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Université de Montréal

Being Anglophone:
Language, Place and Identity in Quebec's Eastern Townships

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Thèse présentée à la Faculté des études supérieures
en vue de l'obtention du grade de Ph.D.
en sociologie

Juin 2008

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Université de Montréal
Faculté des études supérieures

Cette thèse intitulée

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Language, Place and Identity in Quebec's Eastern Townships

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RÉSUMÉ

Environ 80 % des habitants de la province de Québec (Canada) ont le français comme langue maternelle tandis que 8 % d'entre eux ont l'anglais comme langue maternelle. Cette population minoritaire anglophone est concentrée à Montréal, mais il y a également des anglophones qui résident partout dans la province. Les premiers résidents d'origine européenne dans les Cantons de l'Est étaient principalement anglophones. Aujourd'hui, les résidents de quelques-unes de ces communautés rurales restent en nombre absolu majoritairement anglophones. Dans quelques-uns de ces petits villages, les anglophones peuvent, dans les domaines de la vie quotidienne, vivre sans parler français.

Dans les communautés rurales ayant une forte concentration d'anglophones, on observe que ces derniers sont limités en termes d'opportunités économiques, notamment en raison des conditions locales et de la nécessité de desservir une population de plus en plus francophone. En outre, les anglophones unilingues dans les milieux ruraux du Québec sont confrontés à une situation d'emploi précaire. Par conséquent, certains d'entre eux choisissent l'entrepreneuriat ou le travail autonome afin de subvenir à leurs besoins. Les types d'activités économiques qu'ils poursuivent dépendent, en partie, de leur accès aux ressources économiques, physiques, sociales, ou humaines.

Les recherches antérieures qui portent sur l'entrepreneuriat ethnique et les communautés linguistiques ne parviennent pas à expliquer adéquatement les relations sociales complexes révélées par différents éléments liés à la population anglophone des Cantons de l'Est. Cette étude ethnographique, réalisée auprès d'une communauté rurale anglophone située près de la frontière américaine, fait état de disparités langagières et de classes sociales qui se manifestent de diverses manières, que ce soit par la propriété de terrain, le secteur d'activité économique ou la période de résidence dans la région. Les différences nuancées surpassent les distinctions entre les résidents d'origine et ceux qui proviennent de l'extérieur, ou entre les anglophones et les francophones. Elles révèlent un environnement rural et économique de plus en plus complexe où l'identité anglophone au Québec est perçue de maintes façons.

MOTS CLÈS : Anglophone; Cantons de l'Est; Québec; sociologie économique; sociologie rurale; entrepreneuriat ethnique; travailleurs autonomes; petite entreprise; stratification sociale; communauté linguistique.

ABSTRACT

In Canada, about 80% of the population of the province of Quebec speaks French as its first language, while English first language speakers comprise around 8% of residents. The minority English-speaking population is concentrated in Montreal, but Anglophones can be found throughout the province. In the Eastern Townships region, Anglophones historically were the majority of early settlers. In some small rural communities today, residential patterns persist where Anglophones still comprise the numerical majority of the local population. In these enclaves, English-speaking people can often live their daily lives without having to speak French.

In rural communities with a concentration of English speakers, Anglophones face economic opportunities constrained by local conditions and by the need to serve an increasingly French-speaking population. Monolingual Anglophones in rural regions of Quebec also face an increasingly difficult employment environment. Some choose self-employment to meet their needs. The type of occupations they pursue depend in part on access to resources, be they based on economic, physical, social, or human capital. Extant research on ethnic entrepreneurship and language communities offers limited insight into the complex social relations revealed by various aspects of the population under consideration.

In this ethnographic study of a rural community in Quebec near the border of the United States, fissures related to language and class were revealed in multiple dimensions, including property ownership, occupational sector, and length of residence in the area. The nuances of difference extend beyond the distinction of locals versus people from away, or English and French, but rather reveal an increasingly complex rural economic landscape with multiple interpretations of what it means to be an Anglophone in Quebec.

KEY WORDS: Anglophone, Eastern Townships, Quebec, economic sociology, rural sociology, ethnic entrepreneurship, self-employment, small business, social stratification, language community

*This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather,
Louis L. Vieira Sr., who waited patiently for me to finish.*

Mes Remerciements

I submit this thesis with infinite and eternal gratitude to all those who made it possible, including: Christopher McAll, whose gentle guidance kept me moving forward; my parents Lou & Sue Vieira, for their eternal optimism and understanding; Dan McFall and Sharie Elrick of Full Stride, without whom I never could have made this leap; Michael, for all the reasons known to him; and my gang of true friends, Dany, Étienne, T-Beaulne, Pierre, Christina (and Tina), Martine, Mario, along with all their children, who kept me real. Brian Lundberg of Norwich University deserves much recognition for the many hours he spent reading my endless drafts. Finally, and most importantly, I give my most humble thanks to the good people of Quebec's Eastern Townships, especially the English speakers of the study area, the entire town of Clear Lake, the Barn, the Gym, and all of my respondents, and particularly my dear neighbors in Pleasant Valley, who saw fit to share their time, work, lives, and leisure with me. I hope my work is worthy of all that they gave. My life has been made rich by you.

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Introduction

When I decided to return to school to complete my Ph.D., I knew that I was interested in questions about language and power. I was particularly interested in contexts where speakers of two languages were in contact. The negotiations regarding language use, the opportunities available to one language group and not the other, the perceptions of each group of the other, and of the others within their own language group, all fascinated me. Because of my prior research on non-native speakers of English studying in the United States, I had developed a certain understanding of the strategies employed by outsiders to make sense of a social landscape very different from that of their origins, and different from that of local insiders, and I had come to see majority language speakers as uniquely privileged, linguistically, economically, and socially, vis-à-vis non-native or minority language speakers (Vieira 1996a). Things that are simple and straightforward for majority native language speakers are experienced as obstacles to navigating the social, economic, and linguistic landscape by non-native and/or minority language speakers. As a small business owner myself, I was particularly curious about how minority language speakers were able to secure their economic livelihoods through strategies of self-employment in a linguistic environment that did not allow them the same ease of access into legitimate, bureaucratically monitored business sectors as native speakers. Having grown up in a rural region of Southern California, I had witnessed the relations of separateness between English and Spanish-speaking Californians and other residents, including immigrants from various language backgrounds.

For my doctoral program, I went in search of a place where I could immerse myself in the world I had previously experienced as a researcher – I wanted to study for a degree in a language other than English. However, my language skills were fairly limited, to rusty university German and French, as were my options related to finances and geographic mobility. I was still supporting myself through self-employment as I went back to school, and my business interests tied me to Burlington, Vermont, where I had to return weekly. My interests led me north to Quebec, and in particular, to the Eastern Townships, a region with a long history of Anglophone settlement and migration, but where Francophones are now clearly in a majority position, dominating the provincial political, cultural, and social spheres. In the Townships I realized I could examine the situation of English speakers as a minority, in a place where they had a long history, and where they once dominated provincially those aspects of social life now associated with Francophone Quebeckers.

I came to this region from a unique position: as an American citizen, I had no vested interests in the Canadian and Quebec political struggles of the past forty years. With English as my first language, I had a privileged way to enter into conversations with English speakers in Quebec. Having lived in the border states of Michigan and Vermont for the fifteen years immediately preceding the study period, I had been able to have frequent contact with Canadians from a variety of provinces, as well as easy access to both English and French language Canadian media, so my familiarity with and interest in Canadian issues was fairly current.

In pursuing my Ph.D. at the Université de Montréal, I chose to replicate for myself the experience I had witnessed in my earlier research, placing myself in the position of an

outsider. My decision to study in French at the post-secondary level is rarely duplicated by Quebec Anglophones¹, although Francophones from Quebec and elsewhere are not uncommon at Quebec's English language tertiary institutions. This is also one thing that I found marked me as clearly different from most of the Anglophone Quebecers that I met during my research. Even after numerous conversations about my enrollment and studies, many of my English-speaking neighbors would still ask me how I was doing at McGill. I found this surprising, and still do, as many of my Anglophone contemporaries here in Quebec have been schooled at the primary and sometimes secondary levels in French, and I consider their French language skills far superior to my own.

Commuting from Burlington Vermont to Montréal, while possible, did not seem to me either desirable or amenable to facilitating my research, especially since I anticipated employing an ethnographic methodology. I knew I would be better able to understand the Quebec Anglophone experience if I lived it as much as possible while I studied. I decided to buy a house in the Townships region, since I already knew that this was the area of particular interest to me. I was superficially familiar with the area, having spent a few vacations skiing, hiking, dining, wine tasting and sightseeing there, like many visitors, as these diversified tourist activities have been actively developed over the past thirty years (Lundgren, 1996). It was in undertaking my search for a house that I first encountered the sort of person I would later end up interviewing for this research. Through the internet, I found an English first language real estate agent working in the area I had identified as of interest. She helped me find an ideal property owned by a French first language Montréal resident, and while we discussed her own experience (she had moved here from Ontario

¹ See Pocock & Floch 1999 for further evidence of this.

speaking almost no French), we never talked about the neighborhoods she showed me as “English” or “French”, although when I settled on Pleasant Valley, she remarked that it was one of the most beautiful areas around.

The purchase of my house introduced me to the challenges of international finance, negotiation, banking and legal proceedings. My agent recommended a bilingual notary in a nearby border town, and I found a bilingual mortgage broker, but I ended up with a bank where the staff had limited experience serving an English-speaking foreigner. The entire experience was frustrating, fatiguing, challenging, and time-consuming, but I closed on my property about ten days before classes started in the fall of 2003. At the time, I knew very few specifics about my village, nor the larger administrative structure of the town (comprised of several small villages and one dominant one), as I was too preoccupied in the summer of 2003 with improving my French skills, dealing with paperwork issues related to international studies and re-location, and having surgery to repair a badly broken ankle.

While I wanted French neighbors to allow me an opportunity to improve my language skills, I was also nervous about my limited ability to converse easily in French. My first introduction to a neighbor occurred on move-in day. My next-door neighbor stopped his pick-up at the end of my drive and introduced himself in mother-tongue English. It turns out that Pleasant Valley, with its Anglican Church and former schoolhouse, was originally an entirely English-speaking settlement. I had, by happy accident, providence, an insightful real estate agent, or whatever, chosen a property that plunked me down right smack dab in the midst of the very Anglophone Quebeckers that interested me, in a town still officially

permitted to conduct business bilingually, where, I would later discover, more than 60% of the residents claimed English as their “first official language spoken” on the 1996 Canadian census, the most recent available at the time of my relocation.

I consciously chose to place myself as an outsider to the wider Francophone Quebecois society because I suspected that the English speakers here lived at least partially outside that society, but the chance that landed me in an English enclave neighborhood provided an excellent entrée into the social world of English speakers living here. As in any social group, language alone does not bridge all differences within the group, and there exist many divisions here; including class, origin, occupation, education, etc. I also discovered that, as an American, in some cases I was very much an outsider within the group of outsiders (English speakers), but I was in no way alone in this experience locally. A number of my informants also came here from somewhere else, with limited or no command of the French language. The experiences, social positions, opinions, and outlooks of these people from away differ greatly from those local Anglophone residents whose families have lived in the region for many generations, and this became increasingly clear to me through my research. These distinctions are expressed in clear separations in residence, occupation, clientele, access to resources, and opportunity. There is an overarching tool of unity – language – which links these disparate groups within the local community but which does not bind them together in any significant singular “English” community of Quebec’s Eastern Townships, that some politicized organizations or other researchers have sought to identify (e.g. Floch 2002; QCGN 2004a; Scowen 1991). My experience as an ethnographer was not so far removed from the experiences of many of

those I interviewed, and as such, my access to these informants was easier than it might otherwise have been.

I crossed borders regularly during the course of my fieldwork. Literally, I crossed the international border between the U.S. and Canada on a nearly weekly basis. I crossed the rural/urban landscape divide frequently, particularly during my first year of residence in my fieldwork community as I commuted to Montreal four days a week. I crossed imaginary borders into “French” towns, and tried to get by with my French everywhere, even in my host community, at least early on before I learned the local language norms. I crossed my own emotional and psychological borders regarding notions of identity, language, and selfhood nearly every day. Crossing borders is a regular occurrence around here, but the borders are as much in our minds as in the landscape. The lines crisscrossing the social fabric of Clear Lake do not fit neatly into classic dichotomies of rural/urban, French/English, rich/poor, sophisticated/provincial, and in that sense, I believe this place mirrors trends in the wider society, and especially in those other border communities where a economically weaker country finds itself next to a more powerful neighbor, where the official languages and the languages chosen for use by the population don’t perfectly coincide, where groups are somehow separated from their neighbors and separated as well from what might seem their more easily navigable society. Trends in the wider society, this blurring of boundaries, where lived experiences overlap and transcend dichotomies or even continuums, with disparate breaks, ruptures in the ordinary realities of neighbors, completely different experiences of the same physical geographies, where the trip from Milltown to Charlesville is “too far”, a “long ways”, or a trip to the store, a daily commute, somewhere to pass through on your way to a bigger city, or a different employment

opportunity, and in this place, these different realities live next door to each other, sit down at meals together, and pass each other by on the road every day, as they do in other North American communities, and in other communities around the world.

While the specific history of this place has played a significant role in shaping the attitudes, interactions, and anxieties of the local people, I believe that the patterns of social relations and configurations of groups relative to each other, as evidenced in their social capital, economic resources, historical connection to place, education, and experiences in the wider world that emerge from my research can be found in similar communities elsewhere that do not share the same political history as this study area.

Part I.

The Study

Chapter 1 – Asymmetric group relations on the linguistic and political divide

1.1. Research Intentions

This research seeks to understand the condition of those groups of people who live their lives on a complex divide of language, culture, and economic opportunity where the relations amongst the various groups are marked by asymmetric relationships at multiple political and everyday levels. While there has been a significant amount of research on borders, frontiers and/or border communities in the past (e.g. Barth 1969; Hidalgo 1995; Sturgeon 2004; Verini 1996), work remains to be done, particularly at the theoretical level and within specific localities. In particular, the Anglophone population in rural southern Quebec, which has been well documented by a few historians in recent years (e.g. Kesteman 1999; Little 1997; 2003; 2006), has not attracted significant, sustained, in-depth sociological consideration, and most recent extant studies in this genre focus on narrow aspects of social activity (e.g. Clark-Jones 2000; Fox 1994; Rochette 1999; St. Laurent 2004; Taft 1992). The lack of comprehensive research on this specific population has been noted both by Reimer & Shaver (1988) and more recently in O'Donnell (2004).

Place matters in human life. While mobility and technology have increased exponentially during the past century, we still inhabit a specific locale, and much of our day to day living occurs within this physical space, even if our employment, social ties, and reference points stretch far beyond our residence. The research presented here draws from a specific geographically bounded area, with a particular history of settlement, and although the specifics of the place contribute significantly to the experiences of those who reside there, for the purposes of this study, they could be anywhere in the world where political borders

exist between states of differing economic size and population scale, where people who speak the language of the bordering more powerful state live amongst speakers of a different language in the less powerful state.

The rural and urban landscape provides an additional layer of complexity in this research location, as the asymmetry of opportunity, distance, and perception influence human interactions. Defining rurality presents multiple dilemmas for researchers (see for example du Plessis et al. 2002), but because this study focuses on rurality as a social experience rather than as a specific geographically bounded space where the exact population of the area at a given time is of utmost relevance, the researcher's interpretation as well as that of the respondents in identifying the rural aspect of parts of the study area and the small town aspects of other portions of it provides an adequate understanding of the milieu. However, there is a major metropolitan area approximately 70 kilometers away, and a smaller regional urban city approximately sixty kilometers in the opposite direction. As a result, the development of this countryside, particularly in the past forty years (and in the preceding century as well), with the improvements in transportation, increasing disposable incomes, and growth of leisure time pursuits, has been shaped in part by the desires and interpretations of the countryside by urban day-trippers, vacationers, second-home owners, and relocated former urban dwellers, as well as long-time residents anxious to benefit from the influx of money and opportunity associated with this changing population, as in other similar locations (e.g. Lundgren 1996; Halseth 1998). Without the proximity of Montreal and the regional city of Shadowdon², the research location would likely not have prospered to the degree that it has.

² All place names in Quebec other than Montreal have been changed to help ensure confidentiality.

In particular, this research will focus on members of one of the two major language groups residing in the study area: the Anglophones³ who speak the language (English) of the more powerful neighboring country, the United States, and of the surrounding provinces of their own officially bilingual country, Canada; and the Francophones who speak French, the other of the two national official languages, spoken by a minority of the population throughout Canada, but spoken by a sizeable majority in the province of Quebec. I focus especially on those Anglophones who have chosen self-employment or entrepreneurship in meeting their economic needs. In so doing, I focus on the dynamics of place, residential patterns, employment/self-employment choices, resource utilization and the role of social capital in understanding outcomes in the lives of individuals and the wider society.

The ultimate goal of this thesis will be to consider my findings in light of the previous explanations offered by studies in ethnic entrepreneurship, in research on borders, and of those generated by a community studies/rural sociological approach which emphasizes the importance of place. This effort should show whether or not, and/or to what degree, these approaches can be applied where the group in question is not explicitly an ethnic group in the classic sense, exhibit a residential concentration, and where mobility is not excessively constrained by geography. First, I need to explore the notion of “minority” as it relates to the situation experienced by Anglophones residing in rural communities where they form a small but geographically concentrated numerical majority. Next, I will explore my data for

³ English language dominant individuals, those who were educated in the English school systems and/or who prefer to use English in their domestic and personal relations. These people might be fluently bilingual or multi-lingual in daily life, but they express a preference for English language communication. They should have English as their first language spoken and still understood; however, those who had another first language but who prefer English will be included in this definition. Francophones are the inverse of this formulation, who prefer speaking French.

information related to borders and the frontier experience. Third, I will consider the evidence as to whether self-employment/entrepreneurial activities by a minority population suggest a vital community, or whether they suggest a community of declining opportunity. In order to consider this notion of vitality, it will be necessary to undertake a detailed analysis of the sectors of the economy in which we find Anglophone self-employment and entrepreneurship, for if these folks are disproportionately involved in providing services to an aging and dwindling English-speaking population, it suggests decline as opposed to vibrancy. In sum, I will take stock of what I learned in my research community and consider whether or not my findings are consistent with previous research on ethnic entrepreneurship, borders, and community studies. In working towards these goals, certain questions arise which must be accounted for in constructing a methodology and analyzing the data, and I explore these concerns in the following sections of this chapter.

1.2. Majority/Minority Relations

One of the key concepts underlying this research is the idea that we need to question what exactly we mean by the terms majority and minority. Weber makes it clear that majority/minority status is directly related to power, rather than to number, where power is defined as the ability to exercise one's will upon another (Weber 1968). All majority/minority relations are relative, and the level at which they are relative (individual, community, province, nation-state) varies. At base, minority/majority status invokes notions of political power. Furthermore, there are elements and mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion between and within groups (Elias & Scotson 1994). So what are we really talking about when we discuss minority/majority status in the research area today? Should we define this status by access to services or employment and educational

opportunities? Should we consider the networks in which individual members of a minority group embed themselves? Are minority group affiliated individuals more or less privileged by their network of relationships with non-minority group members? Is this stratification primarily economic or employment based? For example, when is an Anglophone really in a minority position in the study area? Is it when they are monolingual and struggle to find local employment opportunities due to their language skills? Does it have something to do with class origins or education? Or is the structure and activation of social capital primary in predicting if one identifies as a minority or not? Is recognition of minority/majority position primarily a political recognition, or does it manifest itself at the level of the individual? If so, how? If a minority population of a certain residential density recognizes, creates and exploits opportunities for itself within a given geographic area, is it really still a minority as long as it stays within those borders? This research will consider how majority/minority identities are constructed and enacted locally, while remaining mindful of the multiple political dimensions in which majority or minority status may be invoked, particularly within this study location. I will present data on self-employment activities to construct an understanding of the various experiences of my respondents as they relate to these questions in my attempt to explain minority Anglophone identity.

1.3. The Role of Language in Social Outcomes: Identifying Anglophones

Who is or is not an “English speaker” here cannot always be determined by reliance on official statistics or even surnames. All categorizations utilized in census enumerations involve complex, implicitly historically contingent structurations of the identities that an individual might be permitted to identify by the entity constructing the questionnaire (Arel 2002). Researchers have developed complicated coding techniques to deal with the

multiple response categories on the latest versions of the Canadian census which may or may not be consistent with the intentions of the respondents, as acknowledged by Jedwab (2005). Magnon (2005) does an excellent job of exploring the differences in choosing various definitions of “English” through maternal language, language of use, or first official language spoken. The coding process can be manipulated in a way that eventually forces respondents into either a French or English language dominant position, even when the individual acknowledges no such affiliation in his or her response (Floch 2002; Floch & Warnke 2004). Research must be carried out in the field which is sensitive to the linguistic affiliations developed *in situ* by the actors themselves and not mediated through the agendas of the researchers, and care must be taken in relying on data gathered by other researchers dependent upon census categorizations of language group affiliation.

For the purposes of this research, I rely on three components of linguistic identity: self-reported language group affiliation (Anglophone, Francophone, Bilingual, etc.), my interpretation, as a native speaker of English, of the respondent’s English language fluency, and the identification of an individual by other self-identified Anglophones as an Anglophone. Gumperz (1962: 31) identifies a “linguistic community” as “a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication”. My fundamental assumption is not that there is an English-speaking population that stands clearly and distinctly apart from the French-speaking population, but rather that the two groups are differentiated by degree, as manifested at the level of the individual, and that a spectrum of language competencies can be observed in the population. By using the respondent’s self-reported linguistic group affiliation(s), I

avoided forcing respondents into a particular category, as this would be contradictory to my sense of linguistic continuums. For example, in one case, a respondent indicated that his language use has changed over time, from being unilingual Francophone, to being unilingual Anglophone, and now finally to an equal bilingualism.

An individual's relationship to language can reflect the changing social conditions of linguistic reproduction. In Laitin et al. (1994), the authors explore how the adoption of Castilian by the legal system in Spain led quickly to the development of an elite of Castilian speakers within Catalonia in the 17th and 18th centuries. By connecting access to the legal system with a particular language, the notion of the right to language can be seen as part of the judicial process which favors one language over another in an administrative region. However, it can also be seen as an opportunity for an individual to develop his symbolic resources, and hence his human capital, relative to others. Those who most quickly adopted Castilian were able to take advantage of the changing legal landscape, with the concomitant potential for attaining material and social rewards.

This potential ability of an individual to change their social position relative to others simply through their language choices might explain in part the increasing incidence of bilingualism amongst younger people in the study area. If I can "become Catalan" today by adopting the Catalan language and living in Catalonia (Woolard 1989), and if this leads to greater social prestige, material improvements in the quality of life, or other social advantages, why and under what conditions would I "become Catalan" or resist "becoming Catalan"? Or, in other words, if the social and economic conditions in Quebec today favor being "French" over being "English", why and under what conditions would an individual

remain English? In what way is self-employment and entrepreneurship a response to this changing linguistic landscape, if in fact, it is a response to language change at all and not to wider societal trends? Language group affiliation and economic survival strategy may or may not be linked in Quebec, but this research seeks to uncover elements of this possible relationship. Therefore, it is necessary to be clear about who is included in the definition of Anglophone in this research.

1.4. Context: The importance of place

1.4.1. Why Quebec?

In Quebec today, we have a long established numerical minority group whose mother tongue currently places them in a position of differential employment opportunity vis-à-vis the majority French-speaking group (Fenwick 1982). It has been argued that during the past forty years, the English-speaking population of Quebec has undergone a transition from a position of economic and social dominance relative to the Francophone population to a clearly minority position, compounded by an outflow of English-speakers from the province (Audet 1994; Caldwell 1992; Caldwell & Waddell 1982; Saber-Freedman 2001; Scowen 1991). This movement from a previously socially dominant condition to an apparently socially marginalized position has occurred over a single generation, with economic and social implications for English speakers remaining in the province today. The explicitly political dimension of this status shift serves to highlight to the English-speaking population their new, subordinate position in terms of political power within the province, and those who identify themselves as Anglophone Quebeckers are actively engaged in coming to terms with this changed opportunity structure (Vieira 2005).

1.4.2. Why a single region of Quebec?

The diversity of the historical development of the province of Quebec has created regional differentiation which is consistently revealed by socioeconomic indicators. Because of this, self-employment and ethnic entrepreneurial activities vary by regional and local conditions. Historically, the Eastern Townships of Quebec, which run along the frontier with a much larger and more economically and politically dominant English-speaking country, the United States, have been inhabited and influenced by an English-speaking population of diverse origins. This is additionally complicated by the fact that Quebec is a primarily Francophone province in the mainly Anglophone country of Canada. Border communities in similar situations have been found to have varying degrees of acceptance of bilingualism related to the status and history of the group speaking the minority language (Hidalgo 1995). Given the nature of cross-border influences in this region, the situation in the Eastern Townships is not likely to be reflected in the more northerly Quebec society not directly bordering the United States. While the Anglophone population has declined during the period under consideration, there still remain sizeable concentrations of Anglophones within the region, and it is this concentration that gives rise to a population worthy of study. Anglophones continue to live, work, move into, and out of the region in numbers higher than anywhere else in Quebec outside of Montreal. It is a unique situation where the Anglophone members of the local community maintain a particular degree of vitality often remarked upon by residents of other regions of Quebec (QCGN 2004b), and in some places they have a residential density that makes them locally a numerically majority group, as in the study area.

Previous research (Audet 1994; Caldwell 1980; Floch 2002) indicates that there are some distinct demographic differences between Anglophones living in the Eastern Townships and other Anglophone Quebecers, as well as a distinctly different history of settlement which has had lasting impact on the character of the region (Caron 1927; Kesteman 1999; Little 1989a; Rudin 1985; Scowen 1991). Additional regional research indicates a changing sense of identity amongst the various generations of Anglophone Townshippers (Clark-Jones 2000; Pickles 2002; Pocock & Floch 1999), but it is not clear from this prior research exactly what this identity is.

1.4.3. Why the Clear Lake region?

As a portion of the historical Eastern Townships adjacent to the United States, in the administrative territory with the highest concentration of Anglophones in the province of Quebec outside of Montreal, Clear Lake represents a rural location with the possibility of exploiting cross-border opportunities which could be facilitated by the presence of an English-speaking population on the Quebec side of the border. This situation is similar to previous studies on Spanish speakers residing in southern U.S. border areas (Hidalgo 1995). The border position and long history of Anglophone residence in the region would suggest that self-employment is potentially an example of individuals taking advantage of an opportunity to exploit these frontier opportunities; however, the lower relative earnings of Anglophones and higher rates of self-employment compared to those of the local Francophones suggests that something more is at play, but exactly what remains uncertain (Audet 1994; Floch 2002; Floch & Warnke 2004; Larin et al. 1989; Lavoie & Saint-Germain 1991; Roberge & Morin 1989; Warnke 2002). Specifically, the case of the Anglophones of Quebec's Clear Lake provides us a situation in which to consider how we

might better understand the relations of dominance amongst groups where language is a primary vehicle of identity, as they are expressed in self-employment and ethnic entrepreneurial patterns.

The study area of Clear Lake includes three contiguous towns which have the highest residential concentration of Anglophones in the Eastern Townships⁴. All three communities are majority Anglophone mother tongue. In Grundy, no respondents indicated bilingualism in their mother tongue, and 71.43% of the population identified themselves as English mother tongue. In the Town of Clear Lake, 61.09% of respondents indicated an English mother tongue, while an additional 100 individuals indicated that they were bilingual French/English mother tongue. Sunset Hill boasts 72.32% Anglophone mother tongue residents. The only other majority Anglophone community in this administrative district, Stoly, has a population that is 60% Anglophone. Stoly has been rejected from inclusion as a study site for this research for the following multiple reasons: due to irregularities in the available statistics regarding industry and employment; geographic distance from the other three Anglophone majority towns; due to its location relative to Montreal, its employment profile is considerably different than that of the three target communities; it lacks some of the geographic features which contribute to tourism, recreation, and second home ownership in the three towns selected for the study. Separating any of the three target communities from the others causes challenges, as various sectors of each have different economic and social profiles, and respondents often live in one and work in another. Combining these three locales of Grundy, Clear Lake, and Sunset Hill, results in a study population of 5825, residing and working in a contiguous

⁴ All census data in this section are from the 1996 Canadian census, which was the most recent available at the time the study area was selected.

land mass, at the center of which is the geographic feature of Clear Lake, where all study communities send their children to the same local schools. This population should allow us to uncover if and to what degree language group affiliation might be seen as similar to ethnic affiliation. Additionally, the research site, with its many in-movers, tourists and second home owners, permits an exploration of the social relations between the locally born and those who have re-located to the area from elsewhere. The dynamic of relations between locals and people from away has been observed in other communities favored as locations for vacation homes⁵.

1.5. Research Questions: the Problem

Since long before Marx's critique of the capitalistic mode of production, the inequalities that result from the social organization of economic activity have held our attention. How we earn our daily bread, and how much we earn compared to our neighbors, provides not only a topic of conversation, but motivation for the activities of daily living that meet our most fundamental needs, as well as our socially influenced, and individually mediated, consumption goals. In contemporary nation-states, various status groups have differential access to the most desirable and highly rewarded forms of economic activity. When these competing status groups inhabit the same regions and are easily identifiable by race, religion, ethnic origin, nationality, gender or language, the contrasting opportunities through which they might pursue economic gain can be perceived even through casual observation. Individuals often have to wind their way through a bewildering array of possible choices and opportunities in deciding how to meet their economic needs. In all

⁵ See Hamilton 2007 for such a case.

sorts of status groups, some people choose self-employment or entrepreneurship⁶ as a means to meet their financial needs. Within visible minority groups, the prevalence or absence of entrepreneurial or self-employment activities has been attributed to a range of factors, including cultural explanations for the economic vibrancy of certain groups (Greene 1997; Teixeira 1998), the exploitation of a niche opportunity (Spener & Bean 1999), structural elements in the economic system (Stenmetz & Wright, 1989), exploitation of social network opportunities (Premaratne 2001) or the inability of the individual to find acceptable paid employment in the wider society (Marger & Hoffmann 1992; Sanghera 2002), as well as through explanations of civic engagement (Putnam 1997). How can we understand self-employment patterns and entrepreneurship in light of the wider social relations between majority and minority groups? What, if anything, do self-employment patterns and entrepreneurship reveal about the condition of a minority group vis-à-vis the majority group? Does the degree to which a minority group is embedded in its locality through self-employment and entrepreneurship patterns suggest anything about the nature of social ties in that community, and are these types of social ties indicative of larger trends in relations amongst groups?

Quebec's Eastern Townships region provides an interesting example of how majority/minority relations can be obscured by the reality of place. With an established history of English-speaking residents, positioned along the border with the United States,

⁶ For the purposes of this research, I will attempt to distinguish between self-employment as an economic activity where individuals sell their labor, or that of their immediate family members (however specialized) to a range of clients, as opposed to a single employer; and entrepreneurial activity, where an individual (or group of individuals) develops a new product, method or service and creates a value-added business result, generally providing paid employment to individuals beyond their immediate sphere. However, restaurants, retail stores, and beauty salons might be classified as self-employment activities, even though they may provide any number of paid employee positions. The final determination of these categories will depend upon the results encountered in the data collection phase of this research.

where both in and out migration have long marked the population, the numerical minority of Anglophones once were a much larger proportion of the residents of the region (Kesteman 1999; Little 1989b). However, their numbers have declined, in both an absolute sense and relative to the Francophone population, in ways that have led some to argue that they have moved from a majority to a minority position (Caldwell & Waddell 1982; Scowen 1991). While these Anglophones are not usually identifiable through race, they may be identifiable to others through religion or ethnic origin. Occasionally, it is impossible to identify Anglophones or Francophones through their surnames due to the phenomenon of being “raised English” or “raised French”⁷. In fact, with the increasing incidence of bilingualism, particularly among younger Anglophones (Audet 1994), it is not even clear if there is a continued saliency of linguistic identification for the younger generations. However, the Anglophones of the region are disproportionately self-employed or entrepreneurs, relative to their Francophone neighbors, and more so than their Anglophone compatriots elsewhere in Quebec (Audet 1994; Floch 2002; Floch & Warnke 2004). In particular, previous research has identified the Eastern Townships, and the specific administrative region under consideration, as warranting greater investigation focusing on the importance of locale and relationships, in terms of the survival strategies of Anglophones and the nature of language brokering that occurs within and between language groups due to the persistence of its Anglophone population (Reimer and Shaver 1988). This raises the question: what is it about the Anglophones of the Eastern Townships that has allowed them to maintain a visible and apparently viable community? Is it

⁷ This phenomenon refers to the children of ethnically French families being sent to English-language schools and essentially being raised in the other official language, and vice-versa for English-speaking ethnic groups and other allophone ethnic groups, and also to children of linguistically mixed marriages. This practice has been somewhat reduced by the regulations of the education system introduced by Bill 101 in 1977, but in conversations with residents over 35, it is not uncommon to be confronted with a French-surnamed Anglophone, or an English-surnamed Francophone.

somehow related to their propensity to self-employment and entrepreneurship? Does it have something to do with their continued residential concentration in certain areas? The data should allow us to understand the nature of the self-employment activities in the study area and how they relate to identity maintenance and community visibility.

1.5.1. Ethnic Entrepreneurship

There is a body of literature that investigates ethnic entrepreneurship, ranging from studies on ethnic or racial enclave economies to immigrant entrepreneurial practices. This literature, while it does not necessarily explicitly address the general issue of non-ethnic, non-racialized minority/majority relations as expressed through economic configurations, it does address specific instances of these majority/minority relationships, often focusing on particular communities composed of contrasting racial and/or ethnic groups. While it is difficult to formulate the situation of the Anglophones in Quebec as clearly an example of an ethnic enclave in the sense of most American or other international research, this literature does shed some light on potential interpretations of Anglophone economic activity in the region. In general, much of this literature views the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurs from either a cultural proclivity for such activity (Greene 1997), or from a more classical economic argument that these individuals either cannot find regular employment in the receiving society, or are exploiting a niche market of co-ethnics which they are uniquely situated to serve (Spener & Bean 1999). In the situation of ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship, language often plays a role in the ability of a newcomer to take advantage of mainstream employment opportunities (Teixeira 1998), but this same research indicates that sectoral economic opportunities are often short-term responses to temporary demographic needs. Sometimes ethnic entrepreneurs are seen as serving their

co-ethnics in an essentially protected market (Cummings 1999). Other research dismisses the notion of ethnicity as a significant contributor to the economic and market decisions made by individuals, arguing instead that these are economic decisions only tangentially influenced by the ethnic context (Sanghera 2002). All of these different theoretical understandings of how and why minority self-employment and entrepreneurial activities differ from those of the majority group might conceivably be put to use in understanding what is happening in the Eastern Townships. But at the same time, the results might not support any of these previous theoretical formulations, since the Anglophones of the Eastern Townships are not clearly an ethnic group.

1.5.2. Social Capital

Another approach is to include a consideration of social capital in the analysis of the relevant factors influencing self-employment and entrepreneurial undertakings. Social capital, as a particular form of capital, where capital is understood as resources which can be mobilized or transformed into other resources, which can be exchanged, have opportunity costs, can appreciate, depreciate, accumulate or be appropriated, can be discerned in the network of relationships amongst actors. Social capital differs from human capital or cultural capital because it requires activation on the part of the actor, and depends on the reciprocity of this potential activation amongst linked individuals. Measuring social capital can focus on various features of network relations, including but not limited to: density, diversity, size, strength of ties, and the varying statuses of those comprising the network (Lévesque 2000). Typical measurement tools include name generators and position generators, as well as resource generators (Van Der Gaag & Snijders 2005; Wasserman & Faust 1994). This approach holds shades of the ethnic

enclave argument; however, it includes ties that reach beyond simply the local community. Given that the Anglophones of Quebec are not comprised of a single ethnic origin, considering their social capital might allow us to explore the linkages amongst diverse groups and whether or not classical ethnic group definitions hold in any way. As is often the case, measuring or accounting for social capital creates methodological challenges, an issue I address in the next chapter.

Bridging the work on ethnic entrepreneurship and social capital, Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993) argue particularly that immigration research regarding social capital might be fruitful in re-connecting social structure with economic life. They write:

... foreign-born communities represent one of the clearest examples of the bearing contextual factors can have on individual economic action. With skills learned in the home country devalued in the receiving labor market and with a generally poor command of the receiving country's language, immigrants' economic destinies depend heavily on the structures in which they become incorporated and, in particular, on the character of their own communities.

(Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993: 1322)

While I am not arguing that the Anglophones of the study area are foreign-born immigrants (although some of them are), this population exhibits similar characteristics to many immigrant communities in terms of language skills of the dominant group and concentrated residential patterns, and my research seeks to better understand the structures in which they operate as well as the character of their community, which should be relevant to understanding their economic choices and outcomes. Later work has advanced the idea that social capital research can be fruitful in improving our understanding of

economic behavior (Davern 1997), and I hope to discern further linkages of this sort, if they exist amongst participants in the study area.

1.5.3. Rural Sociology

In contrast with neo-classical rational choice and human capital perspectives on stratification in capitalism, early community studies in rural sociology focused on how differences in the organization of economic activity resulted in differential outcomes of social well-being by geographic context (Goldschmidt 1946; Goldschmidt 1947). Along this vein, more recent work has been undertaken to develop a more nuanced view of how localized capitalistic endeavors and civic engagement influence socioeconomic well-being (Flora et al. 1997; Tolbert et al. 1998). This approach can help explain why some communities exhibit certain characteristics that others lack, which might help to illuminate the uneven residential distribution of the Anglophone self-employed and entrepreneurs within the Eastern Townships. Additionally, the notions of embeddedness and the “strength of weak ties”(Granovetter 1973) have increasingly been brought to bear in analyzing how social relations impact business practices (Premaratne 2001; Sanghera 2002; Uzzi 1999). In bringing together an analysis based on social capital and a community studies approach, I might be able to develop a nuanced understanding of the complicated interplay of forces that shape local communities. But the question remains, how do business practices in return influence social relations, particularly between so-called minority and majority groups? Do the practices of self-employment and entrepreneurship reflect or direct the relations between groups in specific communities?

1.5.4. Place

Finally, the notion of locally owned commercial enterprises as “third places” which provide an institutional space for informal social life (Oldenburg 1991), links the power of place with the existence of locally owned, locally operated enterprises which provide not only economic resources for the operators, but also physical and psychological spaces for social engagement by the wider population, suggesting that vibrant, diverse, small-holder enterprises might hold the key to a locality’s success or decline (Putnam 1993; Tolbert et al. 1998). Given the identification of Clear Lake’s ability to maintain a vibrant, socially active, if modestly declining Anglophone population (Reimer & Shaver 1988), we need to look for the spaces that have helped to nurture the ongoing social relations which characterize the region. Are there places which nurture and sustain the Anglophone population in this way, and are they disproportionately owned, managed, or frequented by Anglophones? The question is not just why do individuals choose self-employment or entrepreneurship, but rather, how do these choices get reflected in the web of social relations that come to characterize a place, and in what social spaces are these relations created, nurtured and developed?

