The New Economy? Continuity and Change in Gardenton, MB[1]

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This project set out to investigate how the "new economy" had created both problems and opportunities for residents of Gardenton, MB. What it shows instead, however, is that, despite the obvious fact that regional, national and international economic changes, beyond the control of people of Gardenton, had clear and indelible effects on what it is possible to do and be in Gardenton, there are also continuities which have a great impact on people's lives. These continuities include: a position of cultural, ethnic and economic marginality vis-à-vis the rest of the province and the country; in terms of both economies and knowledges; being treated by those in power as incapable, "backwards" or "peculiar" and experiencing the colonialism which accompanyies such positioning; and how people have embraced marginality, in their preferences for community, mixed economy and the natural environment. Gender relations in Gardenton reflect both continuities and change. While Gardenton has experienced some changes in the occupations of its residents facilitated by the so-called "knowledge economy," for the most part Gardenton has remained on the margins of these changes. Instead, the town, like other marginalized areas in rural Manitoba, have been offered ILOs (Intensive Livestock Operations), a form of "development" which would arguably destroy the valued community, mixed economy and natural environment without substantially changing the area's marginalization. This, then, represents a continuity rather than a change. However, economic changes have

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resulted in land-use conflicts generated by alternative views of development which arise in these economic and social circumstances. A negative result of these conflicts has been the pitting of neighbour against neighbour, and the blaming of neighbours for decisions made in circumstances not of their own making. A positive result can be seen in many residents' ability to articulate and fight together for a vision of development more consistent with the reasons most people came and come to Gardenton in the first place. As such, the project became an inquiry into the possibilities of "place-making" (Escobar, 2001) for and in marginalized communities, and the extent to which such place-making can be seen as sucessful resistance to or mitigation of the effects of global economic forces. The possibilities of place-making for empowerment of Gardenton's residents is perhaps the greatest change wrought by the new economy as it works through the continuities in Gardenton's existence.

Rural people are often invisible in research; when they are visible they're often pathologised, or they're talked *about* rather than listened *to* (Atkin, 2003; Caron, 2004). For example, in considering the provision of lifelong learning "opportunities" in rural areas, Chris Atkin (2003: 515) says, "It is as if rural society is judged in terms of a deficit discourse (dominated by the desire to make them like us) rather than a diversity discourse (recognition and value of difference)." This research has aimed to make a contribution toward correcting this bias.

Methodology

A case study method was used to explore people's sense of what the community has and what it needs, their efforts at community economic development and their individual ways of making ends meet. The purpose was to provide a "thick description" of one particular community as it confronts economic changes and decides what is important.

The research had 3 phases, which were principally carried out by one university researcher (myself) and one community researcher, with the assistance of one graduate and one undergraduate student. Various other community members participated in tehnical and supporting roles. Phase One of the project consisted of a household survey of Gardenton residents. The survey was designed by a graduate student assistant, Leigh Hayden. Because there is no accurate way to determine who is a resident of Gardenton other than self-identification (for example, some people who clearly live in "town" have a mailing address in Vita for various reasons), and because many people in Gardenton have difficulty with reading and writing English, it was decided to distribute the surveys in person. This was done by the undergraduate student assistant, Leigh Anne Caron. Caron's reflections on this process are included as Appendix 1. Hayden's detailed analysis of the household survey is included as Appendix 2. Information about 50 households, representing approximate two thirds of the households considered to live in Gardenton, was collected. This information included demographics, education and employment, income, residence and capital, community activities, culture and religion. In addition, a series of open-ended questions at the end asked for opinions about Gardenton and its future.

Phase 2 consisted of 13 in-depth interviews with 20 community members. These included 5 man-woman couples (in one case, the woman had to leave shortly after the interview began, to go to work), three women alone, two men alone, one woman with her adult son, one man with his adolescent son (age 14), and two teenage sisters (ages 15 and 19). With the exception of the three teenagers, participants were identified through the household survey: The final question asked,

> To gather more detailed information, we will be conducting in-depth interviews with some residents. Could you please name up to 5 people who you think can best comment on life in Gardenton and the issues facing the community? (You may include your own name or that of a family member if appropriate).

All people whose names were mentioned more than once were contacted for an interview (with the exception of the Reeve of the R.M. of Stuartburn,[2] who received the most mentions but who unfortunately died unexpectedly just as the interview process was beginning). Occasionally, though only one member of a couple was mentioned, the respondent would express a wish to have his or her partner be part of the interview; on a few occasions, the person most mentioned declined to be interviewed but said that their partner would be willing; in that case the interview was conducted. When the teenage son of one of the interviewees happened to accompany his father to the interview and offer some opinions from a young person's perspective, it was decided that it would be useful to hear from more youths, and two teenage daughters of one of the couples being interviewed were interviewed separately from their parents. Respondents were from 14 to 88 years of age, and had lived in Gardenton from 4 to 88 years.

[2] Rick Tkachuk, who had been councilor for Gardenton area since 1995, was elected Reeve in 2002. This was the first time the Reeve of the R. M. of Stuartburn had been a resident of Gardenton.

The interviews were conducted by a community researcher, Sandra Conway; interview questions were developed by Sandra and me, with reference to information learned from the household survey. Interviews were most often held in the respondents' home, and lasted from 20 to 60 minutes. Interviews were videotaped by another community member, Laura Reeves. Sandra Conway then logged all of the tapes, while a third community member, Justina Brandt, made copies of each interview and delivered them to the interviewees for comments. Two interviewees asked to have small parts of what they said excluded from the video tape. One couple was so unhappy with the camera work in the interview that they asked to be excluded until I volunteered to have Sandra re-conduct the interview while I did the camera work. One man withdrew from the study.

The interviews were semi-structured, and were designed to elicit information and opinions about why people live in Gardenton; whether they'd like to see development and if so, of what kind; gender relations; community activism and relations to regional, provincial and national politics; the relation between life in Gardenton and the broader economy; and the importance of small rural communities. The complete interview guide is included as Appendix 3.

A qualitative analysis was then conducted. In addition to the interviews, the analysis also draws on the researchers' observations and experiences living, working, and participating in community events and activism in Gardenton. For the university researcher, this consists of 9 years of residence; for the community researcher, 27 years.

Another part of the video project was to ask community people to take the video camera and shoot some footage of Gardenton as they see it. This part was not overly successful, possibly because I did not have sufficient time to encourage people to take part. (People were informed via the survey of this aspect of the project, but no one responded.) In the end, an adolescent girl, a young woman, and a man, the eldest resident of Gardenton, participated in this way. In addition, I took the camera to community events and locations during the period June, 2003 to February 2005 to collect footage for the video.

More than a year after the interviews were conducted, I completed the editing of a 52-minute video, which attempted to convey the key themes of the interviews. These were:

1. Why people live here/why they like living here;
2. What Gardenton used to be like; what it is like now;
3. What people think of "development"; if they would like to see Gardenton develop and if so, how;
4. Discussion of the 2 key land-use issues in Gardenton: intensive hog operations and the purchase of land by the Nature Conservancy;
5. Things which brought the community together (fighting hog barns and the floods);
6. What people would like to say to politicians;
7. Why places like Gardenton matter.

The video forms a key part of this final research report. Readers are encouraged to view "Small is Still Beautiful: The Gardenton Project" at this point.

In February 2005, 6 focus groups were held to view close-to-final drafts of the video and discuss them. Participants, who included people who were in the video and people who were not) were grouped in the following (overlapping) categories: farmers (3 participants); people involved in the Ukrainian Museum and Village Society (also called "Gardenton Park") (4 participants); women (3 participants); 25-45 year-olds (3 participants); old-timers (4 participants); and "kids" (2 participants). Sandra Conway led the discussions, and I took notes. Questions were:

1. Does the view of Gardenton put forward in the video fit with how you see the place? Are there things you would show, or show differently?
2. Do you agree with the message about development in the video, and do you think most people in Gardenton would agree?
3. Do you think Gardenton is different for women and men who live here?
4. What do you think people in the city think about the ideas in the video? People involved in governments (municipal, provincial, federal)?

A "premiere" of the final video was held at the Ukrainian National Home ("Gardenton Hall") at 7:30 p.m. on Thursday, February 17, 2005. It was attended hy 37 people, who gave it an enthusiastic response. The focus groups and the premiere generated many new ideas of possible economic development projects; time will tell if any of them will be realized.

A second key area of discussion was about the purpose of the video. One man (who had withdrawn from the study after his interview) had let it be widely known that he felt the video was part of some kind of conspiracy. (Just what kind of conspiracy was not clear to me, though in the summer of 2005 he began to lobby for a community meeting to discuss the conspiracy between the Nature Conservancy and lesbians in Gardenton; the video—which, to my knowledge, he had not seen—was considered prime evidence of this conspiracy.) While most people who actually saw the video seemed to be pleased and even proud of the view of Gardenton shown in it, most were unclear about the how it was part of a research project, what research might be or why someone would do it. Several people expressed a desire to see the video shown on TV, but at the same time they could not understand what the interests of the Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy might be! Others were disappointed that the video wasn't about Gardenton's past. At best, people saw the video as providing an opportunity for generating discussion within the community about what we might like to see in the future.

Data: Summary and Highlights

For a more detailed presentation of data, please see Appendices I and II, and the video "Small is (Still) Beautiful: The Gardenton Project."

Population

Once part of the vast territory of the Plains Ojibwa and Sioux peoples, the area around Gardenton, Manitoba, began to be settled by Ukrainian immigrants in 1896.[3] Gardenton was one of several settlements in what became, in 1902, an organised Municipality (Lehr, 2003: 230), called Stuartburn.[4] The Rural Municipality of Stuartburn covers 1119 square kilometres (447 square miles) on the Canada-US border, 120 kilometres south of Winnipeg. Gardenton is in the south-west corner of the R.M., on the Roseau River.

John Lehr (2003: 220) reports that there were 4,000 people in Stuartburn in 1921. Although it is impossible to tell how many of these people lived in Gardenton, as opposed to other communities in the R. M., there is considerable evidence to suggest that Gardenton was one of the largest communities (see next section).

Keddie (1974-75) notes that Stuartburn was one of the Municipalities which have "experienced rates of decline in farm population since 1931 or 1941 considerably in excess of provincial rates." These factors, likely among others caused by increasing

[3] Lehr (1996: 105) makes mention of "an Ontario settler who had homesteaded there in 1882," but mentions nothing else about this settler or others like him. The available literature and local folklore agree that it is the Ukrainian settlement of the area that it significant.

[4] "The R.M. was first formed in 1902, but went bankrupt and was disbanded in 1944 becoming a Local Government District. In 1997, Stuartburn was again incorporated as a municipality…" (Government of Manitoba, 2005).

concentration and corporatization in the the agri-food industry, led to a decline in Gardenton's population and economy. The 1936 "List of Voters" for the Electoral Division of Emerson named 195 women and 246 men as residents of Gardenton. Assuming at least an equivalent number of children and other ineligible voters, we can suggest a 1936 population of approximately 1,000 people, presumably a decline from 1921.

