always easy, however. The process is often fraught with conflicting interests, frustration, and anger that make the dialogue difficult and stressful. Citizens of Ste-Paule, for example, were considerably frustrated when they were threatened with a school closure because of dwindling population.<sup>3</sup> They complained to the provincial authorities that such a closure would mean the loss of strong community resources – high quality teachers, good infrastructure, and a quiet and supportive environment. This frustration was expressed in anger at first, until they realized that these were features that might be of value to others. In the end, the citizens developed a campaign to promote their school to families in the nearby city of Matane, resulting in a significant increase in their school population as they bused students into their village from this city. By identifying and reassessing their assets they were able to reverse the trend and use the new conditions to their advantage.

### Urban regions as centres of growth

This example also illustrates one of the other observations from our research. Canada is a highly urbanized country and it continues in this pattern of urbanization. People in remote regions are moving to regional centres and people from regional centres are moving to the major metropolitan areas. Anomalies occur, such as Fort McMurray due to the Alberta Tar Sands, but the overall trend is consistent – in Canada and abroad. Non-metro areas, even if their populations are increasing, are not increasing at the same rate as urban centres (cf. Figure 2).

This means that non-metro people, groups, and institutions are well advised to consider urban interests and agendas when identifying and reassessing their local assets. Ste-Paule was successful in its school campaign because they could offer something that was desirable to Matane's residents. They were also fortunate that they were within school bus distance of this more urban centre.

The Eastern Townships region is similarly fortunate. It has a major urban centre in its midst (Sherbrooke), another nearby (Drummondville), and, a major metropolitan centre about 2 hours away (Montreal). It is also well placed with respect to the Northeastern cities of the USA – a fact that has not been lost on its previous residents and one which promises to be of value in the future – to the extent that the opportunities are identified and initiated.

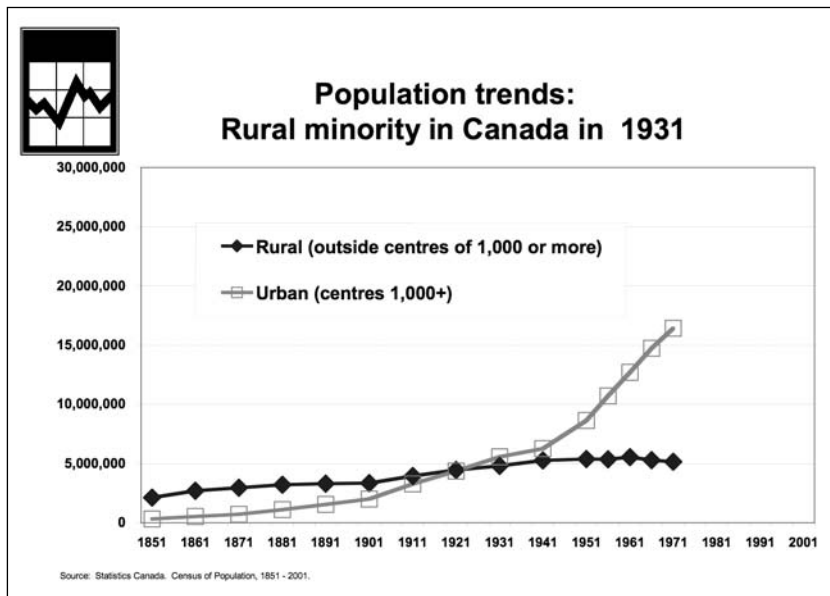


Figure 2: Canadian Population Trends: 1851 to 2001

This means building the capacity for strategic alliances with urban people and groups. Once again, the Eastern Townships are in a favourable position. Many of the people who have moved here recently are ex-urbanites themselves. Each of them brings a network of people, groups, and organizations that can serve to inform and support potential alliances with growing centres. Sociologists refer to this as bridging social capital and we have begun to document how critical it is for economic, political, social, and cultural enrichment (Franke, 2005).