1.5.5. Theoretical Sufficiency

Do these socially embedded, community-based approaches offer a better way of understanding the situation of majority/minority entrepreneurial activity, relative to the explanations offered by the ethnic entrepreneurship approaches? Can the approaches to ethnic entrepreneurship be applied to the different configurations of majority/minority relations that do not neatly fit into the framework of race or immigration? Are these previously offered explanations in regards to immigrant ethnic entrepreneurs and race-

based entrepreneurial activity relevant in a rural situation where the apparent minority group are not newcomers as a group, although specific individuals may be; have previously held a dominant social position; do not suffer from race-based discrimination; and have social resources (language) which would appear to potentially offer wider market access than the dominant language group? In particular, can these approaches help us to understand the disproportionate propensity for self-employment demonstrated by the Anglophones of Quebec's Eastern Townships?

1.5.6. Complexity

My assumption is that "social phenomena are complex phenomena" (Strauss 1987).

The survival strategies employed by the Anglophones of Quebec's Eastern Townships region therefore might serve as a window on the challenges facing many small business owners in communities marked by political and/or linguistic asymmetry, and how they seek to work through their situations by virtue of the various networks of relations in which they are embedded. Such research could potentially inform how services might be delivered to small business owners, and elucidate the role that social capital plays in the lives of the self-employed and entrepreneurs.

1.6. Conclusion

This research breaks new ground in studying a specific population that has been under-investigated. Additionally, this work will explore the nature of bounded solidarity as it relates to language groups, conceptually expanding our knowledge of the nature of social groups and how they are differentially constituted, particularly by those within the group who seek to clarify and benefit from their membership status. Lastly, this research

considers how origin plays a role in exclusion and inclusion, and how that shapes economic choices and opportunities.

Chapter 2 –Doing research in the Eastern Townships

2.1. Getting familiar with the area

There was one easy way to get to know my neighbors in Pleasant Valley, and that was to speak English. Although I had moved to Quebec, without entirely realizing it I had moved to a place where even my limited French skills were superfluous. Fortunately for me, I express myself most comfortably in English, my first language. I was superficially accepted locally as “one of us”, an English speaker, immediately, but that in no way suggests that I was able to pierce the veil of this world or be accepted into any specific social sphere with any immediacy. In fact, like all ethnographic research, my experience has been singular, and particular to this time and place, and to my own position within the community, as well as to my own ability to gain access across boundaries, primarily by avoiding any too close association with any one group of people, which can then inhibit entry into other groups (Fetterman, 1989; Whyte 1984). It was most fortunate that I was generally seen as a sympathetic outsider, not competing with any of the groups or individuals here (although a few women were suspicious of me, as I was divorced and not clearly involved with a local male, so I was occasionally construed as a potential rival), and simply trying to understand and participate in the world in which I found myself. This method of inserting myself as a new resident landowner in the community proved successful in avoiding some of the pitfalls that can accompany ethnographic research (see again Fetterman 1989 and also Whyte 1984 for an overview of some of the challenges to entering fieldwork). Although my experience has been unique, I do believe that the things I learned about those around me, the different constellations of factors which comprise the groups that emerged from my field work, and the ways in which certain types of people

organize their resources to survive within a particular set of constraints, clearly exist beyond my own interpretation, and that another researcher, given the same population during the same period of time, with a similar methodology, would develop a generally similar multiplex analysis of the English speaking residents of the study region. Furthermore, I think the general configurations that emerge are not unique just to this place and time, but suggest elements of intra-group relations that could be observed in many settings.

Pleasant Valley held my attention strongly that first winter, as did the local publications. I read the local and regional papers, dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, in French and English. One informant, who had lived in the area for nearly twenty years, always laughed that I was more up on what was happening in town than she was. But it was through my regular reading of the local news and attendance at local and regional meetings that I started to develop a sense of what mattered to the local people and what the reporters felt important to ensure had wider exposure. I began to understand the information available in English was not the same as that available in French, either in topic, quantity, or orientation.

I would later discover that in my first year in the field, my shopping and traveling patterns were not consistent with those of my neighbors, in part due to the fact that the financing of my property was done through an out-of-town bank. My patterns started to more resemble those of my neighbors the longer I stayed in the area, the more shopkeepers I got to know, and the better I became acquainted with what was available and where. That first winter, I also attended many public events, including a meeting of the Eastern Townships School Board where the topic under consideration was a significant expansion in the teaching of

subject matter in French to students enrolled in the English language school system. In Quebec, two parallel and separate public educational systems are maintained: one French and one English. Originally, the division was Protestant and Catholic; however, during the secularization of Quebec society the distinction became one of language instead of religion. It was at this meeting that I came to understand that there exists a very real fear, particularly on the part of Anglophone parents whose children struggle in school, that increasing requirements in French language competence will further depress their children's educational attainments. Before this meeting, I had never considered the very real challenges to learning disabled students who were being pushed to manage in two languages, even as they were struggling to achieve basic skills in their mother tongue. This meeting alerted me to the deep divisions that exist within the English language education system and the Anglophone population. These divisions are grounded in very real, very substantial issues, with consequences for the future of certain English speaking Quebeckers. Anglophone students who do not complete school, or who graduate with limited competencies, particularly in French, face a very difficult and uncertain job market in Quebec. Those same struggling students, if they spoke French only, could probably find some sufficient low level employment in the province, since the unemployment rate is at very low levels these days (see Paillé 1996 for a discussion of the employment outlook for low skill youth). This meeting of the local school board first alerted me to some of the issues that I would later hear expounded by those Anglophones I met during the course of my research.

2.2. Meeting people

Meeting people can be a challenge when relocating under any circumstances, so I knew I would have to make a concerted effort to succeed in this in order to facilitate my research. I chose to try to develop acquaintances at first through activities that appealed to me within the study area. As a generally active and curious person, it was exciting to seek out opportunities that I thought I would enjoy. Before I arrived in the field, I participated in various activities: riding my horse, playing ice hockey, reading, hiking, skiing, attending cultural events, and eating out. I was able to pursue all of my interests to some degree, as well as develop some new ones, during the course of my fieldwork. During the later phases of my research, I realized that the wide variety of activities I had entered into during my early time in the field had allowed me access to a broad cross-section of the local population, which enabled me to make linkages and distinctions I might otherwise have missed.

2.2.1. The Barn

After making arrangements for my housing in the village of Pleasant Valley, one of the formerly self-administered villages now consolidated and administered as Clear Lake Town, my second order of business was to find a barn for my horse. The area is remarkable in the penetration of equestrian-related activities. A world-class venue for equestrian events abuts the study area, and the countryside, with its rolling landscape, hay fields formerly used mostly for dairy production, and quiet dirt country roads, makes it attractive for equestrian pursuits. The long history of settlement by would-be country squires, those of English descent with some secure income often from prior military service, lured to the area during earlier migrations, added to the historical development of an equestrian culture (Little 2003; Little 2006). Fortunately, I have been involved in

equestrian pursuits since my childhood, and I had planned all along to bring my horse with me to my new home. This provided me with an immediate point of entry into one segment of the local population.

To give an idea of the scope of the role of equestrian related activity in the local economy, during the time of my field research, three new equestrian boarding and training facilities opened either within the research boundaries, or just adjacent to them, and a fourth is nearing completion as I write this, an impressive rate of growth in an industry not notable for being financially well-rewarded outside of the racing industry, and there for only a small percentage of participants. None of these new facilities specialized in training or breeding racehorses at this time. All are involved in the recreational and competitive equestrian sports world, where the monies spent by participants normally far exceed any reasonable return or potential for income. Within a five kilometer radius of my house and within my study boundaries, there are five sizeable horse farms, one focused on breeding, and four which cover a range of breeding, training, and boarding options. Within the study area, there are two other significant barns/equestrian facilities that are public in nature, and dozens of private barns, sometimes with a few boarders, several of which host competitions during the summer months. There were five additional sizeable established for-profit equestrian facilities in communities immediately adjacent to the study area during this research period, in addition to those that opened or were being built during the this time, and of these, only one is involved in the race horse industry. Obviously there are some financial resources necessary to establish such facilities, and I included in both my interviews and my field work people involved in this industry, to better understand how they were able to develop their operations and persist in a competitive, expensive,

challenging business that generally demands early experience and success, as well as name recognition and strong network development and activation.

For my mare, I was able to choose a barn that offered the horse-related amenities I desired. In addition to the facilities, the barn's clientele included both French and English first language horse owners, riders and staff (the numbers of each varied throughout each year and over the longer term), and during the summer hosted a well-attended pony club for young riders, many of whom were the children of people summering here. In the first few months of my residence in Pleasant Valley, the barn was my primary place of socialization, and it was here that I had some of my first introductions to area residents. Over time, some of these individuals developed into valuable informants for my research.

At the barn I saw resident trainers come and go, and come again, observed changes in clients and staff, and witnessed owner/staff relations, all of which were relevant to my research. I also managed to spend a few days "helping out" at various times over the years when staffing was tight, so I learned more about the inner operations of the barn than most ordinary clients, and I developed good relations with the owner and staff in particular. In my first full summer and second summer in the area (2004 and 2005), I volunteered to help with the pony club, which allowed me to further expand my circle of acquaintances, particularly with the mothers of the riders, women generally in their late 30's and early 40's, who provided the bulk of the labor needed to keep the non-profit pony club operating.

The barn has continued to offer up many opportunities to better understand the local economy and workforce. Over the past three and one half years, I have met a number of grooms, trainers, owners and riders of various backgrounds. Many of these people have been Anglophone Quebeckers, and the stories they told me and the experiences we shared at the barn exposed me ever more to local life. It has offered in particular a glimpse into the different social status and class elements in the local community, as connected through a specific place which brings together these diverse groups.

2.2.2. Volleyball

While the barn provided my entrée into the community, it was not the only place where I got to learn more about the population which interested me. In the winter of 2003-2004, I signed up to play co-ed volleyball through the town recreational program in Milltown, the primary commercial center of Clear Lake Town. I was not particularly experienced in volleyball, and I had no real interest in the game, but it was one of the few local recreational programs that fit in my schedule, so I figured it was worth a try. Here I was introduced to a number of local residents, both French and English first language (or both, for that matter), and I got to observe language interaction in a casual setting. The distinct tendency was towards bilingualism, but as the crowd was more Anglophone than Francophone this first year, English tended to prevail. At the end of that season, in April 2004, I was asked to play with an intermediate group the following fall. This intermediate group was younger, with most of us being in our early thirties, with two men over forty, as well as a couple of teenage boys who played occasionally. This group was markedly different than the barn. All of the thirty-somethings, less myself, were bilingual Francophones. The older and younger guys were all Anglophones, in spite of some of them

sporting French surnames. This suggested to me at the time that perhaps there was something to the “missing middle” thesis regarding the demographic hole in the census numbers of Anglophones in the Eastern Townships suggested by other researchers (Audet, 1994; Caldwell, 1992; Floch 2002; Floch & Warnke 2004). Later, as I developed friendships with these bilingual Francophones, I learned that two of the men were married to bilingual Anglophone women, and one of the women was actually educated mostly in English, although she spoke primarily French at home as a child and now, even as she was sending her children through the English school system. Once I learned more about their language affiliations and their stories of how they came to this place, I developed greater skepticism towards the language definitions of subjects by other researchers that I had encountered.

2.2.3. Ice Hockey

During that first winter of recreational volleyball play, I also garnered an invitation to play ice hockey (which I had played competitively in university) with a group made up primarily of teachers from the nearby English secondary school. I was breaking boundaries with this group, as I was female and significantly younger than the average player age of approximately 50 (although they ranged from 20 to 72 during the time I played with them). They had had a female goaltender once before, the daughter of one of the regulars, but never had they had a woman skating on defense, and socializing post-game in the locker room over beers and chips. I never gained a regular place on the squad, but was on the substitute list, called to play only when a regular could not make it. However, my occasional skates provided me a good introduction to another diverse and wider group of Anglophone individuals, with some of whom I would later develop stronger relations, and

it was in this group that I learned that the Anglophones here did see themselves, and did occasionally refer jokingly to themselves, in the French phrase, as “*nous autres*” (we others), as separate and different from their French-speaking neighbors, as somehow outsiders in their home town.

2.2.4. The Pleasant Valley Protestant Church

The people in my own community of Pleasant Valley, while very welcoming, were also simultaneously curious and suspicious of me. A few older childless couples reached out to include me socially in their private gatherings, which I appreciated greatly. The center of community activity in Pleasant Valley was clearly the local Protestant Church which hosted an annual cycle of fundraising social events. I missed the Christmas Tea in the fall of 2003, but I made it to the Pancake Supper in February 2004. I brought along a friend from the barn, and her partner, a man whose family had a long history in a nearby village. Sitting at a table with them provided numerous introductions to people I might otherwise not have met until much later. We stayed until the end of the event and helped clean and pick-up tables and put away chairs. My participation in the cycle of church events – Christmas Tea in November, Pancake Supper before Ash Wednesday, strawberry social in July, and barbeque in August- would eventually provide me with a degree of acceptance in the community that surprised even me. I was persistent, attending most events, helping out at the end of the day, and bringing friends along, both locals and visiting Americans. I always offered to participate more fully, but my offer was not accepted until I had been offering (and cleaning up) for three years. It was in the summer of 2006, after I had interviewed a few local families for my research, after I had been seen attending school plays and participating in wider community events, that I got “the call” from the head of

the Ladies' Guild inviting me to schedule myself to participate as a volunteer. I could not turn down such an appeal, and I made sure to secure those dates in my calendar. Getting "in" with the "church ladies" suggested that I had been granted a degree of recognition and acceptance as "one of us" in the little village of Pleasant Valley, even if I was not native-born. I had worked diligently to earn this status and I did not take my new responsibility to the community lightly. The dates they planned far in advance I treated as sacred in my schedule of commitments.

2.2.5. French Conversation Class

In my second year of studies, I was traveling less frequently to Montreal, and, with less opportunity or need to use my French, I started attending conversational French classes at the local branch of an English language university (essentially an extension program that offered courses primarily attended by area retirees in a variety of subjects, including art, languages, creative writing, history, etc.). I continued riding at the barn and playing volleyball as well, but the new people I met in my local French class provided me with further insight to the resident English speaking population. Many of these people had lived in Quebec for many years, but had lost their school French over time, or had had no need for it previously. Some were newcomers to Quebec or the Eastern Townships, some were retirees, some were employed in social service jobs serving primarily English-speakers, but who knew that improving their French skills would improve their future job prospects, and there were a very few traditional college age students. In this class, I also met three local protestant clergy, recently relocated to the area, who were actively trying to improve their French in hopes of increasing their otherwise aging and shrinking flocks. Unlike my prior experience in French classes at Université de Montréal, we had no non-Canadian

immigrants in the class, and it was through this that I learned that financing was available to help immigrants improve their French, but was not available to Anglophone residents who were not immigrants. Participants had to pay their own tuition and find time in their morning schedule to attend these classes, which means that even this limited opportunity was unavailable to many working residents.

2.2.6. The Gym

At the end of the spring in 2005, I joined the local gym. The Milltown gym at the center of Clear Lake Town is not fancy, large, or upscale, but it is clean, centrally located, with a genial staff and a good array of basic equipment. It also attracts a wide variety of clients, the vast majority of whom reside at least part-time in my study area. Over time, the gym became the place where I was best able to develop introductions to social classes not otherwise easily accessible. I developed relationships with the owners and staff, one of whom, Heather, became a key informant. She was very much a local, Anglophone, but who spoke French in the local dialect (and as such, sounded “better” speaking French than I did, with my university French). Heather’s story suggested to me that the situation for Anglophones with only a high school education, even those who speak French well, is extremely difficult. Jobs outside of Milltown or neighboring Charlestown are hard to come by for English-speakers, as speaking French is absolutely required, and even a suggestion of an accent (or an English surname) can create hurdles to employment, as Heather herself attested, and as I heard repeated in my later interviews.

2.3. Living & learning

After living in the community for two and a half years, I thought I had developed a sound understanding of the dynamic forces at play amongst the English-speaking residents. I was in the know to the degree that an averagely informed and overly curious resident might be in the know. I had taken pains to become actively involved in public events, social activities, shopping, and the ordinary activities of daily life. My friends were diverse in age and social status. I kept up to date on local public affairs. I thought I could say that I understood my English speaking neighbors. I was wrong. It was not until I undertook my interviews⁸ during the spring and summer of 2006 that I realized the intricacy and complex variety of experiences of Anglophones in Quebec, as well as the patterns and types that my respondents represented. The following chapters draw heavily upon the information shared with me by my respondents in their interviews, but are also informed by my familiarization through living in the study area, and in my extensive reading of prior research, archival materials, and relevant census information available at the time of my field work.

2.4. Telling stories as part of an ethnographic research method

Throughout the first two years of my field work, I was continuously called upon to explain what I was doing, why I was doing it, and how I managed to get by at a French-speaking university. I was always forthright with those who asked about my status, but even so, my own story evolved over time, as my specific research agenda developed and I progressed in my studies. I realized that in telling my story over time to others, I was constantly creating and re-creating a version of myself, trying to position my identity vis-à-vis my interlocutor, sizing up the “appropriate” degree of specificity.

⁸ View Annexes I & II for the interview protocol followed. In most cases, the follow-up interview questions were explored in the initial interview, when time and rapport allowed.

My focus for this research partially evolved from this experience of explaining myself to others, and I came to see that much could be learned from the telling and re-telling of our stories: our representations of ourselves and our experiences to others, the myths and representations we create of ourselves, what we ask others to believe about us, and what we like to believe about ourselves. I was asked so many times about why I was here. My prior re-location from Michigan to Vermont, as well as the start-up of my business, had evoked similar questions in a different place, and each time I had developed an evolving storyline which represented the elements that I felt were key to understanding who I was, how I was able to develop relationships, exploit opportunities by re-creating forms I had known elsewhere, and present an image of myself (or so I imagined) as creative, resourceful, hard-working, focused, and risk-taking. It seems to me that this creative re-telling of ourselves to others is a fundamental aspect of the human experience, a constant exploration of identity, mediated by language, and drawing on our competency in symbolic representation and social interaction. The stories we tell, tell as much or more about the place and the time and our perceptions of the person or persons with whom we are speaking, than they do about the specific lived reality of the individual. Our history is our stories⁹, and we change them over time to better fit the current conditions in which we find ourselves. There is no reason to believe that the stories I collected could be recreated exactly by someone else interviewing these same people today; however, there is a fundamental truth in the stories I was told, both in the substance and in the motivation and effort to construct a coherent story that would present a certain image to the researcher by the respondent. They told me what was important to them at that time, under those conditions, and I applied myself to trying to make sense of these narratives, trying to see

⁹ I prefer it in French: *notre histoire est nos histoires*

similarities and differences in the stories I was told, and more importantly, trying to understand the similarities and differences in the experiences of the individuals who told me their stories, so that I might better comprehend the organization of the local society and its relationship to the larger social forces at play. Similar reliance on narrative has been used and defended by a variety of researchers, in sociological and anthropological studies (e.g. Bawin-Legros 1985; Houle 1997; Meyerhoff, 1978).

It was not until after I had gotten a solid feel for this place that I embarked on this series of interviews designed to elicit the stories that self-employed English first language residents would tell to me, a thirty-something American woman working on a Ph.D. at a French language institution, who simultaneously managed a relatively successful small business back in the United States and taught university courses there part-time. I gathered their stories through a series of thirty formal interviews, some of which involved two people, who owned and operated a total of 48 businesses (accounting for the various economic sectors in which they operated). My formal interviews were conducted after I had lived in the community for more than two and one half years. I remained a frequent visitor and occasional part-time resident in the region while writing this ethnography, so the data collected and analyzed here covers, in total, more than four years. During the time the interviews were conducted, all of my respondents resided and worked within the study area, three contiguous small towns in a single county of Quebec where the English first language population was at or above 60% in the 2001 census update¹⁰.

¹⁰ The most recent data at the time I initiated my interviews, newer data has since come available.

I heard amazing stories, and people proved remarkably willing to share oftentimes incredibly private details of their lives. In a few cases, my informants tried hard to impress me, occasionally they held me at arm's length, keeping the telling very superficial, but frequently I felt as if I had come into their lives at a time when they were ready to share their story with someone who had never heard it before, so that they could re-invent themselves and start out on a new path for themselves, in creating their story for me. At other times, what was intended to be a one hour interview turned into an entire evening of confessions, or a series of meetings, increasingly personal in nature. Many of the most revealing comments were made after I turned off my voice recorder, after we had concluded the formal interview. Sometimes I felt that my informants had been waiting to tell their story to someone from away, who felt safe to them, so that they said far more to me about their emotions, aspirations, concerns and failings, than I ever dreamed my encounters would elicit. In retrospect, I suspect that this might be the case for many of us in contemporary Western society, where the anonymity of chat rooms and massively multi-player games like Second Life encourage us to reveal or creatively develop parts of us we can not or will not share, for whatever reasons, with those physically near to us. There is an odd degree of safety in revealing information to someone you do not know, like someone in the seat next to you on an airplane, as this information doesn't seem likely to be used against you, but used only as a witness of your experience, a confirmation of existence and connectedness.

2.5. Sampling

Getting access to business owners to interview, and knowing that they were English first-language, was potentially a hurdle to this research. Fortunately, the time I had invested in

participating in the community had introduced me to a number of people who either fit the profile themselves or could suggest someone who did. In particular, one community event provided an opportunity to meet many potential interviewees at one time. My relationship with one of the gym owners led to an invitation to participate in the local spring 2006 fashion show, wearing clothes provided by local retailers, most of which are small businesses owned by Anglophones. The timing of this event was perfect, as I had just started my interviews of local English-speaking business owners. My participation as a model in the fashion show allowed me an invaluable initial introduction to some of the people I would later interview – both shopkeepers and other models (who often were other local business owners not in the apparel industry).

The diversity of the population that I recognized from my prior engagement in local activities demanded that I not make the mistake of using some classic sampling methodologies. I needed to be sure to include people who would be missed if I drew only on the phone book, the list of businesses affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce, the list of enterprises offered by the local regional government, or other relevant published resources. I had to utilize diverse sources to initiate my interviews, and many of my choices were influenced by my early efforts to get a feel for the range of economic undertakings practiced by the local people. But I also realized that my net, though wide, was not wide enough, and I drew upon my respondents' knowledge of the area by asking them to suggest others I could interview. Therefore, my approach was a quasi-snowball method of sampling, with diverse multiple primary origin sources, as opposed to a single entry point: the barn, the gym, and via the gym, the fashion show, my volleyball group, and the residents of Pleasant Valley, as well as the phone book, advertisements in local

publications, the list of business from the Chamber of Commerce and a list produced by the local regional government. As my interviews progressed, I undertook a more formal sort of theoretical sampling, as discussed in Strauss (1987), where I actively sought respondents in categories which emerged during my early interviews. This diversity in sourcing respondents ensured that the people with whom I conducted formal interviews represented a wide cross section of the population. This was not a systematic sample, and I made no attempt to include all of the local English-speaking business owners (this would have resulted in a cumbersome amount of data; as it stands, I generated more than 1200 pages of transcripts and notes), but I do believe that I managed to include a reasonable cross-section representing the various businesses in the study area by cross-referencing my direct sources with the published documents identifying area businesses. Unlike some ethnographers who gain access through a narrow gatekeeper relation with a particular individual or specific segment of the population, I pursued a broad approach to better allow me to understand the full array of social strata in the local area. When analyzing my data, I discovered that the referrals I received from respondents (I asked who else they would suggest I could interview), tended to point to other people who I later recognized occupied a similar category as their own. Recommendations from respondents only rarely crossed into the different category types which emerged during my analysis even when I specifically asked for referrals of self-employed people involved in less visible sectors, and had I not drawn from such diverse entry points, it is highly likely that I would have missed some of the relevant categories I elucidated over time. Also invaluable was the information I gained from one key informant, Heather, a single mother, who had been born and raised in the area, who did not work for herself, and who struggled to find appropriate employment during the time that I knew her.

2.6. Categorizing Language

The question of who counts as an Anglophone is critical in this research. The notion of language communities in general hinges on who is accepted as a legitimate member of the identified group and who is rejected. In choosing to focus on Anglophone business owners, I was forced to develop a schema of determining who counts as an Anglophone. When a researcher makes a decision about what categories to use in the analysis of data, the source of that classification system must be well understood, be it language, ethnicity, race, etc.

For example, in most cases considering language in Quebec, the source of data is the Canadian or Quebec government, and/or the formulation of the “language question” as enumerated in the census. The formulation of categories and questions in census instruments can determine the quality of the responses (for a useful elaboration of the challenges of census data see Arel 2002 or McKee 1984). The Canadian census has varied its formulation of language questions over time (Goldscheider 2002), but once asked and answered, these responses are treated as somehow indicative of something substantive. Whether choosing to go with the census questions regarding “home language” or “first official language spoken and still understood”, because Canada now allows multiple responses, researchers studying “language groups” in Canada must make some determination about how and if they are going to combine categories when multiple responses are indicated. For example, Floch (2002) goes into detail about how multiple responses from an individual were attributed to one group or another. His delineation went like this: if a respondent indicated just one official language spoken, they were placed in that group. If a respondent spoke both official languages, then the response for mother

tongue determined that individual's category. If both French and English were identified as one's mother tongue, than the home language designation became the primary indicator. If both French and English were identified as mother tongues and home languages, these individuals were split evenly between the two first official language spoken groups. By forcing multiple responders into one category or another, the researcher effectively negates the multi-lingual self-identity of the individual. This can easily result in skewed results. For example, if Anglophones, by the researcher's attribution, are more likely to indicate a diverse linguistic background, they might make up a disproportionate number of the multi-lingual responders, and therefore have a higher likelihood of being placed in an inappropriate category. If multiple response categories are going to provide us insightful information as to what is happening in Quebec's language communities today, these categories should not be aggregated with groups indicating a single language affiliation, and to do so indicates an insistence on an historical typology that may no longer be relevant to the individuals under consideration. The highly politicized language environment in Quebec both before and since 1976 has meant that every identification of language group (or groups) affiliation carries a political component, so that the simple process of choosing a response to a census question carries an explicit ideological statement (Piché 2002). This linguistic identification by an individual might vary by context and interlocutor (see Hidalgo 1995 for a discussion of how this plays out at the U.S./Mexico border). It therefore seems to reason that the situation I observed might be reproduced in many multilingual environments where disparate language groups seek to ensure their success in society, however success might be defined. Respondents choose, within a constrained series of possible answers, how they respond to any census question, and researchers choose how to consolidate and interpret these responses. This approach

creates a great burden on current researchers to be very cognizant of how they assign respondents to particular language group categories, and suggests that we must not simply reduce respondents into overly simplified categorization schemes to ease our analysis. My volleyball-based introduction to, and familiarity with, people whose group assignment would be clearly “problematic” in Floch’s schema reinforced this to me. I became particularly wary of assigning anyone to one language category or another.

Based on problems apparent from the Quebec/Canadian example, it was clear that I must allow my respondents to identify their own language identity in our interviews, in addition to being referred to me by another English first language individual as an Anglophone. As a native Anglophone, I could recognize native level competence/fluency in spoken English, regardless of whether it was a first language spoken or not. All of my primary respondents except one were able to complete their interview with me in fluent English, and the non-fluent one acknowledged that she was a Francophone, and she was the business partner of a self-identified Anglophone. Additionally, I had one respondent who considered himself a hybrid, having at different periods of his life been monolingual Francophone, monolingual Anglophone, or fully bilingual. I made an effort to note their language(s) of education, and those of their partners and/or children in order to develop a more nuanced view of the complicated linguistic elements contributing to a respondent’s identity. My position on language categorization is similar to the argument advanced by Sealey & Carter (2001) that there are categories that researchers impose (in their example, “adolescent”) which are difficult to operationalize in any meaningful way, and which must be defended. Language group categorization presents a concept that on the surface seems straightforward, but when considered in terms of lived reality in a multilingual community,

becomes complicated. I argue against over-simplifying the complex self-identifications that respondents offer in terms of their language use, and in recognizing fluency in spoken language as only one of several indicators of a person's linguistic identity.

2.7. Social Capital

In addition to language, measuring and determining social capital activation also presents methodological concerns, although it has been determined to be significant in rural communities (Reimer 2004). In Reimer (2002), four types of social relations in which social capital can be observed have been identified: Communal, Associative, Bureaucratic, and Market. In order to get at this information in my interviews, I included questions about membership in and participation in various groups. My focus on self-employed small business owners explicitly links respondents to market relations, and a significant portion of the interview was focused on these issues. Additionally, operating a business requires some degree of bureaucratic interaction, which varies by market sector, and I asked questions specifically about interactions with government resources of various sorts. To identify associative social capital, I inquired about participation in or membership of various voluntary groups (e.g. church, Lion's Club, First Responders, etc.), which would indicate to a degree both activation and attachment to associative social capital. Lastly, my respondents related their personal histories, which frequently indicated local family ties (or the lack thereof), friendship circles, and particularly acquaintances, in that I asked for referrals to other relevant individuals for my research, all of which can be viewed as evidence of communal-based social relations. In a sense, the nature of these intensive personal interviews lent itself to revealing the breadth and depth of social capital and its activation by my respondents.

2.8. Data Analysis

As I worked through my data, a complicated matrix of relevant elements seemed to emerge which I will explore more fully in part three after presenting my cases in part two, including key differences related to: age, place of origin, financial resources, land ownership, clientele served, perceived language competence and emphasis on language, where they choose to live and work in the study area (i.e. in town or in the countryside), and education, both their own and that of their children. While Anglophone Quebecers have sometimes been presented as a monolithic group which is primarily leaving the province, serious class differences emerged, and the data clearly indicated that some Anglophones are moving into the Eastern Townships from elsewhere in Quebec and beyond, even while other Anglophones leave the area. This area acts as an attractant to a particular sort of individual or family unit, and this group is clearly distinguishable from the long established families of the region, both in the types of businesses they operate, the clientele they serve, and their orientation towards language, the future, and access to resources and opportunity, as I explore in the next sections of this thesis.

Part II.

A Journey through the Countryside

Chapter 3: Rural businesses impacting the landscape

3.1 Introduction

The pastoral landscape of today's Eastern Townships results in large part from the attempts of early residents of European descent to wrest a living from the countryside. European settlements in the area did not start in any significant numbers until the early 19th century, although immigrants from the American colonies started arriving in some number during the 1770's (Little 1989a; 1989b). The British American Land Company expended a great deal of effort to convince British citizens to try their hand in the New World (Little 2003). The region, with high aesthetic appeal due to the abundance of small lakes, streams, rolling hills and higher mountains of the northern-most reaches of the Appalachian range, lacks significant navigable waterways and was difficult to reach from the French settlements in the St. Lawrence River Valley (Landry 1989). The rocky soils, consisting primarily of decomposed granite, combined with high water tables in places, make this land generally unsuitable for field crops on any significant scale (Roberge & Morin 1989). However, like its neighbors to the south, the American states of Vermont and New Hampshire, the land grows grass abundantly once the dense forests are cut. Early settlers took advantage of the natural resources available, logging the forests to help provide materials for the shipbuilding and later the railway industries. These same settlers frequently engaged in subsistence as well as commercial farming. Many of today's roads are named for these early settlers, and it is not uncommon to find relatives of these settlers still living near or on the family farm that was established in the nineteenth century.

When approaching the research area, all main routes converge on Clear Lake, and there are a series of roads which ring the water. A modestly sized body of water, Clear Lake offers opportunities for boating, fishing, swimming, and other recreational activities. This central geographical feature attracts visitors and residents alike, and the main village area with commercial services is located at one end of the lake. However, before you reach this, the most densely populated village in the study area, Milltown¹, you travel through the countryside, where farms, forests, and small villages of perhaps a dozen houses, the occasional church, and former schoolhouses predominate. This rural landscape comprises the periphery of the study area, and it is here that we find some of the most visible traditional occupations, like farming, providing the financial support for Anglophones.

3.2 Farms

Farming employs far fewer people today than it did even 60 years ago. The ongoing consolidation of both processors and producers has had significant impact on the Eastern Townships. However, much of the landscape remains open fields, and small scale agricultural operations still persist. Significant quantities of green zoned acreage, which has significant restrictions on development or division, surround the village areas. Due to tax codes which benefit those who generate agricultural income, many landholders keep their land involved in some level of agricultural production. Additionally, there has been an increase in the number of recreational and hobby farms, such as those which serve the recreational equine industry². This shift in the agricultural production of the region corresponds to demographic changes in the population, changes in agricultural industries,

¹ All place names other than Montreal have been changed to ensure the confidentiality of respondents.

² Recreational equine farms do not generally benefit from the tax codes unless they sell a horse (or horses), regardless of whether the horse was born on the farm. Income from boarding horses does not qualify as agricultural income.

and increasing demands for environmental mitigation actions to deal with pollution in the watershed. A shift in agricultural production implies a concomitant shift in the survival strategies of current farm families, those who own former family farms, and those who have sold their properties in the recent generations as part of their attempt to secure adequate financial stability without relocating.

Today's North American farmers are often well-educated, and many of them have attended university to improve their skills. Local farmers in the study area are no different in this respect. There is a regular pattern of movement between farm and city, as there are limited suitable educational resources nearby. Additionally, during the early adult years spent in a distant city, relationships blossom which bring new people into the family, and provide ties to other distant regions, as is common in today's highly mobile society. So the countryside attracts new people, and the people who were born here and who have chosen to reside here often have considerable experience in an urban environment, where they have likely attended an English language university.

The financial and development-related stress on family farms has taken a toll on the farms in the region. In this chapter, I will discuss eight cases from my study: two continue in commercial agriculture as their primary family income source; three which combine low intensity agricultural beef production with professional and/or artisan enterprises located on their property; and three which pursue other land-based recreational enterprises. These cases sometimes have roots in the traditional family farms that the landscape suggests, but all have chosen slightly different paths to support themselves and contribute to the local community.

3.2.1. The Family Farms

In the not so distant past, small and medium sized family dairy farms could be found throughout the study area. However, these dairies have been ceasing operations, selling off their quota¹ and cows, with increasing frequency during the period of the study. Some of the larger operators nearby have purchased the available quota and animals, expanding the average size of operations. This same phenomena was observed in the United States over ten years ago (Vieira, 1996b); however, the drivers of change here in Quebec have less to do with pressures on land development, the cost of health insurance, or the low cost of milk combined with ever higher costs of production, as they do in the United States, and more to do with the increasing cost of compliance with provincial environmental regulations, as well as an aging farm population and the opportunity to cash out tangible assets. Nonetheless, farmers in Quebec are well cared for, thanks to the efforts of separatists to ensure Quebec's self-sufficiency in agricultural production, a fact noted by several respondents. Within the study area, most of the former dairy farms no longer produce milk, although some still have dairy-related enterprises such as growing heifers. One large and expanding operation not included in my research crosses the study area's borders, with multiple barns on multiple properties in multiple towns. For my research, I selected two commercial agricultural operations wholly within the study area, one an operating dairy milking approximately 65 cows, and one a former dairy, now engaged primarily in sheep production.

¹ Individual dairy producers in Quebec have an allotment from the provincial government indicating how much milk they are allowed to produce, as the milk price is subsidized to ensure an adequate income for farmers. If a farmer wants to increase production (and income), he or she must purchase the desired quota allotment from another operating dairy.

3.2.1.1. The Dairy Farm

In many ways, the Hollister¹ farm is a classic family dairy operation. The farm goes back many generations in Lance Hollister's family, and is on a road bearing his family name. Lance took over from his father, while his two sisters married and moved away. His wife Debbie grew up in Montreal West, and met Lance while visiting a friend whose family had a summer place in Milltown. Their adult son Tim has just been made a partner in the operation. Of their two other children, neither is interested in farming. One is married, living in an adjacent town and working in Grandville, while the youngest is away finishing a university degree. Both father and eldest son pursued post-secondary education related to farming, which means they spent time living outside of the study area, the father in Montreal and the son in another Canadian province. Debbie took multiple degrees, one from a university in Montreal and one in the United States.

Dairy farming requires a year-round commitment to place that seasonal farming operations might not. Each of their children spent their early years of schooling in the local French language elementary school, because, as Debbie put it:

I could teach them English but I couldn't teach them the French and we're in an occupation that isn't terribly mobile. So, chances are they would be in Quebec at least until they were old enough to move out on their own. So they needed the French.

The fact that their second son works in Grandville, a city where English is less widely spoken, suggests that their strategy of ensuring their children attained a degree of competence in French may have contributed to keeping him in the province.

¹ All names have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

The situation for this dairy farm family vis-à-vis the political climate is complicated further by the advantages and challenges they attribute to living in Quebec. According to Debbie, farmers here, whether Anglophone or Francophone, have benefited from the efforts of the Parti Québécois to ensure Quebec's needs would be met in the event of a successful referendum on separatism. She said:

They do treat farmers with respect in Quebec, that, that certainly took a big leap in '86 [sic] when um, what's his name, got in there, the first separatist there, Levesque, René Levesque got in because he knew, in order for Quebec to separate they had to be self-sufficient. And if you can feed yourself then you can work on the rest. And so farmers were treated much better in that respect than they had been, and uh, they still are, sort of.

Part of still being "sort of" treated better includes the availability of programs which reduce the property tax burden on land used to produce agricultural and forest income; and loan and grant programs, especially those for young and new farmers, such as the one for which their son is now eligible as a partner in the family farm. However, as farmers, they also have extensive contact with government agencies and face significant compliance burdens, including but not limited to: Environment Canada, Environment Quebec, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries and Food, Minister of Revenue, milk inspectors, etc. Her take on these organizations is that:

[...]they rule our lives. That's the one drawback of farming in Quebec. It's even worse in Quebec than other provinces I think. They, 'cus they tend to be dictatorial. Whereas in some of the other provinces, Ontario for one, like when they're trying to make an awareness of environmental issues they do it in an educational format as opposed to, and an economic incentive program...

The challenges to English-speaking farmers extend beyond their contacts with government agencies and local schools. In the operation of their farm, they have to buy certain

feedstuffs and mechanical equipment. When it comes to purchasing tractors in particular they have encountered difficulties. According to Debbie, “We used to be always International Harvester sort of thing but they had, couldn’t find anybody except in Grandville and they don’t want to talk English.” She laments that the equipment retailer nearby (but outside the study area) where they formerly purchased tractors now no longer caters to farmers, but rather now seems “to be focusing more on the weekend farmer and the sort of small, small tractor big lawn tractor type uh, range, and the guys doing lawns everywhere.” This shift in what the retailer offers reflects the changing dynamics in the countryside as more farms stop intensive agricultural production activities.

