

Urban Canada

Sociological Perspectives

Edited by

Harry H. Hiller

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GETTING PERSPECTIVE:

What comparison in discussing cities has been the most powerful, the most long-standing, and yet the most perplexing contrast in the history of urban analysis?

Contrasts are all around us—night and day, black and white, rich and poor, high and low, better and worse. These represent opposites that reflect and shape our thinking. One of the most dominant contrasts in urban analysis is the comparison between rural and urban. Early urban analysts intuitively understood that urban life was significantly different from rural life, and they struggled to specify what it was and how it changed the way people lived. Urban residents have seemed always to compare life in cities with life in rural areas. For awhile, they thought that rural life was better and cities were only to be tolerated. Later, rural areas were spoken of more negatively by city dwellers as being behind the times and not progressive. More recently, rural life has experienced even more transformations so that the difference between rural and urban life has become blurred. 'Rural' used to be defined as individual farmers engaged in agriculture and now agriculture has become corporate agri-business. Rural areas are no longer just used for agriculture but for tourism, lower-density living, and recreation. The stark contrast between rural and urban is gone and yet we still struggle with the difference that low-density living makes in comparison to high-density living because rural-urban comparisons still lurk in our thought. Even though proportionally fewer and fewer people live in rural areas engaged in agriculture, we need to understand how the rural and the urban need each other and relate to one another. Is the primary difference between rural and urban merely a matter of different densities or is there something distinctly different about rural life as opposed to and urban life?

RURAL AND URBAN: DIFFERENCES AND COMMON GROUND

BILL REIMER

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To understand the historical evolution of rural Canada.
- To understand the characteristics of contemporary rural Canadian society.
- To understand the relationship between rural and urban society.
- To identify current issues relating to rural and urban relations.

INTRODUCTION

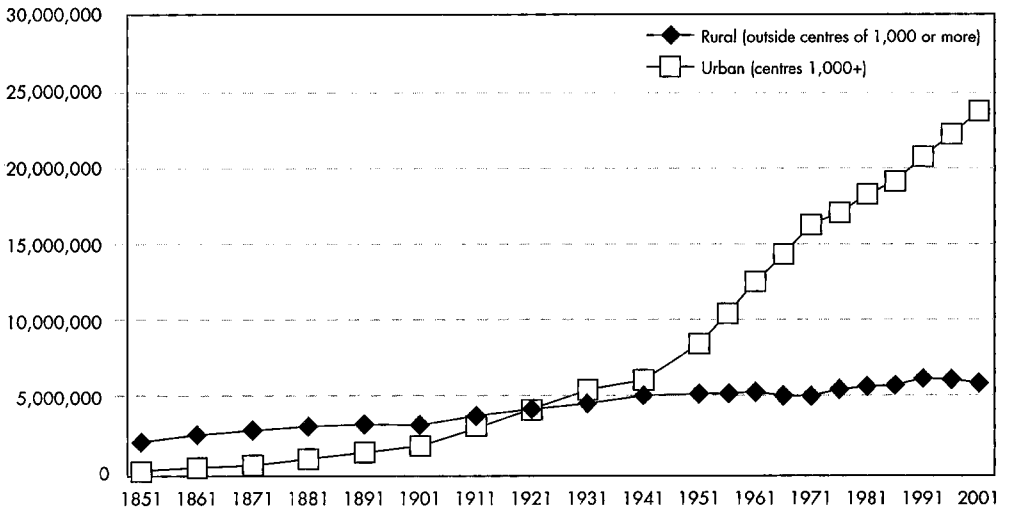
Rural and urban Canada are inextricably linked. Rural places provide timber, food, minerals, and energy that serve as bases of urban growth. Rural places also process urban pollution, refresh and restore urban populations, and maintain the heritage upon which much of our Canadian identity rests. In return, urban Canada provides the markets for rural goods, much of its technology, and most of its financial capital and manufactured goods, along with a good deal of its media-based culture. To understand urban regions, therefore, one must understand their relationship to rural context in which they exist.¹

Canada is a highly urbanized society, so it is easy to forget that the urbanization we experience today is relatively new. When my father was born most people in Canada lived in rural areas. Only by 1931 did urban people outnumber rural dwellers, but after World War II this difference increased rapidly (see Figure 4.1). Now, only about 22 per cent of Canadians live in rural areas. At the same time, many of the differences between urban and rural places diminished. Services, facilities, consumer products, and many of the same

cultural artifacts could be found in small towns as well as major urban centres. But many differences remain and will continue to affect the character of rural places. Rural places will remain less dense, with greater distances separating people and settlements. They will continue to have a narrower range of services, and they will continue to reflect the types of social relations that come with relative isolation.

It is not a simple matter to define 'rural'. Many people would do so with reference to the geographical characteristics—typically referring to population density and distance. Others challenge this approach, arguing that 'rural' (as 'urban') is a social construction and therefore should be treated as a sociological concept—with an emphasis on perception, identity, power, and symbols (Mormont, 1990; Halfacre, 1993; Shucksmith, 1994).

Those adopting this latter perspective point to the way in which the rural/urban distinction has no compelling theoretical value since it differentiates neither causes nor consequences. One can find many urban-like relations in rural areas just as one can find rural-like relations in urban centres (Pahl, 1966; Newby, 1986). Instead, they argue that 'rural' should be viewed as a social construction—

Figure 4.1 Rural/Urban Population Trends, 1851–2001

important because of the way in which particular definitions provide advantages to one group over another. If, for example, rural is identified as the spaces where our raw materials are located, then communities, plants, and animals play a secondary role: as the means to extract those materials or as obstacles to efficient extraction. If, on the other hand, rural is defined in terms that emphasize heritage or amenities, then the preservation of towns and villages is likely to take precedence over clear-cut logging, industrial agriculture, and fish farms. Thus, the definition of rural becomes a struggle between interested parties wishing to champion their vision for particular outcomes and a focus for examination of the political and social processes supporting these visions.

Whatever the response, the answer usually depends on the reason you have for asking it. To students of urban regions, 'rural' may mean everywhere outside of urban centres, and whether regional centres, small towns, village, or hamlets are included will depend on the vision of urban being considered. Economists like Jane Jacobs (1984) or Laurence Solomon (2003), who focus on the ability of urban places to generate eco-

nommic wealth through import substitution, tend to relegate 'rural' to undifferentiated areas outside the major urban centres. Government policy analysts with the mandate to provide social services or solve problems of inequities are likely to have a much more variegated view of rural, since the requirements for service in a mid-sized town are significantly different from those in a village or an unorganized rural area (Government of Canada, 1998). Rural citizens are likely to emphasize the culture or way of life they find in their location as the primary point of reference for distinguishing it from urban areas.

Taking a geographical point of view, du Plessis et al. (2001) identify six different definitions of rural frequently used by analysts and policy-makers in Canada (Table 4.1). Each definition carries implications for the type of analysis being conducted (e.g., labour force, geographical settlement, or administration) and also makes use of various units of analysis—from the small regions covered by a census enumerator to areas equivalent to counties. In most cases, however, they reflect an important relationship with urban areas—often being defined with respect to their

proximity to such areas or the extent to which they lie in or near the labour force catchment areas of urban regions.

In the end, du Plessis et al. recommend that the definition chosen should be selected on the basis of the question being asked. Pressed to give a baseline reference, they propose that their 'rural and small town' definition be considered. By this definition, 'rural' is the population living in towns and villages outside the labour force commuting zone of larger urban centres (10,000 population or more). It places towns the size of Bonavista (Nfld), Souris (PEI), Inverness (NS), Sackville (NB), Baie-St-Paul (Que.), Tweed (Ont.), Gimli (Man.), Humbolt (Sask.), Banff (Alta), and Hope (BC) in the category of 'rural and small town', but relegates Corner Brook (Nfld), Summerside (PEI), Truro (NS), Bathurst (NB), Lachute (Que.), Kenora (Ont.), Thompson (Man.), Moose Jaw (Sask.), Grand Prairie (Alta), Dawson Creek (BC), and Whitehorse (Yukon) to 'urban'. A brief review

of these lists should make it clear how controversial the distinction can be.