The 2001 census shows only 1,565 residents of the entire R. M. of Stuartburn. Our survey suggests that just under 200 of these live in Gardenton: we heard from 127 people, with a third of Gardenton households not responding. Although the decline in population from the 1920s and 1930s is dramatic, recently, the population has shown signs of new growth. A 1997 story in the Steinbach newspaper, *The Carillon News*, reported the population of Gardenton to be only 56, though no source was cited for this information. Residents have mixed perceptions of the changing numbers: One survey respondent suggested that "every year more people are moving away," while another considered it "re-energizing, more families moving in." Still another listed "growing population" as one of the *worst* things about Gardenton, reminiscent of the interviewee who, when asked if he'd like to see Gardenton develop, said, "Well, a little bit, but not too much. Then I'd have to find another desolate place."

While Gardenton continues to be identified as a Ukrainian community, our survey showed only 30% of current residents identify as Ukrainian.

"It was a booming place here"

Gardenton was on the branch line built in 1906 by the Northern Railway, which led to a townsite being surveyed in Gardenton, along with Tolstoi and Vita (Lehr, 2003: 228).

> In 1907, apart from the railway stations, there were no commercial establishments of any kind in either Gardenton or Vita, but this soon changed. By 1919 Gardenton, with its 9 stores, mill, blacksmith's shop, 2 machine shops and 5 independent residences, had overtaken Stuartburn that still offered only 2 stores, a mill and 2 machinery shops. Vita was showing signs that it would emerge as an important regional service centre for the colony. Though it had a smaller number of commercial enterprises than Gardenton, it offered a wider range of services… (Lehr, 2003: 228).

Gardenton's stores and businesses were mentioned by all of the senior citizens interviewed for this project, and some of the younger ones as well, though the consensus seems to be that there were 7 stores; also added to Lehr's list by residents were: 2 pool rooms (for the men), hotel, 2 restaurants, hardware store, a stockyard, 2 blacksmith's shops, 2 garages, creamery, flour mill. Many of these may have been built after 1921. Anecdotes by residents in other parts of the R. M. also suggest that Gardenton was the centre of the social life of the municipality.

John Lehr reports (personal communication, November, 2004) that the railway went out of use in the 1960s, and the track was officially decomissioned in 1977; clearly, the closing of the railway had an enormous impact on Gardenton's economic and social life. While I could find no one able to date the closing of Gardenton's various businesses, certainly they were all gone, including the post office, by the time I arrived in 1996. Two survey respondent referred to this decline: "In the late 1920s Gardenton was a very prosperous community, it would be so nice to have at least ¼ of the town back." "It has seen its prosperous days. Needs job opportunities!" This respondent and one other

referred to the town as "dying." The majority, however, like the quiet and even the lack of people this has brought. And while one interviewee suggested that "this Gardenton is finished," other residents find the lack of jobs, services and businesses less of a problem, possibly even an advantage, as will be discussed below.

Economy

Of the 246 Gardenton men listed on the 1936 List of Voters, 153 were occupied as "farmer", with another 16 named "farmer's son." Forty men were identified as "laborer," while others were identified with a variety of occupations, including 3 millers, 7 merchants, 3 blacksmiths, 3 clerks, 3 cattle dealers, 2 carpenters, a postman, a butcher, an engineer and one Gentleman. (Women's occupations were not listed, only their marital status. The letters "M. W." for "Married Woman" appeared most commonly in the "occupation" column; this status was occasionally marked "M. woman" or "wife." Fifteen "widows" and 8 "spinsters" were also on the voting lists.)

In our 2003 survey, on the other hand, women frequently listed more than one occupation, sometimes as many as 4. Three women named themselves as homemakers, four checked both "retired" and "homemaker," while 4 others checked both "farmer" and "homemaker;" one of this latter group also checked "self-employed," while one cheked "wage laborer" as well as "farmer, self-employed and homemaker." (Since farmers are, technically, self-employed, it is not clear whether those who checked "self-employed" were referring to their farm operation or to some other economic activity.) Six women identified themselves as working in wage labour, with one specifying "home care," a type

of wage labour known to be employing several women in Gardenton. Two young women were noted as wage labourers and students. Four women have professioinal work, one lists herself as "self-employed," one as "other" and one as "student." One woman looks after a disabled husband full-time and another is on maternity leave. Six men also checked "wage labour", with one specifying work in hog barns. Four men named long-distance truck driving, sometimes as self-employed owner-operators; one man said he was "self-employed" and another marked "other"—these, too, may be truck drivers. An additional man said he was both a farmer and a truck driver.

Farming is still a significant activity in Gardenton, though most households have some other form of income as well. Of 50 households responding, 13 had at least one person engaged at least part-time in farming, though one of these claimed to be a "hobby farmer." Of the 37 adults in these household, only 10 claimed farming as their only occupation. Only one household had farming as the only economic activity; one other claimed that 100% of their income was earned from farming, but an adult son living with them was involved in wage labour. Other estimates of the percentage of income from farming ranged from 5% (in the case of the hobby farmer) to 90%. One family claimed to earn 25% of their income from farming but listed no one in the household as having farming as an occupation. In two households, two adults were listed as farmers while an adult son or daughter did wage labour. In four households, the male partner was listed as a farmer while the female partner did wage labour or was otherwise employed; of these, two listed the percentage of their income from farming as 25% and 30% respectively. In another family, a 56-year-old woman and her 31-year-old son farm but only earn 10% of

the income; the rest is earned by a 62-year-old wage labourer. This suggests that, while farming is still occupying a significant number of people in Gardenton, it is not providing much of the household income.

Community

People generally like—even love—living in Gardenton. Seven people, when asked where else they would want to live, said "nowhere" other than Gardenton; another said she'd like to live "on a farm near Gardenton." The words "quiet", "friendly," "safe" and "peaceful" were most commonly used to describe Gardenton, in both the surveys and interviews. Clean air and water, the river and the abundance of wildlife are also frequently mentioned. One person finds the community "dull" and another said "there's nothing here," though it's unclear whether they consider this good or bad. The low cost of living is also mentioned as a positive by many, though one respondent suggested that this was bringing undesirable people, into the area, people who are unwilling or unable to work, and/or who engage in illegal activities.

People in Gardenton have incomes well below the provincial average and education levels are the lowest in the province. Although these factors are often associated with low level of civic participation, Gardenton residents vote regularly, hold elected office, and do considerable volunteer work, including the running of heritage and community sites. Women are prominent in all of these activities. At least one study shows that feelings of safety in their community is a significant factor in women's civic participation (Calazza, 2005).

Much of the community activity centres around the maintenance of buildings and institutions which mark the community's Ukrainian heritage. Thirty per cent of respondents identified as Ukrainian, Ukrainian is spoken in 30% of homes (usually along with English), and 33% of the community identify their religion as Ukrainian Orthodox. The community supports a Ukrainian Museum and Village (which hosts an annual 2-day Ukrainian Festival), and maintains a hall (Ukrainian National Home), a church and cemetery in the townsite as well as nearby St. Michael's Church, which was dedicated in 1974 as a provincial historic site (Panchuk, 2005). Some community members are also involved at the local level in the Tall Grass Prairie Preserve, believing not only in the importance of the preservation of the ecosystem but also in the Preserve's potential for eco-tourism and the potential possibilities this offers for further development of the cultural tourism provided by the museum and festival.

Thus, this small portion of the Rural Municipality, with less than 10% of its population, is home to the only parks, events and tourist attractions the RM has to offer, according the the Governments websites, though Vita has things like curling rinks and arena, providing recreation for local residents but not attracting tourists (Government of Manitoba, 2005; Travel Manitoba, 2005). In terms of the conflicts and pressures around "development", and the vision articulated in Gardenton, this difference between Gardenton and, for example, Vita, currently the largest town in the R. M. and the only one with stores, hospitals and so on, may be significant (see below).

Development

Thirty of the forty surveys which made suggestions about "what is most needed in Gardenton" mentioned a store, sometimes qualified as a convenience or grocery store. Along with this a gas station, coffee shop or restaurant and paved or better roads were mentioned five times each. Also popular were recreational activities for children—a playground was mentioned 4 times, while three people wanted more recreation for kids but did not specify. Recreational activities and services for adults *and* children were also popular, as were enhancements to existing recreational spaces and services: suggestions were made to better maintain or otherwise enhance the park and museum, to have a chip stand or canteen there, to re-build the outdoor swimming pool/lake which used to exist diverting water from the river, to build a skating rink (it was not always clear, but the intention seemed to be for an outdoor rink), to have access to the river for fishing. Two people suggested a golf course; one a bed and breakfast. Two people suggested that "businesses" were needed; one said "jobs" and another "jobs other than hog barns," while yet another said that pig barns *were* needed, "for employment and manure for fields." One person said Gardenton needed "An unselfish attitude toward young entrepreneurs willing to work hard and redevelop the community," which may also be a reference to pig barns. It should be noted, though, that the nine other mentions of hog barns in the survey were all by people who did not want such barns: People named the paucity of hog operations as one of the best things about Gardenton, or the presence of a few hog barns and having to struggle against them as one of the worst things. In addition, the numerous mentions of "clean air" in answer to what people like most about Gardenton can at least partly be read as a reference to the absence of hog barns. Two people suggested a

factory, with one of these modifying it with the word "small." To these suggestions participants in the interviews and focus groups added: a water park, a soup, sewing or furniture factory, saskatoon berries and other small-scale specialty crops and weekly pizza baked in the clay oven on the museum grounds. In the vast majority, then, ideas about development were small scale, preserving the area's atmosphere, and focussing on things that would enhance the quality of people's leisure time. Although these might provide jobs, jobs were the central focus of only a few people's responses. One farmer summed up a general sentiment by saying,"Maybe that's what we should do—maybe we should look at some of the advantages of being smaller, instead of just looking at the advantages of being bigger."

People's answers in the interviews to what people would like to say to politicians and why they thought places like Gardenton mattered suggested that residents value the environment and the sense of community: "I would tell them to actually think about the environment first, instead of thinking about the bills, the money…Because I mean if this continues, it's just going to get worse…I really wish they would take into consideration people's opinions and stop worrying about making the big buck." "Oh, that's exactly what I think. It just seems, you know, money talks nowadays and…You can't--you just can't put, you know, all these factories all over and expect people just to sit back and take it…"

"I think there's no better ones to listen to than the small communities…That's where you'll really find out what works and why it works."

Sandra Conway asked, in the interviews, "So, in the larger picture, in the world at large, why are places like Gardenton important?" Two people responded with deceptively simple answers, responses which will become significant in the discussion of "place-making" below. One said, "Because there's people there!" Another, "I think because we grow here; we live here."