One of the Japanese villages in our research network has taken this insight to new heights. Instead of bemoaning the loss of their youth, they embraced it and treated out-migration as an opportunity for asset-building as their children or other residents went off for education, jobs, or simply a change. They initiated a series of programs to ensure that the links between these out-migrants and the local village were not broken. Through the use of regular newsletters, annual village reunions, web pages, and personal correspondence, they ensured that the knowledge of the village was maintained by their departed residents. Their vision was a long-term one since they assumed that once their children started to have families they would consider a return to the village as a familiar and desirable choice – and they would bring the intelligence and networks of the urban centres with them. Even if they did not return, the local residents treated the out-migrants as ambassadors and network contacts for the village. Their knowledge of urban interests, markets, groups, and people serve the villagers well as they look for opportunities and alliances with urban places.

Another of our field sites – this time in New Brunswick – has developed a similar approach using the Internet. The last time I looked at their website, Doaktown had over 200 comments and stories from all parts of Canada, the USA, Mexico, and Europe in response to its regularly updated newsletter and guestbook.<sup>4</sup> Many of these are comments from second generation people with a Doaktown heritage asking for information and inquiring about visits and opportunities. And this is from a town of under 1000 people.

As we learn more about the interdependence between non-metro and urban regions, we should be reorganizing ourselves to better reflect its complexity. New York City, for example, has recognized the value of the nearby Catskill Mountains for its water supply – so the City has established a formal agreement with the people and communities of that region to preserve and maintain the quality of the water in exchange for funds directed to community develop-

ment.<sup>5</sup> New York City officials realized that if the Catskill communities are placed under stress, they will not be able to meet the necessary conditions for treatment and protection of the water. In Japan, they have reached the same conclusion and established a surtax on water for all urban residents that goes to non-metro development projects.

The Eastern Townships provide similar public goods and services to nearby cities. Sherbrooke<sup>6</sup>, Quebec, and Montreal all benefit from the food, water, recreation, and environmental assets of the region but much of it goes unrecognized in the usual economic accounting to which we are accustomed. It will take concerted action on the part of Townshippers to identify what those assets are and to find the ways to discuss and negotiate their recognition in urban centres. Some of this can be done through the normal channels of political and economic engagement, but the complexity of the task calls for establishing new organizations where partners unaccustomed to talking can meet to identify their mutual interests and coordinate their action.

The Miramichi Watershed Management Committee is an example of such an initiative in New Brunswick.<sup>7</sup> Salmon fishers concerned about the salmon in the river organized meetings with industries, tourism organizations, environmental groups, and municipal representatives to discuss the issues and work out a plan that could accommodate the interests of all. It took many years for them to get these very different partners at the same table, but they persevered with a common interest in the watershed region. The Committee continues to be fraught with tensions but it has accomplished a number of projects that have been critical for the maintenance of the fish stocks while addressing the concerns of industry and government within the region. This new social organization has become an important player in provincial governance – a player that reflects the new conditions of interdependence.

### **Economic development remains essential**

Local economic development remains critical for the sustenance of the local population. Once again, we find that the Eastern Townships are well positioned to meet this challenge. This region has a legacy of economic activity that parallels much of the history of Canada – from primary production to services and knowledge-focused industries. The challenge is to continually reorganize this legacy in order to meet the conditions of the new economy.