Overall, in spite of some mixed feelings about their experiences in the province, this dairy farm family seems to be likely to persist for the foreseeable future. Tim’s involvement in the operation, as well as his co-habitation with a local woman studying to be a teacher, suggests that the Hollister farm will continue as a visible and viable economic enterprise with long ties back to the history of the region. This case perhaps reinforces the stereotype of the Townships as rural, agricultural, and English-speaking; however, we see that this family has ties outside the region through education, as well as extended family ties. Additionally, this family has indicated a commitment to bilingualism, rather than a push towards linguistic assimilation, recognizing the need for French language skills in order to be able to fully function in Quebec’s wider society.

Changes in the global marketplace reach deep into agricultural producers’ pockets. In 2003 a case of bovine spongiform encephalopathy, also known as BSE or “mad cow” disease, was discovered in a herd in Western Canada (Forge & Fréchette 2005). This resulted in the

United States closing its border to bovine transit, eliminating an important secondary market for Quebec dairy farmers, as they had long sold surplus heifers to dairy farmers in the U.S. This fact, combined with increased environmental regulations, particularly related to controlling pollutants entering the regional watershed, has squeezed the profitability of the remaining dairy farms, and may have contributed to the current consolidations in the industry, as well as the transitions away from dairying for some local people. This dairy farm family has experienced this squeeze themselves, as an important market for their extraneous heifer calves was closed to them. My respondent remarked that:

In the States they didn't tend to raise their own replacements. They bought 'em. And when the dollar was so much better, it was cheap for them to come up here and buy replacements and take them back down there [...] So that worked well, so you know a good chunk of our income, our, our profit, was from that, which went out the window.

Even a modest size family farm has felt the impact of participating in an international economy, in part due to the proximity of the border, but also due to the changing nature of the regulation of trade between nation-states.

3.2.1.2. The Sheep Farm

The Walker farm has been in the family since the 1860's. The nearby Anglican Church dates back to 1864, so the family counts amongst the founders of the village of Pleasant Valley. Daniel bought the farm from his father in 1985, and it had been his father who had transformed it from a subsistence farm into a productive and profitable dairy. The farm, under Daniel's management, has shifted back towards diversified agriculture: in addition to raising lambs for meat, they also raise chickens for both meat and eggs, as well as make maple syrup. In the summer, his wife Sally, who has a history of non-farm

enterprise ownership that has helped supplement their income in the past, sells their farm products from the farm, where they cater primarily to an upscale clientele of mostly weekend and summer residents, particularly Francophones and Allophones.

In the dairy industry, producers sell their milk to a single buyer, usually a nearby co-op, and have a group of other producers who purchase surplus stock. In the Walker's non-dairy operation, they serve a much wider and more diverse clientele. Proximity to Montreal, with its diverse ethnic groups more accustomed to eating lamb, helps provide their primary market. In fact, a single buyer of immigrant origin from that city purchased approximately half their lamb crop during 2006, and they now manage their herd specifically to suit the tastes of a Muslim clientele, leaving male lambs intact and not docking the tails of lambs they plan to send to market, neither of which is a typical North American sheep management practice. They also take advantage of Sally's experience in the restaurant business to cater private parties featuring farm-raised rotisserie barbequed lamb, which they call a *méchouis*. Their children, a teenage daughter, and a pre-teen boy and girl, participate in the family economic activities, but it is too soon for the parents to know if any of them will look to take over the operation in the future. Daniel commented that all but one of his cousins have left the province. His mother and brother live nearby, as does Sally's sister, but their extended family can be found in PEI, Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario. These extended connections beyond Quebec are typical for many Anglophones in the study region. Sally, originally from La Chute, studied in Montreal, as did Daniel. After completing university she spent time working in Toronto, returning to Quebec only when she and Daniel decided to marry.

Anglophone Quebec farmers respond to provincial political strife as well as to international market shifts. The 1980's and 1990's were a time of much political unrest and regular calls for secession from the Canadian federation. The referendums of 1980 and 1995 were particularly significant moments for the English speakers living in Quebec, and out-migration increased during these periods (Audet 1994; Caldwell 1992). For the Walker's, the referendum in 1995 stimulated a dramatic change in their agricultural operation, from milking cows to raising sheep for meat. They explained their reasons for getting out of dairying:

Daniel: "We got referendum-itis."

Interviewer: "Oh yeah? You were thinking about leaving?"

Daniel: "Well, and I mean, what was the quota gonna be worth? And we only had a small barn, we had a big quota, but a small barn and the environment."

Sally: "I think we started looking at, you know, the environmental concerns and, and you invest a lot of money in a new barn and more cattle and we don't have much of a base. We've got a beautiful view and it's, you know, it's paradise, but it's not farm land."

Their narrative of why they changed agricultural products conveys the idea that they made a rational assessment of the soil vitality and physical contours of their hillside farm, as well as the economic uncertainty prompted by the political situation in the province, and these factors, combined with their desire to stay on the historic family property, stimulated their shift out of dairy and into sheep production, a less labor and capital intensive agricultural product than dairying, as well as one which has a lower manure output, therefore reducing the environmental impact on the land and thus the regulations with which the farm must comply.

Like the Hollister's, the Walker's recognize that although it can be difficult to comply with Quebec farming regulations, there are advantages that come with it. Sally previously benefited from an "establishment grant" for those under 40 years of age, and Daniel said, "I mean, the government's not all, you know, I mean we just have to, you know, we're the best treated farmers in Canada." Provincial farm supports help perpetuate their operation.

Sally: there's a stabilization for sheep depending on, um, the prices of cull sheep and lambs. And it usually works out. Dan calls it sheep welfare. Some people are quite offended by it, but um, in the last 2 or 3 years it's been historically 30 dollars twice a year, per sheep. So you know you factor that in if you're buying sheep. You buy them before the count, and you sell the culls after the count.

Interviewer: Absolutely, 'cus you want to get the maximum count.

Sally: That's right. You know, it's the only thing that keeps us in business and it's the only thing that keeps every other sheep producer in business.

Their economic situation is fragile and dependent on provincial largesse, which stimulates certain positive feelings towards the government. However, in spite of the positive financial support, including this provincial "sheep welfare", there are additional expenses and other drawbacks to being a farmer in Quebec.

Daniel: They have more onerous costs here as well. I mean, you know, they want to have a, for traceability you know, they wanna have a Cadillac system, and I mean, that costs money. You know, and the rest of Canada it's an 18 cent tag they put in when they leave the barn.

Sally: And it's the farmer that's assuming the cost. Here it's a 3 dollar tag.

Daniel: And you've got to record them and you've got to, it's

Interviewer: Heavy on the paperwork?

Daniel: And the environmental stuff is, is more onerous here.

The government now strictly controls manure stockpiling and spreading operations as part of its environmental protection measures, and larger operations have had to put expensive covered manure lagoons in place to store their waste. Compliance with some of these regulations seems to be optional in the minds of many of these locals, including the Walkers. After I assured him that I had no connections with the government, Daniel admitted he had spent the day spreading cattle manure from a nearby feedlot operation where the owner has run out of capacity to store it, and was not allowed to spread any more on his own land. He's not the only one to do what he needs to do to operate his farm while hoping not to be caught by the authorities. Other cases confirm this.

In choosing to stay in Quebec, the Walker's recognized that French language competence would be important to their success and that of their children. When I asked if they were both bilingual, Sally responded, "By English standards we're bilingual..." Daniel admits having been frustrated by some of his linguistic experiences. He said, "Some of the stuff aggravates me but, I'm going on a conference call here in five minutes and it, it'll all be in French." His body language and tone of voice at this point of our conversation made it clear that he felt put out by this expectation that he accommodate the other participants. He stated his belief that everyone involved in the call could understand spoken English, but still they would insist that he spoke French. There has been a complete shift in his lifetime regarding his need to speak French.

Daniel: I didn't know what a Frenchman was growing up.

Interviewer: Yeah?

Daniel: I mean, there wasn't any here.

Daniel's own experience, "there wasn't any here" goes a long way to suggest that the study area has changed significantly during his lifetime, and that families are struggling to provide their children the tools they believe they need for success in a rapidly changing society, whether or not they stay involved in farming.

3.2.2. Beef Farming Part-time

Maintaining the landscape is a burden borne primarily by the farmers. One way to consume hay, use existing facilities, and reduce property taxes is to operate a low-intensity farming operation which allows family members to pursue non-farm revenue producing activities as well. Beef cattle are a natural follow-up on a former dairy farm, as they utilize much of the same equipment as a dairy with little to no renovation of existing facilities. Additionally, beef production on grass is much less time consuming than milking cows or feedlot beef production, and there is less equipment to repair, replace, operate and maintain. Essentially, a farmer can operate a modestly sized beef operation while maintaining full-time non-agricultural employment, especially if he has help with his haying operations. Some farms also switch their operations to producing for a more local or tourist-based market, including pick-your-own fruit operations, vineyards, and cider production (both non-alcoholic and alcoholic), but these options require a significant capital investment and take time to begin generating income, and none of these are included in this study.

3.2.2.1. The semi-retired accountant who raises beef

Not all of those who operate farms in the study area have deep family roots here. The changing dynamic of the countryside crosses over into who participates in agricultural

endeavors, and on what scale they pursue these activities. Edwin Walsh bought his property in Grundy thirty-five years ago. The land at that point was a portion of a larger farm that was no longer being cultivated. The sloping, sandy property was partially wooded and partially overgrown fields. Edwin was working in accounting and finance for a large corporation in Montreal at the time, and over the years he built two houses on the property, in part with the help of his children. Slowly he recovered the fields and built barns and sheds.

Edwin was born and raised in Westmount, and learned his accounting skills on the job. Towards the end of his career, he took an opportunity working in Toronto after he divorced and remarried. He later left the company where he had worked for twenty years, switching to work for another large corporation. After three years of that, he quit and spent two years selling real estate in Mississauga. During the time he lived in Ontario, he managed to come to his Quebec property once a month and spent his vacations here. He and his second wife moved to live on the farm in Grundy full time in 1995. Edwin has had pension income since then, and his wife retired from paid employment last year. He started a small accounting, tax preparation, and bookkeeping business for a modest number of clients in the area, after a neighbor asked for help with some tax difficulties he was having. His client load is significant enough that he has a part-time assistant who works two days a week, and this year his wife helped him during the tax season. Neither the bookkeeping business nor the beef production operation is necessary for supporting his household. He enjoys the work and likes to keep himself occupied, without worrying too much about how much he earns for his time.

Edwin: I refuse to charge by the hour, that's, I don't do anything by

the hour.

Interviewer: You charge for the service?

Edwin: Ah, I want your business you know, and when I get your business we'll set up a fair rate that's about half of what anybody else would charge you and that keeps me happy.

Interviewer: Well that's cool.

Edwin: Now if that takes a lot of uh, coming and going on my part to set you up or to solve a problem, then I do it. That's what I do. It's better than sitting around.

When he originally purchased his property, the province had programs that helped clear land for agricultural purposes. At 68, he is no longer eligible for many support programs, as most of the provincial supports are aimed at those under 40. He also once tried the summer youth employment program sponsored through the government, but was disappointed with the experience. Instead he simply hires a local student directly during the summers for farm help. Edwin has gone through a number of part-time assistants in his accounting business. He always hires someone from outside the immediate area, in order to help maintain the confidentiality of his clients. He advertises for help in the local weekly English language newspaper.

While the small accounting business that he runs came about as sort of a fortuitous accident, his foray into agriculture was a decision he made long before he came to the Townships to reside permanently. After experiencing the challenge of farming solo, Edwin observed how one of his neighbors managed his farm in retirement by exchanging equipment and farm space for labor and set out to do the same for himself by making an alliance with a nearby farmer younger than himself. His younger neighbor farms full-time,

augmenting his income by sugaring, logging, and other various activities. Now Edwin and his neighbor, Mark, share machinery, fields, and labor.

Edwin: I don't want this to sound wrong. I can afford to live. Mark is really tight on money because he's a farmer, whereas I have a little more, we don't have an awful lot of other things to spend money on so I can spend a little more money on farming stuff. And, um, Mark, Mark can benefit from that and in our relationship I keep saying to myself you know, if we were even steven, that would really piss me off, but, he gives me this and I give him that and that's great.

Interviewer: That's really nice.

Edwin: You know, it's working good. So, you know, twenty years ago, working with another neighbor like that it would be hard for me to deal with it on an even steven basis because neither of us puts in an equal amount, you know. Like the haying, I said to him, we'll do the hay half and half, right? Well, half and half means that he uses half of it and I use half? No, he uses two thirds of it and I use one third of it and he pays for half of it and I pay for half of it.

Interviewer: Well that's nice.

Edwin: You know, so that means I'm paying a lot more, right, but I tried it two years with nobody, you know, before I got in the partnership with Mark, and it's a dreadful thing.

The money Edwin earned during his primary career, as well as the investments he has made in his property over the years, allows him to farm for pleasure and the tax benefits rather than income. Additionally, his resources benefit Mark, whose family has long lived in the area, but who doesn't have the financial resources available to Edwin. The arrangement essentially allows Edwin to be a gentleman farmer without hiring all the farm help he needs. His own children, who all still reside in Quebec, have no interest in farming. Mark, Edwin's junior by about twenty years, has a young son who wants very much to farm. Therefore, it seems likely that this alliance will continue as long as Edwin enjoys the

experience, but Mark's survival and that of his family is to some degree subject to Edwin's continued desire to participate in farming as an economic activity.

3.2.2.2. The Draftsman and the artisan who raise beef

Family farm transitions do not always progress as smoothly from one generation to the next as they have with the Hollister's, but they don't have to result in selling the farm outside the family either. In the case of the Jameson's, William's older brother operated a dairy with his father while William, now in his fifties, pursued training and a career as an engineering technician, eventually specializing in architectural engineering as a draftsman (or architectural technologist, as they are designated in this province). William spent four years in Montreal in a job-based training program during the late 1960's and early 1970's. He moved back home to take a job in Charlestown, a town adjacent to the study area. After going through a few different positions, his last employer experienced a slowdown in sales in the period following the elections of 1976, so William decided to go into business for himself. He struck out on his own in 1980, a referendum year when the Anglophone population faced significant concerns about what the future might hold for them in Quebec. His former employer engaged his services off and on over the next ten or fifteen years on an as-needed basis, which helped William make the transition to self-employment, and allowed his former employer to cut the costs associated with maintaining him as an employee.

Prior to William's brother taking over the farm, their father had long operated a dairy on the family property, a farm established in about 1846. All the farms along Jameson Road had once been in the family: uncles, cousins, brothers, etc. They had all attended the

Milltown English School through the secondary grades, as their cohort pre-dated the construction of the large regional high schools in the Eastern Townships.

When William's brother got into financial difficulties after taking the farm over when their father died, William stepped in to keep the property in the family. That was in 1990, but rather than continue milking, William decided to sell their milk production quota and keep going with his successful architectural work. He now raises a few beef in a small finishing operation on the property. A neighbor cuts his hayfields and William gets some of the hay in payment without having to do the work himself, an off the books exchange common in the study area and in many other rural places. He doesn't breed beef; rather, he minimizes his agricultural activity by purchasing female feeder calves in the spring and growing them out to butcher as freezer beef for individuals or selling them as replacement breeding heifers to other beef producers in the late fall. This means that he doesn't feed the animals through the winter, which limits how many chores he has related to his agricultural activities. This allows him to benefit from the tax structure available to land in agricultural production, but only modestly takes time away from his primary income source activities. I asked him about the other disappearing dairies nearby, and he told me:

They're going fast. Uh, the last one on this road went two years ago. My cousin up the road. You know why he gave it up? Because it was getting too big and expensive. They wanted him to put these big, he was gonna have to spend \$60,000 dollars to put a cement thing for the manure, and he just said, eh, this is getting crazy. He said, I don't want to spend that kind of money...

William clearly sees the changing face of agriculture, and is considering switching his own production to organic beef, as he sees a niche market for that product where buyers are willing to pay a premium. His own operations are not large enough to do much for his

income, but he puts beef in his freezer every year and keeps the land cultivated. As he said, "Farming has sort of gone out the door. You've got to be really big or forget it." Nonetheless, he persists in his small scale operation, so there are some benefits to be had, not all of which may be economic.

Even as such a small operator, William has to deal with some of the same challenges facing larger farm operations.

William: Yeah, I just had the Quebec Environment guy here last week reading me the riot act of all the things I could and couldn't do.

Interviewer: You got to fence off that stream don't you? And that pond?

William: Yes! That's what he said. But I got out of that, because I said, I only have seven animals there [...] And then he said, you're not really supposed to have any manure piles around here, and of course I got one at the top of the hill, but you can't see it.

Like the Walker's, William Jameson seemed to feel that compliance with the rules on farming practices limiting environmental impacts was negotiable or optional, particularly regarding manure piles. At the same time, he recognizes that the appeal of the area is tied to its bucolic landscape, as his professional career and primary income source depends on altering the built elements of that landscape.

William: I think here in Milltown, it's become sort of a retirement community. And that's helped my business a lot. Because people are selling their houses in Montreal, or, some of them, well like Paul, he moved from Florida, and so, you know, and they're moving more in the country too. People want to live more in the country than the city if they can you know. And some of them commute too.

Interviewer: I know. It's crazy eh?

William: So, and this is, this is the perfect spot here, you know, for all of that. We have golf, and you know, everybody wants to live

around here, you know. And of course the prices of property have gone up a lot too, you know.

William has actively changed the local landscape even while preserving the fields of the family farm. He was instrumental in designing and soliciting funds to build new public buildings and park facilities. In addition, his business has been marked by the transfer of farms into estate properties for wealthier clients and the new buildings or historic renovations associated with these purchases. This shift became noticeable to him in the mid 1990's, and he said, "Because in the 90's, I started doing houses of like ten thousand square feet". He proceeded to rattle off a list of houses that he had designed in the past ten years ranging from seven thousand square feet to over ten thousand square feet. His architectural endeavors have changed significantly over time, and this is reflected in the visible landscape of the community which he has helped shape.

William has designed buildings throughout the study area, and in many of the adjacent communities as well, particularly those to the south of the study area, somewhat closer to the U.S. border. He noted that he has done some work on properties in Montreal, but this has always been related to work he has done in the Townships. Either he gets a referral from a client in the Townships, or one of his clients from here decides they want him to design an addition or renovation for their city property. He advertises in Source, the local monthly bilingual publication serving the study area, and he has a display ad in the phone book. But in reality, most of his clients come to him through referrals by either contractors or previous clients.

William's wife, Helen, moved to Quebec from England thirty years ago. Her uncle was living here with his wife and children, and she came to help out with the kids. Her brother also lives in Canada today. Although her uncle has since returned to the United Kingdom, she stayed on and married William. They have two children, a daughter finishing up university studies, and a younger son finishing up Cégep. She too runs a business out of their home, from the room next to William's office. She makes braided rugs of various dimensions, often in custom colors. She purchased the business and equipment ten years ago from a woman nearby after seeing an ad in the paper for a business for sale. She sells most of her product at craft shows throughout Quebec and in Ottawa and has many repeat customers. She occasionally has her rugs in small shops, and she participates in the local artist's gallery walk in July, when she opens her workshop up to visitors. Helen clearly enjoys her work, putting in about 30 hours a week. The income earned from these endeavors is not huge, and my impression was that she produces rugs more because she wants to, not because she needs to financially. She told me, "I was doing 8 foot by 10 foot, but that's really big. I think I'm going to cut it down to 7 by 9, because I hate doing those." She'd rather stick to making rugs in sizes she finds manageable, even though she can charge more for larger sizes.

During the course of my research, it became apparent that it was common in this area to have both members of a couple self-employed, either working together in a single business or in separate enterprises. This was not the case in my prior research with American dairy farmers, where one spouse usually had paid off-farm employment, often with benefits (Vieira, 1996b). In this current research study, a second enterprise was frequently started

by the primary caretaker of the children as more time came available when the children grew up and became more engaged in school activities, as with the Jameson's.

3.2.2.3. The Artisans who raise beef

Self employment can lend itself to child-rearing practices in many ways, just as supplemental farming can reduce the cost of taxes, provide additional income and maintain the landscape. Rebecca Bartlett and her husband Rémi combine small scale beef production with pottery fabrication to support themselves. Rebecca was raised in the study region on her parent's then dairy farm. She attended the local French elementary school, switching to English for her secondary and post-secondary studies. After high school, she moved from the Townships to Montreal to continue her education. She left university without taking a degree after discovering her affinity for working in clay. She completed a French language program in pottery where she met Rémi and spent three years in an apprenticeship with an established potter. They made the move back to the Townships shortly before their first child, now ten, was born. What made the move work well for them was that they were able to build their house and studio on her family's farm property. Their property cannot be sold separately from the main house and farmland due to zoning restrictions; however, they were able to build for the cost of construction and permitting, without having to buy the land. In the early years after they moved from the city her husband had another self-employment operation, "Rémi still had a big, a lot of outside work. You know, he did property maintenance projects, uh, whatever, all kinds of stuff. He had a little crew of people working for him in outside work, so the studio was mainly me." His non-studio work improved their income during the time their children were very young, which limited her time in the studio, but both were still self-employed. Living on

the family farm property has also brought them, particularly Rémi, into the farming operations. Rebecca's father got out of dairying some time ago, switching to Highland beef cattle, a niche breed which has benefited from an aggressive regional marketing campaign. Changing from dairying to beef was intended to help secure a retirement income without the intensity of dairy farming. Rémi now owns approximately 20 cows which run with the larger family herd. The calves are sold to her dad, and the farm production is combined in that way, for reasons which were not made clear in the interview. Rebecca's brother is also in the farming business with their dad. They sell some beef through the studio on the property, which is open to the public on Saturdays and by appointment. While Rebecca and Rémi send their own kids to the Milltown English school, she attended the local French school. She explains why as, "My parents sent me there because their French was not great and they wanted us to be fluent in French, so they sent us through school in French." She and her husband currently speak a mix of both French and English at home. Their decision to send their kids to English school was not elaborated upon in the interview.

Rebecca and Rémi operate their studio as partners these days. She works about six hours during the day while the kids are in school, and he does the glazing and much of the firing in the afternoon and evenings after he completes his farm chores. They frequently work together at night after their two kids are in bed. At one point when Rémi was doing property maintenance, Rebecca had hired someone to help keep her production levels adequately high to meet demand, but after a short time, they realized that the arrangement was not working out well and they haven't had an employee in the studio since. At one point they received an arts grant from a provincial arts funding organization, which helped

when they were developing their studio. Originally they sold much of their work at craft and artisan shows, particularly in Montreal and Ottawa, but over time they have moved away from that approach, doing only two events of this type annually, as it takes them away from the studio and incurs significant costs in travel and lodging, as well as participation fees. Now most of their sales come from visitors to the studio, particularly during the summer and especially during the local arts tour, which Rebecca played a role in developing. They have many repeat customers who order products displayed on their locally designed website. She advertises in the local bilingual monthly, as does William Jameson.

Rebecca: A lot of my customers read the Source and they won't, don't, and they're not here all the time. They have second homes in the area or whatever. So they're not into the weekly.

Interviewer: So a lot of your clients are the weekenders?

Rebecca: Yup. Definitely.

Interviewer: The summer people? Yeah, okay. And they're coming mostly from Montreal you think?

Rebecca: Yeah, there's a lot from Montreal and, on the tour, we get people from everywhere. The people setting up homes here and building and what not.

Her product is particularly appealing to wealthier clients, especially those who associate the area with their leisure time, whether as tourists or part-time residents. Additionally, her clients do not necessarily match the linguistic make-up of the local population.

Interviewer: Would you say they're mostly French or mostly English your clients?

Rebecca: Mixed.

Interviewer: Half and half?

Rebecca: Yeah. A lot of the English ones are more Toronto, and would have roots here and come back for summers you know. Somehow a Toronto connection.

This “Toronto connection” is potentially revealing about the character of this place and its long history of both in and out migration. Additionally, the evolution towards a larger retirement population not necessarily originating here as suggested earlier by William, as well as the influx of visitors with connections farther away create a local marketplace which serves a much broader geographic area than it might seem at first glance. An affluent, elderly population places different demands on the locality and creates different opportunities for self-employment and small businesses catering to their needs. An elderly and affluent population may employ help in outside chores like yard maintenance, snow removal, and household repairs, which provides opportunities for those without extensive (or any) education. However, this is a fragile market, and can easily be upset by larger economic or demographic trends. For example, the strengthening Canadian dollar during the study period was hitting local businesses quite hard, as it was discouraging visitors from the United States, as well as encouraging Canadians to travel south on vacations, and reducing margins on products manufactured locally but priced in U.S. dollars.

Rebecca’s Toronto connection extends beyond her clientele. She orders all of her ceramic supplies from a Toronto-based company. Previously they had sourced materials from a store in Laval, but they had a hard time getting the quality of supplies they demanded from a company that catered more to hobbyists. She stated that they feel they get better and more knowledgeable service from their Toronto-based supplier than they did from the

Laval-based company. The quality of the materials was key to their decision to switch suppliers.

But sourcing materials outside Quebec and supplying a wider market does not mean that Rebecca distances herself from the local population. She volunteers with her children's school activities intermittently and exhibits at the local fair, which allows her to reconnect with people she has known from her youth.

Rebecca: We do [the] Fair still in the fall to show the local people what We do.

Interviewer: Yeah, because, it's you know, they're not going to go on the Tour.

Rebecca: Exactly! They don't so it's nice. And it's my roots and I see everybody I ever knew and you know, it's great. I like it.

These deep roots seem to pull many people back to the area eventually. The story of the families who have lived here many generations is frequently marked by these coming and goings of the younger generations. The fact of return suggests a degree of vitality in this place that earlier research may have missed, as it focused on the out-migration and missed the return migration that happens over years and cannot be accounted for as easily in certain types of research designs (Caldwell 1980; Caldwell 1992). Rebecca and her family have been welcomed back into the community of her youth, and have engaged in the farming operations that have sustained many generations of Bartlett's. Their artistic endeavors and their farming activities are intertwined, providing a diversified income, both of which draw from the resources of the family farm land which could be used to support both activities, without incurring capital outlay.

These part-time farmers perpetuate the rural landscape without gaining their full income from it. They combine their non-farm interests with their agricultural pursuits creating a diversified income stream that allows the favorable tax treatment of agricultural production on landholdings. None of these respondents are willing (or perhaps financially able) to forego the tax benefits of working the land, and they see enough of a modest income stream to persist in their agricultural activities. This is in contrast to some of the estates in the area which were former farms that are now simply mowed by hired help to create large lawns where there were once hayfields.

3.3. Other landscape shaping enterprises - recreation

Another alternative to farming is to exploit physical resources in some other way, through forest management activities, which produce income only sporadically, or through a more intensive operation like a gravel pit that generates a regular cash flow. Recreational operations also provide a possible alternative use for former commercial farms, whether as a golf course, a campground, or equestrian facility, and the area has seen a number of golf courses and riding stables developed in recent years. For example, a Pleasant Valley dairy farm that liquidated its stock and sold its quota in April of 2006 was being converted to an equestrian facility during the study period.

3.3.1. Equestrian Pursuits

One type of apparent farming activity involves horses. Many of the former dairy barns in the study area have been converted to house horses, and there are purpose-built equestrian facilities as well. While some of these farms serve only a single household or extended family, a number of them offer amenities to the public, including riding lessons, horse

training, boarding, or breeding services and sales. In general, recreational equestrian pursuits do not enjoy the same favorable tax treatment that other agricultural activities do. The only way horse operations can benefit from the lower rate of property taxation is if they sell “farm product”, which means that they engage in breeding young stock which eventually gets sold, or they buy and sell horses. This means that farms which do not engage in these activities, which are the vast majority of horse operations in the study area, are treated essentially as service operations for taxation purposes and not as agricultural enterprises. However, these agricultural service enterprises help maintain the landscape and create a market for the hay produced locally, as well as for the wood shavings generated by nearby sawmills.

My research was initiated in the boarding barn where I kept my horse, and I have had extensive contact with numerous breeders, trainers, and barn owners within the area. I interviewed two owners of horse operations in my research, and I could easily have included more, but I did not want to over-represent this sector, even though they are found throughout the study area. The two operations I included vary significantly, and I was fortunate to have access to these operators, a fact related to my own horse ownership and participation in equestrian activities in the area.

3.3.1.1. The Horsey Set

Thea Ellsworth, 54, specializes in three day eventing like many of the horse people in this area. She formerly competed at an elite level, but now she focuses on coaching riders, boarding and training horses, as well as breeding, raising, training and selling a few young animals most years. She owns, with her husband, two sizeable farms, and they lease, for

the cost of the property taxes, a third farm owned by a non-resident couple. The main portion of the land was purchased by her parents while they were still living in Montreal.

Well, I was raised, we bought this, this was the family farm. This was the family farm and so we bought it in '53, and then we lived in Montreal, and I came out and lived here when I was ten. And then I was away at school for a year, I was away at boarding school, away at university, and so I was away for ten, twelve years and then came back.

Thea's time away included a year at a school for girls in Switzerland, and she eventually graduated from an Ontario university in the late 1970's with a degree in environmental studies and recreation. Her family has accumulated wealth from a Montreal manufacturing operation: her mother, who lives with the Ellsworth's, has paid for three of their children to go to private boarding school, which the youngest of the four will soon attend as well. The experience of boarding school in Switzerland, as well as her following comment about the farm operation's income, support the idea that other accumulated family resources are more important to the household income than what she earns with horses: "Well, I think, you know, if I was, I was having, the bottom line is, if I was having to make my living from the horse business, I wouldn't be." In addition to the horse operations, the couple rents out two houses they own. Her husband harvests the windfall timber from their woods each winter, salvaging 40 to 50 cords of wood, much of which they sell. He also runs a small painting and renovation business on the side when he has time away from his farm duties, which take up about 80% of his work hours. Furthermore, they have actively managed their forestry resources through affiliation with a forest management group. They have had two cuts of mature trees, and they have a large grove in plantation pine which will be ready for harvest in about twelve years. They acquired the farm from her parents in

1985, and had to put some effort into restoring it, as it had been run-down a bit over the years when it was in commercial agricultural production.

Thea's young teen daughters both ride and help their mother with the horses. Their older teenage brothers do not ride, but help their father out around the farm when they are not away at school. With rare exceptions, they do not hire additional labor, although they will hire people to do specific types of work, such as earth moving, when necessary. While Thea was gone on an extended vacation, a former student home from university took care of the boarders and gave lessons.

The Ellsworth's have had long relations with a few suppliers in the area, sticking with particular providers even when they would rather purchase a different brand of equipment. Their reasons for this are specific. For example, their tractor supplier's business is adjacent to the study area, and as she says, "It's the service, you know. Your tractor breaks down in haying season, he brings over another tractor for you to use while he fixes yours." She mentioned how they did not care for the brand of tractors offered, but they would not change because of the excellent service. Her youngest son works part-time for her feed supplier, and she can not say enough good things about the store. Her loyalty is based on the quality of personal service she receives, saying: "So it's still even though, the age of Wal-Marts and all that, I think on the farms, it's still you know, the customer service is really important". Her experience ties directly to how well she is treated, which includes the ease of doing business with these suppliers in English.

The Ellsworth's have not been shy in seeking support for their operations through government resources. The forest management group with which they are affiliated is subsidized by the government; in the past they have utilized the regional agronomist for things like soil testing; most recently, like the other farm operations, they've been dealing with environmental issues related to waterways. They have managed to secure a subsidy to pay for the installation of a comprehensive watering system to supply drinking water for their horses without having to fence off entirely the stream that runs through their property. However, the availability of these government services has been shrinking: it used to be that the agronomists would do farm visits, but they no longer have the funds or the personnel to deliver services directly to farmers in that way any more.

People who work in the horse business are generally known fairly well by others in their industry. Also, having resided in the region for so many years, the Ellsworth's are known throughout the community, so neither of them advertises their services, although Thea has considered using the internet to publicize horses she has for sale.

Thea: Well I don't advertise. It's all word of mouth.

Interviewer: People know you?

Thea: Well, yeah. But yeah, I'm thinking about that, but the horsey people will work amongst themselves a bit too, like I'll say to Kevin, I have this, this and this for sale, and he'll do the same.

The tight knit nature of the equestrian community seems like it could be a drawback; however, the economic conditions of the area have ensured that in some ways, relations amongst competing trainers and barns are cordial.

Thea: But you see, but, the thing is that amongst the horse people,

they're, everybody can get along.... There's lots of business right now.

Interviewer: Everybody knows each other too.

Thea: Well everybody knows each other, and I think when there's lots of business, it's everybody gets along.

Interviewer: So you think it's better now that there's more business, there's more business now?

Thea: Oh yeah.

Interviewer: Why do you think that might be?

Thea: What?

Interviewer: What's going on? Why is that?

Thea: Well, I think we're booming. I mean, look at the housing and the, all these barns are going up. I mean, I don't think I'd want to be paying the mortgage on those big places that are going up, I don't know. There's an awful lot going in. I don't know if they're all going to make it. I mean, because their boards are so high, so you're really aiming for the high end client.

Like many other specialized activities, competition from nearby barns can be beneficial as well, since a concentration of horses, owners, and riders can support more equestrian competitions and related equine industries. In terms of her own horse business, Thea has no qualms about the increased number of facilities nearby.

Thea: I mean, but I don't, it doesn't bother me. Like I don't feel threatened, because I've got a steady clientele, and the thing is, when you have, you know, teaching riding can be kind of a fickle thing for people. Like you know, look what happens in hockey, you find a coach. Well, it happens to a certain degree in riding, but you can also have a pretty solid following. And so if you have that, you're all set.

The horsey set can extend throughout generations and develops long lasting relationships amongst participants. Thea's niece also has an equestrian facility across town similar to her

aunt's, only with many more horses and clients. Thea previously bought, sold and competed horses for ten years in partnership with another woman, an immigrant to Canada from the United Kingdom. This former partner now operates a large horse breeding operation in Pleasant Valley. But it is not just people with horses in their blood who end up in the equestrian business, as my next case attests.

3.3.1.2. The barn worker and the welder/odd jobber

Unlike the Ellsworth's, Paula Ciplicki and her partner, Ron Daley have not been able to draw upon the accumulated financial resources of past generations. Her grandparents immigrated from Poland to Montreal, and his family, although they have lived in the study area for generations, own only a small parcel of land and have worked hard to eke out a living in a variety of pursuits, including construction and owning a restaurant. They met while she was working in law enforcement in his hometown, adjacent to the study area. After five years there she was due to transfer to a more distant location; she left her job to stay in the area with Ron. She explained this to me: "So because Ron was already self-employed and working and had his business that was he really didn't want to move away for 4 or 3 years."

She entered into the horse industry indirectly as a result of leaving her job as a police officer, not because she had prior experience with horses:

Right, so I quit that and I sort of bummed around for a year you know, collecting unemployment[...] but Ron being that he lived in the country all his life, you know, always had horses and stuff and I told him that, you know, when I was a kid I'd always dreamed of having my own horse so [...] and so he bought me a horse. Well, that year that I was on unemployment so I started riding my horse and playing with my horse and then I saw in the newspaper an article about unemployment was

giving a horse grooming training program [...] Unemployment said that there was a need in the area for qualified horse grooms [...] so this was the first year they were giving this horse groom 'cus there are a lot of horse farms in the area and people were having problems finding qualified. So I, originally my idea was, well I'm on unemployment so I definitely qualify for this and now that Ron bought me a horse and I'm from downtown Montreal, I know nothing about horses. I was going to take this course just for my own interest and my own education and stuff and then I was going to figure out afterwards what I was going to do to make a living, you know.

After completing the course, which was taught in French, Paula took a position at a small private barn as a regular full-time employee. However, this barn eventually was closed and the owner moved her horses to her parent's larger barn. Paula was asked to fill in part-time at this larger barn, but because it was only for two days a week, the owners did not want to put her on payroll, but rather asked if she could bill them as an independent contractor. While she was working this arrangement, she and Ron purchased 20 acres of land and started building a barn with living quarters. She had the idea that she would start her own boarding stable, and she took the *jeune entrepreneur* course for would-be business owners offered through the unemployment office, which was of limited usefulness to her because she needed access to capital to build her farm infrastructure but she was unwilling to borrow. About the same time another nearby barn approached her with the same arrangement to work for three days a week as an independent contractor. Now she has completed her own barn, where she boards a few horses and keeps her own, and she still works five days a week at two outside barns as an independent contractor. She recently started investing in young stock to raise and sell, and she has one broodmare who has produced two foals, neither of which she has yet sold. Her goal is to generate enough income on farm to not have to work at the other two barns, but her business has not yet reached that point.

Like Thea, Paula relates the importance of word of mouth and connections within the horse community. Her own boarders have come to her through word of mouth, and she relates the experience of being in various boarding barns:

Like in my case I had my mare and I was looking for a stallion to breed her so I would go to a couple of different barns and see what they had for stallions then you get to talking about, oh, ya know, the blacksmith happened to be there the day that I went to look at a stallion and oh, I'll, you know, chit chat with the blacksmith a little bit and then you find out oh well, you know, I wasn't really happy with my blacksmith, may, maybe you know I'll give that guy a call.

Paula's partner Ron has been self-employed in or near the study area his entire working life. On their farm he has a workshop where he does welding. His specialty is converting old barns or building new custom horse barns. Additionally, he produces about 150 to 200 gallons of maple syrup from their sugarbush annually. He owns a portable sawmill which he used to prepare all of the lumber taken off their land and used for their barn, his workshop, the sugar shack, and the house they have more recently built on their property. He has an array of heavy equipment, and hires himself out for all types of work. Another of my respondents described him in the following way: "Anyway, he's a guy about 40, 45, and he does odd things, like he'll tear down barns, re-build things, he's in business for himself, in construction I'd say". In the study area, he's what's known as an odd-jobber, someone who is a bit of a jack of all trades with a variety of skills and equipment, who most often comes from a long lineage of local residents.

This couple undertakes a range of activities of multiple types to produce their income. The difference from a career as a salaried law enforcement officer could hardly be greater.

Paula serves in town governance, and the two of them have been involved in fundraising for the local Canada Day celebration. Their participation in volunteer activities is facilitated by their self-employment and the scheduling flexibility this allows. They have no children, so their family commitments are somewhat less than a household with kids. Paula helps Ron when he has Francophone customers, as he is monolingual English. She attended a French primary school, as she puts it, “because it was right across the street from the house where I grew up”, switching to English for secondary school and Cégep, and completing her course of preparation for law enforcement in a French program.