This brief summary of the study's findings will be expanded upon in the following section, which brings various aspects of the literature on rural communities, "development" and "place-making" together in an effort to analyse what is happening in Gardenton today. The section is organized around ways that Gardenton's present seems continuous with its past and ways it may be changing.

Analysis and Literature

Continuity: Marginal Economies

"We used to be farmers but there was no money in farming, so now we're truckers. But what are we going to truck when all the farmers stop growing food?" (local truck driver, personal communication, July 2003).

As noted above, by local reports, Gardenton was once "a booming place." But booming compared to what? Marxists would suggest that places like Gardenton will always have a marginal place in a capitalist economy. As long as the railroad existed to take the surplus out of Gardenton, the economy appeared to flourish and there was a favourable environment for business. Now, there is not; the population has plumetted and the

incomes of most of the remaining people are low. On the other hand, people who would have marginal incomes in larger centres are able to take advantage of the low cost of housing in Gardenton to achieve a higher standard of living than the city would offer them.

The proposals residents offered for "development" in Gardenton would for the most part not challenge or change that marginality, nor were they intended to. They were meant to provide a few more jobs, a bit more tax base, and, above all, more opportunities to get together as a community. This view of "development" needs to be understood in the context of Gardenton's ongoing marginality, but also in the context of many people's sense that this marginality is a good thing, that it protects the natural environment and makes possible the maintenance of a friendly, supportive community, and that it makes for less "greed"—for a lesser focus on money: "Is income the most important thing? That's the way we look at life." "Life is so much more than money. Yes, we need money to survive, but when you think of it, we only need money to survive—we don't need extra money."

But these views are contrary to the dominant views of development. Support on the part of local and provincial governments for the more mainstream view have set up two land-use conflicts in Gardenton. It is important to remember that, while these conflicts reflect economic and political realities beyond residents' control, they nonetheless play themselves out as conflicts between neighbours.

Change: Land-Use Conflicts

Two central areas of disagreement over land use exist. The first is the development of large-scale hog operations, considered by the Manitoba government and the local reeve (who is also the Ministry of Agriculture's representative in the area) to be the best, if not the only, option for bringing prosperity to marginal lands and in the face of the end of the Crow Rate and other transportation subsidies in 1996. The Crow Rate provided concessionary shipping costs, especially for grains, and was in effect in Canada for nearly a century. Its loss represented a four-fold increase in grain shipping costs in Manitoba. As explored by Ramsey and Everitt, the role of the provincial government in the hog sector "has included the removal of 'single-desk selling' (SDS) in 1996, to the advantage of the packing industry and the disadvantage of small producers; support for the meat-processing sector (construction of the Maple Leaf plant in Brandon from 1997 to 1999); and the promotion of hogs as an alternative to crops for farmers" (2001, 4).

Critics believe that this is industrial use of farm land, off-loading increased costs of infrastructure onto small communities while large corporations take advantage of low land taxes; critics also argue that this causes irreparable harm to land, water systems and to farm communities. Building code requirements are not applied to ILOs, leading to concerns about safety. Environmental regulations are extremely weak and their enforcement weaker still.

In 1997, a large portion of Gardenton's residents banded together to fight against a proposed hog operation near to the village. Funds were raised, meetings were held,

lawyers were hired, presentations were made to the local council. In the end, the specific hog operation proposal was removed from the table, but the broader goal of pressuring the municipal council to put in place a livestock by-law that would provide sufficient protection for residents in this flood-prone region on a tributary of the Red River is still unattained. Residents interviewed for this study, however, drew attention to this struggle as an example of strong community spirit and evidence that "when push comes to shove, we're a force to be reckoned with." A few respondents to the questionnaire, however, referred to a "selfish attitude towards development" and to the need for hog barns to provide jobs.

Drastic increases in the number of hogs produced in the 1990s hide the fact that "the total number of hog farms declined from 3,150 to 1,450 over the same period" (Ramsey and Everitt, 2001, 6). For some critics, this is evidence that the idea of hog farming as a solution to rural unemployment is a fiction: The barn fought by Gardenton residents in 1997, for example, would have provided only 1.5 jobs, whereas the cattle operation previously on the site presumably occupied at least one farmer. One change that is clear is that the nature of the work changes, from a farmer growing crops and/or raising livestock on land s/he owns or rents, to waged work in industrial and corporate-owned hog "factories." Darrin Qualman describes the vertical integration of the hog industry, resulting in the actual production of hogs—that work which places like Gardenton would carry out—being the least important arm of the industry, a branch where corporations can afford to actually lose money that can be made up in paciking plants. "Mega-barns are

not family farms; they are corporate in form and in effect, if not always in technical definition (Qualman, 2001, 24).

Who farms, how, what and with what meaning have undergone drastic changes in recent years. While many households in the Gardenton survey identified receiving some portion of their income from farming, few earn all of their income this way. Epp and Whitson (2001, xv) note "the prospect of a harsher rural-urban division of labour in the global economy, as governments retreat both from regulatory roles and from redistribution on behalf of disadvantaged regions…The countryside, meanwhile, is coming to serve two new and very different purposes—playground and dumping ground—as the traditional rural economy declines." They also note that globalization leads to "new relationships among regional governments seeking to attract investment, transnational corporations, and local communities that may get little say in developments that will transform their lives" (2001, xv). Little opportunity for what Escobar (2001) calls "place-making." I will return to this.

Representatives of provincial and municipal governments often try to drive a wedge between "cottagers" and "farmers," attributing (falsely) support for ILOs to the latter, who are, implicitly if not explicitly, also cast as the economic, and therefore legitimate, core of the community. A further discursive tactic is to separate "hobby" farmers from, again, implicitly "legitimate" and therefore more important farmers. During the period of this research, Sandra Conway noted an interesting sleight-of-hand in a technical review report that was created around the hog operation proposed in the spring of 2004: The

closest farm to the proposed site was designated a "hobby farm." This designation, of course, reduces the import of any potential impact the new hog operation might have. The features of this farm, however, which made it possible for the reviewers to see it as a hobby farm were that it is a small, mixed, family farm, rather than a corporate or mono-crop operation, and that it is run by a woman, while the man of the household works off the farm. While it is widely acknowledged that at least one off-farm income is often needed in farm families, one has to wonder whether a farm run by a man while the woman worked off would equally have been designated a "hobby" farm.

Independent farmers who, in the words of Epp and Whitson, "struggle on in an environment shaped by corporate concentraion in the food industry; but often they have few options…" (2001, xvi) are negated in these constructions, as are mixed farms (which are more likely to be considered "hobby" farms because of a commonsense understanding that mono-cropping is the only economically-viable option) and farms where at least one partner earns an income off the farm—even though this is the dominant model in farming Gardenton and, arguably, across the country. These ideas are mobilized in support of particular views of development and of community. Gardenton residents, however, as we have seen, by and large mobilize different discourses in support of different views of development and community.

The second land-use conflict, which also pits "farmers" against the rest of the community is the presence in the area of Manitoba's Tall Grass Prairie Preserve. The Gardenton area is noted for having some of the largest remaining tracts of virgin tall grass prairie

(Government of Manitoba, 2005). Currently encompassing over 7,000 acres and growing, the Preserve has been securing land in the R. M. since 1989 when it was discovered that only 1% of the original area covered by this ecosystem remained. Under the auspices of the Critical Wildlife Habitat Program, a program run by seven conservation organizations, the area includes lands that have been purchased by the program, donated by the Municipality and by individuals, and turned over to the program for management through various conservation agreements. A local advisory committee has input into the management of the prairie, which employs up to 4 residents for 6 months of the year. Educational events are held annually, sometimes in conjunction with visits to the Ukrainin Museum and the historic St. Michael's Church.

The Tall Grass Prairie was mentioned in four of the survey responses. Three of these listed it as one of the best things about Gardenton; the fourth said, "Too much land in the areas has been bought up and is being protected and kept from being developed by naturalists. This results in a poor economy." In all of the in-depth interviews, respondents were asked to comment on this position. Some residents expressed unqualified support for the Preserve, praising the beauty of it and noting their pleasure that the land was being preserved. Some worried that some of the land which was purchased would have been better used for farming. Most, however, took a middle position, though often with a sense that purchase by the Tall Grass Prairie would always be preferable to purchase for a potential hog farm: "I guess if it was being bought up by a hog barn then I would not want to see that person buying it, then I would sooner see Tall Grass Prairie. But, if the land was being bought by a beef farmer or just to live there,

then, um…I mean the Tall Grass Prairie can't have *all* the land. We can share; I mean there's enough land here for other people to live, too, because you also do need people to live here. So if they go buying all the land, well, what's the sense of that? Then there's going to be nobody living in the area because there's no place left to live."

In early 2004, the Tall Grass Prairie Preserve opened a second interpretive trail, about 5 kilometres from Gardenton. A few months before the trail was scheduled to open, a farmer on a neighbouring piece of land submitted a proposal for a hog operation. These two events also coincided with word about new laws regarding the preservation of endangered species, which were known to exist on the land where the hog barn had been proposed. The Gardenton Concerned Citizens Committee, a local group which had been formed in 1997 to oppose the first hog barn proposal, called a community meeting in April, with invited speakers from the Manitoba Department of Conservation, Wildlife and Ecosystem's Protection Branch and the Nature Conservancy of Canada. Here, some farmers expressed frustration with the proposed new Endangered Species legislation, suggesting that they would be better to use pesticides to kill any endangered plants on their land before the legislation came into effect. They also expressed scorn for the Tall Grass Prairie's program of grazing agreements with local farmers. Based principally on the experience of one former who had lost his right to graze due to what the Preserve's management considered over-grazing, they questioned both the farming knowledge of the one-time farmer now representing the Nature Conservancy, and the educational credentials of the farmer now working for the Tall Grass Prairie. It is probably important to mention, however, that the small group of farmers apparently attempting to disrupt the

meeting and discredit its organizers and presenters were led by a man from a neighbouring municipality who had been hired by a Winnipeg-based hog corporation to find a site for a hog barn and get the proposal through the appropriate channels, seemingly by any means necesssary. (For a fictionalized account of the work of such hog corporation employees, see Proulx, 2002).

Other farmers appeared to have attended out of a genuine concern for the future of farming in the area and their own livelihoods. One tied the difficulties of adhering to the management regulations imposed on Preserve lands to the current BSE crisis[5]: "We're all carrying more cattle now; we need more land for grazing" (field notes, April 29, 2004).

It is important to note that only a small percentage of Gardenton's residents, in either the interviews or the surveys, spoke in favour of hog barns or against the amount of land being purchased by the Nature Conservancy. Still, these positions are the dominant ones, particularly in the case of the hog industry, in the sense that they reflect the positions of the current Reeve and the current Government of Manitoba. Further, they are reflective of dominant views of "development", where growth and economic activity are valued over the conservation and community.