HISTORY OF THE TRANSFORMATION (HOW DID WE GET HERE?)

The Canadian economy and society have their historical roots in the international trade of **staples**. The exploitation of fish, forests, furs, grain, dairy products, minerals, and petroleum have fundamentally shaped the history of Canada. Even our current urban centres bear the marks of this past. Our major cities are located at key points for the transfer and movement of commodities, international trade in those commodities remains a significant part of our ability to pay for urban needs and desires, and urban people play in the harbours and canals that were once the pathways for these commercial products (Innis, 1995; Wallace, 2002: 74).

Table 4.1 Definitions of Rural

Definition	Main Criteria, Thresholds
Census Rural Area	Population living outside places of 1,000 people or more, or population living outside places with densities of 400 or more people per square kilometre.
Rural and Small Town (RST)	Population living outside the main commuting zone of larger urban centres (of 10,000 or more).
Census Metropolitan Area and Census Agglomeration Influenced Zones (MIZ)	MIZ disaggregates the RST population into four subgroups based on the size of commuting flows to any larger urban centre (of 10,000 or more).
OECD Rural Communities	Population in communities with densities less than 150 people per square kilometre.
OECD Predominantly Rural Regions	Population in regions where more than 50 per cent of the people live in an OECD 'rural community'.
Non-Metropolitan Regions	Population living outside of regions with major urban settlements of 50,000 or more people. Non-metropolitan regions are subdivided into three groups based on settlement type and a fourth based on location in the North. Non-metropolitan regions include urban settlements with populations of less than 50,000 people and regions with no urban settlements (where 'urban settlements' are defined as places with populations of 2,500 or more).
Rural Postal Codes	Areas serviced by rural route delivery from a post office or postal station; '0' in second position of a postal code denotes a rural postal code.

The Short-Distance Society

At the time of Confederation, most people lived in rural areas. Travel was costly, so economic and social activities were conducted in relatively small centres located close to the natural resources on which they depended. The high birth rates in rural areas provided labour for the local industries, with any surplus population moving to growing urban centres. Many of our early manufacturing industries were born in small towns, often in response to the needs of farmers and loggers for improvements to their productivity. Miner's (1963) classic study of a small Quebec parish documents how the natural resource and manufacturing industries were intimately integrated into the social relations of small communities. Persson et al. (1997) identify this as a period when rural Canada was a 'short-distance society' (Figure 4.2). Work, family, commercial, and recreational activities occurred within a similar (often local) geographical space due to the constraints of travel. Community systems were characterized by considerable overlap among these various spheres of life.

At a national level, the dominance of primary production was evident in the organization of our political institutions. The Departments of Agriculture (1867), Fisheries (1868), and Forestry (1899) were established to ensure conditions for high productivity—all emphasizing the commodity trade orientation of our national policies (Anderson, 1985). When the settlement of the Prairies was deemed essential for Confederation, for example, the Department of Agriculture was given the mandate to organize the immigration policies and practices (Knowles, 1997: 47–8). These sectoral distinctions remain with us today, although in forms that have been modified to reflect the changing conditions of Canadian society.

The Industrial Society

Persson et al. (1997) argue that this 'short-distance society' gave way to an 'industrial society' sometime during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 4.2). Small rural-based processing

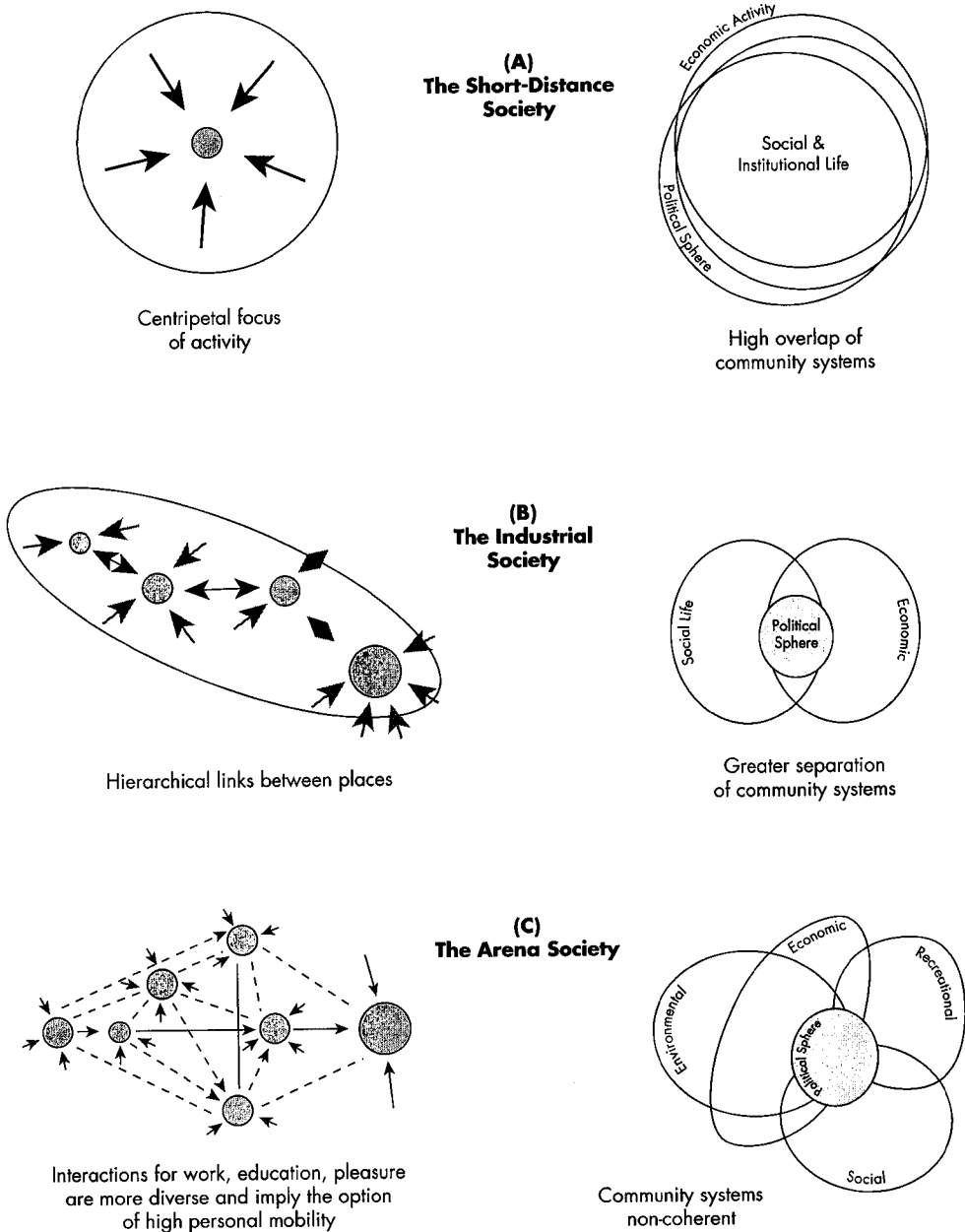
and manufacturing activities became amalgamated in larger centres, the mobility of people and goods increased with improved transportation infrastructure and technology (primarily associated with the automobile and related vehicles), and citizens began to conduct more of their social and economic lives between places rather than within one place.