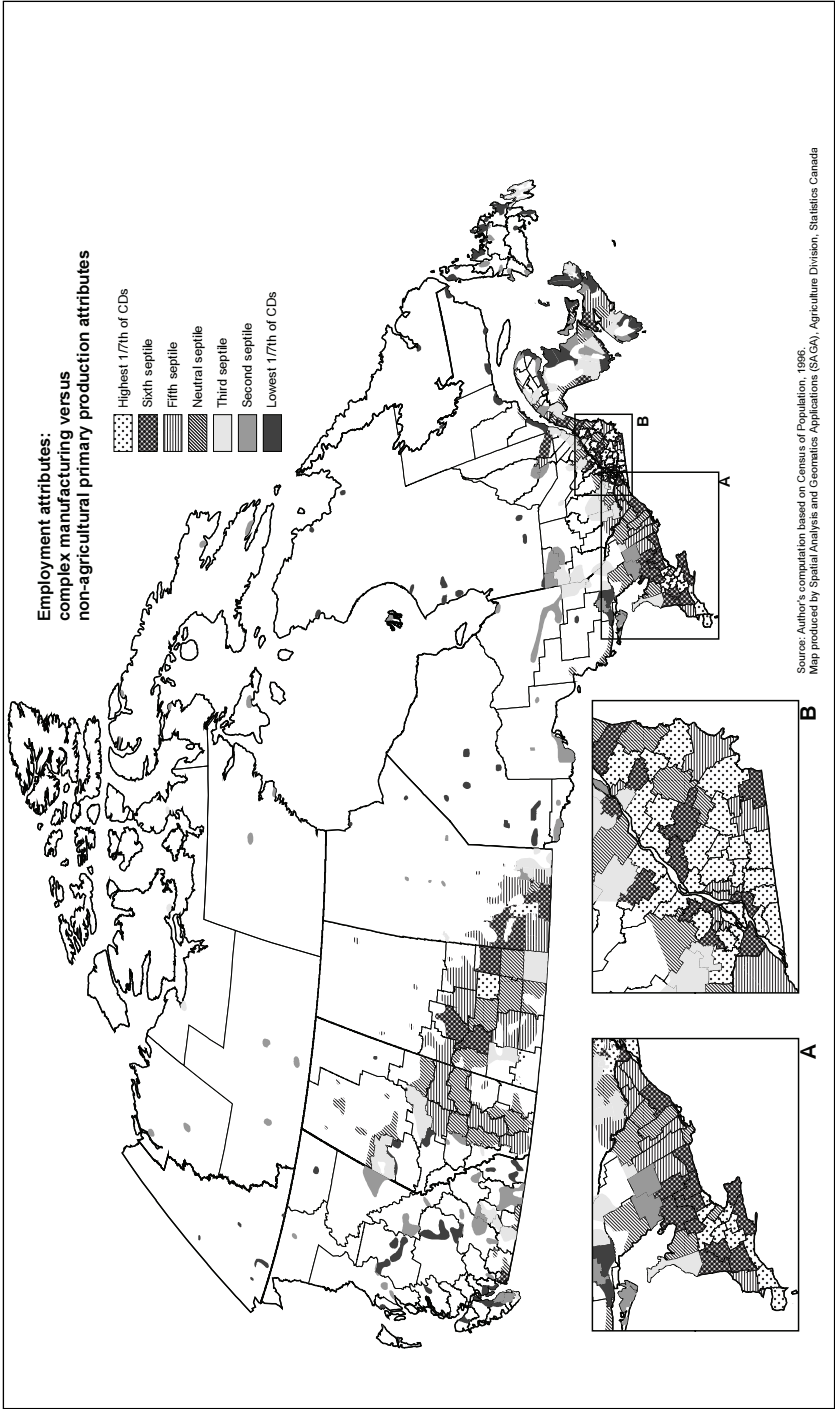


Figure 3: Employment attributes: complex manufacturing versus non-agricultural primary production attributes (Alasia, 2004:18)