The two land-use conflicts are related to each other and to larger economic trends and issues. Low land prices, created by global economic changes, make it possible for conservation groups to buy land and make it more likely that residents would donate their

[5] In May 2003, the discovery of a single cow with BSE on a farm in Alberta resulted in the closing of the US border to Canadian beef.

land to, or have it managed by, the Preserve. The end to the Crow Rate and low commodity prices push the provincial government to encourage farmers to switch to livestock production, so that the animals can eat grain that can no longer be shipped to human markets due to prohibitive shipping costs. Meanwhile, livestock becomes another capitalist commodity, subject to the trends toward intensification, integration and corporatization, lowering farm incomes still further. Capitalist ideology ensures that differing ideas about how to survive in the face of economic forces not of residents' making manifest themselves as struggles between neighbours, rather than against economic policies or large corporations. Whether people embrace or deplore Gardenton's further marginalization in the global economy created by these new economic circumstances, the conflics which have erupted provide an opportunity to articulate and possibly even act on an alternative view of development in Gardenton. I return to this at the end of this report. For now, suffice it to say that *all* of the people interviewed and *most* of those who completed the surveys, agreed that the community's small size, inexpensive housing and low taxes, closeness to nature and lack of focus on large-scale money-making developments were advantages they valued. These views represent a continuity with Gardenton's early Ukrainian settlers.

Continuity: Why Gardenton? Embracing Marginality

Geographer John C. Lehr's (1983) examination of the archival evidence regarding the relationship between Department of Interior officials and Ukrainian immigrants finds the claims of the role of coercion in the settlement of agriculturally marginal lands around,

for example, Gardenton, to be much exaggerated. Lehr concludes that social factors were the key element in the Ukrainians' occupation of marginal lands; new immigrants wanted to settle where family members or others from their village of origin had settled, and they wanted land which would allow them to continue to make a living as they had before: "[T]he 'bush' country of the aspen parkland belt offered a wide resource base for penurious settlers bent upon a semi-subsistence economy" (Lehr, 1988: 33). Lehr also notes that the timber "was evaluated not on its commercial worth as lumber but as a basic resource for fuel, fencing, and housing (1988: 35). Lehr calls the Stuarburn colony of Ukrainian settlers, and the land they settled on "notorious" (30, 31). Clearly the land was marginal, having poor drainage, many stones and little topsoil. Ukrainian settlers and government officials alike, however, agreed that the land was suited to mixed farming and to raising stock. Immigration officers also, according to Lehr, warned the immigrants to the Stuartburn area that the Roseau River flooded each spring, which "made the district notoriously wet, many parts being virtual swamps in the springtime" (1988: 32). That this land would now be considered prime for hog farming, which requires outdoor liquid manure storage unprotected from flood waters, and the growing of crops requiring manure spreading, would seem to fly in the face of what has been known about the area's ecological capacities for over 100 years.

In Gardenton today, many people still choose community and the presence of friends and family over economic opportunities, and still value the natural environment as a basic resource rather than its potential for exploitation. Lehr notes that "the legacy of a value system expressed in the decision-making process of pioneer settlement was seen in

sluggish economic progress…Economically, the district remained locked in a pioneer phase long after its social institutions had progressed to achieve a maturity associated with more prosperous, long-settled areas (1988: 38-39). Lehr continues, however: "Paradoxically, the backward nature of the Ukrainian colony of Stuartburn offered some protection from the full effects of the market collapse of the 1930s" (1988: 39), because they could adapt more easily than those involved in monoculture further west. The results of our research show that the same strategies may be helping Gardenton residents find protection from the vicissitudes of the 'new economy', and that many are consciously choosing Gardenton as a place where they can continue to engage in what are still often considered "backward" economic practices. While government policies widely equate "agriculture" with "agribusiness" and the "agri-food industry", recent issues of food security (BSE and avian flu are two examples) make it necessary to at least consider the possibility that small, mixed, "family" farms may yet prove more successful, in terms of quality of rural life, quality of food, and economic and environmental sustainability. And while everyone we spoke to could name someone who considered them "peculiar" or "backward," residents of Gardenton arguably achieve a higher standard of living, including home ownership and higher quality food, and live with greater dignity than would be afforded them in the city or in wealthier agricultural areas.

Continuity: Peculiar People? Colonialism Continues

In a 1988 article, Lehr notes that the commissioner of immigration in Winnipeg, W. F. McCreary, in 1897, called the Ukrainians choosing to immigrate to the area now known

as Gardenton, "peculiar." Their peculiarity could be seen, according to McCreary, in their preference for wooded lands over "what we should consider the best land in Manitoba, that is first class wheat growing prairie land" (quoted in Lehr, 1988: 33). Lehr notes, however, that McCreary considered this choice "peculiar" but "not irrational" (Lehr, 1988: 33). This was because considerable capital was required to farm the open prairie, but not for the subsistence economy the Gardenton landscape enabled.

It is not clear that the economic development priorities expressed in Gardenton are still considered "rational" choices. Residents still prefer wood, still prefer mixed farming, still frequently priorize community over economic concerns, and still sometimes *choose* marginality, or at least embrace it. Such choices are rational today for much the same reasons they were rational in the 19th century. In the current economic and social climate, however, their rationality is obscured, and the kind of benign neglect preferred by 19th century immigration officials is frequently replaced by more virulent efforts to bring the region into line with dominant, bourgeois culture's ideas, focussed on creating liberal individuals whose goal is to find a place in a globalized, capitalist economy. The maximizing of individual profit, not the building of a caring community nor the embracing of Gardenton's marginality, is what is considered rational.

The Ukrainian immigrants may not have been coerced, but they were certainly belittled. **E**ven in Lehr's version, a version apparently sympathetic to the Canadian government, the immigrants were sometimes said to have "little inclination to either work or select land," were considered "wicked" (C. W. Speers, 1898, quoted in Lehr, 1983), and

described as “obstreperous, obstinate, rebellious” people who were “worse than cattle to handle” (W. F. McCreary, 1898, cited in Lehr, 1983). While it is beyond the scope of this research either to re-evaluate the historical evidence or to attempt to evaluate the on-going effects of such attitudes toward Ukrainian settlers on their descendants now living in Gardenton, it does seem reasonable to assume that some ongoing effects exist. Possible effects include an animosity toward government, and/or a sense of having been oppressed by the dominant, anglo-Canadian majority. As Fanon (1967) has shown, such oppression can result either in defiance or in internalized oppression.

Versions of this oppression take continually new forms. Those who sit on the council of the RM of Stuartburn report pressure from the provincial government to develop the hog industry in the area. In the late 1990s, anti-hog activists were told, for example, that provincial officials had threatened to withdraw support for infrastructure if Stuartburn did not start accepting hog barns. Whether or not such a threat was ever made or would ever be acted upon, what is significant in terms of the local politics in Gardenton is that local councillors believed it to be true. A community information meeting about a proposed hog operation very close to Gardenton and to the Roseau River was attended by the MLA, who lectured those in attendance about the virtues of the hog industry. And there can be little doubt that the government of Manitoba has made the development of the hog industry a central feature in their plans for economic development. In spite of this public commitment to the hog industry, the government of Manitoba does not consider the election of one of its Department of Agriculture officials as the Reeve of Stuartburn, following the death of the existing reeve, as a conflict of interest. In fact, a supervisor of

the newly-elected Reeve told me that the Department of Agricultre "requires" its employees to "live in the communities" (personal communication, 2004). His language and attitude are reminiscent of imperial powers sending their subjects to live in the colonies, in order to better 'civilize' the original inhabitants.

In her study of people trying to "practice community" in Appalachia, Rhoda Halperin analyses the presence of what she calls "local colonialists." "By local colonialism I mean the imposition of control from outsiders who are expatriates from other local communities. Developers are the prime local colonialists" (Halperin, 1998: 21). Noting that colonialism is simultaneously a political, economic and cultural process, Halperin says, "Colonialism is about power—the fact that some people have it and some don't. It is about outsiders imposing themselves on insiders" (Halperin, 1998: 252). To me, the outsider/insider distinction as applied to people is less important than where the ideas come from that govern the decisions of those in power, and their attitudes towards local people. So, for example, the Agriculture official who prides himself on "requiring" employees to live in the region is here acting as a colonialist, regardless of where he himself lives, or where the employee now "required" to live in the community originated. When the Reeve argues that local councillors do not have the ability to evaluate technical reports about the siting of hog barns (Curtis, 2004a: 11), when the head of the local hospital reports that people have too low a standard of living and too little education to take good care of themselves and their health (Curtis, 2004b: 20), or when a local doctor, when asked what she would prescribe for a particular ailment answers "a pill" (personal experience, 2004), local colonialism is evident.

It may be partly in response to these negative views that residents make extensive use, in their talk about Gardenton, of what has been called the "rural idyll." Francine Watkins traces the idea to Raymond Williams' (1973) ideas about the increasing differences between the city and the countryside after industrialization: "Industrialization in England brought about urbanization, creating cities; in order for the city to exist as a superior society, an "other" was produced—the countryside (Williams 1973, cited in Watkins, 1997, 383). Watkins continues: "While the city reflected the speed of change in industry and society, the countryside continued to be portrayed as a static, unchanging community embodying the 'way things used to be'…But more than just experiencing a cleaner way of life, those who moved to the countryside from the city expected to feel part of a supportive, strong village community…Life in rural villages in England continues to be depicted, in the media at least, as an idyllic community, with all inhabitants being enveloped in a warm, united society…" (Watkins, 1997: 383-384). Little and Austin add to this that the rural idyll represents "a nostalgia for the past and an escape from modernity" (1996: 102). "Even where," they say, "poverty and deprivation are acknowledged…the traditional rural community is represented as a place of happiness and solidarity where kinship ties prevail and where relationships are unfailingly 'tight knit'" (1996: 101).

This is very much the kind of rural society that the residents of Gardenton portrayed in the interviews and surveys, and that the video reflects. It is possible that these idyllic images might be in part an artefact of the interview process itself: People were speaking

on-camera, to other residents of the community, and may well not have wanted to portray the community negatively. Further, the three most visible people in terms of the research: myself, Sandra Conway and Laura Reeves (the camera person), were well-known opponents of intensive livestock operations in the area. This may have had three effects: It may have encouraged people to wax eloquent about the purity of the natural environment; it may have discouraged people from speaking more strongly in favour of hog operations or against the buying of land by the Nature Conservancy; and it may have encouraged an exaggeration of the extent to which the community's 1997 fight against a hog operation represented the community pulling together, with a common view about what residents want for Gardenton. Still, as has been discussed, most residents of Gardenton *did* participate in the fight against the hog operation, and that 7 years later the successful outcome of this struggle still stands as a source of pride for many residents, and several people in the interviews suggested that they felt the community would continue to pull together to fight off further potential incursions by intensive hog operations.