The reduction in costs for transportation and processing fit well with organization of production that we now identify as **Fordist**. This is characterized by the use of assembly lines, the standardization of products, and the organization of industrial production in vertically integrated corporations that flourished from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s (Allen, 1996a: 281; Allen, 1996b: 546). The raw materials for such production were concentrated or shipped in large quantities to central locations (most often urban areas) with significant savings in transportation and co-ordination costs over the piecemeal production of the 1800s.

All of the primary and rural-oriented industries were significantly affected by these changes. Specialization in food crops, increasing farm size, larger fishing vessels, and the use of more advanced technology (machinery, fertilizers, refrigeration, and selective breeding techniques) resulted in major increases in the production of food from the 1950s to the 1980s. The use of heavy machinery in the forests, at sea, and in the mines resulted in the exploitation of forest, fishery, and mineral resources at an unprecedented scale. We were able to produce much more with many fewer people—both in the extraction and harvesting of resources and in the associated processing plants. Even during the last few years, this trend continues. For example, primary-sector **gross domestic product** (GDP) from 1981 to 2002 increased by 12 per cent, yet during the same period the number of people employed in those industries decreased by 26 per cent (CANSIM tables 379–0017 and 282–0008).

The Canadian government was a champion of this approach, pursuing a policy advocating business-oriented farming, forestry, fishing, and mining based on scientific research and large-scale production (Canada, 1969). This policy included

Figure 4.2 Transformations in Rural Society



major subsidies and controls over both supply and marketing of some agricultural and aquacultural products—a policy appealing to the demand for cheap food from urban Canadians and predictable markets for producers. The negative effects of this

policy on family farms, rural communities, food quality, and the environment were only to become apparent later (see Box 4.1).

The social structure of rural places continued to reflect primary production, but in modified

Box 4.1 Farm Families: A Case Study of Rural–Urban Interdependence

Since the 1960s, Canadians' demand for cheap, diverse, and safe food has been enthusiastically met by government policy, corporate reorganization, technical innovations, and marketing strategies. Urban Canadians now have access to food from around the world no matter what the season, with a minimal risk of contamination, for prices that are among the lowest in the world.

To satisfy this demand, however, a high price has been paid in terms of the social and cultural bases of rural Canada. In order to pay for the bananas and tomatoes we desired, it was necessary to produce wheat, grains, butter, and beef in large quantities. Newer, bigger machines, specialized crops, and extensive use of fossil fuels and fertilizers were required to produce the quantities necessary and meet the health regulations associated with large-scale production. At the same time, labour prices rose as urban jobs became more desirable.

Farm producers were forced to invest in the new technology, increase their landholdings, and cut labour costs in order to survive. Many farmers and their families were unable to cope with the increasing costs and lower prices so turned to off-farm work to supplement their farm incomes, sold their farms, or leased the land to other who were able to expand. This cost-price squeeze resulted in increases in family breakdown, abuse, and even suicides as farmers faced stress and failure from forces beyond their control. Farm communities suffered as well, since workers moved to urban centres, disposable incomes were reduced, and the number of farms decreased.

Agricultural production in Canada has been radically transformed in the process. Although production continues to grow, the number of farms is decreasing along with agricultural employment. Less than 2 per cent of Canadian farms make over \$1 million per year, but they are responsible for over 35 per cent of agricultural receipts (Statistics Canada, 2002: 15). In 2000, farm families received only 26.5 per cent of their income from farming activities, supplementing it with off-farm and non-farm work (Statistics Canada, 2000). The narrow profit margins make farmers particularly vulnerable to natural disasters and market crises such as the drought of 2001 and 2002 and the 'mad cow disease' scare of 2003.

Urban Canadians and policy-makers have responded to these trends in piecemeal fashion, often unaware of how their concerns for cheap food have undermined farm families and rural communities. Other nations have not all followed this pattern, however. Japan and France, for example, have recognized the interdependence of urban and rural areas and implemented special taxes on water and food that go to support rural development. Other nations have implemented supports for farmers to offset the rising costs of farm inputs and lower prices. Citing free-market rhetoric and buoyed by an overall positive balance of trade in agricultural products, the Canadian government has minimized transfer payments to farmers—thereby supporting the trends in farm and community structure that began 50 years ago.

forms. The classic study of this transition by Hughes (1963) documents how regional centres emerged from small processing and manufacturing enterprises in Quebec, drawing in labour from more remote areas, then shedding that labour as the technology took over many of the tasks. The details of this process varied considerably throughout rural areas, but the general pattern was common: increased mobility, greater levels of mechanization, and lower demands for labour (Sinclair and Westhues, 1974; Marchak, 1983; Dunk, 1991).

Hodge and Qadeer (1983: 115–16) identify the local social structure that emerged as ‘truncated’, pointing to the way in which many of these towns lacked ‘managerial functions and the social strata that dominates national or provincial decision-making processes, for example, a bureaucratic elite, corporate executives, or political leadership’. This resulted in communities that were predominantly composed of the working and lower-middle classes. It placed them at a significant disadvantage with respect to larger urban centres, especially when it came to influencing the corporate and political structures that determine so many of their opportunities.

This disadvantage was mitigated by the relatively high level of political representation of rural regions in provincial and national legislatures. Since the allocation of ridings is largely determined by population distributions, the historically high proportion of rural people and the length of time required for redistribution of these allocations meant that rural interests were a key part of the political decision-making—especially where they converged with the commodity production and trade objectives of urban leaders. This was all to change, however, as advances in technology, the expansion of global trade, and the roles of governments shifted.

The Arena Society

As the advantages of Fordist production diminished through the increased use of computers, global

competition, and the increasing diversification of tastes, mass production gave way to **flexible production** that was more responsive to competition and demand. A wider range of products, **just-in-time** reorganization of distribution, and a flattening of the institutional structure of management were consistent with the expansion of computer technology, almost instant communication, and more extensive and efficient transportation that developed after the 1950s (Chaykowski, 1997; Wallace, 2002: 117, 244).

These economic and social changes have created conditions considerably different from those of the old industrial economy. Persson et al. (1997) identify this as the ‘arena society’ (see Figure 4.2), a society that is more inclusive, diverse, complex, dynamic, and confusing. Transportation and communication costs have become so low that people interact with different networks for work, education, and recreation. It means that geographically based community systems have lost most of their coherence and new social, economic, and institutional systems are more diverse and flexible (Chaykowski, 1997: iii).

Coincident with these changes came increasing pressure on the Canadian state to turn over its potentially profitable activities to the private sector and to limit its restrictions on international trade (Marchak, 1991). Increased spending during the post-World War II years had left the government with a sizable deficit, which was used as a justification for decreasing and reorganizing spending. During the 1980s and 1990s this pressure resulted in a gradual reduction and reorganization of the Canadian welfare state (Britton, 1996; Rice and Prince, 2000) and the negotiation of free trade agreements with the United States, Mexico, and other nations in Central and South America.² Rural communities were hard hit by the reorganization of government services. As the government moved to fiscal model of delivery there was a substantial reduction in schools, post offices, hospitals, and government offices throughout rural areas, leaving many small towns even weaker as they

became less able to attract and maintain their dwindling populations (Bruce and Halseth, 2001). These pressures exacerbated the ongoing migration to regional and urban centres.