Paula’s limited background with horses means that her self-employment in this sector is less diversified than Thea’s, who can train riders and horses, and who has a solid reputation in the field. Paula has no record as a competitor, only learned to ride properly herself during her training course, and has no exposure to the horse industry outside of the local area. Much of the recreational horse industry revolves around prestige and word of mouth, so Paula’s involvement in the industry is distinctly down-market, and her labor as a general caretaker at her two client barns could probably be considered regular employment, although her clients prefer not to treat her that way. Paula and Ron have limited ongoing contact with the government, and did not indicate any utilization of farm-related government programs, even though she participated in the training programs affiliated with the unemployment office. They do not have the family resources or reputation of Thea Ellsworth, so their equine activities operate on a totally different level than hers, and serve a very different sort of clientele.

The nature and clientele of the horse business separates it very clearly from other types of agricultural pursuits, and the “real” farmers know this all too well. One of the commercial farmers I interviewed discussed the horse business with me, commenting on how a nearby dairy barn was being converted to house horses, an endeavor which provokes his skepticism: “I mean, who wants to pay \$25,000 for a horse just to ride your ass around on the weekend?” While some farmers locally keep a few horses around, particularly draft animals, the “horse people” do not generally come from the same social milieu as the farmers, and they don’t understand each other on a fundamental level.

3.3.2. Recreation and Tourism as landscape preservation

Farming became uneconomic or undesirable for some landowners in the study area long ago. Fortunately for some of them, the area’s mild summer climate, abundant natural resources, and accessible remoteness from the major metropolitan areas of Montreal and Shadowdon has contributed to more than a century of history as a tourist destination. The rise of vehicle-based camping as a North American family leisure time activity in the post-World War II era (McIntyre & Pigram 1992) created a new opportunity for some local landowners to convert their properties into campgrounds (Thibault & Nadeau 1972). Not all land is suitable for conversion to camping, but the former family farm of the Sewell’s, with a mix of hills, woods, fields and ponds in the area of Pleasant Valley, proved amenable.

Joe’s father made the shift out of farming and established the campground in 1960. He sold off the hillier section and arable land, keeping the wooded section with a pond, leaving approximately 50 acres out of the original 150 for developing the campground. Joe and his

wife Joanne, who grew up in an adjoining town, bought the property from his parents in 1973. Unlike some transitions, this one wasn't a generational hand-off, but rather an outright purchase by the son from the father, although his parents did provide a portion of the financing.

Joe: Back when we bought it, we had to come up with some cash, we had to borrow and we had to pay back. And at that time, that was quite a bit of money for us to deal with.

Joanne: We owned a home in Milltown which we sold, we just came by it accidentally. The campsite. Uh, a realtor came to Joe and asked if he was interested in selling the house because he had a buyer that wanted that house, so Joe says, well, my father's got the campsite up for sale, if I can put an offer. His father did not want to sell it to the family, 'cus he figured that he would be still involved too much in it. So Joe says, well, if I can buy the campsite, then he can buy the house.

Both Joe and Joanne were working in a factory, a major local employer in Milltown, at the time. He continued to work in the factory from 1966 to 1977, but she quit when they had their first child in 1973. From 1973 up until 1977, she did most of the work at the campground during the summer season, running a canteen, mowing lawns, and helping customers. They diversified their offerings during their first year of ownership, putting in a small mobile home park to take advantage of the wastewater management system they had installed and producing a year-round income to help offset their mortgage payments. Now they would like to close the park, but have run into legal issues that make it difficult to do so. Over the years they have more than doubled the number of campsites to over 100 and improved the amenities, adding a large clubhouse with shower facilities and an attached large apartment where their younger son and his family now live.

Managing a campground in Quebec demands French language competence, as well as extensive advertising and contact with the government, since campgrounds must be licensed. This has been a challenge at times for the Sewell's, as Joanne speaks no French and Joe speaks only a little. Of their two grown sons, Carl and Steve, both of whom are involved in the campground, only Carl speaks French well. However, they married women who are bilingual, with French as their home language at least for a period during their youth. There are a number of provincial tourism organizations and camping associations with which they affiliate to help increase their visibility. They also have an internet site, and they have found that the website is increasingly utilized by people who later phone to make a reservation. Their clients include both seasonal and short-term campers, drawn from throughout the province and beyond, but very few Americans, in spite of their proximity to the border. Their season generally runs from the second week-end of May through the third weekend in September.

These days Joe and Joanne are less involved in the day to day operations of the campground, but still are engaged in the oversight, planning, and overall management. Their two sons have taken over, with help from their wives. Both wives also now have full-time year-round regular employment other than the campground, but were full-time at the campground when their children were younger. Because of this shift of household labor to off-site employment, the campground hopes to take advantage of the federally subsidized student-hire program, which will cover half the cost of employing a young person during the summer. Steve and Carl both work at other jobs in the winter when the campground is not operational; Carl is a trained electrician, while Steve picks up general carpentry work in the off season. Joanne watches her four grandkids, ranging in age from 5

to 13, when their parents are working. All three households have independent living quarters adjacent to the property owned by the campground. While the campground was once a sole proprietorship, they incorporated in the late 1990's when they formally brought the boys into the ownership structure. More recently the wives have also been granted ownership percentages, in addition to directorships in the corporation.

While Joe and Joanne would like to see their sons' families wholly able to meet their economic needs through campground income, it doesn't seem likely to reach that point soon, as the current revenues contribute to the well-being of ten people and three households. At the moment, it seems as if the balancing act of operating the campground, seasonal full-time employment, and regular paid year-round employment for the younger women meet the goals and financial needs of the three households, but future tensions and strains seem possible, especially as Joe and Joanne more fully retire from the operations. The property and business hold considerable value, and should any party desire to cash out, dissension may result.

3.4. Conclusion

These enterprises which help shape the visible landscape of the countryside only occasionally comprise the main income source for these families. With few exceptions, their care of the land provides only a portion of their income, even when their main non-agricultural income producing activity is sited on the farm property. This proximity of income producing activities, and the diversification of a multiplicity of income sources, is not consistent with the model of late capitalist production in developed economies, but perhaps hints at a sort of post-modern form of production that in some ways harks back to

a more medieval or pre-industrial organization of the household economy, but which utilizes newer technologies and media.

Beyond farming, my respondents are related more to the recreational and service sectors of the economy than the extractive industries, although they do pursue some mix of resource extraction through forest management practices. Obviously, some resources are limited, like stone, gravel, and sand pits, and occasionally operations of this sort form part of an overall land management/household income approach. However, these cases are representative of the region, in that tourism has increased markedly over the past thirty-five years (Lundgren 1996; Nadeau 1989), and there has been a significant push at the various levels of government and community organization to promote tourism development rather than resource extraction.

Chapter 4 –Visible rural & peripheral village businesses

While the farms and other land intensive enterprises impact most noticeably visually what you observe as you arrive in the study area, the periphery is marked as well by intermittent small villages which previously were their own governing entities, many of which voluntarily amalgamated for administrative purposes more than thirty years ago. These villages usually include perhaps a dozen or so houses on smaller plots, a church, sometimes an old schoolhouse or town hall, a cemetery, and an operating or former country store. Occasionally you see signs for various types of enterprises, like small inns, restaurants, antique shops and other tourist businesses. As you travel between villages you occasionally pass other home-based businesses which cater more to the local population, like auto repair shops, hair stylists or other services.

4.1. General Stores

Once a fixture in every small community, general stores continue to operate in places throughout the study area. Before automobile transport became cheap and reliable, these shops met most of the needs of the local people within walking or buggy distance, and what they did not stock they could generally order. They offered groceries, dry goods, farming supplies, and other household necessities. Today, a few of these shops still exist, but their clientele and stock has changed significantly in the past forty years. Some are only shells of their former selves, while others have grown and now serve a more specialized and more far flung clientele.

4.1.1. General Store with Post Office

Land resources can be exploited in another way, by liquidation. In some cases, this might mean selling an operating farm as a farm. In other cases where zoning permits, it might mean splitting off lots to sell for housing or developing the property by the landowner, where other sources of cash are available. Selling the family farm does not always mean that the property will no longer be utilized for agricultural production, nor does it mean that the sellers automatically leave the area to seek their fortunes elsewhere. The cash liberated by selling the farm can be reinvested in enterprises that seem likely to be more successful or simply provide a different lifestyle than that of a family farm.

One example of this is a general store/post office sub-station located in one of the small villages in the study area. The Wallace's Store, currently operated by Richard and Cindy, was purchased and operated by his parents. They traded the family farm elsewhere in the study area, for this store. Later on his father purchased another smaller farm nearby. Richard, now 51, grew up in the apartment above the store from the time he was eight years old. He attended the local English school and regional high school before taking a degree at one of Quebec's English language universities. He met Cindy while managing a retail store in Ontario. She had been born in Winnipeg, but had moved around during her childhood as a self-described Army brat. Cindy did not attend university after high school, but moved around different towns in Western Canada and Ontario. She worked for Eaton's for a time and went through their management program, but was managing a drugstore when she and Richard met. Twenty years ago they bought the store from his parents, after he had spent about ten years away from the area for education and work.

Family enterprise transitions can be challenging, especially if the older generation wants to be cashed out, but Richard's parents were willing to finance the buy-out, which facilitated the transition. His parents built a house nearby, and he and Cindy set up housekeeping above the shop and have raised their two teenage boys there. The boys attend the French immersion program offered through the regional English secondary school.

When Richard's parents bought the store, it was essentially a small grocery with a post office. His mother became the local postmaster, a job she handed over to Cindy only three years ago. However, the demographic transitions in this area have hit their business hard, and it is only a shadow of what it once was.

Richard: We're more or less a *dépanneur* now. Whereas, when I first moved here, we were actually a grocery store.

Interviewer: Really, yeah?

Richard: My dad used to deliver, you know, twelve orders every week, and people bought all their groceries here. There was a lot of people, a lot of people came here right after the war, I guess, and by the time we arrived here, they were quite elderly, they didn't have cars, weren't able to get out. So they were very dependent on, so we had sort of a ready-made business at that time. By the time Cindy and I arrived, that was pretty well gone.

The adjacent town of Bellevue, a recreational tourist destination, has boomed with commercial and residential development in the past five years, and this has not helped the Wallace's, even though more homes have been built nearby. As Cindy remarked, "But that doesn't always help either because if it's city people that come down on the weekend, they're gonna buy what they want, bring it down with them, and they're not gonna stop at the little store." As a result, they have tried adding variety to their offerings, renting videos, getting a permit to sell beer and wine, and even trying to sell lottery tickets, a venture that

did not pan out, as Lotto Quebec determined they were not big enough to support a Lotto machine and did not want a location with just scratch tickets. One of the challenges they face is trying to figure out the tastes of their changing clientele. Their small gas bar helps, as nearby residents often stop in to get fuel for their lawnmowers or snowblowers, or to pick up something basic without having to deal with weekend tourist traffic in Bellevue.

Being small not only creates challenges in drawing customers (even advertising does no good, according to Richard), but also presents significant difficulties with suppliers and therefore the products they can offer. They have had multiple suppliers drop them.

Richard: But mainly it's because we're so small.

Cindy: They don't want to come here.

Richard: They don't want to come here, so uh,

Interviewer: That's tough. That's really tough.

Richard: So we've had to change a few. We're, we're just too small. We don't order enough to justify them sending their big truck to Fletcher, so, you know.

Interviewer: That's really hard.

Cindy: Because we used to have two bread suppliers at one time. We used to have two bread companies coming in, now it's just one, it's changed.

Richard: And we had to almost fight to get that, eh?

Cindy: Yep.

Interviewer: Wow, that's hard.

Cindy: And then it was they used to come twice a week, now it's once a week.

Given the challenging economic environment for this little store, the postal sub-station basically keeps the store afloat. Additionally, for the past ten years Richard has driven a rural postal delivery route. That means Cindy runs the shop alone in the mornings. Richard gives her a break in the afternoon when he finishes, and his mother occasionally fills in when they both need to be elsewhere. They do not have regular employees of any sort, but manage to get adequate coverage when they need it from irregular sources. Their shop is open seven days a week in this sleepy little village. But the future for this shop is threatened, and another generational transition doesn't seem likely.

Interviewer: Like you were saying, the community's changed here, what's that mean for the future? You know? Is there gonna be a store here in ten years?

Richard: Now, that's a good question, yeah. And I don't see our sons taking over the business, just not enough there for them.

Interviewer: Sure.

Richard: And I think they're both fairly ambitious, so. It's a great life though.

Interviewer: Nothing wrong with it.

Richard: No. But it's hard, you know. You struggle at times, and you can't have everything you want.

Of the challenges associated with the demographic changes in the community, Cindy in particular has had to confront her limited French skills, especially as their clientele has gradually changed over time.

Interviewer: Is this pretty much like Pleasant Valley? Is it mostly English?

Cindy: Uh, when I first came here twenty years ago, I would say 75% was English, but as the years have gone on and people have started either building new houses or moving in and buying, there's probably,

it's probably 50-50 or more French now.

Interviewer: Really? Wow.

Cindy: Yeah.

Interviewer: So in the store, is that reflected in the store with your clients that come in here?

Cindy: Yeah. My French, I, my French had to improve a lot. I had taken it all the way through school, and then never used it. But a lot of it came back, so now we've got clients that speak no English at all, and then we have others, they know that I'm working on my French, so I'll speak French, they'll speak English or you know, we'll play around like that... you end up speaking Franglais.

Neither Cindy nor Richard expressed any dissatisfaction with having to speak French. They accept it as the reality of where they live and do business. They also have extensive contact with provincial regulators due to the products they carry, but they have not had any assistance from government agencies beyond these regulatory interactions.

There is nothing easy for this self-employed couple. They work long days, every day, and supplement their income with their Canada Post obligations. They seem to have mixed feelings for their life, enjoying the rhythm of their days, being active in the Fletcher Social Club and Historical Society, but struggling with suppliers and with making ends meet. The future of this little country store seems distinctly constrained, and it seems likely to close if and when Canada Post decides to no longer maintain a postmaster there.

4.1.2. The Feed Store/General Store

Not all general stores are in decline. The Evans' store, which has been in the same family for three generations, has adapted well to changes occurring in the community. Location and the product mix have helped keep this store healthy. The store itself dates back to

1852, sited at a crossroads in West Barton and surrounded by some of the better farmland and larger commercial farms in the area. Adam, in his fifties, now owns and manages the enterprise. His great-grandparents emigrated from England and owned a farm nearby; his grandfather worked on farms and at the store in the neighboring village of Barton. When this store came available in 1928, Adam's grandfather and a partner bought it. Adam's father worked on farms in his youth, but eventually came into the business in 1948. Somewhere along the way, the original partner was bought out and it became entirely the Evans' family enterprise. Adam started working in the store when he was eleven or twelve years old. Three of his four sisters also worked in the store over the years, but Adam ended up with the business.

Like many of my respondents who were born here, Adam spent time away. He attended Bishop's University and took a degree in business, a choice he now questions, given the way his operation has developed. "Well, I don't know, I probably might have been better off if I had taken agriculture. The way, the way the business, uh, evolved, I mean, we're most of it agriculture related." This is a fascinating development, as the number of commercially viable farms in the area has actually decreased substantially over the past thirty years.

Interviewer: So tell me about your clients then. Are they primarily production agriculture or is it hobby farming or estate owners?

Adam: Uh, I would say half and half.

Interviewer: Has that changed over the years?

Adam: Uh, yes, because of the, the changing in this area, there's less dairy farms all the time.

Interviewer: Yeah, one just went out by me on the Pleasant Valley

road.

Adam: Yeah. What's happened here, uh, that's not true with all of Quebec but certainly in this area because, you know, a lot of them are older generation farmers and nobody to take over. And now like, his operation is big enough but a lot of them were tiny, so whatever, it's not big enough to make a living.....That's really changed here, and, uh, but there's come a lot more horses and a lot more, you know, small, uh, people with a little bit of land to keep a few animals, so that's really changed.

The Evans' store has kept up with these changes over the years. The store has moved away from the groceries that kept it going early on, at one point selling farm equipment as well as general goods. Now the move has been to become more of a feed store and farm-related hardware/general store. They had always sold feedstuffs to local farmers, but in the 1980's they made a big shift away from groceries as the market fell off in the late 1970's and went heavier into agricultural products. Adam attributes this shift in the purchasing patterns of customers to the development of larger supermarkets and the increasing willingness of people to travel farther to get their groceries from these larger stores. The Evans' store has been able to adapt to these changing conditions, whereas other stores, like the Wallace's, have struggled.

Adam: Probably late 70's it started to change. And then we uh, we then went more into the agriculture and actually that's the only reason all these general stores like this have disappeared, but because we went the agricultural way we, uh, we survived.

My respondent recognizes that his ability to adapt to his clients' needs has allowed his success. The big shift in this area seems to have occurred after the Parti Québécois came into power in 1976. That makes sense, given the large Anglophone component of the local population and their generally federalist leanings.

In addition to reflecting the shift towards agricultural products, more small landholders and equestrian operations, the language mix of his clientele also reflects the local population.

Interviewer: If you had to guess, how, what percentage would you say are English speaking and what percentage are French speaking?

Adam: Um, I would probably say 60 English and 40 French.

Interviewer: Is it different, the mix that comes in the store versus the clients that you deliver to?

Adam: Um, probably, probably the ones we deliver to are, well, it depends on the area, maybe fifty, fifty-fifty, or more French, like the Rockwell area and Grandville, we have a delivery on Thursday that is all Francophone, but that's far away and actually it's customers that never come here.... But I tell ya, I wouldn't know who they are. But it's changed. It's become more Francophone.

The Evans' store faces additional future challenges that have nothing to do with economics or language. Although Adam is in his second marriage, he has no children and does not think any of his nieces or nephews will be interested in continuing in the family business. Like many of the couples in this study, both Adam and his wife are self-employed, but her business as an independent agent selling insurance and offering financial planning through an office in Charlestown has no connection with his, except for advice she might give him. The future of the business has been a topic of discussion for them.

Adam: My wife tells me I should come up with a plan, because she works as a financial planner.

Interviewer: Well, you're fifty.

Adam: I don't know what's going to happen.....It's a hard business, it takes a lot of hours, and uh, you know, if you have a natural talent, it's another thing to think you can make more money and work, work less time.

The future of this store likely will depend on finding a buyer, perhaps from amongst the nine main employees that the store has. These are a loyal group, with all of these full time staff having worked for Adam for at least six years, with the exception of an additional full time guy who was brought in the previous fall. Given the store's long history in the area, it does very little advertising, although he sponsors activities geared towards his clientele, such as the local fair and pony club horse show. Although he's a member of the Milltown Chamber of Commerce, he doesn't participate in any activities, as he works long days Monday through Saturday. The business is financially sound, but demanding, so it remains to be seen how it will fare in the next transition. Without an obvious person to bring into the business, it seems likely that the transfer of family resources from one generation to the next will be disrupted in this case. The earlier transitions have not been neat and clean, but rather gradual, and Adam's dad still works one day a week at the store, and a bit more when he vacations. It's conceivable that Adam might finance a gradual buy-out of the sort he had, but it seems less likely since there would not be a family connection involved.

4.2. Home based service businesses in the countryside

As you travel between villages, business signs appear by driveways leading to houses and assorted outbuildings. Sometimes directional signs with business names are posted at the intersections of major paved roads and quiet dirt lanes, leading people to specific destinations. These businesses usually have names that indicate clearly what they offer, be it haircuts, auto repair, bookkeeping, or furniture repair, to name a few. Most of these businesses are sited on properties of a few acres, not part of an operating farm, with houses built since the 1940's, on property likely split off and sold for development as a former farms or woodlot owners wanted cash for other purposes.

4.2.1. Auto body repair services

A simple sign by the side of the road indicates that this ten acre clearing in the woods, with a tidy yard, small pond with deck, and comfortable looking two story house set far from the road, with a few scattered outbuildings, serves as a home based car repair shop, specializing particularly in body work. The proprietor, Doc, has lived in the area since he was a small child, when his parents moved to the countryside from Greenfield Park and bought a farm. He bought this piece of property in 1970, and over the years built all of the structures now on the site.

Nothing came easily for Wayne “Doc” Davies, 60. His parents left the city in 1952 because of his mother’s health problems. They bought 175 acres of land in the study area but “when we bought the place, there wasn’t a fence on it, no machinery, no nothing. My father didn’t have much money. It was just poor, poor, poor, poor, struggle, struggle. We never had a car until ten years after.” The house did not have indoor plumbing until Doc put it in during the early 1960’s. Although he did attend the Milltown school, he dropped out in grade 6 to work on the farm. By the time he was sixteen, he was working construction on a job his father had helped him get. When he was seventeen, his parents were in a car accident which killed his mother and left his father hospitalized for almost two years. He looked after the farm and his younger siblings, but left home when his dad came back. According to him, during his early twenties he managed to keep himself in all kinds of trouble. He married in 1970, with the oldest of his three sons born in 1971. He was working in construction during that time, but dabbled in car repairs on the side. He

had learned to repair machinery while working on his father's farm, and he enjoyed working with vehicles.

But the construction industry which had kept him busy for seven years dropped off. He had had the misfortune to go into business for himself in 1976 in an Anglophone area. The repercussions of the success of the Parti Québécois on the local Anglophone population as well as the wider economic conditions impacted his business and he had to start scrambling to make ends meet.

Doc: And I worked for a guy for seven years, and he had me working for him, and I done everything for him.

Interviewer: And that was construction?

Doc: Yep. And I just, house-building, and shingling, and additions, we done it all. Maintenance, we had twenty places we looked after. I had to do it all.

Interviewer: Nice.

Doc: Yep. And then I went on my own, like I said, in '76 there, it started going downhill, so, then I started the garage.

Doc continued to do a bit of construction work as he could during the time that he was building up his auto body repair shop, but it was tough going. He admits to not being a very adept bookkeeper, and suggests that he had difficulties with clients not paying, as well as having a hard time understanding contracts that he signed. Times were tough and he struggled: "I was really having a hard time. They cut my power off that winter and I made them put it back on 'cus I had you know a baby...". Eventually his first marriage dissolved. He remarried two years later to his current wife.

While body repair and auto painting comprises the bulk of his work, Doc has done antique car restorations; he welds, builds trailers, boosts trucks, and does general automobile repair work except electrical. He has never advertised, so he gets his customers through word of mouth. He put his sign up in 1998, and even then he believed that he was not allowed to have a sign. His work has varied in quantity, but has been reasonably good for the past fifteen years. However, lately it has dropped off a bit, which he attributes in part to the move towards leasing of cars as opposed to buying and keeping them. Additionally, some of his network of customers traded in the older trucks he fixed up for new ones when their work was successful, and he has had a drop-off because of that.

At one time Doc had enough work to employ two guys, but he found that to be too stressful and not profitable enough. When his boys, now young adults, were younger, they helped out in the shop. The oldest two both dropped out of school during their early secondary years. The youngest dropped out during his last year, but finished up while working in his current job at a restaurant in Montreal. His oldest son works hard in landscaping, work he has done since he was 16, but the middle son can not seem to keep anything steady, although he does construction work from time to time. The oldest son mostly does landscaping in the Milltown area, but it hasn't been easy to build his clientele, "and he's really good at it....But he does some nice work, and uh, just gotta get recognized a bit here you know. It's hard too if you're not from around here, you're not 3 or 4 generations". In spite of being born and raised in the area, and his father growing up there, this family believes that it hasn't quite broken through the old guard of "locals".

4.2.2. Kennel and more

A sign on a main road directed me to a boarding kennel for cats and dogs, and after passing it many times I inquired of an acquaintance nearby about the mother tongue of the owners, for there was no suggestion on the bilingual sign or in the name that gave any indication. Upon discovering that the kennel was owned by an English first language family, it took a series of phone calls and conversations to secure what turned out to be one of the most fascinating and engaging of my thirty interviews. The interview was not held as I had anticipated at the house on the property with the kennel. Rather, it was held a few miles away, at the home of Roger and Shelly Lowell. I passed a driveway to a bland building on their property before coming to the main entrance. When I turned up the winding drive, I noticed a modest wooden sign pronouncing “The Lowells”, and underneath that, “L’auberge Tranquillité”. This was the first indication I had that the kennel was not their only enterprise, rather like my experience with the Jameson’s, the draftsman part-time beef farmer whose wife turned out to make braided rugs from home as well. As I was soon to discover in my conversation with the Lowells, neither the kennel nor the Auberge could be considered their primary income earning enterprise; that honor belonged to the activities that went on in the nondescript building without a sign I had passed on my way there. From this experience I learned that there were businesses operating in the area that I would not easily find in lists of enterprises, advertisements, or even in the common knowledge of my varied informants. By a rather happy accident, I had discovered a “hidden” country enterprise, of which additional cases will be explored in the next chapter.

It turns out that Roger owns a very successful advertising communications and graphic design operation, and that he has a history as a serial entrepreneur in the industry. His story reaches beyond himself to his parents and grandparents, and extends down through his

daughter. Roger grew up mostly in Montreal although he was born in Vermont to an American father and a Canadian mother. His mother left his father early in his life, and they went to live with her parents in Montreal. His grandfather, a self-employed sign painter, relocated the family to Texas during the early years of World War II. When Roger was eight, he and his mother returned to Montreal when she re-married. Although a talented artist, Roger wanted to pursue a career in engineering. His parents would not hear of it, and insisted that he enroll instead at Sir George Williams College in a course on advertising and commercial art, as the family was involved in that industry and he showed promise. He excelled in school, enjoying the creativity and challenge of the work, and completed his three year program early in 1956. He quickly secured a job in Montreal, and he rapidly found himself taking on increasing responsibility in communicating with clients, as he put it, "Not because I was smart but because I was interested in what was going on. That was the key." After a thorough grounding in the business, he left the company when he was thirty and went into business for himself. By this time, he had married and divorced, with one daughter. Somewhere along the way he had joined the Canadian Armed Forces Reserves.

Roger met Shelly, his current wife, in Ottawa, where she was working as an aide to a politician, who was Roger's client. Shelly, whose father served in the Canadian Air Force, had settled in Ottawa with her mother when her parent's marriage dissolved. Shelly was trained as a court reporter, and held a series of jobs out of high school. As Roger tells it, he was smitten with her from their first encounter, and it wasn't long before they married. His Montreal business, in which he had a partner, went bankrupt after a few years, and he returned to work for his prior employer. In 1972, Roger and Shelly decided to set up

housekeeping in the Townships, with him commuting to Montreal to work. They bought their property, built their house, and not long after welcomed the first of their two daughters. While the girls were young, Shelly busied herself as a stay at home mother.

While in his job, Roger uncovered a problem with debt that threatened the business, and he and his partner made a proposal to the owner. They started a new business, taking on his employer's clients without buying the business and taking on its debts, including their erstwhile employer as a silent partner. The business grew and eventually became very successful, grossing about seven million dollars a year and employing thirty-five people. After about seven years of operating this business, for various reasons the partnership failed and they sold. The sale included a five year non-competition agreement, which prevented Roger from starting another business in the industry. During this time he was directly employed by a former client on a long term project. Eventually when the non-competition agreement terminated in 1988, he had three former clients calling to hire him and so he started his own business in the simple office building on his property. Advances in technology, starting with the facsimile machine, made it so he no longer had to have his office in the city. He was able to disconnect his operations from the exigencies of place, and this recurs in a few other cases in this study. The increasing effectiveness of technological advances in communication, including computers and the internet, is reflected in the global reach of his clients, their suppliers, and his own operations. His clients now come both from nearby and from all over the United States and Canada, producing products locally or overseas, including China and Brazil, for markets in North and South America. This business includes a bilingual Francophone employee, as well as demands Shelly's assistance from time to time. As most of their work is business to

business, they do very little advertising, but cultivate existing clients and referrals from existing clients.

Roger's business and employment history is marked by both rises and falls, and like Doc, one of those falls came during the tumultuous period following 1976. They cited hard times in 76, 77 and 78; their first daughter was born in 1976, and the second a few years later. But they managed to get through this period, even though it was a set back.

Roger: As a good friend of mine said, he said, 'Roger you know, you've been saving for those rainy days. Guess what? It's a rainy day.' And I have to admit, and I'm never, what the hell, I've been in a big crunch and I'm still here. We had to, it was necessary to cash in some of our RRSP's. Little bit every once in a while. Painful but we could eat. We could eat.

Earlier success made it possible for them to ride out the hard times. Had they not had such a sound financial footing, it's easy to imagine a very different trajectory for this family.

The ties of family have been important in the histories of Roger's businesses and in their other enterprises as well. The additional businesses of the kennel and the Bed and Breakfast both evolved from their family commitments. The most visible enterprise which caught my attention, the kennel, was owned by friends of theirs, and Shelly started grooming dogs at the kennel for her friend when she tired of the administrative assisting work she had taken on after her daughters went to school. She helped in Roger's business as well, but she enjoyed working with the dogs. When her friend decided to get out of the kennel business, the Lowell's youngest daughter was involved with a man who had "no skills", and this encouraged Roger and Shelly to buy the business in order to give him legitimate employment and income. Roger and Shelly bought the kennel in early 1999.

Their daughter and her partner moved into the house on-site and managed and operated the kennel. This arrangement worked well and the kennel was financially successful for several years until the young couple's relationship failed after the birth of their child. Now this older daughter works in the graphics business with her father, where she is a talented designer but shows no interest in the management functions of the business, and she still lives on-site at the kennel. The kennel currently relies on the unpaid labor of Shelly and three paid employees, including their youngest daughter, which, combined with the need to make improvements to the facilities, has significantly reduced its profitability. They advertise in the monthly publication Source and the weekly English language paper. Previously they had a more aggressive advertising campaign, but it was costing too much. They offer a high level of service to owners, including the possibility of pick-up and drop-off. Their kennel employees are all English first language, but, except for Shelly, speak French well, as their clientele is increasingly French-speaking. Like many family businesses, the operation is complicated by the parent/child relationship.

Their final business, and the smallest of them all, is the B & B. It too evolved from a family situation. According to Roger "That business developed out of happenstance. We built that section for my uncle who wanted to give up his home, wasn't ready for an old folks home 'cause it's only old folks that go to old folks' homes." But unfortunately the uncle passed away before the addition to their house was complete. They finished the addition, which is arranged like a small apartment with full kitchen, bathroom, bedroom and living room with dining area. In 1998, about a year and a half after it was completed, a friend called and asked if their friends from Australia could stay there for ten days. Roger

and Shelly enjoyed the experience so much they decided to market the apartment as a B & B, only they do not prepare breakfast, but rather stock the kitchen with breakfast foods and let the guests care for themselves. As a lodging facility, the province has to certify the premises, and they have a four star establishment. This, in addition to their GST/PST, and employee related compliance issues, is the extent of their engagement with government resources. The B & B provides little income, and it is busy mostly in the summer and fall seasons, with few visitors during the winter and spring. They attract much repeat business, and they have had visitors from France, the United States, Holland, Canada and elsewhere. They enjoy meeting these people. As Shelly said, “Anyway, enough about the B & B. We’re not going to get rich on it.” When I inquired further, she replied, “Yah, it’s fun. We’ve met some really interesting people”. Their advertising for this operation is limited to a brochure at a couple of tourist offices, listing on tourist maps and the lodgings guide produced by Tourism Quebec. It was an accidental business that they happen to enjoy, and which augments their income, but which could never provide their sole support.

The remarkable unfolding of the Lowell’s story encouraged me to work harder to uncover more of the invisible rural business, and I was rewarded in my efforts. I detail these peripheral operations that occur in the study area in the next chapter.

4.3. Conclusion

Driving through the study area, a few peripheral businesses pop up along the way. Some of these are tucked away on dirt roads in out of the way locations. They do not generally serve accidental clients, but are sought out for their services or specialized products, or simply for their convenience, whether by a local population or the global marketplace. In general, these visible rural enterprises are not dependent on tourism, even though they are

strongly influenced by the population changes in the study area. It was through my contact with these businesses that I was introduced to some of the more elusive economic entities in the area, and I explore these in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 - The hidden rural & peripheral village enterprises

Some businesses derive no benefit from signage where they are based. These businesses may utilize signs at their job sites or on their vehicles, while others use no display advertising whatsoever, deriving business entirely through referrals, electronic advertising, direct marketing, bidding processes, or other means of developing customers. An operation of this sort may depend entirely upon local customers, or it may have no relationship at all to the local market. These businesses with global reach and little to no dependence on the place where they are physically located are one hallmark of the era of globalization. In fact, some business owners who base their operations from home prefer to keep their physical location unspecified, as it allows them to better control the image they project to potential clients. I uncovered business owners of this sort throughout the countryside and in the small villages of the study area. However, the lack of visibility does not provide evidence of the size of the enterprise nor the nature of its clientele.

5.1. Service Tradesmen

Service tradesmen need to be known in the communities in which they work, and they frequently use signage on their vehicles or place signs on properties where they do work. This manner of advertising can be cost effective while providing immediate examples of their work wherever their vehicle or sign is placed. It also ensures that their services are known in the locale which they already serve, growing their client base without increasing the territory they cover. Examples of this include painting contractors, housecleaners, and landscapers. In this study, I included interviews with a contractor and a window cleaner

who live in the periphery villages and who have signage on their vehicles indicating their expertise.

5.1.1. Renovations Contractor

The youngest self-employed person in this study, Rodney Allen, 30, has been working with his father or for himself since leaving school at 17. He took over his father's construction business under tragic circumstances. His father fell ill with a progressive debilitating disease which made it impossible for him to continue working, and he passed away a few years later. Until Rodney was 10, his family had had a beef farm just outside of the study area, but they moved to Milltown after they sold the property, in part to be closer to schools for Rodney and his three sisters. His mother still lives in town, but Rodney bought an old abandoned building in one of the outlying villages a few years ago and moved there, renovating it to serve as a single family home. Rodney was single and childless at the time of the interview.

Although Rodney inherited his father's clientele, who knew him, as he had worked with his dad, he had to overcome challenges presented by his age. Not only did he have to convince clients that he could do the work, he also had to ensure that his employees and subcontractors would respect him. As a result, he tends to hire guys right out of school, and maintains close relationships with a select few subcontractors. He remarked as well that his age can be a problem on job sites, and that it influences how he views people in general.

Rodney: Another thing is that with small business, the client always goes to the oldest person. And, uh, so.

Interviewer: And you're quite young.

Rodney: Yeah, so if I hire people who are too much older than me, it's not so much now, but before.

Interviewer: Yeah yeah. It could undermine your authority for sure.

Rodney: Undermine my authority. Another thing is, if I have a 45 year old working for me, it just doesn't feel right. I feel that I should be working for him. And if he hasn't got his act together by 45, I don't want him working for me anyway.

Fortunately for Rodney, he has been able to overcome the challenges presented by youthfulness. It helped that he has older family members who are contractors, an architect, and a structural engineer upon whom to call when he did not know what to do in a certain situation.

Rodney has worked hard to maintain a reputation for personalized service and quality workmanship. In the past four years, his clientele has changed significantly. All of his business comes through referrals, as he does not advertise other than a small sign on his truck. About four years ago he did a very successful remodel for a gay man which was then featured in an architectural magazine. Since then, he has cultivated numerous gay clients who have hired him in part due to his association with a well-known designer, and the work he has performed for their acquaintances. He describes the gay market segment as "It's perfect. Because these guys have money, they know what they want, and they'll pay for it." The attractions of the local area have helped him develop this segment of the market as more gay couples purchase homes in the area¹.

Rodney has not availed himself of any government resources, other than those demanded for compliance, including those which might have covered part of the cost of renovating

¹ I purchased my house from a gay couple that had undertaken extensive renovations.

his own houses. He explains it as, "I don't really need their money....I try to be as independent as I can." This attitude is very different from that of the people actively engaged in farming enterprises, who take full advantage of programs offered to help them produce more, protect the environment, expand their operations, or otherwise ensure their livelihood.

The area boasts a number of contractors similar to Rodney in the work performed, if not identical in clientele. These are primarily men who renovate houses or do small scale construction for area homeowners. The large number of part-time and elderly residents, as well as a stock of older houses, ensures that there is a demand for their services. Beyond renovations, there is also a call for general property maintenance and oversight for absentee landowners. However, these "jobbers" scramble for the work on offer, and charge rates of pay generally below what would be demanded by a larger operation.

5.1.2. Property Management

Ethan Millwright is as local as local can be. He has lived his entire life in the village of Pleasant Valley. His wife, Elaine, grew up in Stoly, where her parents owned a small country store for years during her youth. As a child, Ethan's family lived in the Pleasant Valley village proper, at the crossroads next to the church and the school, now closed, that Ethan attended. His father owned and operated a trucking company, where Ethan drove a truck for 22 years. I have been unable to elicit the entire story about how and why Ethan did not take over his father's trucking company, or even what exactly became of it. Elaine works in an insurance office in Charlestown and speaks French well. Ethan speaks French only when absolutely necessary, and wouldn't claim any significant knowledge of it,

beyond the ability to be friendly with French-speaking neighbors or farm workers. Although they are both in their fifties, they do not have children, so their involvement in the school system is limited to paying taxes to the English school board.

At the current time, Ethan works primarily as a caretaker on a large estate near the house he built for himself and Elaine. Additionally, Ethan frequently takes on smaller construction jobs or other miscellaneous property work, including plowing and clearing downed wood. He primarily works as a general contractor overseeing the work of others, as he suffers from some health ailments which reduce his ability to undertake strenuous physical labor on an ongoing basis. He has a few local guys with whom he works regularly, including one chap who does some of the mowing work on the estate.

Ethan is almost preternaturally taciturn, although friendly and quick to help a friend or neighbor in need. Interviewing him was like pulling teeth, and once a recorder came out, he could be coaxed only to give one word answers, so most of the information relating to Ethan was gathered over the entire time of my residence in the study area through informal conversations and meetings. Ethan was one of the first people I met when I arrived in 2003.

In many ways, Ethan presents an image of the classic New Englander. He is a private man, but friendly and considerate, principled, and steeped in country living. He hunts and leads others on hunting expeditions where the meat gets shared amongst the group. If something untoward happens in the neighborhood, he confronts the individuals responsible and pursues justice. For example, in a recent incident, he heard a shot fired near his house after

dark and discovered two men poaching. After noting their license plate and confronting the men, he contacted the authorities, and the case is being pursued through the justice system. He volunteers to maintain the local church, cemetery, and former schoolhouse, but he does not attend most church activities, although his wife is an active member of the Ladies' Guild. Ethan is not a joiner, but he habitually eats breakfast at a local eatery and he is well known by those families who have lived in the area for generations, like his own.