It is also possible that the "rural idyll" is produced in research projects like this one because it is the most accepted discourse about what rural life might mean. As Little and Austin (1996: 102) have noted, images and myths of rural life exist "not simply as a *reflection* of people's views and beliefs about rurality but also as a force in the recreation of 'place' and associated socio-spatial relations." In other words, it is possible that residents of Gardenton *believe* in the rural idyll because they have adopted unquestionably the dominant discourse about what rural life *should* be. As Philo (1997)

among others has shown, images of rural life may also be created in opposition to images of city life. Gardenton residents portrayed the city as alien, big, impersonal, dangerous and dirty, a place in comparison to which Gardenton could only seem idyllic. It is also possible that residents mobilize this discourse as a counter to their construction as 'peculiar'—as one interviewee phrased it, "We have what people in the city want." If that is true, "we" can't be so very peculiar. More research is required into how and why the rural idyll discourse is used, and with what effects.

Although they may seem contradictory, the ideas of "the rural" as idyllic and yet in need of colonial intervention exist simtaneously. Here analysts of colonialism such as Uma Narayan (1997) show us that colonized places are often portrayed as static, stuck in time. This portrayal helps to justify intervention, as people in these places are clearly represented as inferior because of their apparent lack of "progress." Simultaneously, as John Urry (1990) among others, has shown, our gaze at colonized places is often a romantic one, where natural beauty is seen as providing respite from the stresses of industrial, urban life. Marxist analyses of colonialism have traced it to the need on the part of the colonizing country or region for increased raw materials, labour and markets (see, eg., Gunder Frank, 1969; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001).

John Loxley reminds me that: "Marx's view on colonialism, at least as it applied to Asia, was that communal ownership in land meant that there was no internal dynamic towards capitalism and, hence colonialism would have a double mission; to destroy the old, static, mode of production and, secondly, to create a dynamic capitalism. He saw it as a

necessary evil, prompted by the colonialists search for raw materials, markets and profits. Later, he came to realize that he'd overestimated the positive impacts of colonialism and underestimated the oppression it entailed (in both Ireland and Asia) becoming, in effect, what we would now call 'neo-Marxist in his views, similar to Frank)." (personal communication, June, 2005).

Colonialists' desire for the other takes a tripled form: the other is needed to confirm the superiority of the self; the other is needed to allow the self the possibility of return to a simpler, happier time in the past; at the same time as the colonized territory is needed to provide resources to the colonizer, and in doing so needs to provide adequate comfort to those living in the territory, and adequate "proof" of the ideology of trickle-down development. While the first two of these are perhaps stronger for those, including policy-makers, who are in a sense "tourists" of the rural, Halperin's local colonialists, being "required" to live in the territory, are perhaps more vehemently committed to the latter.

Halperin notes that "[c]olonial processes create their own pathologies, physical, social, and cultural." Halperin adds, however, that "resisting colonialism becomes a primary way of practicing community" (1998: 22). In Gardenton, both are evident. Examining the traces of the effects of colonialism on the people who have, in the eyes of those in power, gone from "peculiar but rational" to "peculiar and irrational" is important to building and validating an alternate view of 'development' and enabling people to 'make

place.' Instead, colonialism continues in the shape of devaluting and marginalizing residents' knowledge of where and how they live.

Continuity: Marginalized Knowledges

Jo Little and Patricia Austin say: "Decisions about the future of rural areas embrace a particular set of priorities which in turn are derived from a particular…view of the rural. Just *whose* view of the rural this is has become an urgent question…(1996: 101). Although they are able, when asked, to articulate a clear vision of an economic, social and cultural vision for the community—one which apparently works better for a larger number of residents than those offered by the dominant vision of development—Gardenton residents are rarely asked. When the are asked, their views overlap with a number of those being developed in urban and academic settings, but those responsible for the latter do not acknowledge the connections.

So, for example, the ideas about development which dominated in this study—a preference for small-scale, family-owned and run famrs and businesses, all operated with an eye to preserving the natural environment--are consistent with what many urban, educated environmentalists are telling us make for sustainable, livable communities, sustainable agricultural practices and sustainable economies, in which people can live with dignity. The title chosen for the video, which became the title for the entire project, is obviously a reference to E. F. Schumacher's (1973) famous book, *Small Is Beautiful: Economic as if People Mattered,* which was reprinted with commentaries in 1999. The

popular work of Wendell Berry (e.g., 2002) also promotes small-scale, sustainable development and communities. Marilyn Waring (1988) also values the small, focussing for example on the level of women's household work; she ties economics' traditional ignorance of women's work with its destruction of the envirnoment. Other feminist ecnomists, too, have drawn a connection between sustainability, the promotion of non-capitalist forms of the economy, and the need to attend to a wider variety of "economic" activities outside the traditional focus on (men's) paid economic activity (see, eg, Cameron and Gibson-Graham, 2003). Yet there has been little dialogue between uban intellectuals and people like the resident of Gardneton who, arguably, are actually trying to make some of these ideas a reality. The oft-repeated critique by scholars in the "third world", that "first world" scholars assume theory and knowledge only travel one way, is relevant here. As one example, Gardenton residents fought for and won stricter regulations of intensive livestock operations long before city people began to suggest that we come to their meetings to be educated about the issues.

The ideas about development expressed by both men and women in the Gardenton video are also consistent with what various studies have shown to be conducive to active participation by and recognition of women. Amy Trauger (2004), for example, shows that in sustainable agriculture women have a greater chance of being recognised as farmers. By arguing for sustainable agriculture, Gardenton residents create potential "spaces of empowerment" for women (Trauger, 2004: 290). Small, organic and family farms are more likely to be headed by women than corporate ones; Trauger uses data from the Economic Research Service (2001) to show that in the U.S.A. the number of

farmers who are women increased at a time when numbers of male farmers declined. "The state of agriculture is in a period of crisis, but it appears that women farmers are faring better than men…" (Trauger, 2004: 291). Support for small-scale development is, implicitly if not explicity, support for women's greater power, yet this sis rarely acknowledged by urban feminists.

Calazza (2005) show that women's perceptions of safety lead to greater civic involvement; although questions have been raised (see, eg., Panelli et al., 2004) about the extent to which perceptions of rural safety reflect a male bias in the rural idyll, it is also true that women in Gardenton assert that they *do* feel safe, and several residents noted that, if one sex could be said to dominate community activity in Gardenton, it would be women. Gardenton has more community-based and voluntary organizations than businesses, and these tend to offer women more opportunities for experience, engagement and leadership. This is a double-edged sword to be sure, since there is a problem with women always being the ones who work for no pay (see, eg, Armstrong, 1996); this may be somewhat ameliorated in a psychic economy where these are the kinds of activities that are highly valued. Once again, the understandings of the place of voluntary labour developed in Gardenton could inform a more complete feminist critique.

Continuity and Change: Gender Relations

The answers to our interview questions about gender relations were disappointing. Most people thought that men and women treated each other respectfully and that work was

divided equally, if differently. The few suggestions that there might be problems in this area were veiled, and when pressed, respondents would not give explanations. There were some suggestions that women carry more of the work in the community (meaning the organization, maintence and fundraising for Gardenton Park, Ukrainian Museum, Ukrainian Festival, Ukrainian National Home, the cemeteries and the historic St. Michael's church). In one interview, a woman began to discuss differences in what work men would and wouldn't do in the community but this was, unfortunately, interrupted by the camera person who exclaimed, "But that's not *sexism*!" In the end, all discussion of gender relations was omitted from the video, perhaps a colonialist move itself on my part, since I could not justify including material that even the most casual observer with a feminist eye would find to be untrue. Given people's readiness to talk about gender issues in private, I believe that a different kind of research project (for example, not on video and with men and women interviewed separately) would have allowed for greater depth in this area. Indeed, it may be that even the interview questions themselves gave rise to a consideration of these issues; when, x months later, the focus groups were held following the watching of the video, some people answered "yes" to a question about whether Gardenton was the same for men and women.

Possibly because they were reproducing the rural idyll discourse, people did not talk in the interviews about the down-sides of living in small impoverished and isolated communities. I struggled with the extent to which the video portrays a very romanticised view of Gardenton. There is no doubt in my mind that people do, to a certain extent, experience Gardenton in this way. But there are also ways that this expresses an anti-

urbanism at least partly grounded in fear and xenophobia, and there are ways that it hides what residents acknowledge to each other privately: the number of people living in very unhappy intimate relationships, having children taken away by child and family services, and the lack of awareness of options. As researchers *and* residents, we are privvy to this information, but it is silenced in the interviews.

Trauger argues that spaces of empowerment, such as those created in sustainable agriculture, "have the potential to be constructed as sites of resistance from which we can witness the creation of new gender identities" (2004: 290). In addition to this potential, it also seems to be the case that farming, particularly in the forms being developed in rural Manitoba as a result of global economic restructuring, also make it harder for the traditional lack of recognition of women's work (see, eg, Wiebe, 1995) to continue. Rare is the farm family today where the farm is the only income, and where women take care of the household duties while the man minds the farm. In some cases, it is a woman's paid employment which makes farming, in an era of negative farm incomes, possible.

Still, it would be wrong to assume that "new gender identities" have been created in Gardenton or that, to the extent that they have, this is necessarily positive. Although there was little talk in the interviews or focus groups about gender differences, some residents will acknowledge—and as researchers we agree—that relations between men and women are not always respectful or equitable. While I have argued that marginality is in many ways desirable, some women do experience quite painfully the lack of information about or accessibility to alternatives to staying in difficult or abusive

relationships. There is a strong cultural disapproval of separation or divorce; extra-marital affairs are common though nominally equally disapproved of, and something many women feel they have to tolerate. Economic marginality plays a role here, too, as people in households which are struggling with two incomes find it hard to imagine getting by with one. The continued image of farming as too difficult for a woman—in spite of the fact that most women in farm households in Gardenton do an extensive amount of hard physical labour—may also be a factor in keeping marital relationships together.

I would argue that if "development" is needed in Gardenton, it is the development of a more open and thorough-going discussion about gender relations, along with deeper understandings of "race," sexual orientation, and other markers of difference. As with economic development, however, these need to be made-in-Gardenton solutions. Wholesale importation of urban values and analysis would be inappropriate, and would not work. There needs to be a place in current discourses of gender and sexuality for the ways people in Gardenton make gender, as well as a place for thinking about how to change them.

Little and Austin (1996), Panelli, Little and Karrck (2004), Bell and Valentine (1995) and the contributors to Cloke and Little's *Contested Countryside Cultures* (1997) have all raised questions about the safety, comfort and closeness portrayed in the rural idyll, and the very possibility of inclusion for women, racialized minorities, lesbians and gay men and other 'others.' This is important work for the understanding of rural communities, and it sounds an important note of caution in listening to the almost-universally positive

portrayals of Gardenton captured in the interviews and the video.[6] At the same time, it is important not to reproduce the kind of assumption of superiority of all things urban, new and mobile that seems so often to mark government policy towards rural communities (and see Pritchard, 2000). I want, in this analysis, to try to both point to some of the ways the rural idyll may obscure problems in the community and to argue for the importance of another vision of 'development' which is, at least in part, facilitated by the images of the rural captured in the ruraly idyll.