The negotiations for free trade included two challenges that were particularly relevant for the rural economy. The first was the separation of sectoral policy from social and environmental policy. The Canadian government argued that agriculture and forestry policies, for example, were to be considered on their own—separate from social or environmental issues that might be implicated in any tariff or trade reorganization. European nations and Japan, however, had long argued that social and environmental issues could not be separated from those of trade in commodities (a policy of **multi-functionality**). On this basis, they argued that agricultural tariffs and subsidies could not be removed without endangering rural communities or the rural environment. Canada and the US (among other nations) felt such subsidies were ‘trade-distorting’ and gave European and Japanese farmers and industries an unfair advantage in international trade.³

The second challenge came to several programs Canada had established to protect particular interest groups and regional development. In western Canada, for example, a long-standing

agreement with the railway to provide low rates for shipping grain (the ‘Crow rate’) was ended in 1995. Changes have also been made to the federally co-ordinated provincial milk marketing boards, including the phasing out of direct subsidies to industrial milk. Provincial restrictions on quota holdings by individual producers and federal upper limits on subsidy eligibility are also being gradually reduced (OECD, 1996). Similar challenges to the Canadian Wheat Board, which markets Canadian wheat internationally, reflect this pressure to reduce government involvement in agricultural trade (Kneen, 1995).

The challenges remain unresolved. On the matter of trade, negotiations continue in a context of tariff imposition and trade tribunals—sometimes compounded by dramatic action over disease control (e.g., all exports of beef were halted when a cow with bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) was discovered in Alberta—see Box 4.2) or food quality concerns (e.g., restrictions on the export of **genetically modified organisms** or GMOS). Seldom are they formulated in terms of rural or more general social issues.

Only in the period since 1990 has a specific focus on rural issues emerged. A federal committee of low-level bureaucrats (the Interdepartmental Committee on Rural and Remote Canada) has

Box 4.2 Mad Cow Disease

Bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE), commonly known as ‘mad cow disease’, is a chronic degenerative disease affecting the central nervous system of cattle (Canadian Food Inspection Agency, 2003b). Its human form (variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease) can be acquired by eating meat containing brain and spinal cord tissue from infected animals. In May 2003, the Canadian Food Inspection Agency announced that a single case of BSE had been discovered on an Alberta farm (Alberta Agriculture, 2003). Between May and November, more than 30 countries imposed restrictions on beef products exported from Canada, although the United States and Mexico began to import beef products within six months of the initial detection of BSE (Canadian Food Inspection Agency, 2003a). While Alberta was the hardest hit, the export ban led to massive losses of revenue and unemployment across Canada, leading some provinces to take emergency steps to provide financial relief to laid-off workers (Wilson, 2003; Saskatchewan Party, 2003; Government of Alberta, 2003).

resulted in the creation of a ministerial position, the Secretary of State for Rural Affairs under Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, responsible for coordinating rural affairs. The Rural Affairs Secretariat is responsible for information-sharing, communication, collaboration, and research and analysis regarding rural Canada (www.rural.gc.ca). Its long-term impacts and survival remain to be seen.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW RURAL ECONOMY IN CANADA

The economic changes over the last 60 years have been so substantial that they have been identified with their own special designation: the New Economy. The rural economy has been a part of these changes. Some of the key elements are outlined below.

The New Rural Economy Is More Diverse and Complex

The traditional image of rural Canada as a simple mix of farmland, mining towns, mill towns, and railroad towns (Lucas, 1971) is more often the result of nostalgia than reality. The remnants of resource extraction industries remain, but how they are organized no longer reflects the small-scale, simple-product focus of the past—either within rural communities or across them. Wallace (2002: 127–8) points out, for example, that 36 per cent of gross farm receipts were produced by 3.1 per cent of Canadian farms grossing income over \$500,000 each. As discussed in Box 4.3, small agricultural producers, processors, and manufacturers have been largely replaced by huge vertically integrated corporations such as Cargill. Similarly, the small woodlots, sawmills, and bush camps of the forestry

Box 4.3 Cargill: A Corporate Food Giant

Cargill was created in 1865 as a regional grain merchandiser in the US. Since then Cargill's operations have expanded immensely and it now maintains a near-monopoly in many sectors of the food system throughout the world. By 1995 it had become the largest private company in the US and the eleventh largest company, public or private, in terms of sales. As of 1995 Cargill was also the largest grain trader, producer of malt barley, and processor of oilseeds and the second largest producer of phosphate fertilizer in the world. In the US it is the third largest beef packer, the fourth largest cattle feeder, the sixth largest turkey producer, and the third largest flour miller (Kneen, 1995).

Today, Cargill Incorporated has achieved vertical integration throughout the food system. It is involved in the 'marketing, processing and distribution of agricultural food, financial and industrial products and services' (Cargill, 2003). Cargill has also achieved a substantial degree of horizontal integration in the agri-food sector around the world. In December of 2003 Cargill had 98,000 employees in 61 countries.

Cargill also has a major presence in Canada. The Canadian subsidiary, Cargill Limited, was established in 1928 as a grain merchandising operation. Today it is present in the processing of eggs, malt, meat, chocolate, and oilseeds and the manufacturing of starch, sweeteners, feed, salt, and fertilizers, as well as grain handling and merchandising (*ibid.*). In 1995 Cargill was the largest beef packer in Canada (Kneen, 1995) and with the establishment of the Saskferco plant in 1992 in Saskatchewan, of which Cargill owns 51 per cent of the shares, it is now one of North America's largest producers of ammonia and granular urea (Saskferco, 2003). The Saskferco plant produced 33 per cent of Canada's total granular urea fertilizer in 2001 (*ibid.*; Statistics Canada, 2003d).

sector have been replaced by vast timber reserves, long-haul trucking of timber to large centralized pulp or sawmills, and multinational corporations that buy and sell materials, mills, and labour with an eye to competition from Europe, the US, Asia, and Latin America (Marchak, 1995). Small fishing boats are less likely to be found at the docks of picturesque harbours on our east and west coasts. Instead, sea products are caught, cleaned, and frozen at sea on large vessels or farmed in pens scattered among coves or rivers. The production of forest and mineral products has become the purview of large corporations, an industrial-style division of labour, and marketing strategies requiring speedy communication and complex knowledge.

These changes in the labour force and population have had a profound impact on the number, structure, and distribution of rural communities. Stabler et al. (1992) provide a dramatic illustration of this process in Saskatchewan, where 38.4 per cent of the rural communities provided fewer commercial services in 1990 than in 1961. Parts of Newfoundland and Labrador, Cape Breton Island, northern New Brunswick, and the Gaspé region of Quebec show a pattern of community population decline similar to that of rural Saskatchewan.

Not all of rural Canada faces this type of challenge, however. Parts of the North, central BC, southern and western Alberta, southern Ontario, southwestern Quebec, and rural regions surrounding the larger cities in the Atlantic provinces have experienced population growth over the last 20 years. Two elements in this growth seem particularly important: proximity to urban centres and availability of natural amenities. Both of these features foreshadow new elements in rural-urban relations: the changing patterns of commuting and the growing importance of natural amenities for urban people. Coping with the tensions this creates and anticipating the opportunities that these create for rural areas are some of the pressing issues on the current agenda for many small towns.

In short, rural Canada is heterogeneous. Like its urban counterpart, it is undergoing change with considerable diversity of conditions and

results. Some of the diversity of the new rural economy is captured by the research of Hawkins and Bollman in their analysis of the characteristics of rural **census divisions** (Hawkins and Bollman, 1994). As shown in Figure 4.3, they identify seven different types of clusters to represent rural Canada. The map illustrates the following points. Agriculture is only a small part of the rural context (see 'agro-rural', largely centred in the Prairies, southern Quebec, the Annapolis Valley region of Nova Scotia, and several sections in BC). 'Resourced areas', located in northern regions of the western provinces and territories, northern Ontario, and Labrador, are the primary locations for Canadian mineral and petroleum resources. 'Rural Nirvana' areas—the regions doing relatively well in economic and social terms—are largely situated near urban centres in southern Ontario. Many of the urban regions in Canada have associated 'urban frontiers'—rural areas strongly integrated into their economic activities. Most of the 'rural enclaves' are located in the Gaspé region of Quebec, parts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and much of Newfoundland. In general, we see considerable diversity among rural areas.