5.1.3. The Window Cleaner

Not all service providers evade the acknowledgement of professionalism and legitimacy that accompany recognition as an enterprise. Some cherish the image of professionalism and quality that go with attaining certifications and projecting an aura of seriousness about their work, even if their work doesn't compensate them at a high level or is not generally viewed as having status. In this case, Pierre Beaubien inhabits a marginal realm of semi-professionalism in his work, in his housing, and in his personal experiences. Cars whiz past his mobile home, part of a small park that sits between Milltown and larger neighboring Charlestown. It is a small collection of low cost housing tucked between a series of small commercial establishments which differs significantly from the multi-million dollar homes ringing the lake and dotting the more secluded countryside.

Perhaps the most intriguing case in this study, Pierre does not on the surface seem an appropriate candidate as an "Anglophone" due to his very French name. I met Pierre at a church event early on in my residence in the community, and was intrigued by his story. Including him in this research makes sense because it throws light on how malleable

linguistic identity can be, and how repeated experiences of marginalization can impact that identity.

Until the age of 9, Pierre spoke only French at home. When he was 7, his family moved to the Townships, and not long after, he entered the social system for child protection. However, because of where he lived, he somehow ended up in the English language side of the social system, eventually being placed as a foster child with an English speaking family in Pleasant Valley. There was no French school there, so he entered the English school. At the time, this was an entirely English village, with no French speaking families. One can imagine how difficult the school and social experience must have been for Pierre. From the age of 9 to the age of about 23, Pierre spoke no French, only English. He explains it as periods of alternating unilingualism before he intentionally relearned French to become bilingual.

[at age 9] I spoke exclusively English, lost my French. And at the age of 23, when I started going to university, I picked up, I took French at the university and picked up my language again. But I went from being unilingual French to being unilingual English, to bilingual, through stints, okay.

Pierre's educational history is complicated and disjointed. He went through grade 8 in Pleasant Valley. He left the area at some point after this, eventually completing his education in Ontario. He attended university in Ottawa, ending up with a degree in linguistics, which he augmented with a certificate in teaching English as a second language. He spent a year during his studies teaching English in Quebec. He then moved back to Montreal and earned a certificate in education. He was teaching in the city during this time. Later on he started but did not complete a master's program in linguistics. Along

the way he married and divorced, having children that he did not discuss with me in this interview. Pierre moved back to the study area in 1988

In an effort to grow his business, Pierre branched out into carpet cleaning starting in 1995, adding upholstery cleaning in 2000. He took courses and got certified in both fields before determining that there wasn't enough volume in his service area to justify the expense and effort to add these to his offerings. These forays set the business back financially, and in retrospect he regrets not having just focused more on upgrading his window services, which he now augments with dryer vent cleaning. He has made an effort currently to increase the residential side of his business while continuing to increase his commercial clientele. According to Pierre, 50% of his work comes from the Milltown/Clear Lake area, with the remainder coming from communities adjacent to but not within the study area. His residence on the edge of Clear Lake Town puts him approximately equidistant from the three main communities he serves. He intends to continue in this work as long as he is physically able.

For advertising, Pierre relies primarily on his car, a subcompact covered, in large print, with his logo and catchy company name, his phone number and details of the services he provides. He has listings in the yellow pages, but purchases no display advertising beyond that. His vehicle is highly visible, providing exceptional name recognition, and his presence in the commercial districts help him approach and be approached by potential clients. His bilingual business name, while occasionally misleading about the type of work he does, is so memorable that many customers and area residents simply know him and call him by that name, rather than addressing him as Pierre Beaubien. Additionally, he has

a website which provides information about his services, business cards, and refrigerator magnets. He never posts ads in local stores, as he feels “it cheapens the image of the service.”

Unlike some of his competitors, Pierre takes great pride in having the highest quality implements for his work and maintaining a marked level of professionalism. He explained that, in Europe, window cleaners are classified as tradesmen, while in North America, they are considered a “semi-trade”, even though to perform some of the ladder work safely requires significant understanding of risk management and safety procedures. He has been certified by an international association based in the United States, and insists on purchasing the best equipment from European manufacturers and supplies from a company in Toronto. He faces “ferocious” competition in Charlestown, with its numerous commercial establishments and the low cost of entry into the industry for window cleaners using non-professional equipment and supplies.

Pierre recognizes that there is a limit to how many customers he can service on his own, but he has considered and rejected the idea of having employees.

You choose the work, the hours, you have all the responsibilities of running the business, but to be able to be independent in that way. And it was a conscious choice to stay small, local, not expand, not have employees, because as I mentioned, for administering a business, I would be very poor at that. I'm hands on. I enjoy the hands on.

He meets his needs with his business, but admits that his needs are modest. In part that is because he has chosen to stay here, because of what the area offers. Like so many of my respondents, he left the area when young, but later intentionally returned.

I deliberately decided to move back to Quebec, live in Quebec, live in a Francophone area, and live in a place where I contact with both major languages on a daily basis, professionally, socially, personally...

His reasons for choosing to live here may be different than those of some of his neighbors, but they match well with those of others, including Gina, my next respondent.

5.2. Professionals

Like tradesmen, some skilled professionals have no need to indicate their place of business, either because they have no client contact outside of the client's home or place of business, or they cultivate a regular, repeat clientele which learns where they are located and returns there on a weekly or other regular basis. Examples of this might include interior decorators, massage therapists, music teachers, or various other specialized consultants. They can also be fairly mobile, and choose their place of residence and business for reasons beyond just their career. My study includes a piano teacher and a public relations consultant, who both fall into this category.

5.2.1. The Music Teacher

Gina Warner has been giving music lessons since she was 16. She attended a Catholic school while growing up in Montreal, where French speaking students studied in French in classrooms next door to English speaking students learning the same subjects in English. It was a place where the two language groups lived parallel lives but did not interact, even though they each took classes to learn the others' language. As she said, "even the English nuns didn't talk to the French nuns." She also studied at the Conservatoire de musique et d'arts dramatiques de la province du Québec, where the general courses were given in

French, but the instruction she received on her instrument was in English. Gina has lived and taught music in the Laurentians, Montreal, and the Townships during her long career, and she has had to make an especial effort to be able to teach in French as well as English. She originally bought property in the Sunset Hill section of the study region with her second husband, now deceased, twenty years ago, and started living here full time about fifteen years ago. Currently she only teaches part-time, but she is willing to take on more students, even though she expresses satisfaction with her current income.

Before she moved to the Townships, Gina lived in the Laurentians with her first husband, a musician who also tuned and repaired pianos. When that marriage ended, she returned to Montreal where she taught music and dance. During this time she also met the man who became her second husband, who spoke French as his first language. In spite of this, they spoke English as their home language. The two of them became involved in water sports and ended up visiting Clear Lake to participate in these activities. After a few visits they decided they wanted to relocate to the area, so they found property close to skiing, not far from Milltown, yet very secluded, and built the home where she now lives with her current partner, a self-employed cabinet and furniture maker, her second husband having passed away a few years ago.

Giving music lessons is not an occupation with specific oversight or educational requirements. Gina explains her entry into the field:

I started teaching when I was sixteen. It's always just word of mouth and there are not really, it's not a regulated industry, so you teach, and if the parents, or the people who hire you like you then you keep the job and if they don't they don't....I've inherited lots of pupils from other teachers and sometimes they're really well prepared and

sometimes you think, but, maybe it's better to have unregulated businesses.

As such, word of mouth, personality, skills and community reputation are important to attracting and retaining students. Gina served for twelve years as a town councilor locally and she also does volunteer work with the humane society. She takes out little advertising, usually just something in the fall back-to-school issue of the Source, but she does issue press releases about student concerts held throughout the year at various venues that come out in the local weekly edition of The Record, an English language daily paper based in Sherbrooke that mainly covers the townships.

It is a different field than some, as music teachers often either go to their student's homes or give lessons from their own house. Gina used to travel to her students, but now all of her students must come to her house for lessons. While a few of her students live nearby, others drive from the surrounding rural communities and the village of Milltown. She laughed that occasionally the villagers complain about the dirt road, steep driveway, or even have difficulties with it in the winter. She recognized that her home could not be as far out in the country as she would have liked because she had to be accessible to a large enough population base to supply her with potential students.

Her live-in partner, Simon Dubois, who, in spite of his name, speaks English as his first language as the product of marriage between a French Canadian father and an English mother which split while he was young, works as a cabinet and furniture maker from the workshop they built on her property. He attended the Milltown English high school, but failed to graduate in his final semester there. He worked a variety of jobs, eventually

holding a position at one of the local ski hills as a groomer and equipment repairman. After sustaining a disabling injury and a series of operations, he started working with wood while on CSST. He still receives partial disability payments, which he augments with income from his woodshop. Like Gina, he relies upon word of mouth to secure his clientele. He primarily does work locally, but at the time of the interview he was in Montreal meeting with clients. He had previously re-done their kitchen in their country house, and they now wanted him to do their condo in the city. All of his pieces are custom designed, and he only takes on specialty projects which cannot be bought off the shelf somewhere else. Again, this couple demonstrates the common dual self-employed from home model we have seen throughout this study. The fact that her house showcases his work and she has students come in helps spread the word about the work he does.

5.2.2. Public Relations Consultant

Closer to the center of the study area, Milltown, but not quite yet in the village, I found several self-employed individuals who work from home. The first of these engages and participates in local affairs, and he is widely known both here and throughout the province due to his earlier career.

The family of John Wasserheim immigrated to Quebec from Austria when he was only five years old. They left post-war Europe to seek better opportunities elsewhere, and chose Quebec because it seemed to offer an environment similar to that which they left behind. They settled north of Montreal in the Laurentians where John went through the English school system. His mother tongue is German, which he still speaks with his elderly father, but English is his primary language now. He attended the regional English high school in

Laval about the time the provincial government was introducing the Cégep system. John went directly to university from high school, attending Carleton University in Ottawa. It was while he was studying journalism and law at Carleton that he learned to speak French during the early and mid 1970's.

While still a student at Carleton, John was doing an internship in Montreal for a major English language newspaper on November 15, 1976, the day René Levesque and the Parti Québécois was elected for the first time. He worked in newspapers for a time after that, and eventually got hired as a news journalist for an English language television station in Montreal. He noted that he worked in the industry as it went through major technological changes. He finally left television news reporting in 2000, citing as a reason the changes in how reporters were expected to perform their work. However, he had stopped living full-time in Montreal long before that, and he had been doing some extra work on the side in the media relations industry.

Eighteen years ago John started spending significant time in the study area when the father of a close friend purchased a large property with two houses in Milltown. He frequently came to the area to ski or otherwise enjoy his time off. He bought his house and moved out here full time about fifteen years ago, keeping a small apartment in Montreal for when he had to be in the city. When he moved out to the area, he started covering stories in the region, rather than just in Montreal. He was particularly busy covering a major local trial that took place in the late 1990's, but when that concluded, the work he had from the television station declined even though he covered developments in politics and local industry, and he started taking on more self-employed projects. He had an offer from a

nearby manufacturer, a global corporation, to take a position in corporate communications. He took the job and left journalism, but unfortunately, after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001, the company slashed its workforce and he was let go. He started an executive MBA program, but never finished because he again got offered a position with a large corporation, which he held for two years before again being made redundant during an acquisition process. At that point, in 2004, he decided to work solely as a consultant, based out of his home, in part because of the quality of life it afforded.

And that's why I live here, because you, uh, it's being fulfilled at, at a job is one thing, but then there's the second part of your life, the balancing act I call the POM factor. Peace of Mind. And it's almost afforded me peace of mind here because I can, I'm in a creative business and I, and I feel very inspired here, rather than looking at a wall, looking at people in the next office building....

Now he draws on his extensive contacts from his previous work to generate clients. Locally, he does some work for Milltown merchants, but most of his clients come from out of town, including Montreal, Switzerland, and Australia. While he can work in French, he noted that, "in this area, a lot of the contracts I've been getting lately are in English." While he does have a set rate, it varies by the size of the entity with which he is dealing. For example, with local shops he sometimes barter or charges a lower rate, but when he has corporate clients, the contracts are generally negotiated and term-limited at a much higher level of compensation. He has cut his costs to make this work for himself and his clients.

In terms of cost structure, I'm pretty flexible, because I no longer have an office in Montreal. Had one, but got rid of it. There's no point. Like tomorrow, this guy doesn't want to come to my office downtown, he wants to have lunch with me. So you don't need an office, you don't need a board room with a white board. If there is something or presentation work to do, when I do a communications file, I always do,

you know, a death by powerpoint. And and and, so you know, I just turn it around and say here, we can do that in a restaurant or in his office.

In addition, John's work depends on technology: "... all you need is a laptop computer, blackberry, and a cell phone." He stays in touch with the world online, getting up to speed with world events before breakfast, and dealing with emails from near and far. He has no employees, and he has little need for supplies beyond his technical resources. Normally he goes to Milltown for breakfast, a social event that ensures he has contact with people face to face on a regular basis. When he's done working, he occasionally travels to Montreal, Vermont, or other towns nearby, depending on local events.

John has been involved closely with several local community cultural works organizations, and he serves as well on the board of a post-secondary educational institution, although he is single and has no children. These activities yield influential contacts at the local, national, and international levels. He doesn't advertise, nor does he hard sell to people when introduced. His face and journalism work are well enough known that people generally are interested in engaging in conversation with him. His work is very self-directed, and he works harder to drum up business when his financial needs require. However, he does miss the camaraderie of working with a team, and that in part explains why he makes a concerted effort to participate in community organizations and frequent local restaurants.

John, with his diverse network of acquaintances, gave me names of other "invisible" rural professionals, including translators, copy writers, a director of television commercials, and

the entrepreneur profiled in the next case. As such, he was a useful resource to help me understand the extent to which this type of employment can be observed in the study area.

5.3. The International Entrepreneur

At a level of operations far above service providers or even consultants, entrepreneurs who develop large scale businesses may have no need of a specific place of business, as long as they have adequate technological resources, significant financial backing, and an availability of acceptably skilled staff to assist them locally as needed. However, finding these people and securing interviews can be remarkably difficult, as they may prefer to remain anonymous in their local community. I was tremendously fortunate that a serendipitous chance encounter while meeting with John led to an interview with Michael Teasdale, an energetic entrepreneur engaged in a large scale infrastructure development project in the planning and approval stage during my field research. Due to the sensitive nature of his undertaking, my source refused to be recorded, as he feared any leaking of sensitive information. Once I learned more about his endeavor, I better understood his reluctance, as his project was being hounded by the press and opposition groups. This also explains why his base of operations is completely obscured in his corporate literature, and even his partners do not know his actual physical base of operations. Both his phone number and his corporate address are in New York, but all of his operations are based out of two adjacent farmhouses in the rural region of Sunset Hill. Whirring away inside one of the houses are several powerful computers, screens, and large scale printers. He has satellite served high-speed internet, a rarity in a rural sector where dial-up service is the only commonly available link. He has a full-time executive assistant, a local English first language woman with a Master's degree, whom he discovered while lamenting his need

for an assistant as he ate breakfast in a local restaurant. The server provided an introduction and he spent about six months training her for the position. From time to time he employs a second assistant locally when under time pressure to complete various phases of his project. Besides me, his employees, and a few close friends, no one in the study area knows much about his business.

Michael started his career as a serial entrepreneur while attending St. George Williams College in Montreal, where he grew up. After a winter doing T-shirt design and sales in Jamaica, his first in a series of larger scale businesses included creating promotional activities for radio and later television in Montreal. In the mid-1980's while pursuing business interests in Toronto, he met a woman, married and started a family, and he now has three older teenage children. He and his wife have been separated for several years. He was heavily invested in real estate, and he got caught up in the savings and loan scandal that hit the United States in 1989. He relocated to Sarnia with his family, where he shifted his emphasis more towards consulting over the years. For a while he involved himself in the import/export business. When his oldest child went to university in Montreal, Michael decided to return to Quebec, in part to be closer to her, and to complete the separation from his wife. It was about this time that he started developing the massive project which currently takes most of his working time and energy. When he came back to Quebec, he chose to live in the countryside, although he likes the city very much. He cited a number of reasons, including a desire to be close to nature, lead a quiet life away from the frenetic pace of a city, and the proximity to where he needs to travel frequently, including both New York City and Albany. Additionally, the cost of renting in the study area is significantly lower than either buying here or renting or buying in a big city, so he had a

financial incentive to locate here, especially since he can go in to Montreal at any time, as it is an easy drive of a little over an hour. Locating his base of operations here was very much a lifestyle choice, particularly given the occasionally hostile reception his enterprise has evoked in certain communities likely to be impacted by this major infrastructure construction project. Here he does not have to worry about having his operations interfered with or his privacy invaded by individuals opposed to the project he is developing.

He sees himself as somehow separate from the local people, arguing in part that coming from British Montreal stock provides him a larger worldview; as he put it, “we built the country”, a statement of the very significant role that Anglophone Montrealers played in the history of Canada. He argued that local people do not strive for excellence but rather tend to get by. He remarked that people who can work here in the way that he does do not come from here, and furthermore, that the people who own the expensive houses in the area work elsewhere.

While his base is on a dirt road in a clearly rural area, with the neighboring farms boasting cattle and horses, he is less than a ten minute drive from the main commercial district of Milltown. He frequently drives into Milltown for breakfast at a local restaurant, to pick up groceries, go to the gym, or to socialize. He sees this location as rural and country, but it's not clear that locals would agree with his assessment, as he has very easy access to Milltown, and his road serves as one of the important routes through Sunset Hill, rather than a cul-de-sac or single track truly off the beaten path.

5.4. Conclusion

The study area boasts a wide variety of semi-visible or even invisible self-employment enterprises of an amazing variety of scale. The markets they serve range from the micro-local to the global, and they range in size from marginally supporting a single person to multi-billion dollar operations employing many others outside the study area. This invisible sector suggests the most fascinating post-modern, post-urban trend in the study, where people choose to make a life for themselves in a certain place, and do it in the manner they see most fitting for their own personal circumstances, character traits, skills and education.

Chapter 6 – Milltown businesses on the High street

As you drive into Milltown on the main west-east route, the commercial district starts with a few miscellaneous merchants at the edge of the village. These include a number of businesses related to construction and home improvement, general mechanics, and a few eateries and down market motels and inns. As you get closer to the central core, the buildings are more densely packed. At the first substantial intersection, you notice a small industrial district to the north. As you continue towards “downtown”, you pass shops that serve the local population: hair salons, accountants, a pizza joint, a Chinese restaurant, as well as other services. A gleaming new chain grocery store sits to the south side awaiting the grand opening that occurred the summer my interviews were conducted, across the street from its worn and much smaller earlier home. You pass a series of tidy modest single family dwellings and a few multifamily residences as you head towards the center of the village. You can see downtown before you actually pull in. Here, before you reach the primary crossroads, you can stop at the gym or drop in on one of several real estate agents. When you reach the center of downtown, restaurants, galleries, café’s, a bakery, retail shops, a small inn, a church and a library dominate the commercial district.

6.1. The peripheral business district enterprises

6.1.1. The Real Estate Agent

There have been disparities in wealth in the region for many generations. The first case of this chapter illustrates that differences in the quantity of wealth that gets passed on does not necessarily significantly differentiate the life course path that those of long family residence in the area display. Patrick Maltsby, 58, has benefited from the fact that he draws

from two families of standing in the area, both of which owned land close to the lake and close to Milltown. Both families were prosperous, and the name of his mother's family graces not only a road that links several of the local villages, but also a hill with views where the original farm was once located. The extensive and fortuitously located farms contributed to the family wealth, and eventually contributed in part to Patrick's current career as a real estate agent.

Like his peers, Patrick attended the local English school and high school, after which he moved to Montreal and took a job in the then nascent computing industry. While he did not take a university degree, he developed skills in programming, and spent about five years employed in this capacity in the city. He returned to Milltown in 1972, taking on a position managing a service station. After a year of that, he was recruited into the real estate business by an acquaintance in December 1973, but that was only shortly before the provincial elections of 1976 which rocked this Anglophone area.

Now, after '76, real estate stopped. You couldn't give things away, honestly, you couldn't. So I went to Calgary for a year and then came back, because I liked this area, swore I'd come back and never leave again, which I have.

After spending 1977 in Calgary, Patrick returned, even though things had changed drastically from what he had known.

Interviewer: When it had calmed down a bit? Not much though?

Patrick: No, it was still a different type of market. But I owned a lot of real estate, a lot of land, I had like 400 acres of land and three houses, so I had to go to Calgary just to support these investments, but then when I came back, I was fortunate enough to sell off the logging rights to one of my lots, 300 acres, and then a week later, I sold the land, so that got me going again.

By creative use of some of his family assets, Patrick was able to put himself in a position that allowed him to buy his first real estate agency in 1979 at a very low price, given the depressed state of the market at that time. After a divorce, he started another company, eventually selling it and opening yet another independent agency. He has since remarried, and his eleven year old daughter from his current marriage attends the Milltown English school, while his oldest from his previous marriage and his ex-wife both also live and work in town.

Patrick has witnessed first hand the transformation of the local population and real estate market. As such, he lends valuable additional information to that suggested by William Jameson, the draftsman and beef farmer, about the changing social class of people moving into the area.

Up until ten years ago, one had to speak French to do real estate, because the clients, we had a lot of clientele who spoke only French. Now the last ten years, prices have gone up, the clientele seems to be, to have a little bit more money, and they tend to all, even if French is their home language, they tend to speak English, and they have their children in private English schools and things like that. So the clientele has changed immensely in the last ten years, for this particular area. But that could be because of prices. The prices, like it's quite difficult to find a house, say a little country cottage, for \$150,000 any more, Canadian. You have, it's more like \$250 to \$300. So that's what's changed. So it's brought a different clientele now. Thirty five years ago, when I started in '73, '74, our clientele were all from the island of Montreal, and here I am, about twenty-five years later, so I mean, the last ten years, our clientele are again from the island of Montreal. Went right back. Where before we used to have St. Bruno, we'd have Longueuil, we'd have St. Lambert, we'd have the South Shore, Brossard, things like that, not, very seldom any more addresses like that. It's mostly the island of Montreal.

As Patrick noted above, with the recent upward shift in prices, the language spoken has shifted. In particular, this has had an impact on the English first language speakers buying property locally.

Interviewer: But they, the English speaking population? They're not moving in, they're just locals?

Patrick: They're, the only English speaking population moving in is from out of province. And that's where one of the spouses were born in Quebec and now they are near retirement or retired, and they're coming out here to buy because one of the spouses does not speak French, therefore they come to an English area, which is, it is very English here, like you can talk to any shopkeeper, and then they speak English.

I'll explore this comment later in this chapter and in the next section of my thesis, where we look at the shopkeepers of Milltown in particular, and find that Patrick offered me an important insight to the changing demography, especially as represented in the downtown boutiques.

Patrick has focused his business on an area just slightly larger than the geographical limits of this research project. He sees it as a region with a distinct character, which attracts a certain type of buyer. He has focused his work on an area that he sees as consistent, and he explains it as: "It's uh, um, it's like recreational properties are looked for in that area, and in that area, there's small farms, also, which are tourist, hobby farms, so it's very similar territory." The fact that his sales area coincides so closely with my study area supports the choices I made regarding the socially recognizable geographic boundaries of relevance to the population.

6.1.2. The Gym

As Patrick indicated, many of the couples moving into the area include a partner who does not speak French. The local gym, which sits on the main road shortly before you arrive in the core downtown shopping district, provides a perfect example of exactly this phenomenon, one which will be repeated throughout this chapter. Denise Gray is an American, originally from New Jersey, who met her Quebec-born husband while she was working as a flight attendant based in Florida where he was living at the time. After the birth of their second child, they moved to Quebec in January 1993, buying a house just northwest of the study area in Bellevue, not far from his family in Charlestown. She explains that they later moved specifically to Milltown for two reasons.

Well, we discovered there was a lake here..... So when we discovered that, Milltown, Clear Lake, I decided I want to live here, it's English. It's not French like Bellevue [laughter]. We kind of cried for two years 'cus my French is still at that point.

They built a house on the lake and Denise was able to cultivate friendships with other English speakers and participate easily in activities offered in the community, including aerobics classes. She was asked to start teaching aerobics when the main instructor's schedule changed, and she discovered she enjoyed the work. She developed close relationships with two other instructors during the 1995-1999 period when they were teaching aerobics, and in the course of lamenting the lack of workout facilities in the town, they decided to open a small personal training studio together, outfitting it with equipment they already owned, including treadmills, an exercise bike, and a small home gym ensemble. Both of Denise's children were in school at this point and she was eager to fill her time with productive work. The fitness facility that the three women opened in 1999 was so small that only three people could work out at a time, and they scheduled

appointments for all the trainings. The success they had with this small start convinced them within six months that the community could support a fully equipped gym.

The three women started looking for space for a gym in downtown Milltown, but found nothing appropriate available. David, Denise's husband, owned a building in which he operated several retail operations. After reviewing the numbers with Denise, he agreed to build an addition to his building to house the gym. This expansion required a significant investment on the part of David and Denise for which they took out a second mortgage on their house.

Denise: And I, so David and I talked about it and we decided we were gonna take the chance, you know, not for the three girls, he was going to take the chance.

Interviewer: As a real estate developer?

Denise: As a real estate developer and for me, because, English-speaking, there was nowhere else I could work and I think I was driving him nuts. So I have a wonderful husband who was willing to take a chance on me.

Denise recognizes that the advice and support of her self-employed husband helped her make this leap. They closed a small seasonal operation in their building not long after, and have rented that small space to a series of very small micro-enterprises operated and owned by others that come and go. It's been vacant more months than it's been filled during the entire time I was resident in the study area. In addition to the year-round retail service facility, David now operates a seasonal automotive operation during the summer months on another property he owns in the West Grundy section of the study area.

The gym needed significantly more equipment than what they first operated with. David tracked down a distant gym elsewhere in Quebec that had shut down and was selling its equipment. They purchased the lot and moved it with the help of friends and family. Unfortunately they had to move it twice as they bought it before the space was ready. A nearby Anglophone manufacturer allowed them to warehouse the equipment in some of his unused space. They compensated their help with pizza, beer and gym memberships, which proved a way to generate interest in the facility.

When the fully equipped gym opened in December of 2000, it was owned by three women, all first language English, but the two other than Denise had at least functional French. One became ill within the first few months, so Denise and Leanne bought her out. This significantly altered the risk and staffing measures required by the operation. At this point, Leanne and Denise arranged for part-time staffing by someone who trained at the facility. By the end of the first year, Leanne divorced her self-employed husband, for whom she had previously done the bookkeeping for his business. Denise had to step up her efforts to keep the gym profitable, as she and her husband had the most to lose if it failed. They advertise in both the weekly English language paper and the monthly bilingual Source. They generally have one part-time employee who covers at least fifteen hours a week. The gym draws people primarily from within the study area, including year-round residents and seasonal residents. Additionally, the gym attracts many retirees and those over fifty, groups well represented in the local population. This business illustrates how finding an underserved need even in a small and aging community can result in a successful enterprise.

6.1.3. Canfurn

Small businesses often evolve faster than the owners can plan their growth. Canfurn offers a case in point. On the way into Milltown, you pass their newly built manufacturing plant. Once you get in town, you come across their retail storefront in the heart of the downtown commercial district. In 1976, Christopher and Lynn Arthur moved their young family to Milltown from Montreal. His mother had family in a neighboring town and Christopher had spent much time here as a child. When they moved to the area, Christopher was an antique dealer supplying decorators, individual collectors, and retail stores throughout Quebec. He eventually opened a retail store in Montreal in 1981, adding a second location there not long after. In 1983, they purchased a property on Milltown's high street, putting a small retail store on the first floor and making the second floor their family apartment. Not long after, they hired an employee to do furniture refinishing and repairs, a man Christopher knew from around town. They sold their Montreal operations by 1987 to concentrate on the wholesale side of the business. Their three children, a boy and two girls, all attended the Milltown English schools and various English language schools in Montreal for university studies.

The store struggled for a time to find its niche in Milltown. They offered not only antique furniture, but also giftware, Christmas notions, and even fudge. Eventually the variety diminished, and they now offer furniture, decorative items, lighting, artwork, candles, and a few other household gimcracks. None of the children planned to join the family business, but the economic environment in the early 1990's did not provide them the opportunities they desired. George, their eldest, was my respondent for this interview. He explains that

one sister had married and that she and her husband had returned to Milltown due to lack of work in Montreal.

Her first husband and she decided to move out here and work in the family business 'cus he, you know, just the same reason I, in what sort of precipitated me coming, lack of opportunity. You know, I mean, it seems so stupid and not so historical but you now, mid-nineties I wasn't finding any great jobs in the city.

Furthermore, he felt a degree of rivalry: "Once that happened, I, I mean, more than a small part of me said hey, this is a family business I don't want my brother-in-law to be the only one involved!" His parents included him, and he started working full-time with the company in 1996. The size of the operation soon could not keep pace with the growth in demand for their product, so they started manufacturing reproduction pieces and combining new and old furniture components to increase their offerings. In addition to manufacturing products themselves, they also engage a number of subcontractors throughout Quebec and import certain items. The youngest sibling joined the business four years ago, and her husband a year and a half later. One sibling divorced, moved back to Montreal, remarried, and started a family, only to return again to Milltown about a year ago. Her second husband now works in Canfurn's Milltown retail operation.

Not long after George joined the business, Christopher and Lynn bought a large old farm property just outside of Milltown in Sunrise Knoll. They moved the furniture refinishing operation there, as well as stored product and shipped out orders from the site. George encouraged his dad to send him to the Toronto furniture show in 2000, at which point things really took off, as they developed additional wholesale clients throughout Canada and the northeastern United States. Eventually this increasing industrial activity at the farm

drew approbation from nearby residents. It also violated green zone regulations in place protecting agricultural land. A government agency official visited the site, and they were ordered to relocate their operations. Until their purpose built manufacturing facility was completed, they were allowed to continue production at the non-complying location. This took time, but they acquired property in Milltown's new industrial sector, and managed to get private backing to build a new factory, which opened in 2003.

This rapid growth has changed their workforce but they tend to rely still on informal networks to recruit the additional non-family labor the enterprise requires.

Well, these are people we've known or people we've found through word of mouth. I mean, we're trying to be more particular now because, I mean, some of the people we've ended up with we were really lucky we ended up with them [...] originally when we started hiring people to build we weren't specific at all. As long as you had experience with tools we were happy with that and now that we've gotten more deliberate in our construction techniques we've been trying to hire usually trained in cabinet making.

There are a few programs in larger surrounding towns that train cabinet makers, and at times Canfurn has hosted interns and hired graduates of these programs. They have both English and French speaking employees, most of whom at least understand the other language, even if they do not speak it particularly well. Language does not appear to have created any exceptional problems for them.

Interviewer: Pretty much everyone is bilingual?

George: No, if they don't speak they understand. I don't think they'd say necessarily functionally bilingual, but, but there's some that, most of the new, newer cabinet makers we've hired are French speaking. They seem to understand English very well. I always speak to them in French but I hear other people speaking to them in English and either they claim that they understand or they actually understand.

While George is comfortable with spoken French, he doesn't write it well. According to him, his written French is "atrocious". He did work closely with the *Centre local du développement* at one time, trying to put together their business plan when they were seeking financing for the construction of their manufacturing facility. While he received assistance on this, in French, the organization was unable to help them with raising the necessary funds. While they have sincerely tried to access the help that is supposed to be available to small businesses, they have been disappointed in the difficulty of learning about or getting the types of information that could be useful to them in a timely fashion.

The only reason they were able to access the cash to grow was through their informal network connections.

Interviewer: Did you find the private backers yourselves? Were they people that you were able to?

George: Yeah, they're, they were people, yeah, the people we knew. They were people we knew and they had, you know, they had that opportunity fortunately for us and, you know, so we took that. It was better than what the other option was and the banks were still lacking, you know. They had certain restrictions that they insisted we take or have, and we couldn't necessarily meet those restrictions either, just for lack of organization sometimes, and we'd have to provide certain figures that we don't have, or inventories that we don't control, or those kinds of things.

Now straddling the divide between retail and manufacturing, Canfurn has one foot in industrial zone and one in the retail zone of town. It provides an example of how small businesses struggle to manage growth, navigate the regulatory environment, and make the most of the connections they have within the local community. Along with growth comes

risk. As Canfurn's sales to the United States have grown, they have had to learn to deal with the recent strengthening Canadian dollar, a whole new series of adventures for them.

6.2. The central business district enterprises

While the prior businesses are generally found near downtown, with the exception of Canfurn's retail operation, they do not comprise the heart of the downtown district, which seem to cater to more to the part-year residents or tourist population. The central commercial core of Milltown features mostly specialty boutiques, restaurants, antique dealers, art galleries, and several bank branches.

6.2.1. Le Bistro

Even towns of modest size in Quebec generally host a restaurant to two in their central business area. As a tourist destination, Milltown offers many eateries serving various tastes and budgets. Since not all tourists spend more than a day in town, lunch can often be the busiest time of day for bistros here. In the heart of the tourist district, it sometimes seems as if every other establishment serves food. Todd and Tammy Markham, already experienced in the hospitality industry, chose to relocate their family from Southern California to Milltown in April 2002, purchasing an operating Milltown restaurant.

Todd and Tammy, both in their forties, were born and raised in or near Toronto and had fathers who were self-employed for at least a portion of their careers. He attended hotel school in Toronto during the 1980's, and they met when he later hired her into a hospitality position. They spent four years in England managing a country hotel and restaurant that had been bought by her father as an investment. Thirteen years ago, when they were

expecting their first child, they returned to Ontario, where Todd worked in the transportation industry, something his father was associated with. Shortly after the birth of their second child, they transferred to Northern California for a year and a half, and then to Southern California, where they lived for six and one half years and where their youngest child was born. During the last year that they were in the United States, Todd switched out of the transportation industry and got involved in food sales and distribution with a large American corporation. He had taken some cooking classes and done some catering on the side while in California. For reasons they did not elaborate on, they decided to return to Canada a few years ago.

Todd: Well, when it was time to move from Los Angeles, uh, we wanted to go back to Canada, but we didn't want to go back to Ontario per se. So we, my sister lived here, which is really the only reason why we picked Milltown.

His sister, Julianne Markham, runs a women's clothing store in town, and is included in this study in another interview. The family had spent three weeks in the area when they came out for Julianne's wedding in 1996. Todd came out for a long weekend in February of 2002, when his sister's marriage was dissolving, and spent time looking at businesses for sale and vacant properties which might be suitable as a restaurant. He had the assistance of Patrick Maltby, the real estate agent profiled in the beginning of this chapter. None of the facilities on offer were particularly appealing, but when Todd and Patrick stopped for lunch at the local bistro, it was hopping: "We came here for lunch and it was packed. Yeah, on a Saturday in the winter." Peter mentioned that he thought it might be available, and given the fact that it was busy during what tends to be considered the low season, it appeared an excellent prospect; Todd inquired of the owner and they had a meeting that very afternoon. Less than a month later, they bought the restaurant: "After

drumming up some cash, we just did it. We bought it.” Getting the money to do the deal was difficult however. They got no conventional financing, relying instead on their own resources, some from his parents, and an overdraft account at a bank. They faced difficulties with conventional financing because they had no credit history in Canada due to the time they spent outside the country. While in the U.K. and the U.S.A, their credit arrangements had always been tied to their employment. This has created significant hurdles for them, and they have struggled to establish themselves financially since returning to Canada.

Their financial situation was complicated by difficulties they had with the provincial tax authorities. These problems were exacerbated by their limited French skills.

Todd: I mean, we would, we had a big mountain to climb. Against French speaking so. They, they took care of it.

Tammy: Yeah, actually that’s true, because the one person that was on our case for the taxes did not speak English, so I would also always have to speak to a different person, and then they wouldn’t do anything.

Todd: And they weren’t going to get anyone else to call either.

Interviewer: Oh boy. Well, that doesn’t help.

Tammy: We actually did take a friend who is not a practicing attorney, but he was an attorney, took a friend actually to a meeting, yeah, to translate.

Their financial limitations have meant that they have hired less help than usual through the slower winter and spring months. In May, when I interviewed them, Tammy had not had a day off since New Year’s. They have also made other managerial changes, like closing the restaurant between 4 and 6 p.m. on the days they serve evening meals to help reduce the costs of staffing associated with staying open during a typically slow period. They have

also been very creative in drawing upon the affluent customer base they attract. They have regular customers who advance them a certain amount, for example, \$1000, for which they are credited \$1100 to use for meals at the restaurant. This has allowed Todd and Tammy to secure funds when they have needed it, as well as ensure a regular loyal clientele. They also combined improvements to their restaurant with contributions to local causes, where they give a portion of the proceeds to a visible community project.

They advertise in the two local papers, Source and the weekly English language paper. They have also distributed menus to local businesses, and had a "slot job" done by the post office, where the mail carriers include something they have provided to every address in the community. They have advertised for staff publicly, but they have never hired anyone who responded to a help wanted ad in the paper. Like so many other small businesses, they too find their staff through word of mouth, by referral, or even draw them from their customers. In the winter, the locals provide most of their custom, and the clients tend to be mostly English, but this changes during the tourist seasons.

Tammy: In the winter months, like primarily the restaurants downtown are Anglophone. On the weekends, it probably tips more French than English, people are coming from the city, and in the summer there's a lot more people coming from elsewhere in the province to the Eastern Townships, so it's probably 60-40 or even 70-30.

On a typical mid-winter weekday, Tammy and Todd are likely to be able to name all or nearly all of their clients. They are a nexus in the Milltown business community, and I uncovered multiple links to and from them that did not necessarily arise directly during the interview. Beyond the obvious of Todd's sister, they have utilized the services of interviewees Edwin Walsh and Patrick Maltby. I have frequently observed Tammy in

attendance at community events, school activities, at local restaurants, and at the Marina in the summer. They provide a good example of how Anglophones in the community form a visible and invisible network of support in terms of social capital, financial capital, and resource activation within a particular milieu.

6.2.2. The Gift Basket

Business partnerships between Anglophones and Francophones seemed poised to make the most of the diverse networks and varied linguistic skills of the partners. This particular enterprise, a custom gift basket shop including regional food products, toiletries, and specialty import items, surprised me, as it seems to demand a larger population of corporations to be fully successful, but somehow these two women have managed to make a go of it. Debbi Dunn, in her mid-forties, and Amélie Vega, in her early fifties, started this business two years ago in Amélie's spare bedroom. They both had early experience doing secretarial work, and had met while participating as direct marketers of various products, like Tupperware and Mary Kay, each changing organizations over the years in an attempt to find the best financial rewards. They are both mothers. Amélie's children are now grown, but Patti still has kids at home in the local English school.

Debbi grew up on the South Shore, and came to the area after her marriage to her husband, a son of a former local dairy farm family of many generations. The family has long since sold the family farm, but many members live scattered throughout the study area. All of Debbi's schooling was in English, and while she can speak French, she is reluctant to do so. She now lives with her family in Milltown. Her husband holds a manufacturing position at a factory in Bellevue. Amélie grew up in Fletcher, a village in the study area

north of Milltown, where she now lives with her Spanish-speaking immigrant husband. She attended French schools nearby. Her husband works as a self-employed cabinet and mold maker from a shop at their house.