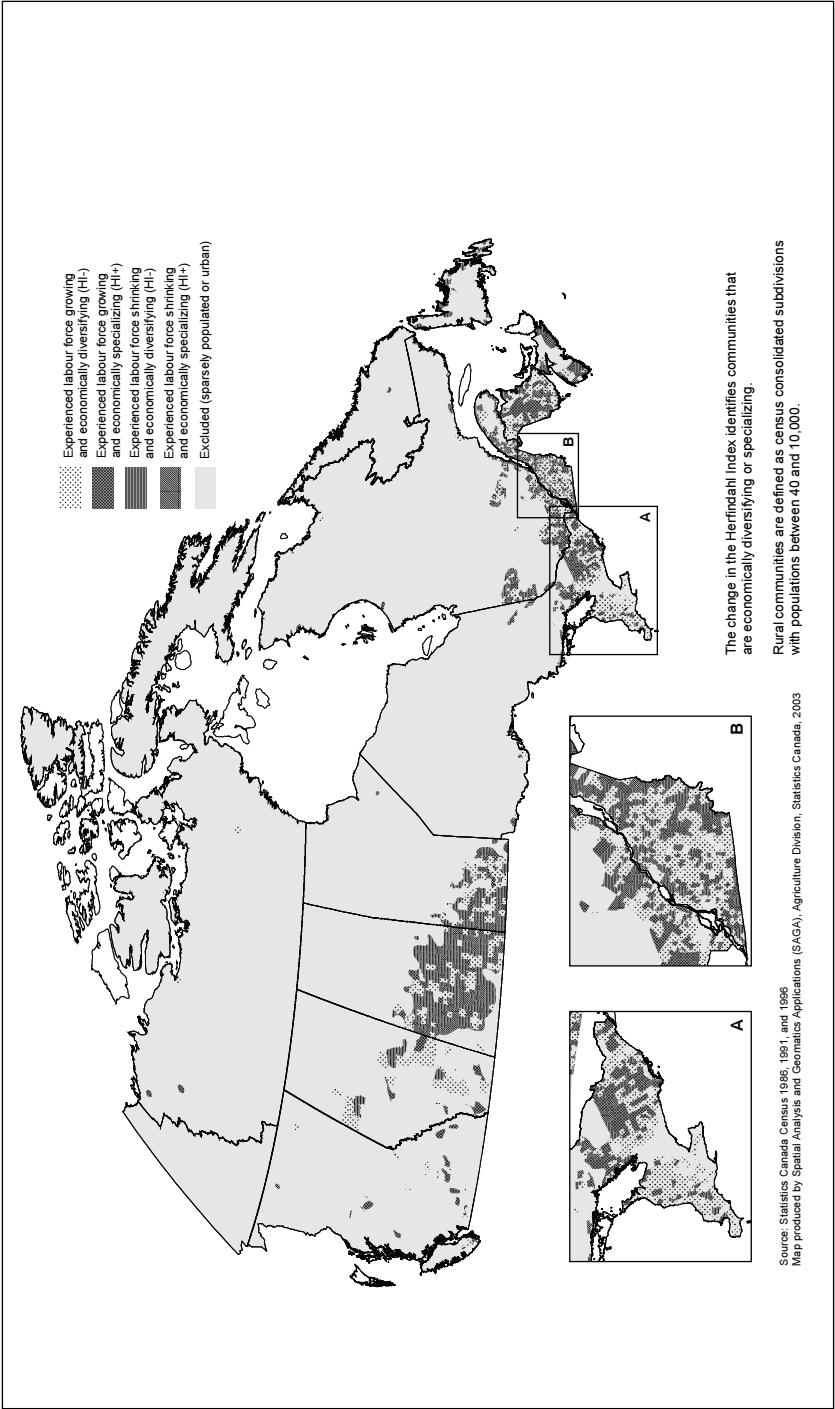


Figure 4: The change in the labour force and Herfindahl index (HI) in rural communities, Canada, between 1986 and 1996 (Page and Beshiri, 2003:13).

Economists rightfully consider the level of human capital to be an important ingredient in the economic success of a region. One of the principal objectives for development strategies, therefore, is to make the greatest use possible of the experience, education, and dreams of the population for economic production in a sustainable fashion. An examination of the principal indicators of human capital (education and employment) reveals that the Eastern Townships have a solid base on which to draw. About 66% of the population in the Townships were high school graduates or above in 2001. This compares to an average of 68% for the province. For the percentage of those with university degrees, it is sixth out of the seventeen Administrative Regions in the province.<sup>8</sup> The existence of two institutions of higher education in the region provides a strong infrastructure for maintaining this position and, with the right strategy, improving it over the years. Building university-community alliances is an excellent approach to this end – and one which is gaining more support and resources from academic institutions. It is another opportunity requiring concerted community response.

The Eastern Townships region also has a strong legacy of manufacturing industries. This is important because manufacturing is a sector that has remained relatively strong in non-metro areas – even as the population has declined (Beshiri, 2001). Manufacturing also provides relatively high levels of local income in the form of taxes – significantly out-performing residential expansion in this regard – in spite of municipal councillors' tendency to champion the latter (Greenaway and Sanders, 2006). Rural employment in manufacturing industries is most often concentrated in traditional primary-sector processing, but in the Eastern Townships this is supplemented by relatively high levels of employment in the more complex manufacturing activities (Page and Beshiri, 2003). As shown in Figure 3, the Eastern Townships region performs reasonably well in this respect – not only in Quebec, but across the country as well. This bodes well for future opportunities related to the growth of the knowledge-based economy.