Services and Amenities Are Growing

The extraction of natural resources and trade in commodities remain important bases for the new national economy. Our overall **balance of trade** relies to a great extent on exports from the resource sectors. In 1999, for example, we largely paid for imports of machinery and consumer products with exports from forestry, energy, and agriculture (Table 4.2). In that year, these primary-sector products provided more than 2.5 times the trade surplus of the manufacturing sector (Wallace, 2002: 14). Growth in the service sector has shown the largest increases, however, becoming the main sector for employment growth and an increasing focus for international trade. In 1966 the service sector made up only 54.7 per cent of employment and 57.4 per cent of GDP, but by 1996 these figures had increased to 73.8 per

Figure 4.3 A Preliminary Typology of Rural Canada

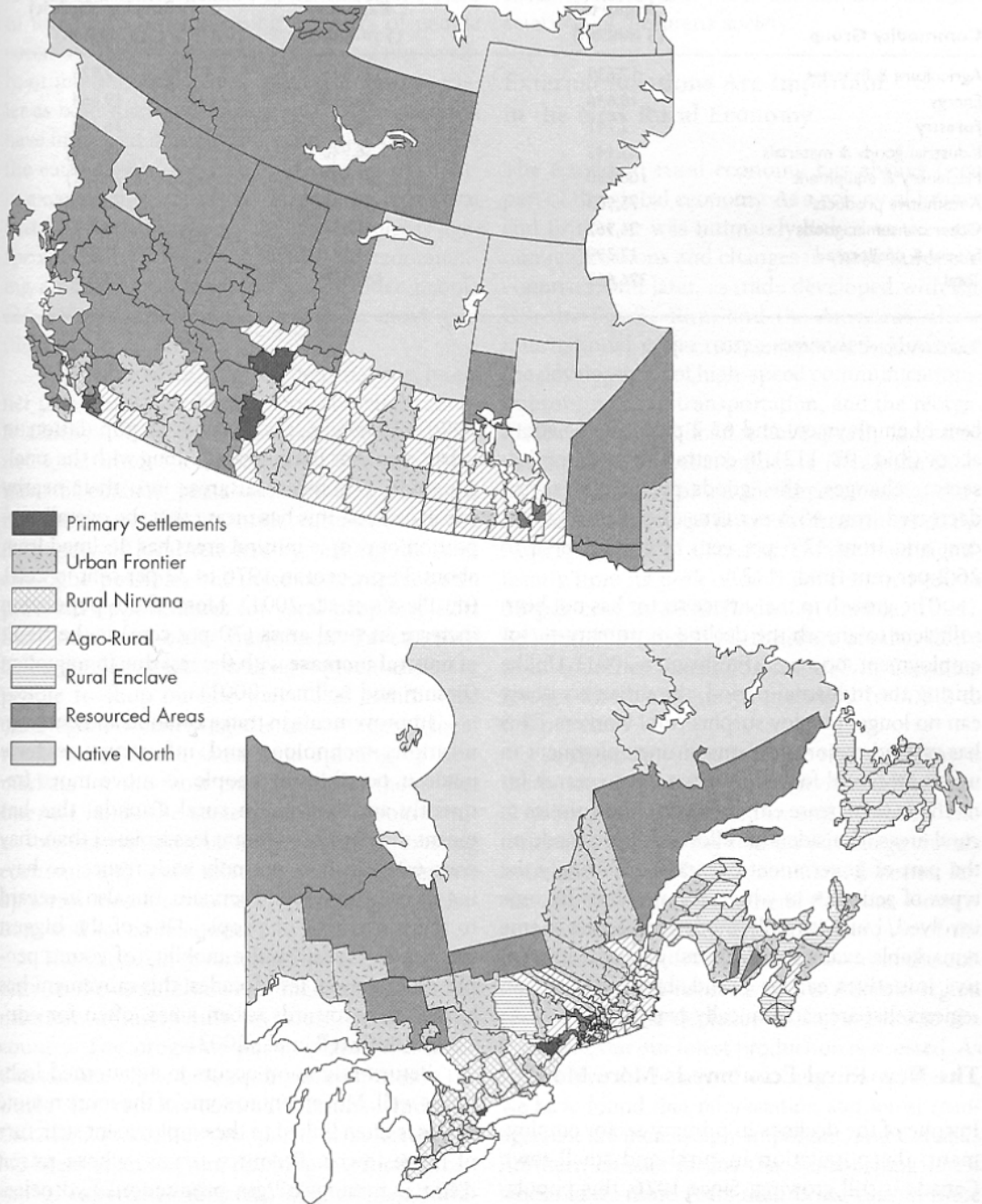


Table 4.2 Canadian Merchandise Trade, by Commodity Group, 1999

Commodity Group	Imports (\$ million)	Exports (\$ million)	Surplus (Deficit) (\$ million)
Agriculture & fisheries	17,639	25,614	7,975
Energy	10,646	30,310	19,664
Forestry	2,741	38,903	36,162
Industrial goods & materials	62,142	56,940	(5,202)
Machinery & equipment	108,230	84,959	(23,271)
Automotive products	75,903	96,142	20,239
Other consumer goods	36,962	13,591	(23,371)
Special & unallocated	12,399	14,141	1,742
Total	326,662	360,600	33,938

Source: Adapted from Wallace (2002: 14).

cent of employment and 65.2 per cent of national GDP (*ibid.*, 97, 112). In contrast to these service-sector changes, the goods-producing sector decreased from 45.3 per cent of GDP to 34.8 per cent and from 42.6 per cent of employment to 26.2 per cent (*ibid.*, 112).

The growth in the service sector has not been sufficient to absorb the decline in primary-sector employment, however (Freshwater, 2001). Unlike during the industrial period, the urban economy can no longer employ surplus rural workers. This has created major problems of unemployment in urban areas and forced governments to search for methods to increase employment opportunities in rural areas. Considerable effort has been made on the part of government agencies to diversify the types of activities in which communities become involved, but with only moderate success. Some remarkable examples of diversifying and innovative initiatives can be found, however, even in regions that are economically peripheral.⁴

The New Rural Economy Is More Mobile

In spite of the declines in primary-sector employment, the population in rural and small-town Canada is still growing. Since 1976, this population has consistently increased from one census period to the next (Mendelson and Bollman,

1998). However, the growth of population in urban areas has been greater. Along with the amalgamation of some rural areas into their nearby urban centres, this has meant that the overall proportion of people in rural areas has declined from about 34 per cent in 1976 to 22 per cent in 2001 (du Plessis et al., 2001). Most of the population increase in rural areas (70 per cent) is the result of **natural increase** with the rest due to migration (Beshiri and Bollman, 2001).

Improvements in transportation and communications technology and infrastructure have made it possible for people to move more frequently and farther. In rural Canada, this has meant that small towns are less isolated than they were 60 years ago, not only with respect to having access to goods and services, but also in regard to the movement of people. One of the biggest impacts has been on the mobility of young people. Over the last few decades, this movement has been largely towards urban areas, often for education (Rothwell et al., 2002).

Return migration occurs in a patterned fashion as well. Movement to some of the more remote towns is often linked to the employment structure of those towns. Resource towns, whose *raison d'être* is mining, oil/gas production, hydroelectricity, or forestry, are places of destination for seasonal or long-shift workers who move there for

part of the year before returning to urban centres as part of a work/vacation cycle. In regions close to urban centres, increasing numbers of people commute long distances to work on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis. This option has become easier as both roads and high-speed communication have improved in their range and reliability. Since the early 1990s, the rate of in-migration slightly exceeds the rate of out-migration from rural and small-town regions although it is highly age-specific, with younger people (20–4) predominating among those moving out and older people (25–65) predominating among those moving in (Rothwell et al., 2002).