These women did not have significant economic resources to support their foray into full-time self-employment. They spent much time and effort researching potential business ideas, and eventually came across a franchise program to sell gourmet gift baskets. They needed capital to invest in the franchise, which included a training program, marketing materials, and links to suppliers. They considered the possibility of getting assistance from the *Centre local du développement*, but they got the impression that they were not qualified for any programs as they were over 35. Like Edwin Walsh, they perceived a lack of support for businesses undertaken by those people with more life experience. Fortunately, Debbi's brother works in financial advising. He assisted them in preparing a business plan and pitching it to private backers, which required three efforts before they were able to convince someone to loan them the necessary money, in addition to that of their own which they invested, to both buy the franchise and purchase product inventory.

They worked hard through connections with family and friends, as well as cold calls to companies, to develop their clientele. They both credit their training and experience in direct marketing organizations with providing them the skills needed to be successful in selling. The business quickly outgrew Amélie's spare room. They secured a small retail space in downtown Milltown, but in a location that was a bit off the high street. After less than a year there, they heard through word of mouth that space would be available in a highly visible, much larger storefront around the corner with plenty of parking. They

jumped at the opportunity, and hope not to have to move again. The store now seems as much a retail gift item store as a specialty basket operation, and they have added fudge to their product line. The increase in foot traffic has helped increase sales, and they plan to add a part-time employee in the next few months, another woman they met while selling Mary Kay. The business has been very demanding, as they are open seven days a week, get very busy during holiday periods, and have not had relief time off except when covered by their business partner. To give each other time off, on slower mid-week days they will sometimes work alone in the shop. They have created a narrative about their experience that emphasizes how they are different from nearby shop owners.

Debbi: We started a business, okay. We have to build a business. There's a difference there between

Amélie: From scratch.

Debbi: Yeah, as opposed to just writing a check and here I've bought your existing business, an existing, solid business.

This narrative exposes some of the contentiousness that underlies relations amongst shopkeepers in town. All of them recognize it is a small market, and direct competition helps none of them. They told the following story.

Debbi: We had a pop-in visit from from a complaint that was made from another boutique in Milltown.

Interviewer: Oh my.

Debbi: Supplier. That's okay, it's alright, no problem, I handled him very well and he was impressed with the store and he said you have absolutely nothing to worry about. Because you have to be careful in Milltown, a lot of it is hearsay. The actual owners of the other boutique never set foot in here. So to make a complaint to a supplier saying youknow, 'they carry, they have all the same, all the same products' and this and that, and they carry hundreds and hundreds, I think we counted that we have three products. Three, and I showed

them to him.

Amélie: And they go in gift baskets, so that was okay.

Debbi: And they're specifically in baskets and he, he says, oh you have absolutely nothing to worry about so.

There is a competitive element to the shops in Milltown, but this exchange suggests that perhaps there is something more at play here, that these local women have somehow managed to come in and challenge those folks who were able to write a check and buy existing businesses, no matter how those have evolved over time. The attitude and experience of these women seems very different from some of the other businesses in town, in that it has owners who have a different relationship to the community than the other shopkeepers. This helped shape the analysis I undertake in the third section of this thesis.

6.2.3. Charles Swift

Charles Swift, 51, fits the profile of a serial entrepreneur. He re-located to the area twenty years ago, a self-described "ex-urban refugee". In Montreal he was involved in a brokerage business with his father. They bought property in Milltown and moved their operations there in the mid-1980's. Their business did not rely on walk-in customers. It needed staff and telephones, and as such, it was the sort of operation that early benefited from advances in telecommunications to re-locate outside the city. This operation went well, and they invested in additional real property. "And we bought a building and fixed it up, one of the buildings, we opened a store, timing was perfect, became very successful..." This technique of opening retail shops in properties that he owned and fixed up contributed to the creation of four different businesses over the years, one of which he sold in 1989 to

Joan and Anne, also interviewed in this study. He explains his approach: “Basically I’ve been leveraging retail into real estate for twenty years. I’ve got a bunch of real estate in town here, I’ve sold a lot of property to other guys. And my mom owns several other buildings.” He did not explain what happened with the other two businesses he operated, but when he sold property, he no longer had to fill those retail spaces. He would open businesses just to fill empty space: “In the early days we opened stores just because we had all this real estate and we had to create a thing.” He claims that his energy helped develop some of the vibrancy in the downtown economy.

Currently some prime retail spaces sit empty, with property owners not taking the initiative to start businesses to support their investments as Charles did. There is a degree of patient capital in this town. The real estate market has sticky prices, with properties remaining on the market for a long time, rather than sellers reducing prices to unload vacant storefronts. The supposed former dynamism of the community suggested by many of the shopkeepers might have been in part due to Charles’ efforts to build a “thing”, a vibe in the community that increased its attractiveness. Over the years, his former employees have gone on to manage other local businesses, and at the present time, four of the retail shops in Milltown are run by people who once worked for him. He has marked the community at the local time in its current incarnation.

Charles has plans to close his current retail apparel shop and renovate the historic building that houses it into a spa. At this time, his shop is only open on the weekends as he unloads his remaining stock at clearance prices. For his new venture he is partnering with local professionals, a lawyer and an architect, and they are still looking for additional financial

investors. As we discussed his plans for his new business extensively, I was struck by how little he knew about the industry he was looking to enter and the apparent lack of due diligence he had undertaken. He knew of all the competing operations within a half an hour's drive, but he did not seem to have much or any firsthand experience as a spa client, nor had he done market analysis beyond the figures provided by the industry association on numbers for Canada and Quebec as a whole. He claimed to have had a due diligence discussion with a manager at what would be a competing facility, but he seemed unconcerned about securing staff in a labor intensive enterprise. During the course of my research, I had become aware of an acute local shortage of trained professionals in massage therapy and other spa-related treatments. Many of the area spas perpetually advertise for help, and there are training programs that are well advertised in the region, but which do not seem to fill up. He cites a recently opened high end spa nearby as his model, but has never been there himself and had no idea of how profitably or poorly it might be performing.

His mother's family comes from the Grandville area, and had a country home south of the study area. Charles himself is divorced. His children are now attending university and Cégep, but they grew up more with their mother than with him. His father is deceased, and Charles left the brokerage business fairly early on after relocating to the local area. He made a decision that he wanted to be involved more directly with the local economy, rather than continue in the work he had done in Montreal prior to his re-location.

6.2.4. Jewelry & Gifts

By an indirect route Howard Hickmore came to make his life in the village of Milltown where he has operated his business for thirty-five years, which makes his enterprise apparently the longest running in the downtown district. He was born and raised in Montreal, directly descended from a family of United Empire Loyalists that had settled in Lachine and founded a business there. Directly out of high school in Westmount, his parents were displeased with the work he took on, and arranged for him to work instead in a large and prestigious jewelry and fine housewares store. His family tree had links to the family which owned the enterprise that hired him. He spent eight and half years with this company, learning the trade and eventually managing one of their locations. Along the way he married and had two children. In 1968 when he left the company, he owned shares in the corporation that he then sold. After that, he said that "for a couple of years I played around with a company". He then moved to the study area and bought various properties. While he did not elaborate, he expressed that his family had some prior connections to the region, which he attributed to his grandfather, once president of a major Montreal enterprise. His marriage to his first wife ended after a few years in Milltown. As a result, he liquidated their property holdings and invested his remaining resources in a property in downtown Milltown that had both commercial and residential space. It was here, in 1972, that he opened his store, which at that time specialized in clothing and a bit of giftware.

A fire in 1974 wiped out his stock and damaged the property. He salvaged what he could, but the experience undermined his certainty about his commitment to the area. By this point, Howard had re-married, and his new wife's family owned a farm nearby on property which is now very valuable. After six months of wondering about what to do next, the

property across the street from the fire-damaged property came up for sale. Howard tells how he was approached by a local bank manager.

Anyway, the bank manager came down the hill and he said 'well

you know it's about time you go back to, back to business again. And I said, well Jack, I'm sorry I haven't got any money at all. And he said 'yes Howard, but you've always been an honest person and you've always made regular bank deposits and everything else' and he said 'I have faith in you'. He said, 'you tell me how much money you need and I'll give you that money. I'll loan you that money.' And I said, 'well Jack, that's awfully good of you', so I said, 'but I, I've got no collateral.' He said, 'it doesn't make any difference Howard, it's about, your good name is my collateral.'

This story suggests that access to financial resources in the past was significantly about social capital. Howard's "good name" hints at how the elite are able to perpetuate their continued influence: the banker perhaps assumed there would be family money somewhere that would ensure that the "good name" not be besmirched by a loan default. The local financial network evidenced by Howard's experience no longer seems to function as it once did. He was the only respondent to discuss his banker by first name, or to seem to find them particularly helpful. The fact that none of my respondents have had bank financing beyond mortgages for properties suggests that perhaps these formal avenues may have dried up, even while personal networks remain important, and have perhaps increased in importance in financing Anglophone business start-ups in the area.

While they were setting up their new shop and residence, Howard received an inheritance which helped ease the financial pressure as well. So by 1976, Howard was back in business, just in time to benefit from Olympic fever. After that, they added an additional section to the store which specialized in jewelry, while also carrying souvenirs and

children's clothing. A few years back they got out of clothing, in part because of the competition in town in that sector and also because they are trying to make the company more specialized for their twenty-something daughter to take over at some point.

Howard's early experience with jewelry in Montreal served him well as he expanded their jewelry offerings. He had made good connections in the loose stone industry, which, as in New York City, is an enterprise almost exclusively handled by people of Jewish descent (see Richman 2006 for a discussion of the industry in New York). Dealings with Jewish gemstone dealers demand utmost confidence and trust, as stones are frequently offered as if on consignment, and paid off once sold. Howard's step-mother was Jewish, which gave him familiarity with Jewish customs and some Yiddish sayings. He re-kindled the relations he had with these gemstone dealers, and made it a point over the years to bring his daughter along when they needed stones so these relationships should be able to persist through the future business transition that is likely to occur.

They have some part-time staff that helps man the store, with extra help being put on in the summer, but the bulk of the labor is provided by Howard, his wife and daughter. They have utilized the government summer hire program in the past, but no longer take advantage of it, finding the benefits not worth the hassle. They advertise in all the local publications with bilingual display ads, in addition to sponsoring local events and participating in the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations.

Howard involves himself deeply in the well-being of his community, serving twenty years as a volunteer firefighter. Additionally, he was been actively involved with every business

association in the town, often serving on boards. His shop has hosted annual children's events and he boasts that he is serving the third generation of some of his clients. In the jewelry business, his clients are mostly local year-round or part-year residents, and they require a significant amount of jewelry repair. But the community has changed in the past thirty-five years: "yeah, it's more French now, and I'm lousy in French and I just bungle along." Fortunately, his daughter speaks French well, although she attended the local English school, and she has become more engaged in the local business organizations as her father starts to step back a bit.

The store itself has no immediate local competition, although Charlestown and Grandville have a number of both chain and independent jewelers. The significant financial resources and social network ties of this family suggest that the business should remain successful over the years, should the daughter choose to actively maintain the operation.

6.2.5. General Store with food & hardware

Like some of the other residents of this area, Mark and Diane Fletcher discovered the Townships partly by accident. Diane received free ski passes through a promotional program to one of the many nearby resorts, and they were so taken with the region that they asked a real estate agent to help them locate a property in 1994. They operated a bed and breakfast there for six and one half years. When they closed that business, they cast about for another opportunity, and when their current general store came available for sale in 2001, they bought it. They eventually sold their former B & B as a private residence before moving into Milltown to live as well as work in 2003. Prior to relocating to the

Townships, both had had successful professional careers completely unrelated to hospitality and retail.

Diane received her degree in English from Concordia, after growing up in southwestern Ontario. She worked as an educational administrator for sixteen years in Montreal. Mark had grown up in the Laurentians, did his undergraduate degree in Newfoundland, and returned to Quebec to take a master's degree from McGill, which is when they met and married. They had their first child in 1983, and Mark accepted an employment offer from a company in Thunder Bay. Diane occupied herself for a time with raising their son, and eventually took on some contract work. After five years in Thunder Bay, she had an offer of a position in Montreal, and they moved back, with Mark taking a position with an environmental engineering firm in the city. They tired of city living after a while and longed to move to the country. They ruled out the Laurentians, even though Mark had family there and Diane and her sister had owned property there in the past. It was during this time they had their introduction to the townships. The peace and quiet of the local countryside won them over, and they left their city jobs for a new life as self-employed rural dwellers.

They have bankrolled their enterprises with their considerable financial wealth, both accrued and inherited. They closed the B & B when it interfered with family life.

Diane explained, "...the more successful it became the more stressful it became and we had two still young boys. They were in elementary and high school by that point and we were missing many of their, um, many of their events, their concerts, etc." But these two do not like to sit idle, so they started looking for an occupation that would have more

traditional hours and working conditions. The general store in Milltown fit the bill. Today it offers an array of high end specialty foods, beer, and novelties in addition to being a hardware store affiliated with a nationwide brand. As such, they carry high end paints which provide a significant portion of their receipts as well as demand a regular quantity of labor mixing specialty colors. The types of food products they carry, including some organic offerings, imported candies, bagels from Montreal, and baked goods from two artisan bakeries in the townships, appeal to an affluent customer. The store is situated a block off the main drag, across from several exclusive boutique tourist lodging facilities, in the heart of a residential neighborhood, and not far from many of the palatial lakeside estates.

In addition to both working in the store, they hire two full time staff year round and as many as five part time staff in the summer and two in the winter. She does much of the back-room work, ordering supplies, paying bills, managing payroll and staffing, while he tends to be on the floor most of the time. According to Diane, their employees are “local people. Friends of friends actually.” Their part-time employees fit the same profile: “We have a couple of very good part time employees as well. They’re just local folks. One of them had been with the store for sixteen years prior to our coming along.” The summer residents provide a significant portion of their clientele, sometimes indirectly due to local painting contractors buying product for their customers. Mark and Diane consider it a “community” store and like the fact that they know most of their customers. Both of their sons have worked part-time in the store over the years. The oldest is currently pursuing a business degree at a francophone university in Montreal. While Mark and Diane were both educated in English (she did a minor in French), they have sent their children all the way

through the educational system in French, until now, when their youngest will switch to English for university.

The store and the building housing it date back over one hundred years. The ownership has gone through six or seven different families over that time, and the Fletchers have undertaken a major restoration effort this summer to restore the exterior of the building to its original look. The last family that owned it spoke only English. In evaluating the language spoken by their clientele, they guess that it has changed significantly.

Mark: I think it would be fair to say fifty-fifty.

Diane: Yes.

Mark: I mean, it, it kinda evolves with the community as you would expect and the community is getting more and more Francophone all the time, so I think in the past it was probably, like the Banks (the former owners) didn't speak any French, and so they were used to an English clientele, but that was twenty years ago you know, and and, but over the years they were getting more and more Francophones as they came in, so we have those customers plus new customers coming in all the time.

Their operation depends on both year-round residents and second home owners, but it has little need of the tourist traffic which the stores one block away on the high street require.

In discussing neighboring businesses, he said:

They cater to the tourists. We don't. We're here for the local people so we want to see this community be a vibrant place where people want to live and they just don't want to come and visit on a Sunday afternoon. That doesn't help our business."

Because of this, their store tends to be crowded with a small number of a wide variety of items to meet an array of needs.

Their experience dealing with provincial programs while they had the bed and breakfast convinced them to forego any government programs from which they might benefit now, including historic preservation funds. They are members in the local Chamber of Commerce, but they do not actively participate in it or other community organizations. They limit their advertising to Source and sponsorships of local events. They have become accustomed to self-employment over the past decade and a half.

Interviewer: You guys have had both regular employment and your own businesses. You're sticking with self-employment?

Diane: Well at our age it's kinda like who's gonna hire us?

Mark: Yea, well, we've been doing it, working together as partners for since 1990, 1992 I guess.

Diane: Yeah. It would be hard to go, it would be hard to, sometimes it looks very attractive to think, 'yeah, I'll go do my hours and go home and not worry about it any more' but but I don't think it's for us.

This provides an example of the appeal of self-employment: the variety of work and self-determination that it permits, as well as the flexibility and "lifestyle", which is shaped by the type of business one undertakes. The success or not of that business, as well as the resources the owner or owners bring to bear, can also significantly influence both the enjoyment of the work and the sustainability of the operation.

6.2.6. The Celtic Knot

Anne McMaster and her middle-aged daughter Joan own and operate a shop that offers housewares and specialty items from overseas in the heart of Milltown. The two of them share a fascinating history, and a long connection to the United States. Anne's husband

(Joan's father), Sandy, now deceased, worked for an airline. Anne was born in Ottawa but raised in Montreal. She brought her kids up mostly in Chicago, where Joan was born, as that was where her husband was based. Sandy owned a family cottage on Lake Megantic, originally settled by Hebridean Scots, so the family vacationed in the far east of Quebec's Eastern Townships for many years and still owns the cottage to this day.

Joan took a bachelor's degree in Montreal, living downtown and working in some hotels there. The political turmoil while she was studying in Montreal in the early 1970's encouraged her to consider leaving the province. She moved to Ottawa to take a short-term position, later moving to Toronto and working in a hotel there. In 1978, she left the hotel to work on a cruise ship in the Mediterranean, as she said, during the time *The Love Boat* was airing on television, and cruising was just beginning to develop into the massive industry it is today. At the end of her stint on the ship, she went to Los Angeles to visit a friend she had made working onboard and decided on the spot to re-locate. She landed a job at a prestigious Beverly Hills hotel the week after moving out west. She spent approximately fifteen years in the hospitality industry, and most of that was in L.A. After her father retired from the airlines, her parents joined Joan, her brother and sister and their families, as well as Anne's sister, in Southern California for six months each year, and spent the rest of their time at their cottage in Quebec.

Sandy died of lung cancer in the late 1980's. The costs associated with the short hospital stay at the end of his life convinced Anne that she needed to consider the costs associated with health and aging. Joan herself was looking to leave the hospitality industry, but could not find any compelling opportunities in the L.A. area. Anne considered relocating to

Australia, where one of her sisters lives and where she would eventually be eligible for government provided health insurance, but Joan discouraged her from taking that route. During this time, Joan took a holiday visit with a friend to Montreal. She included a visit to Milltown on their travel agenda, where she visited with her cousin by marriage who at that time owned a tavern in the heart of the village. That visit stimulated the eventual relocation of Joan and Anne to Milltown.

Joan: He (her cousin) said, you know, maybe you'd like a little storefront. And I thought, well, that's crazy, that's nice of him to offer, but he's crazy, I hate the cold. But then when we went back, when I went back we decided to do it.... We came back in January '90. So it must have been November '89. And it was kind of sudden...

At first they considered opening a pie shop, but cousin Jerry, with his firsthand knowledge of the local area and possibly his vested interest in limiting competitors in the local food industry, discouraged them from this option, instead telling them about a retail business that was for sale.

Joan: He said, but there is this small business for sale in Milltown, he says. It's been up for sale for about a year and it was a linen business, and linens, like, I just loved. Any time I went into a department store I'd go directly to that department. So we had one phone call and one fax from this person, and we bought this business sight unseen, never having been in our own business.

It turns out that they bought the business from Charles Swift, whom I also interviewed for this research. They were not the only people leaving California in the late 1980's, early 90's, but even still, when they told friends they were heading for Quebec, they encountered disbelief. Joan described it: "The day we told people we were leaving to come back to Canada where it was, not more civilized, but calmer, they all thought we were crazy."

Like several shops in the area, theirs has a history of transitioning not only through different locations, but through different product mixes and floor space. They were originally located across from their cousin's business, but a nearby commercial property owner aggressively recruited them to relocate to his building, which they did after about a year in their first location. They had been there for a number of years when a spot came available directly on the main road with much better visibility. Due to their lease terms, they temporarily had to operate two locations in order to secure the more visible space. In order to do this effectively, they expanded their product line, opening up a kitchen store in the new space to complement the bed and bath shop they were already running. The expanded product line did so well that when they re-combined the shops in the new location, they rented additional space in order to accommodate their expanded offerings. During the summer they had two storefronts, they had as many as eleven employees, all of whom they knew personally. For example, one of the women who works for them currently was employed by a shop next to their first location which went out of business. When that shop closed, they hired her on, and she has been with them now for nine years. They moved the business to their current location when they bought the building in late 1999, and once again, they had an overlap of two storefronts for a time, which worked out well, as they had another business renting part of their building, which they later used as additional floor space for their shop. Now this second floor space has been transformed again and serves as their apartment. They sold their home in 2004 and moved in upstairs from their shop. They moved into town for financial reasons, to reduce their property maintenance burden, and to avoid the trouble of snow removal on a large property and minimize winter driving.

Business has been challenging in the recent past for them, and they are trying to put together a winning product combination.

Joan: we want to change our product mix a little bit now because, uh, the bed bath and kitchen did us very very well initially, but now, with all the big box stores on every corner, like, they've really invaded our area. They weren't here when we first came.

This pair cites the challenges of a changing tourist profile more than the advance of large retailers encroaching into their catchment area, as they tend to attract tourists more than local shoppers as their customers.

Joan: So it's a tough market right now.

Interviewer: So your clientele originally was mostly local people?

Joan: Um, a lot of, I'd say, the South Shore to Shadowdon.

Interviewer: Were they a lot of summer people?

Anne: Yeah, at one point, when we first came, you couldn't walk down the street in Milltown in the summer time. But that, that's disappeared.

Interviewer: It's changed a bit?

Anne: Very much so.

Anne and Joan have tried hard to counteract this perceived trend through advertising. They even got a group of downtown merchants to join together for radio advertising in the past, something they found quite effective. They also have an internet site and print advertising in publications both locally and in Montreal. Joan has even organized a fun annual event to draw people downtown and raise funds for the SPCA.

The move back to Quebec and into self-employment has generally worked out for them, but it hasn't been without its difficulties.

Joan: But when I think about it, a lot of it has to do with where you, like I said, harking back to your roots, and uh, maybe the social system as well. You know, that was very much in the forefront of our thinking, and um, doing something on your own also. I've worked a lot for big corporations, and it was stressful to a degree, of course. And I thought, well, if I'm gonna have stress, why not have it be my own stress?"

Pretty much all of their resources are invested in their business, which adds to some of the stress. They bought their business outright without financing. They have not had government assistance over the years, and they find the compliance paperwork associated with the shop onerous. They have watched other shops come and go that do get start-up assistance, and they interpret that in a particular way.

Joan: A lot of people here open with government grants, but they closed, I think as soon as the grant ended. They all, it's true, when I found out people did that, you know, I thought, oh, good for them, and then two years later they were gone...so I don't know quite how it works.

This calls into question the organization of the provincial supports available to business start-ups. If the businesses are only feasible while the support is in place, how does that impact the rest of the local merchants? An ever-changing mix of shops or excessive vacancies can be annoying to both locals and returning tourists. Furthermore, it might suggest a mismatch of resources to individual recipients.

6.2.7. The Country Dress

By birth Julianne Markham is Canadian, from Ontario, but by occupation she has traveled widely. Before settling in Milltown, Julianne worked in the elite high fashion industry, and

she still secures occasional work in that field. She left for Europe during the late 1970's while in her mid-teens, where she lived in Paris for a few years. As her full-time fashion career wound down, she found herself with a little boutique in Key West, where she had started designing and sewing her own fashions, without benefit of specialized education in the field, beyond her exposure to it as a model. She and her significant other decided to return to Canada. They wanted to be in a vacation community, but felt that cottage country in Ontario was too expensive, so they landed in Milltown, what she described as "a pin on the map", reasonably close to a major city, in this case, Montreal. When they relocated, Julianne used her savings to open a shop in town, carrying her own women's wear designs as well as other labels, and they eventually bought a house nearby. Like other shops which space-hop, theirs moved through four different locations. She now operates out of a small storefront which was once her sewing workshop. She and her husband divorced four years ago. He continued for a while with their main shop, closing it in December 2005 to pursue other opportunities, but she took her designs and dresses and opened up in her own operation.

She offers only spring and summer wear for women and little girls, with her shop open generally seven days a week in the summer, weekends in the winter, and usually closing in January and February. She produces both ready-to-wear fashions and custom options for different fabrics, sizes or specialty items, such as bridal gowns and bridal party dresses. She buys fabrics in Montreal, from importers and "jobbers", people who purchase the leftover odd lots from larger design houses or importers. Her order runs frequently only include twenty or thirty dresses, so she can make use of fabric that would be useless to a larger manufacturer. She does most of her own cutting, but outsources her sewing to two

different concerns, one in Grandville and one in Charlestown: one for larger orders that includes pressing, hanging and packaging, and one for smaller one-offs or short runs who only sews and does not make the product shipping-ready.

Life in business has been a struggle, and more so since her divorce. She took on a business partner after she split from her husband, as she needed a cash infusion and help in an attempt to get her products into more stores, particularly in the United States. The partnership arrangement worked out badly, and during the past two years, Julianne has had to buy out her erstwhile partner. She has not yet recovered from the blow, and her advertising budget absorbed much of the damage. She currently has a website from which she does direct sales, mostly to clients who have bought her clothes previously in boutiques, and she does a little sponsorship advertising for local events and school-related activities, but has no extensive advertising effort. She was able to finance her original operation from her savings, eventually securing a credit line from the bank, but the repercussions from her marital dissolution and unsuccessful business partnership continue to thwart her aspirations. She has a woman, a friend with a son the same age as her own, helping her a few days a week in exchange for clothes. She has previously been a member of the Chamber of Commerce and other local business organizations, but she is no longer active due to her cost-cutting measures. Like other interviewees, she cites a decline in the local market.

Julianne: It's funny because it's just so much building, so many houses turning over, things, but the tourism is slowing down.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is?

Julianne: Shot itself in the foot. I've watched it shake out over ten years.

Interviewer: Well, the fall festival used to be huge, and then it sort of all went to pieces.

Julianne: Embarrassing.

Interviewer: And the spring festival used to be huge.

Julianne: Yes it did. It used to be a little more glamorous, people all used to walk around inside the theatre. So it's very interesting what's happened to town. But you've got a town that half the stores only stay open half the week.

Interviewer: Yes.

Julianne: You've got anyone closing, and I am very guilty of this, of not keeping regular hours but I do have to produce, and I have to do that in the city, and I can't afford to keep a girl in.

Interviewer: All the time, exactly.

Julianne: So it's, it's been tough, so I know, I'm a bit guilty of that, in the last couple years, inconsistency, but there's, there's not much, stores that close at 4 or, just, there's so many times, like Thursday afternoon, in the heat of summer, where a group of ladies will drive all the way from Shadowdon and arrive at 3:30, for dinner and shopping, and everything's closing up.

There are serious challenges facing shops that are solo operations in terms of balancing either producing or purchasing product for their enterprise, maintaining equilibrium in their households, keeping adequate opening hours to encourage tourist visits, and avoiding overwork. The high rate of business turnover, of shop openings and closings, attests to the hardships a fickle tourist trade can inflict on small enterprises and localities. While small operations might be willing to consider different strategies, like late evening hours or getting groups of merchants together to advertise together regionally, getting the larger "name" stores which act as local retail anchors to agree to such terms is nearly impossible. Outside developers can be unpredictable as well. Two buildings across from Julianne's shop were sold to developers from Montreal, who reportedly planned to renovate the old

structures and turn them into niche retail outlets, but no action has been taken and the property is showing signs of neglect. A negative cycle appears to be affecting downtown, exacerbated by the strong Canadian dollar, which has seen increasing numbers of Quebec tourists heading south to the United States for their vacations. This is neither the first nor the last tourist-dependent downtown to struggle, but it has not yet been eviscerated, and in spite of the complaints of some of the shopkeepers, it seems that there will continue to be some sort of mix of enterprises in the downtown. It simply remains to be seen how many will cater to the tourists and how many will serve a more local, or a more global and non-place dependent, clientele.

6.2.8. Canadiana

Gail Watters' little shop, nestled in a very small space off the entrance to a restaurant and downstairs from a stylish inn, offers costume jewelry, baubles, and pretty items that might make stylish souvenirs for tourists, many of which are made by artisans in Quebec or Canada. Her location would seem to be a good one, at the main intersection on the high street, with diners and inn guests passing by her door regularly. However, Gail has discovered that her dream of owning a shop and living in Milltown is unsustainable, and she expects to close the shop at the end of the summer, to return to her native Ontario, where she plans on becoming a real estate agent.

Two years ago, Gail moved to Milltown. She originally immigrated to Quebec from England with her parents when she was four years old. Her father, a minister, wanted to get away from war torn Europe. They moved first to Rock Island and later to Montreal. While a child, her family spent summers at a cottage in the area, so she has a long familiarity with

the place as a part-year resident herself. After attending English schools in Montreal, Gail went to college in Chicago and returned to Montreal to start her career, first as a buyer for a large department store, and then later in retail advertising. Like so many Anglophones, she left the province in the late 1970's to make a life with her husband in Toronto. They had two daughters, but the marriage ended while she battled cancer. After that, Gail would bring her daughters, now in their early twenties, to Milltown during holidays to visit a long time friend who owns the inn where Gail's shop is located.

Gail moved to Milltown full time in September 2004. The enterprise in the retail little space in her friend's inn at that time gave notice that it would be vacating as of November 1, so Gail's friend encouraged her to take the opportunity to open a little shop. Gail took the idea of opening a shop to heart, at first focusing on non-food artisan products, especially from Quebec and Canada, but she quickly discovered the mark-ups were too low to allow the business to succeed. She undertook no systematic market research and started her business during the low period for Milltown, which generates the most customers for its retail businesses from May through September. Her operations were financed out of pocket, and she received no assistance from any quarter.

Gail has kept a grinding schedule of being open seven to eight hours a day, seven days a week, only taking off for major holidays and trips to shows where she would purchase product for her shop. When she was gone buying, she would hire a friend, experienced in retail locally, to cover for her for a few days. The lackluster sales and intermittent pace of the local retail scene has frustrated her tremendously.

Gail: Actually I enjoy looking for the products and you know, the actual

selling of it is fine, but I hate the waiting and sitting here doing nothing. It just, it's too boring. And I'm an energetic kind of person, and I just can't take this.

Interviewer: And there's a lot of slow time here.

Gail: Oh, more slow time than fast. So, it just kills me.

While the bulk of her career was as an employee, Gail had been previously self-employed on a part-time basis in the direct marketing of make-up. For all of her related retail experience, her current venture has not been what she had hoped it would be. Unfortunately for Gail, she's only managed to stay open through one complete summer. She's philosophical about her experience however.

I mean, it's been great, it's been fun, and you know, it wasn't altogether a disaster, I mean, I did have sales, and you know, the sales had started to increase, but I just, I cannot sit here[....] So I spent a lot of money on the shop, but hey, it was two years of my life. I did what I did.[...] Part of me will be sorry because I worked hard at putting together, you know, neat things, but, the other part of me isn't.

Gail obviously had enough resources to undertake this adventure, but she's not willing to lose any more than she already has. She sees others who seem to be in trouble, but stay in business one way or another.

Interviewer: Is it just sort of dilettante-ism? These people just have the money and the resources that they don't really have to have these shops?

Gail: Well, perhaps some, I think. For others, I don't know. I don't know why it is. I mean, I know there is a couple of people who are really struggling, more than a couple. And that's tough, you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, for sure.

Gail: But they keep on going. I don't know how or why or what or how they do it, but I'm not prepared to go into debt to go crazy. I'm not prepared to do that.

Gail will be closing her shop at the end of the month. She has started taking an online course to prepare to be a real estate agent, but not in Milltown. Her tentative plan is to return to Toronto, where she has an extensive network of friends and family. When I asked why she wouldn't stay in Milltown as a real estate agent, she elaborated a bit.

Gail: If I could speak French a little better, just a little bit better, I would stay and do it here.

Interviewer: Your real estate course?

Gail: Yeah. But I just feel, I am so proficient in English, and I uh, you know, just feel like I would be frustrated, I would, it would frustrate me not to be able to give my clients the best service.

When I asked her about two local Anglophone real estate agents, she was quick to point out that one has been working in the area for thirty years and that the other has two Francophone business partners. Gail relocated to the area because she wanted to be here. She took an opportunity that came her way without undertaking any significant planning or market research. When it proved unsatisfactory, she made the decision to try her luck with something else, and her choice will likely take her away from the study area.

6.3. The Marina

At the close of our journey through the study area, we conclude where many of the shopkeepers and tourists end their day in Milltown, on the shores of Clear Lake to enjoy the sunset. All the residents know, whether summer people or year-rounders, and a few lucky visitors discover, that the Clear Lake Marina offers the only public open air dining and drinking directly on the water. The atmosphere these days is pure Caribbean Tiki bar, and while the food offers mostly basic sandwiches, burgers, snacks and frozen treats, the

beer is always cold and the proprietor never wears a shirt, all summer long. Swimsuits are as welcome as high fashion, bare feet or dock shoes. It is an anything goes kind of place, more open air than indoor, but they close up shop as soon as the sun sinks below the horizon. The early close is an acknowledgement of the fact that the marina is squeezed into a quiet and charming residential neighborhood, and the operation generates significant congestion on a narrow street. On a beautiful summer weekend afternoon, you can end up parking several blocks away and walking down to the waterfront business.

The short but glorious summer season means the marina stays busy from the day they start the barbeque until the day they pull the docks out of the water. In addition to the food and drink, the marina offers seasonal dock rentals, fuel for watercraft, boat repairs, and human-powered watercraft rentals. Additionally, the proprietors, Gary and Sarah Locke, managed to purchase the adjacent property some ten years ago. Three years ago they transformed this into two cottage rental units, while their own apartment is above the bar. During the winter, locals know you can still get a drink and hang out around a cozy fire in the small indoor lounge, as well as rent the cottages, but most visitors would assume that the place closes up come mid-September when the docks come out of the water.

The marina has been a fixture on the lake since 1880. It went through many generations of one family before it was eventually sold to Gary and a business partner in 1981, whom he bought out after 4 years of running the business together. After a divorce and remarriage, he renovated the facility and moved upstairs, where he and his second wife still live. However, he was no stranger to the business before he bought it. Gary, who was born in Saskatoon and lived across Canada in his youth, moved to Milltown with his parents when

he was 16. He hung out around the marina during his free time, helping out with the boats. He spent some time at college in Montreal, and later at university in Lennoxville, but never completed a degree. He returned to Milltown in the early 1970's, landing a production job in the largest local manufacturing employer. He made his way from the factory floor into corporate management, working full time even after buying the marina. Sarah, his wife, also worked a full time job while helping with marina operations. But in the early days, the marina was a low key operation; it had to be with both of them working other full time jobs and raising his daughters part-time. Ten years ago, Gary left his management job. Since then, they have made significant improvements and upgrades, including adding slips, expanding their menu, and increasing the outdoor dining space, as well as developing the cottage rentals.

They carry about six employees during the summer, in addition to their own nearly constant labor. Their employees are all female, young women they get to know through direct references by current employees. They will not hire the local young men who would like to work there:

Gary: We don't hire guys. I've been through that sugar bush.

Interviewer: Really?

Gary: The young, the young lads, forget it! They're lazy, they're [sigh]

Sarah: We've tried so many times.

Gary: They don't and they won't clean bathrooms, and you know, they just want to go out and look at the girls and drive around in boats and stuff like that, pump some gas.

Sarah: And our girls

Gary: Our girls do it all.

Sarah: Our girls do everything. The boat motors, the cleaning, the counter, you name it. They do it all.

Their experience with hiring local youth has been uneven, but the women they hire tend to stay on for several summers right through university.

It can be a struggle for them to get recognized for their work. People seem to think it's their hobby, so earning respect as business people can be challenging, even though they are active in the local community and organize a lakeside winter carnival. As a small enterprise, they have struggled with suppliers, particularly the larger breweries. One of their previous suppliers, a family owned business, folded a few years ago, and now their suppliers come out of Grandville and can not help them in English, which is a struggle for Gary. His three daughters have all traveled widely, but Gary prefers to be at home in Milltown. When he does travel, it tends to be to Vermont or the Caribbean. He and Sarah make an effort to get away from their operation on a regular basis, but they tend to go only just across the border into Vermont. They have worked for short periods of time in the Caribbean during the winter months, primarily for clients they have met through their marina. Now that their cottage rentals have become successful, they are not as likely to continue to pursue outside opportunities, as their winter income stream has improved.

While two of their daughters have recently returned to the study area, only one works with Gary and Sarah. Through the resources of modern information technology, the other has maintained her position with a Scottish company, where she previously lived and worked. The issue of an ownership transition in the marina enterprise has not yet been considered. Gary and Sarah enjoy what they do, the lifestyle it affords them, and the view from their

property. They are in no hurry to stop working, as both exude energy for what they do, and, given the natural beauty of the area, along with the value of lakefront property, they seem likely to be able to persist in their enterprise for as long as they should so desire.

6.4. Conclusion

By ending our journey through this bucolic landscape and the lives of the people who shape the local economic environment at the shores of the lake, we can imagine ourselves enjoying the sunset and considering what we have learned from our respondents. We have traveled past farms of all sorts, a campground, small home-based rural businesses, and we have encountered professionals who ply their trades globally from the comfort of Clear Lake. We have perused some of the shops of Milltown's downtown, as well as the stories behind these shops. In the next section, I analyze the groups that seem to emerge through this research, and I explore how these groups understand themselves as Anglophones in Quebec.

Part III.
The Groups

Introduction to Part III

The groups: *variations in human, social, and economic capital influence social configurations and experiences of individuals.*

While our tour through the small business enterprises of the community moved through the more rural landscape to the small town at the center of the study area, the businesses and the people who operate them are differentiated by more than just the location of their residence or business in the countryside or in the villages or in town. Their expressed perspectives vary tremendously, even for those who live near each other, and I sought to understand why that might be so. Based on what I learned about my respondents, I came to see their experiences as representations of their different origins and resources; human, economic, linguistic, familial and social¹. Their social status, as well as the opportunity structure in which they strove to meet their needs, was shaped by the dynamics of many forces, including length of time in the community, educational background, work experience, time spent outside the study area, access to land resources or accumulated family assets, and historical connections to the local area or more distant places. There are distinctions amongst those individuals who choose this place (whether intentionally or accidentally), or who know no other, or who return to this place after time spent away. Furthermore, these distinctions are complicated by the local economic sectors, as well as the respondent's links to larger economic trends beyond the local economy, and an individual's educational and prior work experiences. Finally, these distinctions also construct the web of opportunity in terms of who you know, what resources you can tap,

¹ A summary of these dimensions are available in Annex III for Locals and Annex IV for the People From Away on pages A-6 and A-7.

and whether or not you will be able to create a satisfactory survival strategy and fulfill your lifestyle ambitions. According to Elias & Scotson (1994), it is these connections, more than any specific measure of the various forms of human capital and material resources, which distinguish a community, as well as distinguish the groups within the community.