The Eastern Townships region is also well placed for economic trade. It is well situated with respect to several major nearby markets and well connected through a history of trade. In 2004, for example, it was fourth in the ranking of the seventeen Quebec Administrative Regions for both the number of manufacturing establishments and the value of manufactured goods exported.<sup>9</sup> As shown in Figure 4 it compares favourably to other Canadian locations with respect to economic diversification.

These economic conditions do not guarantee success, however. Much of the international literature supports the claim that the traditional economic factors go only about halfway to explaining the success and failure of local areas (Page and Beshiri, 2003). The rest appears to be a function of the social and institutional characteristics of the populations involved.

### **Social and cultural diversity as the new norm**

Non-metro areas have traditionally been relatively socially and culturally homogeneous at the local and regional level. Our settlement history as well as local processes of social organization have meant that the people in each small town have been quite similar in spite of the diversity of those towns across the country. This has served those communities well in conditions where local collaboration was key to survival and similar assumptions about the world were conducive to such social cohesion. It is less so, however, in a world where mobility is the norm and different customs, languages, and assumptions are to be found among neighbours and workmates. Under these circumstances, the social exclusion of newcomers is a recipe for decline – especially in places which are no longer reproducing themselves. This has always been a feature of Canadian society but it takes on new significance today – especially in Quebec. We have always been an immigrant society and will continue to depend on immigration into the foreseeable future. Once again, we must seek to reorganize ourselves to see these new conditions as opportunities.

Such reorganization is not incompatible with traditional non-metro values. Cap-St-Ignace, a small town neighbouring Montmagny on the South Shore of the St. Lawrence river, stands for me as an excellent example of how one community accomplished this with imagination and enthusiasm. Soon after my wife and I settled in the village with our family for a year of field work, we received a visit from a local couple. They introduced themselves as our ‘Godparents’ – assigned by the village to welcome us to the region. We spent a lovely time with them exchanging information about ourselves and why we had moved there, and learning about the village from them. Before they left, they invited us to a ‘*souper canadien*’ which was to be held the following week. On the evening of the event, they arrived at our door and escorted us to the *souper*, helped us find a table, and checked in on us as we settled in to enjoy the meal, the music, and the dancing. It seemed that the whole village was there – from infants to grandchildren – all enjoying themselves

and providing their own entertainment. Halfway through the evening, the Mayor came to the microphone and invited us, our new Godparents, and other new residents up to the front of the hall. Our Godparents introduced us to the village, told them a little about us, and we were presented with a certificate of welcome. That evening served as a key event for us since it provided a basis for numerous conversations, invitations, and friendships over the time we lived there – and even today.

It was only much later that I realized what a valuable innovation it was for the life of the community. Institutionalizing such a procedure not only served to integrate strangers, but it was an effective way to reduce the anxiety that is naturally a feature of new people in a small town – both on the part of the newcomers as well as the current residents. It was a mechanism that served the village well for they were subsequently faced with high levels of in-migration as the nearby city of Montmagny expanded as a regional centre. It came as no surprise to me that this village was one of the first to welcome and integrate a family of Vietnamese boat people when the call went out from the Provincial and Federal Governments.

The Eastern Townships are also fortunate in having a history of social inclusion. The English heritage of the region continues to be reflected in the buildings and social infrastructure of several communities just as its French roots remain a feature of other towns. Many of the social groups here reflect both of these traditions – including those that bring them together and those that build their identities apart. Both are necessary, but in non-metro areas it is often the latter that predominates – undermining trust of strangers and creating barriers to their integration. These barriers are sometimes exacerbated by media that distort the dangers of difference by focusing on extreme and unusual cases. New mechanisms for building trust and social inclusion must be developed in conditions where populations are declining and mobility is increasing. These can often be found by looking anew at the current assets of the region.

Winkler, Manitoba did this by building on its cultural roots in Mennonite and Southern European culture. Demographers have long documented the importance of local cultural institutions for attracting and retaining immigrants (Breton, 2005). Moving across the world, let alone across the province, is a big step for people, so they need to be confident that they will find something or someone who is familiar, or at least friendly, at the other end. This is especially true for the basic social supports reflected in language, religion, and other cultural artifacts and organization. The Mennonites

of Winkler understood this, so focused strategically on potential immigrants who shared some of these elements, however few.<sup>10</sup> They established programs in collaboration with all levels of government to identify, welcome, educate, and integrate new immigrants by helping them with the legal, financial, social, and cultural challenges of the move. In the end, they have had the highest level of in-migration of any non-metro place in Canada, and they have been able to retain a large enough number to drive an innovative and vibrant local economy. Once established, such a pattern tends to maintain itself in a 'migration stream' that reinforces itself through new institutions and the exchange of information (Massey, 1999).