Although some have argued that the Internet provides a new hope for rural revitalization, it is likely to have the same mixed effects as technological innovations before it. The establishment of efficient postal services and telephone infrastructure, for example, undermined the monopoly of local retailers by making the sales catalogue possible, but these conveniences also provided opportunities for rural people to start their own mail-order businesses. Paved roads had a similar effect: it was now much easier for people to shop outside their local community, once again weakening the advantage of local retailers but at the same time opening up new markets for the most enterprising of them. The Internet holds the same promise—a communication innovation that may challenge existing economic and social relations while opening new opportunities for business, knowledge acquisition, and social relations.

The Canadian government has given high priority to the establishment of high-speed communication infrastructure in most parts of the country. The programs put in place have made Canada one of the best-equipped countries in the world for remote communications (Industry Canada, 2003a), but the spread of its actual use has been rather uneven, resulting in a rural–urban gap of experience (Sciadas, 2003: 8). As infrastructure, skills, and personal access are improved, we are likely to see an increase in the

long-distance communication, changing local social relations, and wider markets that are characteristic of the ‘arena society’.

External Relations Are Important in the New Rural Economy

The Canadian rural economy has always been part of the global economy. As a colony of France and Britain, it was intimately linked to the economic directions and changes in these European countries, and later, as trade developed with the US, the Pacific Rim, and the Americas, these international connections expanded. However, the development of high-speed communications, improvements in transportation, and the reorganization of global finance have greatly increased the exposure to global influence. While the United States has remained the largest host country for Canadian foreign direct investment (FDI), the American share of Canadian FDI declined significantly from its peak of 68.5 per cent in 1980 to 58 per cent in 1992 (Industry Canada, 1994). Between 1981 and 1991, the share of other European countries (excluding the UK) in Canadian foreign direct investment increased from 5.2 to 6.9 per cent.

A significant feature of the new economy is the variety and level of competition among natural resource producers from around the world. Traditionally, Canada has had an advantage merely because of its vast forests, abundant fisheries, fertile soil, and extensive mineral deposits. However, we are now facing dramatic examples of the limits to that resource abundance—from the collapse of the cod fisheries in the Atlantic region (Box 4.4) to the depletion of soil quality in the Prairies. Even our forest production is stressed. As we remove the legacy of our huge boreal forests, we have found that reforestation and forest management are increasingly important, and Canada’s northern climate means that replenishing forest stocks takes more years than is the case in more temperate climates—thus reducing our comparative advantage (Marchak, 1995).

Box 4.4 Looking Back: The Collapse of the Atlantic Cod Fishery

In 1992 the Canadian government declared a moratorium on the cod fishery in Atlantic Canada. The primary reason was the decline (90 per cent over five years) in the stocks of cod and other groundfish (Industry Canada, 2003c). This drastic change had significant social and economic repercussions throughout Atlantic Canada. The 1992 moratorium put 40,000 Atlantic Canadians out of work and cost approximately \$4 billion in aid programs. Newfoundland and Labrador were particularly hard hit because the groundfish fishery made up 80 per cent of the total provincial catch. However, in some areas this fishery was as high as 100 per cent.

During this crisis multiple factors were singled out and blamed but no single cause has yet been identified. Rather, it appears that multiple factors acted to reinforce and exacerbate the mounting crisis. These included government mismanagement by permitting overly high catches, over-optimistic scientific projections, inaccurate data on commercial fishing activities, destructive fishing practices, ecological change, and government labour policy (Wallace, 2002; Industry Canada, 2003b).

Attempts to reopen the cod fishery since the 1992 moratorium have largely failed and it was completely closed down in April 2003 by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. Although not nearly as severe in terms of impacts, this closure affected 900 fishers and cost the Atlantic region as much as \$30 million in lost annual revenues (CBC, 2003).

The New Rural Economy Requires a Wider Range of Knowledge

The knowledge required for commodity production before World War II was relatively focused. One could learn to be a farmer, forester, or fisher by following the lead of one's parents—the knowledge was craft- and artisan-based. Knowledge of international, or even national, market conditions, currency levels, nutrient composition of feeds or fertilizers, trade policy, accounting practices, or computer operation was not essential to economic survival or even success. Under the new rural economy, such ignorance could easily place one in jeopardy. Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining require a considerably expanded level and range of knowledge, with all signs pointing to the continuation of this pattern. As in other parts of the economy, access to knowledge and the ability to apply it in innovative ways have become key conditions for success.

Rural Canada is in a transition period at this point (Table 4.3). Education levels are rising although they remain behind those in more urban areas, largely because of the older age structure in rural areas. The pattern of youth out-migration found in many rural sites reflects this situation (Rothwell et al., 2002).

CURRENT CHARACTERISTICS AND ISSUES

The new rural society has changed the relationship between rural and urban regions in dramatic ways. With change come new opportunities and challenges for the future of Canadian society in general. Several of these are outlined below.

Trade and Multi-functionality

Trade in commodities based on natural resources will continue to be a principal characteristic of the Canadian economy for the foreseeable future.

Our balance of payments requires it and many ministries and government agencies (e.g., Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, the Canadian Wheat Board, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, the National Energy Board, Natural Resources Canada) are organized to accomplish it. Currently being discussed in the international context are the terms under which this trade will occur. At present, this discussion focuses on the extent to which trade should be influenced by subsidies, grants, tariffs, and other supports that might give one nation an 'advantage' over another in the global market (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, 1999).

Nations such as Canada, the US, and Australia argue that each type of commodity should be considered as a separate trade good, independent from other functions they might serve for the nation. Many other nations challenge this position, arguing that the production of each of these goods is multi-functional. They claim it is impossible to separate production and trade in agriculture, forest products, or other commodities from additional functions they provide for society (Shrybman, 2001). Our forests, for example, not only provide raw materials for production of wood products, but they absorb and store carbon-based compounds, support habitats for wildlife and other plants, filter and store fresh water, and provide a location of natural beauty. Supporting truly sustainable forestry, therefore, also supports carbon sequestration, biodiversity, water quality, and recreation—all important functions that are not

reflected in trade debates, which focus strictly on single-sector commodities (Apedaile, 2003: 1).

These debates do not neatly divide rural from urban interests. Tariffs and subsidies under the control of other nations mean that Canadian producers have more difficulty competing in international trade. This in turn affects our ability to pay for the consumer products and variety of foods that we have grown to enjoy. For the majority of Canadians, this threatens to decrease our standard of living in unacceptable ways. However, many features of that standard of living would be endangered if tariffs and subsidies were completely removed. Full exposure to international competition—which is based primarily on gaining profits for corporate owners and shareholders, and on the dubious assumption that science and technology in the future can rectify whatever environmental damage is done today—has resulted in the collapse of fish stocks, depletion of topsoil, and erosion of amenities through clear-cut practices in logging (Shrybman, 2001). To compete with deregulated trading partners, we would be under considerable pressure to remove rather than enhance regulations that limit this type of damage.