Change: Empowerment and Place-Making

Many critiques of "development" suggest that it might never be able to move away from its colonialist heritage (see, eg., Escobar, 1995; Narayan and Harding, 2000; Saunders, 2002). I have found the concept of "place-making" more useful in thinking about places like Gardenton. Arturo Escobar (2001), drawing on the work of feminist poststructuralist geographers and anthropologists, argues that social theories of globalization, culture and economy have moved too far away from a contextualized understanding of the local, and have put down the local in the process. He argues that we need to return to "place-based models of nature, culture and politics," and to acknowledge that "[w]hile it is evident that "local" economies and culture are not outside the scope of capital and modernity, it also needs to be newly acknowledged that the former are not produced exclusively by the

[6] It may be important to note, however, that neither I nor the other lesbian centrally involved in this project have found ourselves marginalized in the ways Bell and Valentine, for example, describes. Indeed, it appears that 'willingness to work for the community' has been a far greater marker of our belonging. One resident, for example, declared me to be an "old-timer" one year after I moved into the community, because I was actively involved in the hog fight.

latter;…place specificity…enables a different reading of culture and economy, capitalism and modernity" (141). To the extent that the portrayal of Gardenton in the video is a romanticised one, this may be in part a reponse to the devaluing of the local and of locally-specific cultures and values. In addition to the big questions about how people are marginalized and constrained by macro forces, I want to ask: How do people make livable, sustainable communities for themselves, both in spite of and because of particular locations in the global economy? What trade-offs are people willing to make in order to make a place, and how can we understand them as complex, involving both agency and constraint, wisdom and ignorance, opportunities and restrictions? There are things I want to celebrate and things I want to mourn in Gardenton, but I do not get to choose what things to change—the various aspects of the community are tied together, related to each other. A focus on place-making means that whether or not we agree with the particular views of development people articulate; it is not up to outsiders to evaluate the community to be good or bad. As researchers and residents we need first to learn to listen, to realize that there are people who are embracing marginality, finding something of value in it and making something of value out of it, and we can't really expect them to listen to our more 'enlightened' views on gender relations or community development until we do.

"Development", in theory and in practice, does not make room for people to actually *choose* marginality, or to choose something that, from the perspective of the centre, *looks like* marginality. The concept of place-making reminds us to look at what people want,

why they are there, and what they value. In doing so, we may find people valuing precisely those things that make for a sustainable future, in spite of "development."

None of this is meant to justify the egregious ways that "globalization" and the "new economy" marginalize people against their will, and in ways that can make life difficult or impossible. It is, however, to speak simultaneously to the difficulties of making communities, places and livelihoods, the resilience of people in the face of such challenges, and the existence of a variety of resources—cultural, historical, identity-based as well as belief-based—which facilitate this resilience in the face of economic changes not designed to benefit the many people who are making place in rural Manitoba and elsewhere (see also Heald, 2004).

Epp and Whitson, in the Introduction to *Writing Off the Rural West* ask "whether rural people have any right to remain 'in place'—that is, to continue living and working in communities and occupations that have often sustained their families for generations" (2001: xxxii). Acknowledging that government policy and economic globalization have increasing withdrawn that "right", or made it difficult or impossible to exercise, they note that

> [t]he people who leave farming, however, are not simply commodity producers; they are members of communities that will bleed with their departure. And to clinically dismiss such communities, and the ways of life associated with them, as obsolete is to diminish the humanity of people who have sustained them over the years. During the time of the last major coal strike in Britain, in the 1980s, Raymond Williams wrote that it was important for miners to protect their communities—not abstractions, but real 'places where they have lived and want to go on living, where generations…of social effort and human care have been invested, and which new generations will inherit'" (Epp and Whitson, 2001: xxxii-xxxiii).

This research suggests that the question is not just whether government policy and economic processes will allow people to remain, or even whether there is a place for these few, marginalized, people, but whether they—or anyone else—will be allowed to *make place*, or whether they must have a place made for them by local and extra-local colonialists. Given the coherence of the vision of development which they articulate, and the congruence of that vision with theories of sustainability and gender equity, I argue in this research that not only must the residents of Gardenton, and places like Gardenton, be *allowed* to make place, but it would be appropriate to begin to treat such place-making as a model for others and for the future. As one of the participants in the video says, "Seems to me there's no better ones to listen to than the small communities…And I think we, Gardenton, need to earn a right to be heard, we need to make a statement, we need to be such a tight-knit community, functioning so well and everybody is so at peace with their neighbours that the world around us will just flock in here to see what is making this happen." While not quite living up to such high standards, the people of Gardenton are making a statement, about valuing community and building sustainability. This statement reflects both continuities and changes with Gardenton's origins and history. The "new economy" has presented some new challenges and new opportunities for the community, but left its marginality unchanged. "Development," as traditionally conceived, would also not touch this marginality. Recognizing the values inherent in the place-making practices of Gardenton residents who embrace marginality would benefit not only Gardenton, but all those who search for successful ways to resist new versions of the old (capitalist) economy.

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Appendix I: Gardenton Survey Delivery: Follow-Up Summary
by Leigh Anne Caron

Survey distribution in Gardenton Manitoba was received quite positively with only 6 of 76 residences outwardly responding that they would not fill out the survey. Other responses have been ones of inquiry, wondering the purpose of the surveys and how it would affect the lives of the people in the community in the end. While I was able to make direct contact with many residents of Gardenton there were a few who were not at home each time that I stopped by (4 times). It is still a question whether these houses are occupied or not.

The reasons people gave for not filling out the survey were mixed. One household said that they felt too old to participate, that they did not feel that it was an important enough cause to bother with. Another rural resident said that she did not feel that it would make a difference and therefore would not bother. One rural resident said that she did not want to do it with no real explanation as to why. A man residing in the town said that he was only a seasonal resident and was not interested because he lived in Winnipeg for the majority of the year. Another in-town resident said that he would not fill out the survey because his comments were never listened to (he did not specify what he meant) so he would not participate. A final rural household a resident said that they were not interested in filling out the survey, with no real explanation, just asserting that they did not like surveys.

Eleven out of the 76 residences visited had no one home during any of my visits. After speaking with a long-time resident of Gardenton, I believe that one house is not occupied, only maintained by a caretaker periodically throughout the year. At this particular house the original survey that was delivered was still there more than a month later. Another house is a seasonal house but was not used at all the summer the survey was conducted (2003). The survey and reminders seemed to have been picked up from this house, however.

Forty-five surveys were left with people who agreed to mail them in. The remaining 20 surveys were completed with my assistance. The residents who participated in the survey with me directly had different responses to the questions asked. While the majority of the residents who were assisted answers all of the questions, a few refused to fill out the financial section. One resident said that she thought that it would inaccurately represent their actual income (seeming more than the actual amount). Two different participants said that their income was no one's business. The other participants who were assisted with the survey did not hesitate to fill out the financial section. Many of the assisted participants were grateful for the help filling out the survey, saying that it saved them the hassle of completing it themselves.

Some concerns were raised by a couple of the residents spoken to about the survey being a tactic used by large commercial hog-barns to infiltrate the area. With some explanation of the purpose of the survey some residents felt more inclined to fill it out, seeing it more as a forum to express their concerns about hog-barns.

Meeting the residents of Gardenton was a positive experience. I met many people who were proud of where they lived and happy to reflect their experience of life in Gardenton in the survey.

Appendix II: Gardenton Household Survey – Result Summary

by Leigh Hayden

Section 1: Demographics

Data for 101 adult residents of Gardenton was collected from 51 households (one household returned the survey unfinished). A total of 101 adults (44 males and 57 females) and 26 children live in the households, averaging 2.5 persons per household. The average age of adult men was 49.1 years, of adult women, 49.0 years, and of children 7.6 years). The higher proportion of women than men may be a reflection of Gardenton's actual population, or it may be an artefact of survey response. Women are generally more likely to complete surveys than men.

As shown in the chart below, Gardenton residents are slightly older than the Manitoba average. However, Gardenton has approximately the same proportion of children (<16 yrs) as other communities found in Manitoba. Thus, Gardenton is not necessarily an "aged" community.

Two-thirds of all adults are married or common-law and another 20% are single. There are fewer divorced or separated people in Gardenton than in Manitoba on average. Since the data obtained for Stuartburn and Manitoba does not include common law with married people, it is likely that the marriage/common law rate in Gardenton is similar to that in Stuartburn and Manitoba.

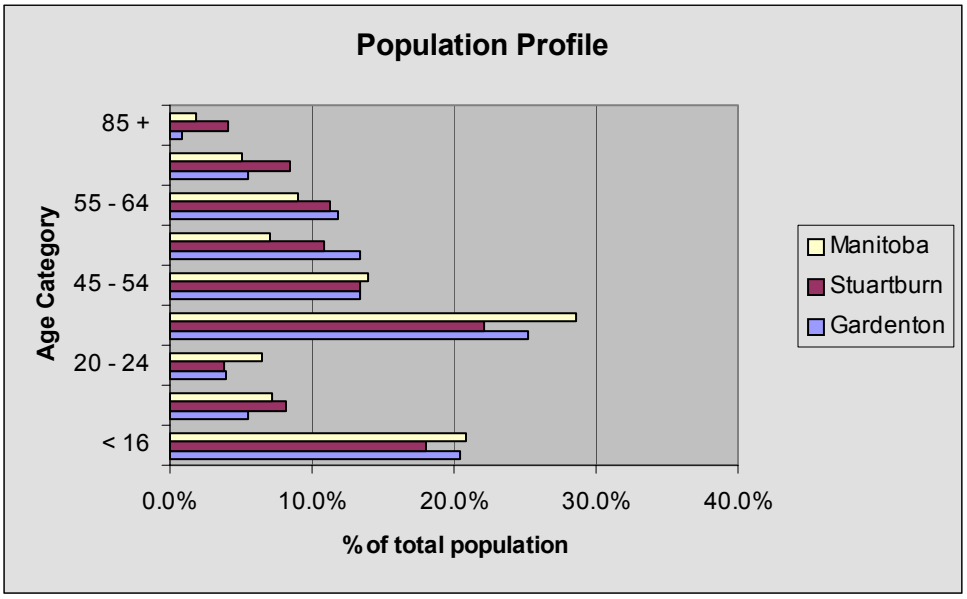
Total number of people		127	
Number of adults (16 + yrs)		101	
Males			
	Number	44	44%
	Average age	49.1	
	Median age	47	
	Mode	42	
	Range	17-87	
Females			
	Number	57	56%
	Average age	49.0	
	Median age	49	
	Mode	17	
	Range	16-78	
Children (0 – 15 yrs)			
	Number	26	
	Average age	7.6	
	Median age	7.0	

Marital Status	Gardenton		Stuartburn*	Manitoba*
Single	21	21%	24%	32%
Married/Common Law	68	67%	55%	52%
Divorced/Separated	3	3%	6%	9%
Widowed	9	9%	14%	7%
Total responses	101			

* Data from the 2001 Canada Census. Common law couples are categorized as single.