The Eastern Townships region has considerable opportunities for such expansion. It has a history of immigration, a wide variety of social institutions, and the seeds of particular immigrant groups that could form the social and cultural supports for streams of the future. It also exists in a province and country that is open to immigration and it has a diaspora of past residents that can provide considerable support and intelligence about strategic options. What are required are the initiative, planning, and institution-building to make such expansion possible.

### **New governance**

Our research has also pointed to the way in which the new non-metro economy calls for innovation in local, regional, and national governance. Governance includes more than formal government organizations and responsibilities. It includes the participation and contribution of the many businesses, volunteer groups, community organizations, and clubs which provide goods, services, skills, and insights that drive the vision and action for the future of the region. In Quebec's past, these were provided by the Church, then by the government, but they now require a more diverse and flexible approach to meet the rapidly changing conditions of our current context. Local economic and social development cannot be left to one of these institutions alone since they require consideration of economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental issues that often conflict with one another. To deal with these conflicts, we need to develop visions that are more inclusive, and to find the forums and institutions where the necessary information can be gathered, where the visions can be developed, and where the necessary compromises and decisions can be made that such complexity requires.

The citizens of Cap-à-l'Aigle, in the Charlevoix region, North-East of Quebec City, made good use of this vision when they were looking

for a way to develop their local economy (Morin, 2005). Instead of focusing only on the formal businesses and skills in the village, they turned to an informal network of people who had a long-term interest in the breeding and nurturing of lilacs. Over the years this group had planted many varieties around the village, made international connections with other lilac lovers, and established a core of informal knowledge that was appreciated by people from many places. This asset was selected by the Municipal Council as a basis for a tourism and development program that has now identified Cap-à-l'Aigle as the "*Village des Lilas*."<sup>11</sup> Each year the village organizes a lilac festival that attracts visitors from around the world and which has created a source of revenue and support for their food, accommodation, and tourism businesses. The success of this economic initiative was largely driven by looking outside the networks of businesses and enterprises themselves, and recognizing the value of a partnership between the voluntary, private, and government sectors. It is an example of the new governance in action.

Once again, the Eastern Townships region has all the elements for such an approach to economic and social development. Its tradition of volunteer groups, fairs, festivals, and heritage activities provides a fertile ground for developing such initiatives (e.g. *La Traversée internationale du lac Memphrémagog*, Townshippers' Day, *Les Correspondances d'Eastman*, *Le Festival Orford*). Add to this the skills and networks of its diaspora and ex-urbanite population, and you will find plenty of resources to enhance the capacity to imagine and enact the necessary proposals.

This does not mean that enacting the governance decisions will be easy. The concerns and interests of the long-term residents do not always coincide neatly with those of the newcomers. Industrial developments often conflict with the tourism and lifestyle attributes of the region and working out those conflicts can be a lengthy and sometimes painful process, but it must be done in imaginative ways. Keeping an open mind about governance options can often facilitate this process. In one of our field sites, for example, a potentially contentious issue regarding the location of a pig farm was successfully resolved when local counselors used their family and friendship connections to broker a deal whereby the farmer was given land in a more remote section of the municipality in exchange for his original site. This type of arrangement would have been highly unlikely without the strength and trust of the informal networks shared by the participants. These are most often found in small places such as the communities of the Townships.

## **Conclusions**

The new conditions faced by the Eastern Townships require innovations in governance, economic development, social organization, and the use of assets. When I look at the range and quantity of your assets, I am impressed by the potential that exists here to meet those challenges – especially in comparison to so many other places in non-metro Canada. This region has the assets, the human skills, the institutions, and the location to build a high quality of life and environment for all its residents. In the process, it will provide goods, services, and inspiration to both urban and non-metro places throughout the country.