Food Security and Quality

Both rural and urban people share a concern with food safety and security as reflected in the elaborate institutions and procedures established to maintain a safe and adequate food supply. The new economy brings new challenges to this issue as food production, processing, marketing, and retailing become more concentrated, integrated, and global. The establishment and monitoring of standards at each point in the food chain have become increasingly complex and even minor failures in the system have had major impacts. In Canada, this is clearly represented by the BSE crisis (Box 4.2) and by the contamination of the water supply in Walkerton, Ontario, in May 2000, which killed seven people and made 2,300 other ill. Justice O'Connor's final report for the inquiry into the Walkerton tragedy concluded that Walkerton's contaminated water supply—by

Table 4.3 Old and New Rural Economies

Old Rural Economy	New Rural Economy
Homogeneous culture	Diverse culture
Simple and repetitive	Complex
Resource commodities	Services and amenities
Low mobility	High mobility
Local relations important	External relations important
Low knowledge demands	High knowledge demands

E. coli bacteria from runoff from a nearby farm—was the result of improper chlorination and structural problems caused by provincial and federal funding cutbacks (O'Connor, 2002).

Both rural and urban people are vulnerable to these types of events. It is therefore in all Canadians' interests to maintain conditions that minimize the risk of contamination or the lowering of food quality. How to do this is a matter of considerable debate among politicians, corporations, lobbyists, organizations, and citizens. The use of regulations, transfer payments, and tariffs, the level of public-sector or private-sector responsibility, and the role of lifestyle are all part of this debate.

Securing the Environment

The condition of the environment is another issue that binds urban and rural people. In many cases this involves different interests that cannot be easily resolved by market forces alone. Since we share the air, water, vistas, and the land, it becomes impossible to separate the impacts of urban and rural activities. Urban sulphur and carbon dioxide emissions create acid rain that weakens rural veg-

etation. Rural fertilizers and biological wastes can leach into water supplies that endanger rural and urban citizens alike. Both urban and rural activities have altered climatic conditions that promise to have long-lasting effects on our whole way of life (see Box 4.5) (Wackernagel and Rees, 1996).

We have very few social institutions that can deal adequately with these types of challenges—those where the resources and impacts are shared 'in common'. Most of our institutions are organized with the assumption that property is privately held and that the outcomes of actions can be regulated by the give and take of market transactions. Under these conditions, the environment is like **common property** and therefore in danger of being exploited for its resources or used as a dumping ground. Government regulations provide some means to limit the negative effects of these conditions, but they have been restricted in their effectiveness due to fiscal pressures, vested interests in private property, erosion of state autonomy, and the complex nature of environmental-social relationships (Marchak, 1987).

Non-government organizations have made some contributions to highlighting and dealing

Box 4.5 The Ecological Footprint of Urban Places

The ecological footprint represents the extent to which people in a particular region (e.g., city, province, or country) make use of ecological resources (water, land, energy, etc.). It is calculated by estimating the area of productive land required to provide resources and assimilate waste products for all the people and activities in that region.

According to 1999 data, the ecological footprint of the average Canadian was 8.8 hectares (21.8 acres, or about 5½ city blocks). This is the total amount of land required for food, housing, transport, and consumer goods and services. Energy is the largest component of this amount. The second largest component is agriculture for food supply and consumer goods. Forestry—to supply the fibre for housing and consumer goods—is the third largest component. The average ecological footprint for a world citizen is 2.3 hectares (5.6 acres), but only about 1.9 hectares (4.7 acres) of biologically productive land and sea area are available (not counting the amount required for non-human life) (Wackernagel et al., 2002). This means we require 1.2 earths (2.3/1.9) to sustain our current global lifestyle and 4.6 earths (8.8/1.9) to sustain the Canadian lifestyle.

with some of these challenges. Demonstrations, marches, and publicity events have brought some of the issues to public attention, and institutional innovations have provided examples of possible resolutions. Ducks Unlimited (<http://www.ducks.org/>), for example, in its desire to preserve wetlands for waterfowl, provides compensation to landowners for removing land from cultivation. Several organizations have campaigns to purchase forest lands to preserve biodiversity. Organizations dedicated to the preservations of wildlife species, heritage buildings, or other rural amenities can serve similar purposes (e.g., the Nature Conservancy of Canada (<http://www.natureconservancy.ca/>)). In each case, they provide opportunities for rural–urban exchanges and dialogue that may be pursued to create new alliances.

Special (Vulnerable) Groups

Under conditions of change, some types of individuals and groups stand to gain by the changes and some are bound to lose. The transformation to the new rural economy is no different. The depopulation of remote areas and decline in local services, for example, have been particularly hard on the elderly and youth since they are most in need of the jobs and services that are disappearing or moving farther away. They are also least likely to have the means necessary to access these services since public transportation is typically unavailable in rural areas. Women are especially affected since they are usually the caregivers for the elderly, youth, and sick or injured (Bruce and Halseth, 1999).

As primary-sector production becomes concentrated and employment declines, small producers have faced significant economic pressure with respect to both the cost of their inputs and the prices they receive for their products. As mentioned previously, this cost–price squeeze has forced many out of production in the farming, forestry, and fishing industries (see Box 4.1). These economic changes have radically altered the social organization of families and communi-

ties, reducing the number of family-based businesses and the culture of small commodity production that served as the core of many rural communities. The usual government support for the many families affected by these changes has been in the form of short-term support programs, alternative business development, and job retraining. These programs have met with limited success, however.

Aboriginal peoples, many of whom live and work in rural and remote areas of the country, are especially vulnerable.⁵ They share many of the challenges of small size and isolation faced by other rural residents. In addition, however, they continue to be disadvantaged as a result of the legacy of exclusion and discrimination they have faced since pre-Confederation times. The recent negotiations for land claims and self-government hold some promise for improving the extent to which Aboriginal peoples may gain control over their local resources and social organization. The establishment of political structures such as Nunavut may serve as innovative examples for more appropriate relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples throughout Canada.

Rural–Urban Interdependence and Policy

In spite of considerable convergence, rural and urban areas remain different in some fundamental respects. Rural people and places are farther apart, creating additional costs for transactions, minimizing aggregation advantages, and reducing the opportunities for diversification. Technological developments have been able to reduce some of these challenges, but many remain, sometimes exacerbated and sometimes decreased by technology, markets, and policies (Wilkinson, 2003; Alasia and Rothwell, 2003).

Less direct but more devastating challenges are rooted in policies that are only effective in an urban context, yet are uncritically applied to rural regions. Examples are plentiful within the context of service provision since this is where the distance and agglomeration challenges or

rural areas are most strongly felt (Bruce and Halseth, 2001). Amalgamation of services may make fiscal sense in urban centres where public transportation is extensive, but in rural areas they isolate the poor and dependent by requiring access to a car. Specialization of health professionals is also a rational approach to the increasing complexity of these services, but it becomes unworkable in small centres where only one doctor is available (Halseth et al., 2002). Under conditions where urban centres are facing their own financial pressures, the extra resources required to overcome these challenges in rural areas can only look unjustified.

One of the ways in which the state has attempted to deal with these challenges is through the reliance on volunteer groups and family members (especially women) for the provision of social support services. Although this has led to some interesting innovations in service delivery, it has not been accompanied by the financial and organizations resources that could make such a strategy viable. This is particularly critical in rural areas, where low population density and declining population undermine the social capital necessary to make it work (Bruce et al., 1999; Bruce and Halseth, 2001; Halseth et al., 2002).

Whatever solutions are found, they will necessarily be rooted in the realities of the new economy: one that is more complex, global, and interdependent than in the past. They cannot be divorced from the social, political, and environmental contexts in which they operate, and to succeed, solutions cannot rely on markets alone for resolving the issues. Instead, we must look to the many ways in which rural and urban people share common interests as a place to begin—not in an effort to convince urban people that

rural areas and their populations must be protected, but with the objective of enhancing the interests of both. A long-term strategy cannot rely on an appeal to sentiment, but must focus on evidence-based policy and institutional reorganization.