Yet whatever our wishes may be, looking simply at the available evidence, one cannot get away from the recognition that configurations limit the scope of the individual's decisions and in many ways have a compelling force even though this power does not reside as it is often made to appear outside individuals, but merely results from the interdependence between individuals.

Elias & Scotson 1994: 172

Given this, I explore in my analysis how different approaches and mixes of resources at the level of the individual links them to others to create groups within the locality which experience and understand their own lives and opportunities very differently, in spite of the superficial significance of sharing a mother tongue¹.

Because of the nature of the comments of some of my respondents, I will not attribute quotations to specific individuals previously identified in order to better protect their confidentiality. Instead, each respondent has been assigned a letter or pair of letters. Furthermore, I have made the decision to indicate the number of cases in each group without identifying specifically, beyond the letter(s) assigned to each of the respondents, the individuals comprising each of the groups². Lastly, there are at least three cases which include elements of more than one group, but I have made a determination in each of these cases which places them in a specific group; however, I acknowledge the possibility that

¹ Charts A and B on pages C-1 and C-2 give a graphical representation of the identity configurations and shared characteristics of the various groups.

² Table I on page T-1 provides a summary of the distribution of cases within the various categories.

an individual may change their position over time, and that the strength of any affiliation will vary by context and status of the others with whom they engage. It is my position that these three cases are important in the insight they provide in terms of local social mobility, the complexity of identity and social relations, and the inadequacy of any categorization schema to fully account for all possible situations at a given point in time or in a particular place. Criticism of my decision to place these mixed cases into a single category is appropriate. I admit that other compelling arguments might be made to develop a bridge category or categories, in which these perhaps transitional cases might be placed. However, in the interest of comprehensibility, I have chosen to align these three cases with the categories with which I interpret them to most closely resemble at this time.

Chapter 7 - The Locals

7.1. Introduction

When we think of place, we often focus on the human elements that comprise it or the landscape as shaped by human actions. Clear Lake is no different in this respect. While the landscape holds an appeal, much of that appeal results from generations of farmers trying to eke out an existence from the rocky soils. We often forget the individuals who were unable to survive the conditions, the folks who arrived with very little and never managed to amass much more, and in some cases, lost what they had. Since the Eastern Townships began attracting settlers of European origin, some of them moved on while others stuck around (Caldwell 1982; Caron 1927; Day 1869). These people, the generations of families born and raised in a particular place, comprise the bulk of the group known as the locals. This is a phenomenon observed in other communities as well (e.g. Hamilton 2007). The locals of Clear Lake can be split into three distinct groups: the “Landed Locals” by which I indicate residents with resources (either farmland or country stores transferred between generations), a status which can be conferred even if a spouse comes from away as long as the incoming spouse holds a particular set of values, evidences a commitment to the neighborhood, or comes from a nearby rural region or has a suitably rural history; “Landless Locals” with no significant family resources transferred from one generation to another, a generally devalued group with a marginal existence, with its own internal divisions; and what I term “Townies”, people who have lived in the Milltown sector of the community for many years, who have raised their children here, and who are considered locals by those who move into the community, but whom the “Landed Locals” and the “Landless Locals” will always view as outsiders, and who know themselves that they are

not really locals, in the sense of being descended from generations living in the area. These different groups have different types of experiences and opportunities reflected in their use of social capital and configurations of social relations, as well as the challenges and opportunities they identify¹.

7.2. Landed Locals

The locals with resources include seven cases (respondents A, B&C, E&F, D, HH, MM, KK&LL) from a variety of economic sectors: farmers, part-time farmers, rural village shopkeepers and one service provider. While not all of these individuals have equivalent back stories, they share many common values and experiences both inside and outside of the study area. One case is excluded from this group that might seem to fit in this category; however, in analyzing the transcript from their interview, combined with knowledge gleaned through interactions in their neighborhood, it is clear that this family identifies more with the “Landless Locals” and that the Landed Locals clearly see this family as not quite one of them. They did not inherit their property, but rather bought it outright from his parents, struggling to make mortgage payments while he continued in his regular employment and she raised their children. In some ways their experience provides early evidence of the challenges faced by Anglophones since the 1970’s. They do not participate in the neighborhood church events that are a focus for the landowning Anglophones in their neighborhood, and they figure very little in the gossip that gets passed amongst this group. This is perhaps because their enterprise brought an influx of summer residents, generally of a less prestigious class status, and also because they introduced modest

¹ Again, for more information on these differences, see Tables II-IX.

housing, which affects nearby property values, and brought low income residents into an area with mostly middle class permanent residents, or very wealthy second home owners.

All of the cases included as Landed Locals share a similar history of activating family capital resources in arranging their household survival strategies. At least part of their approach has been adapting the work of earlier generations to suit contemporary needs. Some have stayed closer to the model of previous generations, while others have undertaken entirely new types of work but have mixed in agricultural enterprises to take advantage of the family land resources and to benefit from provincial tax relief for property in agricultural production. In at least one case, the proximity of family property to the downtown core of Milltown allowed this individual to make development decisions not clearly always available to the others. Those families which left farming to operate country stores seem to have the most uncertain futures in terms of ensuring the generational transference of their current family enterprises, as their clientele clearly reflects the changing demography of the region.

In most of these cases, the families have had fairly extensive contacts with the government, and those still heavily involved in agricultural production recognize that they benefit from being farmers in Quebec. Because they have a history and experience with government programs, they activate bureaucratic social capital resources that can augment their income, reduce their taxes, or otherwise improve their financial situation or security on the land. This is not mirrored in the other groups of Anglophone business owners in the area, who only rarely accept or seek out government aid, and who have sometimes been disappointed when they have attempted to access such resources. The Landed Locals see

such assistance as there for the taking, and would consider it foolish not to avail themselves of it. They accepted grants for under-40's, other start-up grants, subsidized loans, provincial stabilization funds for livestock production, environmental protection funds, loans for tree planting schemes, a tax rebate program for land in agricultural production, and myriad other financial supports. As a result, these folks have a particular view of the provincial government that acknowledges how they personally have benefited from changes wrought by the Parti Québécois.

Respondent A: Yah, they do treat farmers with respect in Quebec. That, that certainly uh, took a big leap in eighty-six when um, what's his name got in there, the first separatist there, Levesque, René Levesque, got in because he knew, in order for Quebec to be separated they had to be self-sufficient, and if you can feed yourself then you can work on the rest and so farmers were treated much better in that respect than they had been, and uh, and they still are sort of.

This realization was expressed by another respondent as well.

Respondent B: I mean, the government's not all, you know, I mean we just have to, you know, we're the best treated farmers in Canada, so.

Interviewer: There you go. Can't complain about that I suppose.

Respondent B: No, I really can't.

In spite of such preferential treatment, these folks do admit to having concerns about staying in the province. To explain the shift in their agricultural production away from dairying, one respondent said, "we got referendum-itis" so they sold their milk quota, since they felt its value might fall if the province succeeded in seceding. It was an affliction many other Anglophones suffered from as well, the uncertainty brought on by the political environment in the mid 1970's and again in the early 1990's, regardless of their group affiliation in this study. The farmers in particular knew that leaving the province would

make it even more difficult to pursue the lifestyle they enjoyed in Quebec, given the high level of provincial support, so staying put seemed a preferable option to starting over somewhere else, even if it meant changing their operations significantly and even taking on additional self-employment.

All of these enterprises recounted stories of having to adapt to a changing clientele, even the dairy farm, which can no longer sell breeding stock to farmers in the United States due to restrictions on cattle being transported across the border imposed after mad cow disease was found in a Western Canadian herd. These changes seem to be related to changing social values, a shift in the linguistic mix of speakers in the area, the influx of wealthier, part-time residents, a reduction in the total number of farms, even while agricultural production has stayed the same or increased, a change in the types of recreational visitors, and the development of new agricultural products in the region, such as wine, alcoholic cider, self-serve berry and apple orchards, cheeses, and other agricultural specialty products. The changing clientele includes immigrants to Quebec, especially in Montreal, as well as affluent bilingual Francophones buying second homes or retirement residences, or otherwise relocating to the study area. Additionally, a number of English speakers have left the area or passed away, with the resulting residential mix becoming increasingly Francophone, according to the observations of all of my respondents.

The ethnic market, which this region serves primarily due to its proximity to Montreal, provides an important outlet for agricultural table products that might be less familiar to long-time Quebecers. Respondent C remarked: "I mean, we sell to a store in Montreal, and I mean, it's just a little hovel of a store, never a word of English or French." These

long time Anglophone residents of Quebec see these Allophone immigrants as a potentially lucrative addition to the province, and one that provides opportunities unlike those that would have existed when Anglophones exerted greater influence here.

Respondent C: There's a huge ethnic population, and uh, they know the product, they understand the whole seasonal part to it, um, they'll pay for the product they want, and they want a steady supply so that, that helps us out a lot because if we had to rely on, on English Quebeckers to, we would never sell any.

In addition to the vital ethnic markets, the changing clientele includes affluent bilingual Francophones buying second homes or retirement residences, or otherwise relocating to the study area. These elite comprise an important component of the market for all types of products in the region, culinary or otherwise.

Respondent C: We're lucky because we're in a good area. There are a lot of second homes, a lot of weekend people, um, they have the affluence to eat whatever they want whenever they want it.

Interviewer: They want it fresh?

Respondent C: Yeah, they want it fresh and they feel very good about knowing that it came from here. Now they probably don't understand what would make it better coming from a place down the road, but they feel that it's, it's a, you know, it's a premium product.

When I explored this topic of elites with another of the Landed Locals, he named a number of his suppliers and clients, and he revealed that although he could speak French, most of the time he communicated with clients in English.

Respondent D: Yeah, yeah. That's the thing about Quebec. Yeah, especially when you get them up at a certain level, they're always bilingual, always. Yeah.

Interviewer: Exactly, yeah. And they don't really care which language they're being served in, you know because?

Respondent D: No, that's why they've got the top positions in companies and professions or whatever.

This elite community, with its fluent bilingualism, includes many French first language speakers who intentionally select to live in an area with many English speakers, for reasons which unfortunately remain unexplored in this current research.

While it may be tempting to imagine that farmers and other rural landholders have not seen the world, all of these respondents have spent significant periods of time out of the study area. Generally these married couples consist of one locally-born partner, and one partner from farther away, whether that be elsewhere in Quebec, Canada, or the world. They present themselves as educated people with experience of the wider world who have chosen a life here because of what it offers to them, particularly through their activation of family resources. These locals and their spouses are not uneducated yokels. Their degrees come from Canadian and American universities, and they have generally traveled, lived and worked in other places for at least a few years before returning to the study area. As one respondent said, they see this place as well connected to the wider world, but also more closely connected to neighbors than might be the case in urban environments:

Respondent A: You're not so far removed from the city.

Interviewer: It's easy to go to Montreal?

Respondent A: It's an hour and a half away, max, depending on where you're going. You know, like we don't need to be considered hicks any more. We can go to Place des Arts and see the, all the arts and the whatever. We have a pretty good theatre right here. There's not such a big difference [...] The thing that I noticed when I first moved out, was how, how do I put this, how nose-y everybody is out here.

Interviewer: Call it curious.

Respondent A: But I mean, you know you were concerned about what your neighbors thought when you did something, when in the city you didn't give a damn, because you didn't know your neighbors even though they were cheek by gill. You didn't know your neighbors whereas here you know your neighbors and and, that part of the rural living is still there. When something happens, people are there to help you.

Landed Locals recognize that rural residents have intense connections to their neighbors, and that such close bonds allow others to know the quirks and characteristics that add to their personality, and to the richness of these relationships. Another respondent, again the partner from away as above, also commented on this feature of rural life.

Respondent F: Some of the country people are really interesting.

Interviewer: They really are.

Respondent F: I know a lot of city folks don't think that way, but.... [the country people] love to sit and gossip, somebody to talk to!

Interviewer: Somebody new to talk to. Even better.

Respondent F: Yeah yeah. Everybody else has heard the stories. Yeah, my husband's mother, the telephone line, in those days it was a party line too, so I mean that, that was a grapevine!

Interviewer: And you know, who can blame them really?

Respondent F: They didn't get out much, and it was a way to pick up news.

It was particularly fascinating to see that these married "Landed Locals" almost all consisted of one local and one transplant, clearly "non-local", quite often an urban transplant, at least in a first marriage. Those urban transplants provided observations on the difference between country people and city people. The connections between an urban single and the locally born individual got made when the local spent time away for school or career, and at some point, the couple returned to the study area. Second marriage

partners, although uncommon in this group, were drawn from residents nearby, if not within the study area itself, regardless of birth origin. Proximity obviously is involved in the process of partner selection, at least in the era when these couples met. Shifting trends in dating and work practices may eventually change this particular aspect of the community over time, or not.

Additionally, in choosing destinations for their leisure travel, Landed Locals frequently chose international destinations in the United States, Mexico, or even New Zealand. Many of them spoke of traveling to the Maritimes, Ontario, or Western Canada, but none mentioned vacationing in Quebec, other than remarks about the exceptional appeal of the study area itself. Furthermore, this group generally tends to shop in the larger nearby metropolitan areas, including Grandville, Charlestown, and Montreal, rather than in downtown Milltown, which is viewed as too expensive and catering primarily to the tastes of tourists. A few specific downtown enterprises do attract Landed Locals on occasion, but these tend to be the restaurants which offer specials on weeknights, service businesses, or specialty hardware emporiums.

A key element of being recognized as a “Landed Local” includes embracing certain values and perspectives. Keeping up with a changing society has impacted how these families view opportunities for their children, and has moved them all to ensure that their children speak French well, although they expressed much uncertainty over the possibility for this. I discuss this aspect of each of the groups more fully in chapter 9. In general, they recognize their own need to speak French on occasion and acknowledge their limitations in this regard. This has led to frustrations at times in operating their businesses, whether it meant

changing suppliers to having to develop a way to work around the difficulties through strategies like “franglais”, or accepting that they would have to speak French in certain circumstances. In all of these cases, where the families have been in the region for many generations, there seemed to be a generally neutral to mildly positive acceptance of the need to be able to speak French to some degree, in order to be successful in their business enterprises. They clearly recognize that in the future, their children must be bilingual, and fluently so, or nearly fluent, if they are to stay in Quebec and maintain their class status. Nonetheless, this is a conflicted situation, for none of these respondents, nor any other in the study, expressed a desire to see their children lose their English mother tongue in favor of French, although at least one expressed an expectation that this might be the case for children of his teenage sons’ generation.

All of these Landed Locals face the eventual transition or liquidation of their resources. While the future of the property belonging to these families is uncertain (except for the dairy, which has just officially brought in the younger generation in an ownership capacity) some are more uncertain than others. The part-time farming operations do not present an agricultural option that could ensure an adequate single income stream for a family. They may continue indefinitely in the manner in which they are currently operating or in some other alternative agricultural or forestry use, or they could be liquidated to liberate the assets for investment in other activities. While these families and their operations contribute significantly to the visual character of the region, their situations are more precarious than it first appears, and suggests that the area will continue to change significantly in the next thirty years. The tenuous nature of these family property

transitions are made apparent in the following remark by a non-landed local respondent about her neighbor:

Respondent G: And then the other one, of course, right on this corner, is J.R. He, he took over the family farm, so he's got sheep and cattle, but he works off farm for P.M., in the summer, construction.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

Respondent G: Well, he has like a Kubota tractor with a backhoe, and we hire him quite frequently for any jobs we have a backhoe. So he must do okay too. So he has the farm as well as outside. He's not going to make a go of it with beef and uh. But then again, he's one took over the family farm.

Taking over the family farm thus appears to demand that households increasingly ensure their livelihoods through a mix of off-farm self-employment activities, off-farm regular employment, and on-farm income generation. This situation strikes a cord in rural studies, where financial pressures on traditional rural residents have increased their workload and their uncertainty (e.g. see Vieira 1996b). Additionally, this illustrates the marginality of even the Landed Locals, a group which we might have assumed to have a degree of stability and economic security within the area.

7.3. Landless Locals¹

In general, the Landless Locals hold an even more precarious economic position than their landed neighbors. Included in this group are seven cases (respondents I&J, H, N, O, K+L, M, GG), which are significantly involved primarily in a wide variety of service enterprises.

This group includes one case which might, on a superficial level, seem to belong to the

¹ While the term Landless Local might suggest that these people do not own any property, all of them own their own homes. In at least one case, this is a manufactured home in a small trailer park. Their homes sometimes include up to twenty acres, particularly in those cases where their work requires land or space to pursue.

Landed Locals¹. The key feature in the experience of Landless Locals has been struggle, a term used spontaneously by the respondents in many of these interviews. In three cases, their parents had owned farms at some previous time, but had liquidated them with none of the resources being transferred directly to the respondents. Three other cases descended from an older self-employed generation. One case did purchase the parent's business, but at market rates with no consideration for family ties. While Landless Locals did not inherit their property or businesses, this group does possess intimate knowledge of the history of the area, and generational connections to many other families, including those still in the study area as well as those who have moved away, but who had roots here. These connections have helped them secure employment at times, and allow them to develop their network of clients today.

Respondent H: And I was working on construction, I started when I was sixteen, and my father had gotten me on with the Black's. Back then you needed to know people to get work like you do now.

Whether they are for employment or referrals for their business, these connections matter:

Respondent I: [talking about her sons, who are active in the family business] So, in the wintertime he gets odd jobs here and there, and [the other one] works for a contractor.

Respondents K&L noted, that even though their business eventually moved out of one of their houses into a storefront in downtown Milltown, it was not predicated on retail passers-by. Respondent K said:

¹ I had originally placed this family into the Landed Locals category, however, in reviewing their situation, values, and need for employment outside of the campground, I came to a determination that their situation more closely resembled that of other so-called Landless Locals, rather than that of the Landed Locals due to the conditions through which they acquired the business, their lack of time spent outside the study area, the educational backgrounds of all three generations living on-site, and other relevant factors, including their lack of participation in certain community activities dominated by Landed Locals, their views on language, and their travel and consumption patterns.

Well, you have to start somewhere, I mean, you always start off basically with friends and family, whether they are in town or in Montreal or in Drummondville or whatever, you normally start from there and they sort of tell somebody or referral or something like that.

And these networks not only give rise to job opportunities, client referrals, or financing possibilities, but they also link these Landless Locals to suppliers, particularly specialty suppliers, as well as to other potential economic opportunities. Respondent M summed up this phenomenon:

Out here because we are in the farmland, and you know, in the country, in the Townships, um, a lot of it, believe it or not, is word of mouth. Ya know, all the horse people know all the horse people. All the dairy farmers know the other dairy farmers and what not, so. So you just ask around and you find out.

Obviously, an outsider would have a difficult time penetrating these networks built on local knowledge; as a result, the businesses of Landless Locals generally bear little resemblance to those of outsiders, and they tend to serve a mix of clientele, which I will discuss shortly.

Typically, Landless Locals met their spouses in the study area or nearby, unlike Landed Locals who tended to meet them while away. Education levels amongst this group are generally lower than in the other groups in this study, with several of them having left school without a diploma. Only one of them attended university, however in a non-traditional fashion. Some of them did pursue post-secondary training or specific career certification programs after high school.

Like the Landed Locals, these folks are critical of the mix of shops available in downtown Milltown. They tend to shop outside of Milltown, preferring the large discount retailers and malls in Charlestown or Grandville. One respondent in particular compared the village unfavorably to a neighboring community with a booming commercial sector featuring chain restaurants and discount outlet shopping:

Respondent H: And get a Burger King in there! Get a god-damn McDonald's in there! Get this, get that! Bellevue's got 'em all! And they're full! They're booming. They've [Milltown] got these little places, no, you don't want that. All the people want this other stuff too! All the people want this fast food stuff. You know, they want to go down and get quick food! You know, people go out, all this restaurant, high tech dollar stuff, the people want to eat their cheap dinner, cheap you know!

Interviewer: That's true, you can't get much cheap in Milltown.

Respondent H: No! That's why, Charlesville, you go there on a Saturday night or a Friday, we go there pretty often, or we go to Bellevue, it's full, full, everything's full!

In the view of this Landless Local, the wealthy residents of Milltown keep out the fast food restaurants and try to protect an idyllic vision of the community that does not necessarily meet the desires or needs of some lower income residents. Most of this respondent's clients tend to be local people with limited resources, who seek out his services. He does not tend to attract his wealthier neighbors. However, these well-off residents provide key clients for other Landless Locals.

Respondent N: My, my favorite is Milltown.

Interviewer: Why?

Respondent N: Well, there's more money. And I've just got the best clientele in Milltown. The higher end.

But the wealthy alone aren't enough to support all of the self-employed landless locals:

Interviewer: So it's, it's good for you, you service a lot of the wealthy people who build these houses?

Respondent O: Well, yes and no. No, I have a, what it is, well I service some of the wealthy people, but I have a lovely cross-section. I have small homes, self-employed, I have seniors, I have working couples with kids, uh, I have merchants. If I depended on the wealthy, like in the confines of Milltown, I would have gone bankrupt years ago.

Views about outsiders are distinctly mixed amongst this group, but they do seem to note a difference between many of their Anglophone and Francophone customers.

Respondent O: ...something unique in this area compared to Bellevue, we're in one county, Bellevue is in a different county. Uh, people here attach a lot of importance to their, to being serviced by someone they know personally.

Interviewer: Yeah?

Respondent O: Whereas in Bellevue, I could send you to do the windows, they wouldn't give a damn.

Interviewer: Interesting.

Respondent O: The old school network on the Anglophone side is very vibrant and very alive. It's there. If they don't, you don't see it, they don't promote it, but it's there. And it works. Okay?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Respondent O: And once you plug in, get into the old boys, school boys network, it's, uh, it opens doors.

Interviewer: Sure.

Respondent O: Well there on the Francophone side, that is not as dominant. I can't sense it. There's not an old school boy network, because they're all ex-pats from the city that've moved out here.

This exchange highlights again the importance of networks and social capital for Landless Locals, and it also serves to highlight how these folks accommodate very different types of clients.

While many of these operations are essentially reactive responses to a need to survive, a few are more deliberately planned enterprises. One partnership drew up a formal business plan and engaged in extensive research before seeking funding through their family network for some of their start-up capital. Few others went very far along with this sort of planning or sought outside financing beyond a mortgage for their primary residence. And these Landless Locals tend to hold on to their houses, according to this Landed Local:

Respondent D: But you see, the little guy, or not the little guy, I'm sorry, the less expensive houses, they don't come up on the market very often.

Interviewer: And they sell fast?

Respondent D: Yeah, because, uh, there's not very many there, and those people don't move around. Like people in the \$150,000 dollar range aren't movers, they were born here, they've got jobs, they do additions on their houses or finish the basement, whatever they have to do, because it's a big expense just to move. Like if you were to list your house with me, and buy another house, in soft costs, you're gonna probably have \$25000 in soft costs, which you've got nothing for, so you're better off to do \$25000 worth of renovation to your existing house.

While some amongst this group work very hard to convey an image of success, entrepreneurialism, and creativity, the posture is essentially defensive. The only pair to have placed their business in downtown Milltown essentially interprets their relations with other shopkeepers as hostile, and considers their start-up as something different from purchasing an on-going concern. I suspect that the competition they encounter from

neighboring shopkeepers reflects a larger issue than just carrying similar products, but rather reflects the different class elements at play in the village.

Where the Landed Locals viewed the provincial government as essentially beneficial or at least a benign necessity, the Landless Locals tend to find it obstructionist, difficult to deal with, or not quite worth the effort.

Interviewer: But did you go to the CLD or anywhere else to get help?

Respondent K: No

Respondent L: We're too old.

Respondent K: We tried to get some help through, uh, through the government program,

Respondent L: But we are over the hill.

Respondent K: We're over the hill, so they don't help you.

In the case of the one Landless Local, Respondent M, who did manage to enroll in several government programs, she found the experience generally unsatisfactory:

But when it came to actually setting up the thing, I don't understand how the other people did it, if you're starting up a restaurant, fine for them to pay your salary for a year, but who's buying all your restaurant equipment, who's doing all your, like, I don't know if in that course if anybody else ever got off the ground with their businesses. You know? Unless they were buying an already established business, had a separate bank loan and whatever for that, and then unemployment was just gonna help you, you know, get off the ground by paying your salary and stuff.

The few of these cases who have had intentional interaction with the government generally lack the actual status of "local", but rather are married or co-habiting with one for many years. These individuals are also interesting because their connections to the locality vary –

one is from the South Shore while another Montreal-born woman partnered with a local man was willing to explore government programs, and even attempted unsuccessfully to secure government subsidized funding. I attribute her willingness to engage with government resources to her upbringing in Montreal, her fluent bilingualism, and her prior bureaucratic work experience. Her partner, the true Landless Local of the pair, speaks no French and wants nothing to do with the government. He was not the only Landless Local who preferred to avoid dealing with the government. A different respondent put it this way:

Interviewer: So you didn't take advantage of any of the government offices or anything for young people starting their own businesses?

Respondent N: Absolutely not. Um, I don't want to take from them, as long as they don't take from me, in the sense.

As a whole, the Landless Locals over 40 struggle in dealing with any sort of officialdom, often in part due to language skills, and in part due to disdain for the government. The younger Landless Locals recognize that they have to be able to deal with language issues. One woman specifically chose her business partner because she was Francophone. While one young respondent speaks passable French, by his own assessment, many of his generally well-to-do clients are bilingual. In married couples, often one speaks French at a higher level of competency than the other, and the more fluent partner takes on the responsibility of resolving linguistic challenges in doing business or negotiating governmental bureaucracy. In at least one case, the older monolingual generation negotiates the changing linguistic landscape through the bilingual spouses of their own children.

Demographic transitions in the area are particularly significant for the Landless Locals. Those who are incapable of adequately communicating in French face a declining number of aging monolingual Anglophones in their catch area, essentially a shrinking ethnic enclave. However, in a sense, any mature ethnic enclave likely experiences this linguistic dissolution, as younger generations become competent in the local language (e.g. Teixeira 1998). Working class, lower income, English only speakers in the area face a particularly difficult employment environment which gives no evidence of improving for them in the future. Those who can service all of their neighbors by speaking both languages adequately seem likely to be the most able to persist:

Respondent O: It [Milltown] used to be 80% English and a lot of Francophones are moving in from the city out here, so I would say that majority of my customers are Francophone.

The only other alternative is to draw from the wealthy bilingual clientele, but gaining access to that community demands that an Anglophone individual have a network which can get them in contact with those individuals. Getting in is the challenge, because these groups do not recreate together, and often find themselves on opposite sides of local issues, like downtown development of so-called affordable housing. The demographic transition has been gradual, but that does not mean these Landless Locals have had the resources in social or linguistic capital to adequately benefit from these slow changes, even when they are aware that it is happening.

Respondent H: And rich! They control it all. They want it left old.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent H: My old man said, thirty years ago, buy these homes, this is gonna be a rich man's paradise. He's right.

But when a Landless Local gets in with the wealthy clientele, the benefits for their custom are unmistakable.

Respondent N: ...so once I got her contract, that was my first really big contract. Um, and then from there, I got Gino's house in Milltown. Once I got him, I got all the other, all the other friends that came in, 'cus they were just moving into Milltown at that time...so after Gino, I got Steve, who's top designer, one of the top designers in Montreal, and with him, I've hit all the big big multi-million dollar clientele.

Interviewer: Excellent. Are they more French or are they more English, that clientele?

Respondent N: Um, bilingual. Perfectly bilingual. All of them, all very very successful, and money's, money's not really an object.

One Landed Local whose family has been in the area since it was originally settled by Europeans, stated the situation of these Landless Locals very clearly, and he referred me to one of my Landless Local respondents in the following manner:

Respondent D: Anyway, he's a guy about 40, 45, and he does odd things, like he'll tear barns down, re-build things, he's in business for himself, in construction I'd say.

Interviewer: Yeah, there's a fair amount of that.

Respondent D: Yeah, it seems to be that uh, when you're out of a job here, you go and buy an apron and a hammer and you're in business. I mean that. There's a lot of that.

Interviewer: Yeah, there's a lot of guys that

Respondent D: Well, what do you do? You can mow lawns, that's the next step you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, if you grew up here and you didn't get a whole bunch of an education, and you're not super well-connected or if you don't have resources, what do you do? Exactly.

Respondent D: Yeah, and uh, the government, you know, you need licenses for nearly everything unless you're to dig a ditch by hand or mow lawns or do a bit of carpentry and behind, but, there isn't much things, not many

things you can do without a license.

The Landless Locals face an uphill battle in securing a livelihood where they are increasingly marginalized in terms of linguistic and social capital.

7.4. Townies

There is a class that straddles the gap between the Landless and Landed Locals, as well as the in-moving former urbanites, and that is the group I call the “Townies”. These “Townies” have a long residential history in the area and have raised their families here; however, they recognize that they differ from both the Landed and Landless Locals, whereas the people from away think these folks are from here. Due to their long history in the region, this bridge group shares affinities with both newcomers and locals. In this study, the Townies consist of three cases (respondents P, T, S) which operate a variety of enterprises, all located in or near the downtown core of Milltown, and they combine residence and business activities to some degree. This group respects those who are from here and acknowledge the differences between themselves and the real locals:

Respondent P: George is so local that he’s local.

Interviewer: Okay. The locals think he’s local, okay.

Respondent P: Oh no. He was born here, he had a tough upbringing. He worked for the provincial government, driving roads, and things like that, and he, and he works, worked for all the locals, he worked for all the rich people around, he still does odd jobs. He, he was very good. When I had my accident I was held up for, for years. Linda got him to come and do like, I mean, he did a lot more work than he was paid for. He’s a, he’s a really good guy.

This comment acknowledges the struggles of Landless Locals, as well as recognizes closely held Local values: caring for your neighbors through actions, giving full value for any compensated work, and looking after others, as well as a willingness to accept any work, no matter how boring, difficult, or poorly paid. However, this respondent also anticipated some of the difficulties I faced in getting access to the Landless Locals when he added, “but I don’t know if he would sit down and talk to you”. He also hurried to distance himself from identification as a local himself when my comment suggested I saw him as local. While generous and hard-working, the locals will not necessarily talk openly about themselves with outsiders, even if they are curious about them.

The distinction between Landed Locals, Landless Locals, and Townies tends to escape those who move here from somewhere else. My cosmopolitan¹ respondent Q described a Townie to me in the following way: “Oh yeah, he’s a, he’s a Milltown-ite. I mean, born and raised here and he knows a lot about the community.” The he in question was not born in the study community, but in Western Canada, only completing his last year of high school in the town, and he would not represent himself as a true local. These folks mark the line between those from here and those from away. They have been here long enough to experience many of the changes in the community and influence some of those changes themselves, but their parents and grandparents do not figure into the history of the local landscape. It is possible to see how the children of Townies might become the next generation of locals, and they are already starting to exhibit some of the characteristics of Landed Locals, such as leaving the area for a time to study, initiate careers, meet partners,

¹ A category discussed in the next chapter that includes only people who moved here as adults.

and start families, but returning when their children are about to enter school, or they may comprise an entirely new emergent configuration of social relations.

Struggle does not figure quite as prominently into the current stories of Townies as it does with the Landless Locals, although they all acknowledge going through challenging times over the duration of their residence in the study area. However, these folks have sacrificed in order to ensure their business success. At some point, all of these people not only owned the property housing their enterprise, but also lived on-site at their primary place of business, and two of the three still do. Their educations have generally been non-traditional, but they have all pursued some training, specialty or general university studies, beyond high school. Most of them had some family resources, either financial or social, which helped them establish their enterprises, but these resources were not necessarily extensive, nor on-going.

All three enterprises now include their adult children to some degree in their operations, and the elder partner in each couple is in his late fifties to mid-sixties. Two of the cases have clear expectations for a generational transfer in the fairly near future. The third suggested the possibility of a transfer or outright sale, but the current operators seem in no rush to consider leaving the business they have invested so much energy and effort to develop. In fact, the next generation in all three of these cases may have to push their parents out at some point, as none of them show any signs of bowing out completely any time soon.

The longevity of these three enterprises can be attributed at least in part to the owners' willingness to change and take advantage of opportunities in a creative and economically

viable fashion. None of these businesses has held to a single model of development. All have been entrepreneurial, have invested, grown, and re-organized their operations in order to maximize their sustainability. When one market segment slowed, these business people actively sought out new markets, new products, and tried new methods. The sectors and clients they service are diverse, and although all three benefit, to varying degrees, from the local tourism sector, they manage to appeal to residents as well as to clients in a larger global marketplace. All three have made significant investments in their businesses over the years, upgrading, improving, and developing their resources.

Although the government has proven a “hassle” on occasion, these businessmen also know how to access it when necessary to protect their investments, even if, in so doing, they are not impressed by it, as evidenced by Respondent S: “And uh, and when we had to kick out the previous tenant, and we had to go to the *Régie de* stupidity there, the *Régie du location*, yeah, whatever it is.” Respondent T has worked with the local employment training program to ensure that qualified employees are available locally for his business. Respondent P has taken advantage of the government summer hire program that subsidizes payroll costs for student workers on occasion, but no longer. In spite of this, accessing government resources has not always proven a satisfactory experience for the Townies.

Like many small business that grow rapidly, keeping on top of business details presents challenges, and sniffing out helpful resources takes time.

Respondent T: We probably overpaid CSST thousands in the last few years, but meanwhile we're with people in an organization [...] which is suppose to save you money on CSST [...]. Now, why wouldn't they have told us that and why would we have to find this out indirectly? Finding out stuff now that we could've, we could've saved money on R and D.

In fact there are still grants available and tax credits that the government offers for research and development. Well, how are we suppose to do it when you are busy running your company? Who has time to figure it out?

Interviewer: Exactly. And you haven't had help from those structural resources?

Respondent T: And we tried you know [...]

Interviewer: [...] It's not like the government is coming out and saying hey, oh by the way?

Respondent T: No. You have to find the right people who know about them, but to know, even to know where to look for them. Why would you look for that if you didn't know it existed?

Government has proved irksome on occasion for these businesses. Compliance issues do crop up now and again, especially as these operations grow and take on a more visible presence in the community. In one case, the CPTAQ (Commission de protection territoire agricole Québec) shut down operations on one property, forcing the company to re-locate some of its activities. This operation also worked with the CLD for a few years through this relocation:

Respondent T: I mean, they helped us do a business, uh, a business model and you know, plan d'affairs, and all that stuff, and changed, helped us change our accounting system. It helped us do some important things but they were never able to do anything for us in terms of finances.

When it came time to finance their forced relocation, they had to find private backers.

Respondent T: They were people we knew, and they had, you know, they had that opportunity, fortunately for us and you know, so we took that. It was better than what the other option was and the banks were still lacking, you know. They had certain restrictions that they insisted we take or have and we couldn't necessarily meet those restrictions either, just for lack of organization sometimes, and we'd have to provide certain figures that we don't have, our inventories that we don't control or those kinds of things.

Activating social capital to secure financial capital only works if your network includes affluent individuals. A Townie in Milltown has the opportunity to develop connections with affluent residents, in part through community organizations like the local business development group, the chamber of commerce, service organizations, benevolent associations, and local community events. Each of the three cases of Townies has contributed to local life by organizing various community activities and participating in local business organizations.

These three cases of Townies illustrate the challenges facing small businesses, but they seem likely to continue until the owners decide to move on to other things, and may be successfully transferred to the next generation. All of them have been evolving for at least twenty-five years, and they have demonstrated the creativity, flexibility, and commitment to persist. While they each face unique constraints, they are owned by people well rooted in the community, who actively participate in local organizations, whose children and grandchildren are making their way back to the study area, and participating in the family business. My conversations with Townies always came back to the local area. They have a deep commitment to and love for this place. As Respondent S said, "Every time we come back we have a new appreciation for here. We really do, I mean, it's the beauty, the, everything." While the community has changed around them, they have managed to keep on with an attitude that whatever comes, they'll handle it, however imperfectly and with a certain type of modesty, accepting the frustrations that come with it. As Respondent P admitted, "It's more French now, and I'm lousy in French and I just bungle along." The second generation has better French skills than their parents, but they are by no means

perfect, and they readily admit to shortcomings, like Respondent T who described his written French as “atrocious”, even though he is quite capable of dealing with government and others in spoken French.

Townies offer a perspective and a history which makes them valuable resources for in-movers. They often forecast the impending failures of downtown businesses early on, perhaps due to their own experiential knowledge of what it takes to survive locally as a small business owner.

Respondent S: I keep telling people when they want to open up a particular business or something, the, one of the longest sustaining businesses run by one family is [...] run by [Respondent P], and me, which is now, 26 years I think. And everything else has changed hands pretty well. I’m missing some, I know I am, but like, Jean-Robert, he’s been up there thirty some years with the gas station, but that’s a little different. And the only way that I could make ends meet here was by working two jobs and also living in my business. [Respondent P] lives in his business too. Now, [he] didn’t need as much financial help as I did, but still, living in your business helps with security, helps with a lot of things, you know. A lot of write-offs, da-da-da, that’s the only way we were able to do it.

The people who want to open up particular businesses are the newcomers, the group in the next chapter that I call the dreamers. Some of them follow their dream for many years, others come apart at the seams very quickly. The Townies welcome the Dreamers, but they encourage these folks to work hard to ensure that their businesses do not fail. The Townies do not, in general, seem to resent the other in-movers and they express respect for the Locals. As such, this group can serve as an important link between the interests of the Locals and the people from away.

7.5. Conclusion on the Locals

The three groups which comprise the locals, the Landed Locals, the Landless Locals, and the Townies, all claim a great deal of affection for and connection to this place. However, economic issues, language limitations, the changing market, as well as the local opportunity mix, result in a variety of conflicting attitudes which prevent me from claiming only a single sort of "local". As in many places, these competing attitudes are in part due to wealth and social class, as well as to the sense of hubris derived from being from here or from away. These differences are complicated by language issues, educational backgrounds, and sense of opportunity. The Landless Locals seem to be facing increasing marginalization due to limited financial, linguistic, human and social capital. These groups disagree strongly even amongst themselves about which direction the community should head in terms of development and investment. The complexity of the "Local" Anglophone population, even within a small rural region, provides evidence that singular solutions to rural challenges will not be appropriate in most situations, as there are competing interests, expectations, and understandings of the meaning of place.