	Gardenton			Stuartburn*			Manitoba*		
Age Characteristics of the Population	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total population	127			1605	805	800	1119580	549600	569980
Total - all adults	101	44	57	1315	670	660	885865	429895	455970
16 - 19	7	1	6	130	75	55	80425	41220	39210
20 - 24	5	2	3	60	25	35	72850	36445	36415
25 - 44	32	16	16	355	185	175	320305	159560	160750
45 - 54	17	10	7	215	105	105	155710	77260	78455
55 - 64	15	4	11	180	100	85	100155	49410	50745
55 - 64	17	8	9	175	95	85	78560	36815	41750
75 - 84	7	2	5	135	55	75	56875	22715	34155
85 +	1	1	0	65	25	45	20975	6475	14505

*Data from the 2001 Canada Census. Data for age group 16-19 is actually for ages 15-19



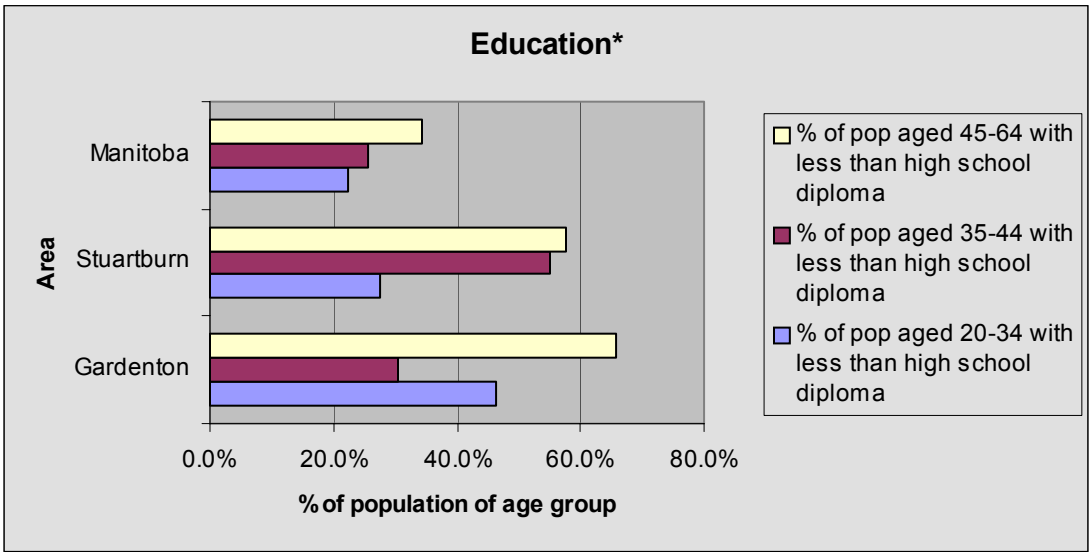
Section 2: Education

Women in Gardenton, on average, have more education than men. More women report attending and/or graduating from a post-secondary institution than men. As shown in the graph below, the populations of Gardenton and Stuartburn have lower education levels than the Manitoba average. Of particular interest is the high number of young (ages 20-34) people in Gardenton who have less than a high school education.

Total Population

Some grade school	19	19%	19%
Some high school	35	35%	55%
Graduate high school	28	28%	83%
Some post sec	8	8%	91%

	Graduate post sec	9	9%	100%
	Total responses	99		
Men				
	Some grade school	9	21%	21%
	Some high school	17	40%	60%
	Graduate high school	12	28%	88%
	Some post sec	4	9%	98%
	Graduate post sec	1	2%	100%
	Number of Men	44		
	Total responses	43		
Women				
	Some grade school	10	18%	18%
	Some high school	18	32%	50%
	Graduate high school	16	29%	79%
	Some post sec	4	7%	86%
	Graduate post sec	8	14%	100%
	Number of Women	57		
	Total responses	56		



* Data for Stuartburn and Manitoba from the 2001 Canada Census.

Section 3: Employment

Only 5% of polled Gardenton residents are unemployed. Of the employed residents, 50% are employed in wage labour, 39% farm, 20% are self-employed, and 3% are professional. Five of the 51 employed residents reported having one or more type of income (usually farming supplemented by wage labour). Men on average reported longer workweeks than women. This may be a reflection women not indicating number of hours of unpaid work in their responses. For the most part, employment is relatively stable. On average, people report having their current job for the last 12 years. Women on average have spent less time in their current job, which may be a reflection of movement between home work and paid employment.

Employment	Total	Men	Women
Unemployed	5%	11%	0%
Farmer	22%	32%	14%
Wage-labourer	30%	30%	32%
Self-Employed	11%	16%	9%
Disability Pension	1%	2%	0%
Homemaker	14%	0%	23%
Retired	21%	18%	23%
Student	4%	2%	5%
Professional/Salaried	3%	0%	5%
Retired Farmer	5%	7%	4%
Other	2%	2%	2%
Total people respond	100	44	56
Multiple responses	13	5	7
Total responses	120	53	67

Hours worked per week		Men	Women
Average Hours	44.3	50.4	37.5
Total number of people	101	44	57
Number of responses	63	27	36
Number of non-zero	60	25	35

21 of 51 respondents indicated that they travelled to work. The average distance was 47 km, the median 22 km, the mode 100 km, and the range was 6 to 150 km travelled per day.

Yrs in current job		Men	Women
Average	12.4	13.2	11.4
Median	11	10.5	11
Mode	3	3	4
Response rate	74%	77%	72%

Most recent employment change	Total	Men	Women
Previous student	10%	6%	14%
Now a farmer	19%	33%	7%
Same job	16%	19%	14%
Now a housewife	5%	0%	9%
Now retired	24%	19%	25%
Used to be a housewife	8%	0%	11%
Lost job, now unemployed	5%	11%	0%
Now self-employed	4%	8%	2%
Wage labour to professional/salaried	4%	3%	5%
Now a student	3%	0%	5%
Farming to wage labour	3%	0%	5%
Other	1%	0%	2%

33% of men reported moving from a job (usually wage labour) into farming. They described the instability of farming and the high debt load and factors affecting income. 19% of men reported moving jobs within the same profession (usually wage labour). 19% of men reported recently retiring and living on reduced income.

25% of women reported recently retiring and living on reduced income. 14% of women were previously students and now earning a wage or farming. 14% of women reported moving jobs within the same profession (usually factory work). 11% of women reported that they previously were working in the home and are now earning a wage. 9% of women reported that they previously were earning a wage and now they are working in the home.

Recent change in income	Total	Men	Women
No	63%	54%	70%
Yes	37%	46%	30%
Response rate	88%	89%	88%

Women reported that changes in income were often due to movement between home work and paid employment. Men reported changes in income due to injury, farming practices (changing from grain to cattle farming) and farming profitability (higher material and transport costs and lower prices).

Section 4: Culture and Religion

A non-English language is spoken in almost half of all households. When asked whether speaking a non-English language was important to them, 50% either agreed or strongly agreed. Fewer households reported an ethnic or cultural affiliation, about 40%. Gardenton has a unique religious make-up. There are a high number of Christian orthodox followers and other Christian (mostly Mennonite) followers, and fewer Catholic and Protestant followers than in Stuartburn and all of Manitoba.

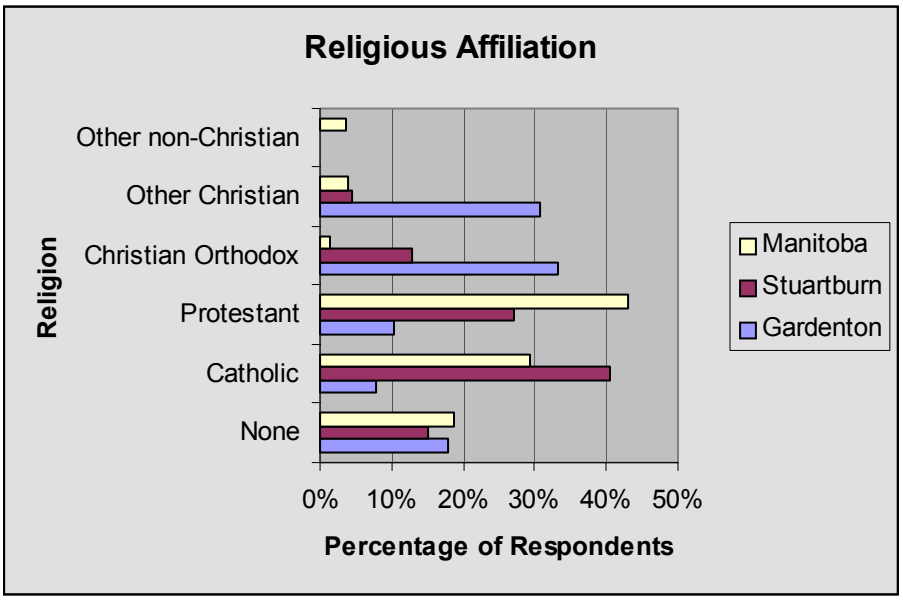
Languages spoken at home	
English	54%
English and Ukrainian	28%
English and German	16%
Ukrainian	2%
Number of responses	50

Importance of non-English language	
Strongly disagree	12%
Disagree	6%
Neither agree nor disagree	32%
Agree	40%
Strongly agree	10%
Number of responses	50