CONCLUSIONS

Rural and urban Canada are interdependent parts of the national and social whole. Their economies are interdependent, their institutions are most often the same, their cultures are intertwined, and their populations are intermixed. At the same time, there are, and will continue to be, important differences in this relationship. The particularities of location will ensure that most broad changes or policies have unique effects due to local organizations and culture. Continued urbanization will produce ghost towns, bedroom communities, playgrounds, industrial towns, manufacturing clusters, and retirement centres according to location, facilities, policy, services, population, and knowledge levels. One will always have to travel farther in rural than urban areas, just as one will continue to have access to a wider range of services in cities.

Important as the issue may be, it is difficult to anticipate the future of rural Canada in any detail. The general trends, however, seem reasonably clear. It will continue to be more mobile, complex, global, and diverse than in the past. It will also continue to change—in ways that cannot be predicted. As a result, like in the urban context, knowledge will become increasingly important—knowledge regarding the changes, knowledge regarding the fundamental processes of these changes, and knowledge about the opportunities emerging from them.

NOTES

1. The ideas in this chapter reflect the contribution of many people in the New Rural Economy Project (NRE) of the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation (CRRF). I thank them for their insights and inspiration. Although I have borrowed liberally from their ideas, the particular formulation here is not an official position of the NRE or CRRF. Angela Briscoe, Becky Lipton, and Moses Tiepoh have been particularly helpful with the preparation of this material. Primary funding support for this project has been provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
2. In recent years, Canada has signed free trade agreements with Chile, Costa Rica, Israel, the US, and, through NAFTA, with Mexico. Canada has also signed numerous other regional and bilateral types of arrangements (Hart, 2000; www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/tna-nac/reg-en.asp).
3. Throughout these discussions, the US continues to maintain one of the highest levels of farm subsidies of any OECD country, however. In 1999, American wheat producers received 46 per cent of their income from subsidies, EU farmers received 58 per cent, and Canadian wheat producers received 11 per cent (Wallace, 2002: 138). On 18 May 2002, *The Guardian* reported that the US just passed a farm bill that will increase subsidies by \$180 billion over the next 10 years, an increase of 70 per cent.
4. Two well-documented examples are found in Moncton, NB (Polèse and Shearmur, 2002), and Mackenzie, BC (Halseth and Sullivan, 2002).
5. Sixty-five per cent of on-reserve registered Indians live in rural, remote, or special access areas (DIAND, 2003: 16). Those in special access areas (16.9 per cent) have no year-round road access to a service centre.

GLOSSARY

balance of trade The surplus of exports over imports for a region or country.

census division A group of neighbouring municipalities joined together for the purposes of regional planning and managing common services (such as police or ambulance services). These groupings are established under laws in effect in certain provinces and territories of Canada. For example, a census division might correspond to a country, a regional municipality, or a regional district. In other provinces and territories where laws do not provide for such areas, Statistics Canada defines equivalent areas for statistical reporting purposes in co-operation with these provinces and territories (Statistics Canada, 2003b).

common property Property that is used by many people or organizations—no one has sole rights of ownership. Examples include the air, many of our water resources, fish in international waters, and general knowledge.

flexible production A form of industrial production that has emerged with the widespread diffusion of computers. Rather than produce many identical copies of the same product, industries are reorganized to manufacture a variety of goods or similar goods with minor variation in an efficient and flexible manner. This is often associated with a reorganization of the labour force to include multi-skilled workers and a larger proportion of temporary (contract) employees.

Fordist production A type of mass industrial production characterized by mechanized production of standardized goods by a large workforce where each person has a narrow range of skills. It was championed by Henry Ford in the automobile industry and is typically associated with strong labour unions able to ensure good wages and a state that regulates the national economy.

genetically modified organisms Organisms with genes added from another species through the techniques of genetic engineering. This is only one type of genetic modification. In a more scientific use, genetic modification would include modification through naturally occurring or induced mutation (often through radiation). Using this more general definition, for example, all commercial strains of wheat, including organic wheat, have been (randomly and massively) genetically modified by radiation mutagenesis.

gross domestic product A measure of the total of a country or region's economic production. It is typically calculated by taking the total value of all goods and services produced in a year, then subtracting the net income gained from investments in other countries or regions.

just-in-time An organization of product distribution that uses high-speed communication and trans-

portation to respond in a short time frame to consumer demand. Rather than stock many warehouses with standard products, distributors ship their products in more piecemeal fashion to specific consumer requests.

multi-functionality The trade policy position taken by various nations (e.g., many European nations) arguing that several primary-sector activities serve many functions (e.g., farmers produce foodstuffs and a scenic landscape at the same time). This is often used to justify compensating primary producers for their production of public goods (i.e., goods that cannot be 'sold') as well as the goods they produce for the market.

natural increase the number of births minus the number of deaths in a population.

staples Natural resources that are exported to foreign markets. They may be in a raw (e.g., wheat) or semi-processed (e.g., lumber) form.

STUDY AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In what ways are urban and rural regions interdependent? In what ways are they unique? Where do their interests coincide?
2. What policy options are likely to reduce the disadvantages of rural people arising from the cost of distance or lack of density? What policies might increase those disadvantages?
3. How would our use of rural regions vary if one defined rural as:
 - the location of raw materials for industry?
 - a heritage of small towns and villages?
 - a context for biodiversity?
 - majestic vistas and peaceful scenery?
 - traditional and backward?
4. For each of the definitions in no. 3, whose interests does the definition serve?
5. Calculate your ecological footprint (see Box 4.5). In what ways is it dependent on rural Canada? Cf. <<http://www.lead.org/leadnet/footprint/intro.htm>>.
6. Urban demands for cheap, diverse, and safe food have contributed to the decline in small farms and rural communities. Should this be allowed to continue? What strategies would you propose to deal with the hardships and loss of heritage it implies?
7. Should we preserve rural communities that are no longer economically viable (e.g., Murdochville, Que., Schefferville, Que., Hearne, Sask., Anthracite, Alta, Napier, Ont., Davis Inlet, Newfoundland and Labrador)? Why? How? Who should provide compensation (if anyone) when a community decides to close?
8. Lipton (1977) argues that urban centres are draining rural areas of resources, labour, and services. As result, they function to ensure that the poor stay poor. Jacobs (1984) argues that urban centres drive the economy through agglomeration effects that enhance innovation and economic efficiency. Are these two sides of the same coin? What options does it suggest for the future of rural communities and populations?

SUGGESTED READING

- Bollman, R.D. 1992. *Rural and Small Town Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing. An excellent introduction to many of the major trends and issues affecting rural Canada, this collection of papers covers topics such as rural labour markets, business activities, well-being in rural Canada, and economic diversity.
- Halseth, G., and L. Sullivan. 2002. *Building Community in an Instant Town: A Social Geography of Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia*. Prince George: University of Northern British Columbia Press. The 'social-geographic' point of view provides an introduction to the major theoretical issues related to community analysis while giving the reader a good sense of local life.
- Wackernagel, M., and W. Rees. 1996. *Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on the Earth*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society. Discusses some of the accounting procedures used to estimate the amount of land required to sustain specific cities and highlights the interdependence between urban places and the natural environment.
- Wallace, Iain. 2002. *A Geography of the Canadian Economy*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Although a book on the Canadian economy as a whole, its geographic focus means that rural Canada plays an important part throughout. The author examines the international context of the Canadian economy, specific economic sectors, and four regions in Canada (Atlantic, Central, Western, and Northern and Aboriginal).
- Winson, A. 1992. *The Intimate Commodity: Food and the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press. A critical analysis of the historical development and current structure of the Canadian food system, this book presents a valuable account of the organization of the food we eat, its production, trade, and the corporate structure within which it is organized.

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