What is needed is the human and social innovation to take it forward. Our research suggests that this energy is best directed to the following five key areas. First, it requires the identification and development of the many assets available to Townshippers, both actual and potential. Focusing on human capital is a good place to start – both within and outside formal institutions of learning. Starting with the current skills and experiences of the Townships population, it means the encouragement of collaboration across sectors, locations, and cultures to develop a culture of learning that is eager and able to deal with the complexity and change of the current world.

Second, it requires the assessment of your position with respect to urban places – in your region, province, nation, and around the world. You must be careful to position yourself in an appropriate way with respect to the massive and pervasive movement of people to cities. This assessment means learning about this movement, the types of people involved, the new interests and demands of the urban populations, and the many ways in which you and the various urban centres are inter-related. You have the resources to make this happen – from the universities, colleges, and schools in your midst to the weekend visitors, retirees from the city, and your own children who have moved away.

Third, your plans should include some serious discussion of your possible directions for economic sustainability. This means assessing the relative contributions and desirability of large scale industry, small manufacturing, tourism, recreation, and environmental stewardship. There are many examples of communities and regions that have anticipated the potential conflicts that can emerge in this mix, and which moved to experiment with ways to avoid or overcome them with innovation and intelligent compromise. The Eastern Townships are well placed to do this by seeking a place-based

approach that is appropriate for the particular circumstances you have inherited.

Fourth, the plans should take into account a future that will be more mobile, diverse, and inter-connected. This means thinking about the places, customs, and heritage that should be preserved as much as ways in which changes should be embraced. It also means taking the challenge of social exclusion seriously by searching for and creating institutions that welcome newcomers, celebrate the new perspectives they bring, and recognize the contributions they can make. It takes more than good will to make this happen – it takes institutional and social organization.

The fifth area of innovation required is with respect to the governance of the people, groups, and assets of the Eastern Townships. The discussion regarding the 'New Governance' provides some general suggestions regarding what this would look like, but the details can only be found in the local setting (Salamon, 2002). The call for partnerships between public, private, and civic organizations makes sense, but only if all the affected partners are around the table and only if they all engage in a climate of mutual respect and relatively equal power. This is seldom the case since we inherit the governance structures adapted to an earlier situation and those structures are slow to change. However, the new conditions demand that we must imagine and reorganize them in ways that are more appropriate for current and future demands. If we look around, we see that this is already underway in a halting and experimental fashion. We need to identify these new forms, consider how they might meet our justifiable concerns for fair representation and accountability, and find ways to integrate them into the current mechanisms for decision-making and resource allocation.

I expect that the Eastern Townships region is well placed to do this. It has the human, social, cultural, and natural assets. It is strategically located with respect to numerous urban regions. It has a long and largely positive experience with diversity, and it is resplendent with a wide variety of social and cultural groups – well connected locally, provincially, and internationally. What it will take is considerable work, however, to gather and digest the necessary information, build the trust for divergent groups to work together, and explore your options for managing your assets in a flexible and sustainable fashion that is consistent with the challenges of the future. I consider this colloquium to be an important part of that journey.



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## NOTES

- 1 Many people in the NRE Project have contributed to the research on which this paper is based. I wish to thank the researchers, students, and citizens who have participated in this work and provided insights along the way. Thanks also to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Industry Canada which provided the primary funding for the project. For more information about the Project, see: <http://nre.concordia.ca>.
- 2 *Institut de la statistique Québec*, 2006
- 3 This example arises from personal communication with Dr. Bruno Jean.
- 4 <http://www.doaktown.com/>
- 5 <http://www.epa.gov/owow/watershed/ny/nycityfi.html>
- 6 Sherbrooke's water supply, for example, is Lake Memphremagog.
- 7 <http://www.mwmc.ca/>
- 8 Statistics are from the web site of the *Institut de la statistique Québec*: [http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/donstat/societe/education/etat\\_scolr/\(7\)scolarite\\_reg.htm](http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/donstat/societe/education/etat_scolr/(7)scolarite_reg.htm)
- 9 *Institut de la statistique Québec*: [http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/regions/profils/region\\_00/region\\_00\\_an.htm](http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/regions/profils/region_00/region_00_an.htm)
- 10 <http://www.cityofwinkler.ca/>
- 11 <http://www.villagedeslilas.com>