Ethnic or Cultural Affiliation	
None	51%
Canadian	8%

Ukrainian	30%
Mennonite	8%
Other	3%
Number of responses	37

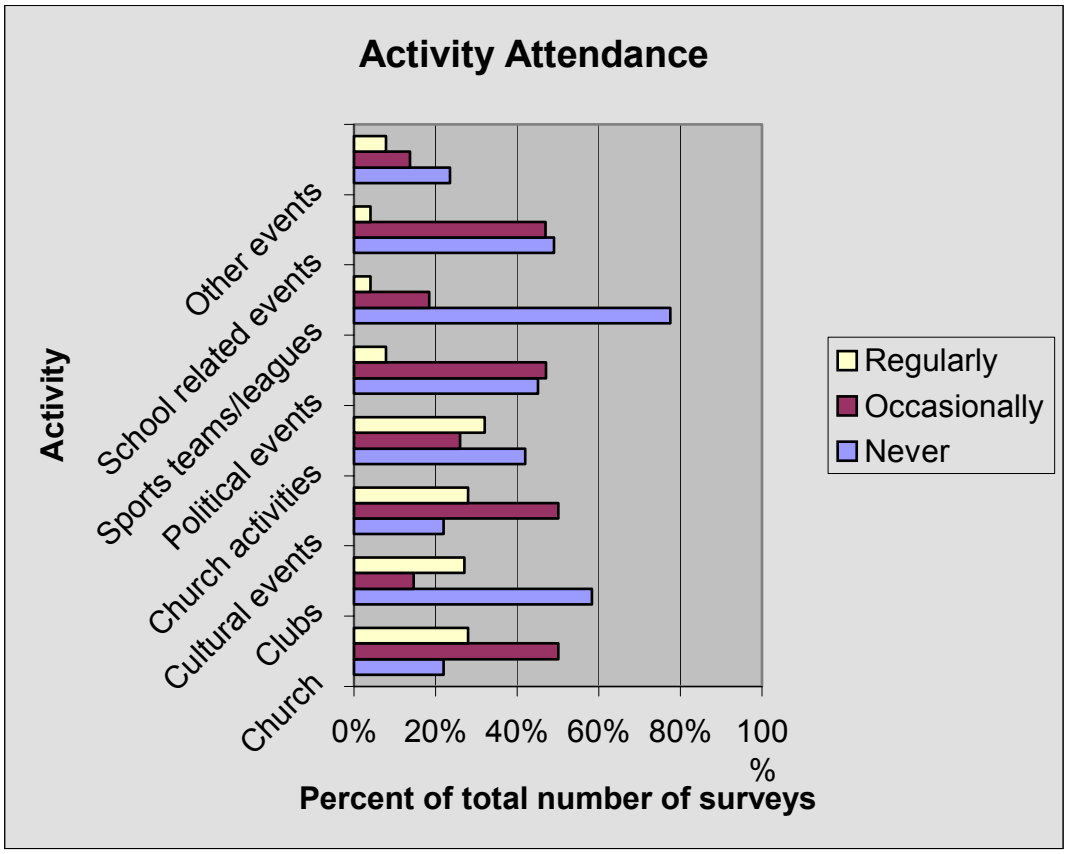
Religion	Gardenton	Stuartburn	Manitoba
None	18%	15%	19%
Catholic	8%	40%	29%
Protestant	10%	27%	43%
Christian Orthodox	33%	13%	1%
Other Christian	31%	4%	4%
Other non-Christian	0%	0%	4%
Number of responses	39		



Section 5: Community Activities

Residents prefer to support local events and businesses where they can. Attending church and cultural events are popular activities. Most shopping is done in the area. On several surveys, when the participant indicated that they did shopping outside of the local area, they expressed regret, stating that they would support local businesses if they could supply their needs.

How often attend?	Church	Clubs	Cultural events	Church activities	Political events	Sports teams or leagues	School related events	Other events
Never	22%	58%	22%	42%	45%	78%	49%	24%
Occasionally	50%	15%	50%	26%	47%	18%	47%	14%
Regularly	28%	27%	28%	32%	8%	4%	4%	8%
Number of responses	50	48	50	50	51	49	49	23



Where do you attend?	Clubs	Cultural events	Church activities	Political events	Sports teams or leagues	School related events	Other events	Total
Gardenton	30%	68%	44%	26%	9%	8%	36%	36%
RM of Stuartburn	45%	47%	48%	81%	55%	84%	36%	58%
Steinbach	5%	5%	4%	0%	18%	4%	0%	4%
Winnipeg	20%	16%	19%	15%	36%	12%	36%	19%
Nearby RM's	15%	16%	7%	7%	18%	0%	18%	11%
Number of responses	20	38	27	27	11	25	11	159
Multiple responses	3	20	6	8	4	2	3	46

Where do you do most of your shopping?

	Food	Household items And hardware	Clothing	Furniture	Vehicles	Other	Total
Winnipeg	12%	38%	49%	50%	33%	36%	36%
Steinbach	10%	52%	45%	43%	50%	27%	39%
Vita	76%	6%	0%	0%	10%	27%	20%
Tolstoi	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%	1%
Roseau river	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Other	0%	6%	6%	8%	8%	0%	5%
Number of responses	51	50	49	40	40	11	241

How often do you vote in elections?	Municipal	Provincial	Federal
Never	4%	4%	4%
Occasionally	18%	22%	16%
Regularly	78%	74%	78%
Number of responses	50	50%	50

Community involvement is important	
Strongly disagree	0%
Disagree	6%
Neither agree or disagree	27%
Agree	47%
Strongly agree	20%
Number of responses	49

Section 6: Residence

Residents are generally satisfied with Gardenton, as indicated by average length of residence, and their responses to the question "If you could live anywhere other than Gardenton, where would you like to live?" Popular responses were "nowhere" (18%) and other similar communities in the area and other parts of Manitoba (32%).

How long have you lived?	In current location	In Gardenton
Average	18.5	28.1
Median	12	23
Mode	1	1
Range	0 - 78	0 - 87
Number of responses	51	51
0-5 years	27%	22%
6 - 10 years	18%	14%
11 - 20 years	20%	12%
21 - 30 years	20%	20%
> 30 years	16%	33%

Approximately 73% of respondents indicated that they have lived in their current location for over five years, compared to 67% of respondents in Stuartburn and 61% of respondents in Manitoba (2001 Canada Census).

If you haven't lived in the Gardenton area all of your life, where did you live before?		
Rural location in Manitoba	23	55%
Winnipeg	18	43%
Out of province	5	12%
Number of people responding	42	
Number of multiple responses	6	

If you could live anywhere other than Gardenton, where would you want to live?

Rural location in Manitoba	14	32%
Winnipeg	5	11%
Out of province	5	11%
Tropical location	6	14%
Nowhere	8	18%
More convenient location*	6	14%
Number of people responding	44	

For more convenient location, people's responses ranged from "closer to a store, somewhere I can walk", to "close to a good doctor and hospital", to "anywhere where there are NO PIG BARNS", to "somewhere with better schools".

Section 7: Income

A total of 38 households reported their total household income. Eleven reported it before tax, 15 after tax, and 12 did not indicate whether the household income was before or after tax. Thus, it is difficult to get a clear picture of the household incomes of Gardenton. Most (47%) of households reported earnings in the $10,000 - $19,999 bracket. 73% of all households reported incomes of below $30,000.

In the 2001 Canada Census, the Median household income for Stuartburn is reported as $26,302 and the median household income for Manitoba is reported as $41,661. Thus, it seems as though the household income in Gardenton is similar to that for the entire RM, but significantly lower than the provincial average.

Household income	Before deductions	After deductions	Not stated	Total
$1 - $9,999	0%	7%	8%	5%
$10,000 - $19,999	45%	47%	50%	47%
$20,000 - $29,999	36%	13%	17%	21%
$30,000 - $39,999	0%	13%	8%	8%
$40,000 - $49,999	9%	7%	17%	11%
$50,000 - $74,999	0%	7%	0%	3%
$75,000 +	9%	7%	0%	5%
Number of responses	11	15	12	38

% Of income from farming activities	
Average	36%
Median	21%
Mode	10%
Range	0.10% to 100%
Number of responses	10

Ten households responded to the question “What percentage of your household earnings are from farming activities?” A total of 14 households reported at least one person involved in farming.

Section 8: Capital Holdings

Most households in Gardenton are owners, not renters. In fact, only eight households stated that they had any monthly payment, which indicates that most households own their own homes.

Capital	Non-rec vehicle	Rec vehicles	Machinery	Livestock	Home
Average value	$14,106	$6,747	$27,950	$51,030	$43,375
Median	$11,000	$4,000	$5,000	$35,000	$40,000
Mode	$15,000	$4,000	$5,000	$120,000	$50,000
Range	$200 to $55 K	$100 to $30 K	$600 to $200 K	$300 to $120 K	$5 K to $100 K
# Of responses	35	15	14	10	40

House	Sq ft House	Number of rooms	Acres of land	Monthly payment
Average	1174	6.3	101	$367
Median	1000	6	5	$310
Mode	1200	5	160	n/a
Range	400 to 2700	2 to 15	0 to 720	$200 to $670
Number of responses	32	42	39	8

Out of 44 respondents, 42 stated that they owned their own home and 2 stated that they were renting.

Appendix 3: Interview Guide

1. How long have you lived in Gardenton? How did you come to be living here?

2. What kinds of work do you think most people in Gardenton do? How do you/did you earn your living here? What kinds of opportunities for work are there in Gardenton? Do you think recent changes in the broader economy—Manitoba, Canada, have affected Gardenton? How?

3. What changes have there been to the kind of work you do? Has there been a change in the number of people doing this kind of work? The survey showed that more people in the area are going into farming. This is contrary to what seems to be happening in other places. Can you think of reasons why this is so?

4. Have there been any changes to the importance of/kinds of farming being done in this area?

5. What changes have you seen in Gardenton in the time you've lived here? Is Gardenton's population changing? How? (Numbers, kinds of people—younger, older)

6. The survey showed that 50% of those moving in have less than a high school diploma. Why do you think this might be so? What do you think it might mean?

7. Incomes are below average in this area. Do you think people come here because their income is low or do you think their income is low because they come here? If we're increasingly an area where people of low income and low education come, do you think we'll have problems generally associated with those things---things like more health problems, social problems, and so on?

8. In households where both men and women contribute to the family income, do you think the contributions are equal or does one sex generally contribute more? How would you describe gender relations in Gardenton? Do men and women treat one another respectfully? Are there differences between men and women in terms of their participation in the community? In local politics? In their involvement in their children's education?

9. What are the best things about living in Gardenton? What are the worst things?

10. Is there a sense of community in Gardenton? Is this important to you?

11. What kinds of issues or problems have come up in the community recently? How did the community come together to deal with them?

12. Some people mentioned that they feel less safe here than they did previously. Has this been true for you or anyone close to you?

13. What do you think could be done to improve life in Gardenton?

14. Would you like to see Gardenton develop? How far do you travel to shop? How do you feel about that? Some people suggested Gardenton should have a store. How feasible do you think that is? Many people feel this is a good place to raise children. Do you think so? What could be done to make it better in this regard?

15. Do you think trying to increase tourism is a good idea? How could it be done?

16. The questionnaires showed that some tension exists in the community between those people who want more land developed for farming and those who want to protect it from development. This is part of the debate around intensive livestock operations. Where do you stand on this? Could there be more farmers but not more intensive hog operations? Would this be good? What advantages and disadvantages do you see if the land is bought up by the Nature Conservancy?

17. What kind of a political voice does Gardenton have? What could we do to improve this? What would you like to say to politicians about Gardenton? Studies have shown that people with less education tend to vote less and yet Gardenton residents are mostly very regular voters. Can you think of why this might be the case?

18. Why do places like Gardenton matter? What is the value of small rural communities?