Chapter 8 - The People from Away

8.1. Introduction

For the casual visitor, Milltown seems an idyllic place with its Loyalist and Victorian architecture, compact downtown, lively shops and many restaurants. The gracious old homes overlooking the lake speak of abundance and established wealth. There is nothing particularly new, garish, or even overly commercial about the downtown business district. The shopping includes women's fashion boutiques, antique shops, and art galleries, as well as some quirky, funky shops catering to all ages and tastes, including imported housewares, lingerie, and sweets, as well as a bookstore stocking many English language titles. There are no stoplights, just two stop signs to slow traffic, and parking on the streets and tucked out of the way behind historic buildings. No T-shirt shops hawk tourist trinkets, and all the restaurants offer menus in French and English. It is an inviting place, and many fall in love with it. The activities on offer in the area appeal to all age groups. The people from away sometimes just visit for a day, a weekend or a season. Some buy second homes. Some are weekenders, living in the country whenever they can and spending workdays in the city. During the course of this study, I met many people from away who had followed various paths, including part-time residency in the area, before moving here full-time. Some come as young adults starting families, others retire here and eventually find themselves seeking the stimulation, and income, that comes from running their own businesses. Those who relocate here and open a business generally have fallen under the spell this place can cast: they did not locate here to take advantage of a specific locally based economic sector, but rather to participate in what they perceive to be the lifestyle. It is a powerful spell that can last even when a shop falls onto hard times.

Interviewer: Do you think you're going to leave Milltown?

Respondent U: No, I've got my little boy, so it's all very cushy, and um, I wouldn't take him away from here right now. We're living the fairytale life you know. Fairytale street and, so, I'm going to get my [...] out there and then, I can always open up a separate store somewhere else.

The ones who are particularly susceptible to this spell, like my respondent above, comprise the group I call the "Dreamers". Another group of people from away includes "Ex-urban Refugees", who are generally professionals with a specific skill set and whom often utilize information technology extensively in their enterprises to service a global clientele. Lastly, there is an elite group of well-connected Cosmopolitans who participate in local life as small business owners, but who draw upon extensive family financial resources accumulated by prior generations in larger scale enterprises outside the study area. The economic, social, linguistic, and human capital resources available to this group draws upon a network that extends significantly outside the local area; however, all of these people from away have the potential to be quick to leave the area should circumstances prohibit them from meeting their needs to their satisfaction while residing here.

8.2. The Dreamers

Milltown and the surrounding areas attract a flood of tourists over the course of a year. Some of these visitors have long ties to this place, or are generally looking to make a change in their lives, and this charming community beguiles them. These folks comprise the group I call the "Dreamers" (respondents V, U, W+X, Y&Z, EE). This group cites local pull factors, as well as push factors in their sending environment, which drive them to immigrate here. Only rarely does Milltown pop into their lives by completely random

chance. In some cases, like with Respondent V, their families vacationed here when they were young: “When we moved to Montreal, we had summer cottages here, for about five or six years after that, so I’m quite familiar with it, I’m comfortable here.” Often they know someone already here or have extended family nearby, or have visited it, or have made an effort to find a community with specific features, such as a bilingual environment, a lake, mountains, and reasonable proximity to major urban centers. Other factors cited by Canadians moving here from places abroad included such things as health care costs, educational opportunities, and other quality of life factors associated especially with living abroad. Sometimes they just want to make a change, having become dissatisfied with the mix of opportunities wherever they were before. In this study, the Dreamers consist of five cases, four of which operate retail operations in downtown Milltown, and one of which offers a recreational service business near the main commercial district¹.

The Dreamers seem to think that if they open a cute retail store, shoppers, and more importantly, buyers, will appear. They undertake very limited advertising, and understandably so, given their often limited resources. Because their first taste of this area often coincides with the tourist season, they sometimes underestimate the difficulties shopkeepers here face. Once they are here, they find that the resident population generally comprises a small proportion of their sales (except in the case of the service business), and that they must make the majority of their profits during the summer tourist season. A Townie summed up the challenges facing the Dreamers this way:

Respondent S: it’s a tough slot you know, for the people who come in

¹ This case has features which lead me to consider placing it in the group known as Ex-urban Refugees; however, due to the lack of professional preparation in this career prior to relocation, I determined this respondent was better viewed as a member of the Dreamers category.

and think, because, they come in the good times, that's when people come, and they see all these people here and they go wow, what a neat, we could live here, run a neat business in Milltown. They don't see the hard times [...] But the people who want to have a nice boutique, they have to, they always want a nice place to live too and then they can't understand how they don't, how it's not working. It's more, you either come in with a lot of money, or do something like we did, you know.

The Dreamers open up new shops or buy on-going businesses, primarily retail storefronts, or sometimes restaurants, in the downtown business district. These folks are generally educated to the university level, middle class, and well-traveled. They have some financial resources of their own, often due to selling their previous home or from prior employment. Most of them have lived abroad, and all of them have lived outside of Quebec. They have shops which sell things that appeal to them and their tastes, which they assume visitors will also enjoy, having done absolutely no market research beyond walking the sidewalks of the downtown area. They do very little or even no business planning, often jumping right into self-employment, sometimes for the first time, after making a single inquiry about a local opportunity or having a space offered to them, so they "put together" a store. Generally this is their first foray into self-employment intended to support their household, and they tend not to have much retail experience, if any. In some cases, they have no training in the field in which they find themselves, although most have been employed in industries with some sort of relationship to the type of enterprise they open.

Interviewer: Did you take any coursework? Or apprenticeships or?
Nothing?

Respondent U: No, no, no. Nothing. I jumped into it blindfolded. And anyone can, if you've got the courage and the guts, and the ignorance also. You have to be a little ignorant also to not know, oh my goodness. But like I said, if I had gone to school I would have cut a few risks of um, losing money, do different things, experiment.

Perhaps one of the local attractions is that they see people like themselves who seem to be living the dream of being self-employed, in an appealing community, with an apparently slow-paced lifestyle where shopkeepers take their dogs for walks and loiter on the sidewalks chatting with each other during business hours. The appeal of leaving mainstream employment for a self-directed opportunity beckons to a wide variety of people, as evidenced by a number of popular titles (e.g. Edwards et al 2003; Paulson 2007); here it seems to be particularly middle management types frustrated by the lack of opportunity in their career fields who give self-employment a go.

Respondent W: Well, the other thing is, I think Milltown is a little unique in that the people that are in retail are not retailers originally. They were, they worked for the CBC, they worked in advertising, they were from all different things, and they came to Milltown, they thought, oh wouldn't it be fun to have a store! Which we sort of did, but I think we took it more seriously because it was our livelihood, and a lot of them, it wasn't necessarily their livelihood. They had great, great pensions from other companies, and you know, and they, they had money in the bank, whereas our money in the bank was invested in our business. So, it's a different thing. So, and some of them open three days a week, some of them open four days a week, some of them.

Respondent X: Some of them two days a week you know, so it's hard to have people keep coming in because we get the comment a lot, oh, everybody's closed, you know, they can't.

Respondent W: So you're not going to come back to a town...

These respondents assume that neighboring shops have other financial resources, and some of them likely do. However, the problem of variable shop hours results not necessarily from a lackadaisical approach to income, but rather because money is so tight that retailers cannot hire help to cover their storefronts while they attend to other necessities of doing business, such as buying product.

Respondent U: But you've got a town that half the stores only stay open half the week. You've got everyone closing, and I am very guilty of this, of no, keeping regular hours but I have to produce, and I have to do that in the city, and I can't afford to keep a girl in. So it's, it's been tough, so I know, I'm a bit guilty of that, in the last couple of years, inconsistency....

Moreover, when these Dreamers get into the retail or restaurant industry, they do not necessarily consider the implications of the decision: "It wasn't altogether a disaster, I mean, I did have sales, and you know, the sales had started to increase, but I just, I cannot sit here!" This respondent, V, had already decided to close at the end of the summer season when I interviewed her, but other shopkeepers stay on, struggling to make ends meet, doing work that can be monotonous with long hours and little relief.

Some of my respondents remarked on the learning curve involved in self-employment, which kicks in once they make it past the first few difficult years. In a May interview, this married couple mentioned that they had worked since January without a day off from their business, literally.

Respondent Y: It's been different this, coming out of this winter.

Interviewer: Is it just because you are short-staffed?

Respondent Y: Also because yes, we're short-staffed, but we, we're learning so much, and you know we're gonna keep all that money, in wintertime, and she and I push through it, and we just say to ourselves, well another week, another week. But now there will be a time when you have to hire people. But I think, I think this year, we'll more, because we could have gone out and hired people, we could have, you know. We just decided that, well,

Respondent Z: You get smarter and smarter. We close from 4 to 6 on the days that we're cooking supper.

Respondent Y: It can save that you know, 200 bucks a month,

however much a part-timer costs ya, it's uh, it means a lot in the winter when there's hardly any money coming.

Respondent Z: But some things we did this year, for instance out of necessity, closing from 4 to 6, I would do every winter. It was absolutely fabulous.

These long hours, slow periods of time waiting for customers to materialize, and financial difficulties explain some of the curious things that occur in town; for example, what another respondent called the "boutique shuffle". Shops frequently re-locate, generally trying to take advantages of lower rents in better locations. Sometimes shopkeepers purchase a property, or know someone who has, and move their shop to help pay the costs of acquiring the property. Additionally, the part-time help that worked in one boutique last summer might show up working in another next Christmas. This has to do in part with the temporary surges that take place in the various shops, as well as the need to be able to hire help briefly when the owner has to take care of business issues that keep them out of their shops. This research lacks the scope to probe more deeply into this phenomenon of the highly mobile small pool of labor, usually female, at the level of low paid employment, and the implications this has on households throughout the study area.

While some of my respondents remarked that neighboring shopkeepers had significant resources they brought with them from somewhere else, that appeared much less frequently than the hand to mouth, long hours, boutique-moving and just getting by, self-employed people I interviewed. The difficulties facing these shopkeepers might in part explain the occasional venom that cropped up in their relations.

Respondent V: They hate it when you carry the same stuff as them though, let me tell you.....

Interviewer: They just get mad at you directly? Is that how it works?

Respondent V: Yeah, But you know, but for some reason they don't get it. Competition is good for business. They don't get that.

This small shop owner, who had only been in town a few years, didn't seem to understand that other shopkeepers were battling furiously to hold onto their turf. Sun-tzu (1994) remarked that a battle should never be engaged against a desperate enemy, and the behavior of these shopkeepers, fighting to ensure no other local boutique carries the same products they do, suggests a desperate enemy. The marginal returns they expect might also partially explain why they seem unable to come together to work towards mutually beneficial goals.

Interviewer: So are the relationships good amongst the businesses here locally?

Respondent Y: We make it that way [...] I don't know that it is between everybody else to be quite honest with you. I think it's pretty

Respondent Z: Well, I have a good rapport with them, yeah.

Respondent Y: We have a good rapport with everybody. We don't knock anybody, we don't, I don't care if there's a restaurant, we promote it for them, because hopefully they're saying we're full, go see them, so, that's the way we'd like it to be....But we also, we hosted the little [...] business development group. We hosted it for I guess 8 or 9 months, and it was comical, it was so funny to sit here and see all of these "I"s, "I"s singular, trying to be a team, it was so, wasn't it?

Respondent Z: Yep, well it was a big

Respondent Y: Stabbing each other and

Respondent Z: It was tedious.

Respondent Y: Tedious.

Small shop owners face difficulties in coordinating their efforts to create opportunities for the community as a whole, but I suspect that stems in part from the long hours they put into their small operations. Furthermore, the lack of business planning and market research, combined with miniscule advertising outlays admitted by all of the Dreamers, reinforces the idea that these people were unprepared for what they have undertaken. I found it fascinating that some downtown business owners would denigrate the efforts of their fellows, and assume that they have deeper pockets than their own. There lingers a sense of bitterness, which may result from the challenge of making ends meet.

Respondent V: I actually was, um a part of putting together the business development group...And uh, it's, it's a tough row to hoe. It's very hard in this town to get people involved in, in doing anything in business. It's unbelievable. I don't understand.

Interviewer: Do they not want to work together or do they not really want to work, or what is it?

Respondent V: I personally think they don't want to work. That's my feeling.

Some respondents would chalk down the short shop hours of others to laziness or affluence, as if their business affairs were a hobby. These comments seemed tinged with envy, that even though they generally claim to enjoy their work, they wish that it were more profitable with less labor on their part. Although some business owners do have access to additional financial resources not derived from their current enterprises, none of the Dreamers nor Townies with enterprises located in Milltown I interviewed gave any indication of not needing the income from their self-employment activities. Some members of the two final groups of people from away, the Ex-urban Refugees and the Cosmopolitans, clearly did not need current income from employment to ensure the economic security of their households, but these operations were amongst the very best

run, consistently open operations, and they took great pride in the quality of their enterprises.

The Dreamers generally are unable to differentiate between truly local people, Townies, and part-time residents, of which there are the weekenders, summer people, and variations of these. They recognize day-trippers and tourists as non-locals, but I was left with the impression that they consider themselves local people, a fact which can only serve to alienate the long-suffering Landless Locals, and even the Landed Locals with their ties to the landscape and history of the area. In a few cases, like Respondent V quoted below, they have distant positive childhood memories of this place, and they feel at home here, although no local would consider them local: "We used to, I brought my girls down here for summer breaks, and you know, March break and stuff. Christmas they'd go skiing, so it's like home, sort of." The Dreamers sometimes even see local people as of little value to them, as they may comprise only a small portion of their clientele.

Respondent W: [...] and our local people doesn't make it happen for us.

Respondent X: They're part of the business.

Respondent W: They're a part of the business, but they're not enough to make it happen, and a lot of them haven't even stepped into any of the stores because they just think they're too expensive.

Earlier comments by the Landless Locals and even some Landed Locals regarding their shopping patterns reinforce the notion that Locals believe that the shops in Milltown do not carry items of interest or at appealing prices, which may or may not actually be the case, but which is clearly the perception.

This next excerpt provides a good example of how the interests of the Landless Locals and the Dreamers might conflict. The changes that might draw the Locals to town are considered unfortunate in the eyes of the Dreamers, as it threatens to alter the conception they have of “their” town.

Interviewer: What do you think about the mayor’s push to get in affordable housing? Do you think that’s going to do us any good?

Respondent U: No, it’s going the wrong way [...] And you know what, that’s what’s happening. The girls are turning into, not the classic girls like us, it’s sort of, and so they’re coming and asking, because they saw one in a second hand shop. I thought, oh my gosh, isn’t that interesting?

Interviewer: I know. Exactly, now we’ve got one.

Respondent U: [...] So all of the sudden the stores coming in are cheap and that turns the tourists away.

Interviewer: It’s gone down market?

Respondent U: Exactly, and it, and it’s a shame, because these people with the gallery came in, a little late, and now he’s parked, a lot of money, he’s head of the business group.

These “cheap” stores might attract lower income local people, but that might make the downtown district less appealing to tourists and higher income residents or visitors. It is noteworthy as well that in-movers involve themselves in the local business organizations.

There is something else happening downtown, and it suggests other possible points of conflict within the Anglophone community. Other downtown shopkeepers, at least, those who have been in the area for more than a decade, have noticed other changes in the shopping population, which in some ways benefit them.

Respondent W: But, um, most of the locals would be Anglophone I

guess, but over the years we've noticed more and more Francophones coming in and living.

Respondent X: Yeah, because they, if somebody's selling, a French person buys it. Most of them.¹

Respondent W: Most of the time, although in the past couple of years, there've been a couple of British families that have moved in.

Interviewer: True.

Respondent W: Yeah, and um, some Americans, eh? [...]

Respondent X: Actually, the French are better buyers than your

Respondent W: They love to shop.

Respondent X: than your your, well, your WASP's, your white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

Respondent W: English people don't shop very much.

Respondent X: English people don't shop.

Interviewer: They're cheap?

Respondent W: They're very price conscious. Yeah, they are cheap! And French just enjoy spending money.

In spite of this possible variation in their acceptance of in-movers, Landless Locals and Dreamers do share some common frustration with the government. Many of the Dreamers have only marginal French skills, and suffer in their frequent interactions with provincial officials. They talk of having to go through extra hoops to secure information, because all official communications get sent to them in French and they have to request an English version. This happens continuously, even when they deal repeatedly with the same inspector. I witnessed an interaction between a provincial inspector and an older

¹ This echoes comments made fifty years ago by Townships Anglophones in Ross (1954b:455), i.e. 'the French are buying right in the village', but instead of viewing this as a negative invasion as portrayed in Ross' work, it is seen today as a potential benefit to shopkeepers.

Anglophone shopkeeper not interviewed for this study. She attempted to converse with him in French, but clearly her comprehension was limited, and her French included many English words. He made no accommodation, continuing to use the correct French terminology when she had just used an English word which indicated to me that perhaps she did not know the French word. Another of my respondents spoke of having to secure the aid of a bilingual friend in a dispute with Revenue Quebec. One of my respondents said that he had been told by a provincial inspector that they did not have any obligation to communicate with the shopkeepers in English, in keeping with provincial policy. However, insisting on French in dealing with powerful government officials clearly puts Anglophone and Allophone shopkeepers at a disadvantage in that they may have to make a formal request, time and again, to receive documents in English. If you are unable to read the document at all, you might not even know what sort of document it is you need to request. This clearly places an extra burden on non-French speaking business owners.

Additionally, the Dreamers do not have much knowledge or understanding of the government programs and offices that might be able to assist them in their operations. They were the least well-informed of all of my respondents in this regard.

Respondent W: Well, I don't know. A lot of people here open with government grants, but they closed, I think as soon as the grant. They all, it's true, when I found out people did that, you know, I thought, oh, good for them, and then two years later they were gone.

Respondent X: Yea, two! There were a couple, eh? [...]

Respondent W: So I don't know quite how it works.

Like the Landless Locals, their attitude towards dealing with the government was to minimize contact and troubles.

Respondent W: And we never did any of the government loans or anything.

Respondent X: I think it's too difficult, as long as there's.

Respondent W: Anything you do with the government is, so.

A more realistic individual who falls in the next category of Ex-urban Refugees, who has a longer experience of self-employment based on a specific skill in which she trained, offered up her own assessment of the downtown business district, which developed into the name I have chosen for this group:

Respondent AA: But, um, I don't understand the concept of boutiques. I mean, I just, not only do they move but they come and go. And people open up for six months, now you're only expected to lose money, how much more money did you lose than you expected to, to close in six months?

Interviewer: Bad planning I think perhaps.

Respondent AA: I mean, it's two years before you're going to make anything so what's the problem you know?

Interviewer: So that's it. You gotta plan for that.

Respondent AA: Unless you died or your husband died or something happens you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, exactly.

Respondent AA: So, there's an awful lot of this. A dream?

Interviewer: I think maybe.

Respondent AA: It must be.

The Dreamers seem to slightly disturb the rest of the people from away, because they seem to undermine stability in a place that they chose precisely for the quality of life it provides, not for the economic opportunities to be found here. I suspect that any place that draws a

significant number of visitors likely hosts a population of people like these Dreamers who pick a destination without a well-defined household survival strategy. The next section explores the Ex-urban Refugees, who are concerned about the vitality of the downtown even if it has no direct effect on their economic activities.

8.3. The Ex-urban Refugees

Some people choose this place for the lifestyle it offers, and they bring their professional skills with them rather than setting up a shop or buying an existing enterprise to ensure their necessary income stream. Their businesses might include servicing people within the local region, but these operations are based on a professional skill set that the individual carries with them, wherever they might be employed, and their clientele may stretch far beyond the borders of the study area. In many cases, the individuals find elements of this area that appeal to their sense of the life that they want to lead. Eventually, they sometimes enter into business operations that are strictly local, but generally for reasons that are to some degree extra-economic. Six cases are included in this category (respondents AA, BB, CC&DD, JJ, II, FF), all engaged in professional services or management, and one of which might arguably be assignable to a previously discussed category¹.

In general, these folks have a university education and/or other sort of professional training specifically in the type of work they are currently engaged in. They have all pursued the same career field in other places, and a number of them started spending time in the study

¹ This case has elements that resemble members in the Townie category, in part due to location and nature of the businesses he has been involved with over his twenty years in the community. Additionally, as he is transitioning from one business to another, he seems to have attributes like the dreamers. However, in considering how he came into the area, he seems much more similar to the other individuals in this category than in the other two.

area, or acquired property in the study area, long before they began earning income while living here full-time. As such, this group may most closely resemble the cottage country “Converters” identified in Halseth (1998). In several cases, one member of the couple commuted to Montreal on a regular basis before permanently relocating their economic activities to the study area. They all speak of this place as a retreat from the city (and Montreal specifically), a refuge, and they frequently benefit from technological advances to operate their enterprises from here.

Respondent BB: Yeah, I can do that here. As I mentioned to you, all you need is a laptop computer, blackberry, and a cell phone. That’s all and you can work anywhere, so.

Interviewer: But you have to have the connections that you’ve developed.

Respondent BB: Yeah, sure. It’s a quality of life. I still go in. Like tomorrow I still have to go in for meetings in Montreal, and uh, you know, it’s been usually I spend, uh 2 days in Montreal maximum, but it’s usually a full day of meetings, and I, I try to be effective and do that [...] So it’s because of technology that I can have peace of mind, I mean, it’s just my lifestyle. I like the city, I like the country, but I like the lifestyle here. I could live anywhere.

In many cases, these individuals have international pedigrees, and in two cases were born outside of Canada. They frequently serve clients from other countries. They have all lived outside of Quebec, and oftentimes outside of Canada. In more than one case, they don’t reveal their base of operations to clients, as they appreciate being “invisible”. They present a professional business demeanor, and they have spent time working for others within their chosen profession as well as running their own businesses. They are specialized professionals, but when presented with an opportunity, they have been willing to branch out beyond their core competencies. Additionally, they have social, cultural, human and financial capital, and of these, their connections to other people are frequently the most

important, and these social network ties, while they have them locally as well, extend far out into the world.

Occasionally, these folks operate multiple enterprises. One, whose original business in the area had no local market connection whatsoever, eventually parlayed his real estate assets into a series of retail operations, which he sold or closed when his real estate holdings shifted, and now his focus is almost entirely local. In several cases, people who were retired grew restless, and re-activated their skills by starting an enterprise that did not demand their full-time activity. In spite of assertions to the contrary by some of the Dreamers, none of the post-retirement enterprises included in this study operated retail storefronts in Milltown.

In general, this group made little to no comment regarding their interactions with the government, and the comments they did make were essentially neutral. They either operate in non-regulated industries, or they have a familiarity or expertise drawn from experience or good professional contacts which essentially make compliance issues mere background to their operations. This clearly distinguishes them from all previously discussed groups. Additionally, this group sees language competency as a valuable skill, whether or not they themselves possess it. However, language for them holds no importance in the bulk of their business dealings. They either are competently bilingual, or they simply work only in English with clients willing and able to conduct business in English, or they have staff to support French-speaking customers. When they lack French language skills, they admit it forthrightly, and generally say they wish they could speak it; however, of these, none have successfully made the attempt to master the language. In these cases, the respondents are

all fifty or older and educated before Bill 101 was enacted. In some cases, a portion of their schooling took place in the United States. They grew up in a time when French was devalued, and seen as irrelevant to success in Quebec and Canada. As my oldest respondent explained:

Respondent CC: I was a little boy [...] walking down the street with my Grandfather [...] and I said to my grandfather, 'there's a sign that's in French'. And I said, 'how important is it to speak French, Grandpa?' And he said, 'it's not important to speak French'. Right, because all the French people speak English. Now listen, think of the time okay. It's 1942, 43 [...] And we moved back to Montreal and it wasn't important for the Anglo group to speak French and it wasn't until my early business years that I thought, oh, I'm missing out on something.

This comment illustrates the historical view of Anglophones towards Francophones as evidenced in previous work by Hughes (1943) and Ross (1954a; 1954b), as well as highlights how life in Quebec was experienced by Anglophones when they held a majority position in society. Now, with only a single exception who made no comment regarding language other than he would not work in French, these individuals praised bilingualism and marked it out as an important factor in success, both in Quebec and beyond. In political terms, their positions varied on their feelings about language and education, but they clearly valued bilingualism, even if they themselves were not.

Respondent AA: Now, um, okay, the family down here have just been here a year. The parents are both French but they both speak perfect English. The kids go to French school, but the kids, the [...] is in English and the kids are perfectly bilingual.

The residency of Ex-urban Refugees in this area in most cases goes back for decades, and some have been here as long as or longer than some of the Townies, but since their enterprises are not local focal points, they do not garner the same recognition from other

people from away within the community. While they are often engaged with local affairs, and some have raised their children here, their impact on the local business scene is minimal. However, they do tend to be acquainted with their neighbors, regardless of what social group those people might be from, perhaps because they live in the rural sectors of the study area rather than in Milltown. In some ways, they resemble Locals, Landed or Landless, in their social relations. I was frequently told stories by these folks about their neighbors helping them and vice versa, which is held up as a Local value in the region, as is a general curiosity about those who live nearby. However, they never claimed local status, even when they had 35 years of residence in the study area:

Respondent CC: First of all, she's not local.

Interviewer: No? Oh well then.

Respondent CC: Nobody is.

While it might seem that he is claiming that nobody at all is a local, or that nobody who matters is, he later suggests that neither his wife nor their children, even though they were born here, are locals. He clearly acknowledges later in our conversation that some people in the area are locals, and they are somehow different from his household. I am acquainted with a married couple who are good friends of this respondent, who are both locals of many generations, and I suspect that this particular respondent's acknowledgement of non-local status shows deference to those who truly are local rather than dismissal of locals as "nobodies". These Ex-urban Refugees know they are not from here, but they appreciate this place and respect those who they recognize have contributed to shaping it into what it is they desire or imagine it to be.

In a recent collection of essays, Yates (2007), an Ex-urban Refugee not included in my research, claimed that the primary distinction amongst groups in the Eastern Townships are based on where a person's money or income is earned, either from within the area or outside. However, Yates also claims that there is much rubbing of elbows between Locals and People from Away, a contention I would strongly disagree with, and his own examples of individuals known to me through my research confirm his error in judgment, as the vast majority of his commentary relates to other Ex-urban Refugees, the occasional Cosmopolitan or Dreamer or Townie, and only a single Landed Local or two. He fails to identify any Landless Locals in his book, or to see the poverty and struggle facing many of these people. His viewpoint is clearly influenced his social circle and his frequenting of Milltown enterprises, which do not draw many local people, so it is understandable that he overlooks this significant component of the area.

8.4. The Well-Connected Cosmopolitans

The final small group, comprised of only two cases (respondents G, Q&R), emerging from my research is a rather esoteric one, and one that is difficult to gain access to. These are the wealthy, well-connected individuals who are self-employed because they want to do something with themselves. While well-known around town, little reliable direct information about their financial resources is on offer, but they clearly did not earn it themselves through paid employment. For example, average working professionals or farmers do not send their daughters to finishing school in Switzerland, the experience of one of my respondents. The money these couples have access to comes not solely from their own efforts; however, they are serious and professional in their business pursuits. In both cases, the resources appear to come from the wife's family, and the men have more humble origins. They often pay attention to authenticity in their properties, spending

money on historically appropriate renovations, and they have very low employee turnover, which suggests that they pay rates above the local standard. In terms of government relations, no complaints were made, and they occasionally do seek out resources that help support their investments, whether for woodlot management or historic designation. These folks are cagey about their wealth, and while it is “known” about town that they have resources, the extent and origin of this wealth is a topic of speculation of varying degrees of reliability, but both families have foundations in manufacturing enterprises. In order to preserve my rapport with these individuals, I did not probe specifically into their financial dealings even though both cases offered up remarks that made it clear that their economic activities were not their sole source of income. As Respondent G said, “the bottom line is, if I was having to make my living from the [...] business, I wouldn’t be”. One of these cases clearly appears to have significantly more liquid wealth than the other, if one can judge from appearances, and the other has a great deal of wealth tied up in their land, and a probable inheritance. Both of these cases are well-known within certain circles locally, and both own landmark historic properties. One family has had holdings in the area since the 1950’s, but the other is essentially new to the study area, having moved here from elsewhere in the Townships about five years ago. Both cases have traveled extensively, and have ensured that their children spent at least some of their time in French language schools. Bilingualism in this elite group is considered absolutely necessary, although in one of the couples, one of the partners lacks skills in this area, in part due to her upbringing in Ontario.

Respondent Q: Well, one thing that crossed my mind is I think it’s a great, um, this great mix of Anglophones and Francophones here. Like, there’s so many people that speak both languages and, um, I think are, are much more bilingual than we are for sure. And they’ve been here for, like, I think all of the Larose’s for example, the

Larose's have been here for eons and they serve all, you know, all facets of the community, and the Lacroix's, and, and they all speak English and French perfectly. Well, almost perfectly. And that's what, that's one of the things that attracted us to Milltown too is the fact that it was a good mix of English and French.

Additionally, cosmopolitans stay connected with Montreal in a manner congruent with their resources:

Respondent Q: Well, I get to Montreal probably twice, three times a month, 'cus I mean, all the kids are there, I kept all my doctors there, I have family there.

The private doctor's offices on Green Street in Westmount often cater to cash paying customers. The wealthy do not tend to avail themselves of the services of the nearby CLSC or local hospital, except in utmost emergency.

Unlike locals, cosmopolitans do shop in downtown Milltown, when they can find what they want there, and like the ex-urban refugees, they see it as doing their part to support local businesses. One said, "I can't be bothered to drive to Charlestown", site of the multi-national large retail shops, even though she will drive much further to Montreal to visit her doctors. This group therefore differs fundamentally from the Local groups in its consumption patterns.

But these folks are sensitive the changing dynamics of the community, and seem to want to protect their less affluent neighbors:

Respondent G: Because I think the area's changing [...]. There's so many more people.

Interviewer: yeah, it's really grown.

Respondent G: And I think kind of city people coming out, like you know. Like, in Sunset Hill in particular, these huge huge places for a weekend place.

Interviewer: Yeah, big money.

Respondent G: You know, unbelievable.

The new money that seems to be transforming the region does not necessarily appeal to these family money elites, but they recognize the inherent conflict for the local community.

Respondent G expressed her concerns:

I mean hopefully they're not going to come like the Laurentians, but we're Sunset Hill here [...]. Well, I mean, I think they have to have tourists, you know. And they're giving the shop owners a hard time I think. I mean, the rents are very high, but I mean, what I think is good about it, I mean, I'm all for the tourism. I think they should get a biking map out and all that, I mean, because how're you going to keep young families here? There's no work. It's only good for the area.

This group has entrenched interests due to their investments in preserving what they consider to be the appeal of the area. They prefer the type of development which will increase the value of their holdings, increase community solidarity, but not drive out the families who have done much to shape the landscape into what it is today.

8.5. Conclusion on the People from Away

The variety of self-employed people in the area adds to its vibrancy and resilience. Because the economic arena is diversified, no single shock seems likely to throw the entire array of these small businesses off-kilter. As such, it suggests a rural community well-placed to prosper into the future, if we compare it to other rural communities throughout North America (e.g. Flora et al 1997; Reimer 2003). However, these variations also give

rise to intra-communal conflicts in terms of visions of what the community should be, in the eyes of competing interests. Furthermore, these groups of self-employed individuals also hold a number of differing interpretations of provincial and federal government policies. Their needs, including those related to language, are met in a variety of ways, but consistently, those with greater resources, be they financial, social, or cultural, seem better able to negotiate any hurdles they may face. Finally, the different groups of locals or people from away tie their individual identity differently to language, and make different decisions regarding language of education of their children, as well as the degree of satisfaction with their educational choices, a topic we explore further in chapters 9 and 10.

Chapter 9 - Language, Education & Identity: The Locals

9.1. Linguistic Capital

Importantly in this multi-lingual environment, the respondent's ability to express himself or herself adequately in French, whether by his or her own impression thereof, or through an assessment communicated to him or her by a native speaker or speakers, plays a role in how each individual experiences, interprets and assesses the local opportunity structure¹. In some cases, these Anglophone business owners must conduct a significant and important part of their business activities in French. In other cases, the respondent has managed to put together an enterprise where French language skills in business activities are at least partially, if not totally, irrelevant, as they serve a primarily English-speaking clientele, often outside of the locality. However, in most cases, a mixed strategy is employed to deal with language-related challenges, where employees, business partners, friends, family members or other valued assets bridge the gap between the language competencies of the respondent and the interlocutor. Regardless of their need to use French or not in their income producing activities, by living in Quebec, they will at least occasionally experience situations where they cannot easily and directly meet their communicative goals in English only, and they adopt various strategies, including silence, avoidance, code-mixing, and bridge communicators, for overcoming these challenges. Moreover, their own self-identification as "English", even when they are comfortably bilingual, suggests that language plays an important role in identity in this community. Being "English" can provide a salient commonality with valued social resources, while simultaneously marking their minority status within Quebec society and suggests their preferences for travel,

¹ See Coulmas (1999) on the perceived competence of native speakers and also Blondeau et al. 2002 for a specific discussion regarding perceptions of competence by Francophones of Anglophones speaking French.

shopping, recreational destinations, and media consumption, particularly as connected to which specific group they belong to as constructed in this research. Language as long been viewed as a central component of identity (e.g. Buck 1916; Blom & Gumperz 1972; Lafontant & Thibault 2000; de Klerk 2002), and I believe that my work further supports this notion, although the varieties expressed suggest that extra-linguistic factors play an important role in the degree to which an individual Anglophone in today's Eastern Townships experiences language as a key component of identity.

The language which parents choose for the education of their children reveals much about social stratification in a specific locale (e.g. Chan 2002). In some cases, a preference will be shown for the language of the elite (Haugen 1966; Haugen 1985; Kasuya 2001). In this case, it speaks volumes about how respondents see their place in contemporary Quebec society, and most draw on a vocabulary of broadening opportunities for their children rather than constraining them. If we consider that multiple respondents identified the local elite as masterfully bilingual, it in part suggests that my research is in line with these earlier findings. Although bilingualism is widely espoused as a goal for the next generation, some respondents from a particular group did suggest a reductive vision of bilingualism while those from other groups seemed more likely to express an additive assessment of bilingualism¹.

With my respondents, it would seem that they do not view their own identity as Anglophone as directly threatened by the French language even as they feel disadvantaged vis-à-vis French speakers in certain aspects of living in Quebec. Clearly, marginality and

¹ See Phillipson (1992) for a more comprehensive discussion of interpretations of the value of bilingualism.

minority status does get expressed in inter-linguistic exchanges; however, they do not want their children to lose their mother tongue, as they consider it an economic advantage beyond Quebec, where French-only speakers are viewed, by these Anglophones, as disadvantaged, or at least limited, even within the borders of Quebec. The adults under consideration here do not seem to have internalized any sense of themselves as minority beyond the immediate and intermittent daily frustrations of language complications in a majority French region, although they clearly recognize the challenges and disadvantages of being an English-speaker in Quebec today. No pervasive evidence of a sense of inferiority to the Francophone majority was expressed by my respondents, but language clearly remains an expression of political and individual identity, with Locals in this study expressing a preference to see the global value of English as a reason to maintain it as the home language¹, even while attempting to ensure adequate French skills for their children. This seems to reinforce Diebold's statement that "the form which assimilative linguistic change assumes is indeed conditioned by non-linguistic factors of the contact situation" (1962:47), in that the perception of the economic advantage of additive bilingualism as well as the success and influence attributed to elite bilinguals outweighs the possible benefits of assimilation to a monolingual Francophone status, regardless of the actual social status of the Anglophone respondents.

The ages of the respondents in this study also figure into their attitudes and expectations, particularly regarding language. The younger generation, with children still in primary and secondary schools, expressed both greater ambivalence and greater recognition of the significance of language in perpetuating their families' ties to Quebec. In several cases,

¹ See Coulmas (1987) for an academic argument that parallels what my respondents claimed as grounds for maintaining English as a maternal language.

this “betwixt and between” generation who came of age during the 1970’s and 1980’s express a sense of loss in having their family members scattered beyond the borders of Quebec to the English-speaking Canadian provinces and beyond. While I only have a few Local respondents of the generation with limited memory of the 1970’s, clearly the acceptance of language difference has shifted, to the point where one of my younger respondents reports using both languages with her French first language husband without particular regard for one over the other, and expresses no dissatisfaction with living life in two languages, having switched between the school systems several times during her education.

In my own interactions with under-40’s in the study area, language emerged very much as a plaything, to be manipulated and mixed according to our needs and desires, similar to what was observed in downtown Montreal in Lamarre et al. (2002). Code-mixing was frequently a matter of play, of self-expression, and of identification, only fixed if there was someone present who lacked the language skills to engage in the sport, or when disagreements, misunderstandings or confusion arose. However, part of the play consisted of teasing based on accents and pronunciation, and this more often than not focused on Anglophone mispronunciation of common French words like *rue*, or French mispronunciation of less commonly used English words like *hippopotamus*. In other words, Anglophone competence in French was called into question more frequently than Francophone competence in English. It is not clear if this asymmetry reflects greater tolerance of accents amongst Anglophones or if it suggests that Francophones are more adept at identifying variation in pronunciation, or if it represents an effort on the part of Francophones to devalue the French skills of Anglophones, or if it reflects different

cultural practices, or if there exists an entirely different explanation. In spite of this potential issue regarding language production competency and valuation of symbolic capital, being able to move comfortably between the two languages, as well as marriages between different mother-tongue speakers, appear more common, generally speaking, in the study area amongst those educated after Bill 101 became law than amongst their elders, but they are not particularly frequently represented in this study.

In considering the presentation of self by respondents to an obviously Anglophone researcher, certain attitudes emerged that were compelling, in my opinion, when considered in light of the status category to which I had assigned each respondent. In Quebec today, age appears to be a relevant factor in linguistic identity, attitude and behavior, with younger respondents much more willing to articulate their need and their children's needs to be bilingual in order to survive in Quebec in the future, and their concerns with the training they were getting in French. As such, it turns out that sometimes older Locals expressed behaviors and sentiments more in keeping with those of Anglophones who locate here from somewhere else, not recognizing the degree to which fluency in French is not sufficient to overcome the burden of being a minority group member who is a second language speaker of the dominant linguistic group¹. In this chapter, I consider the interplay of language with social group identity as Landed Local, Landless Local, or Townie, while in the next I will explore the same issues for the people from away: the Ex-urban Refugees, the Dreamers, and the Connected Cosmopolitans.

9.2. Landed Locals

¹ See Hymes (1980) for a fuller iteration of this concept.

Landed Locals exist throughout Quebec, and they have a strong family connection to the historical development of the regions where they live. They frequently discussed how many of their family members had moved out of the province since 1976, and acknowledged that their status in the community had changed or was changing as new people moved in. Politics mixes with language for this group in particular. Recent events in another community highlight the continuing debates regarding language and political representation that sometimes occur in the political arena (La Voix de l'Est, 2007). The exchange with a 50 plus respondent highlighted below provides further evidence for this, where he insists on calling French-speaking Quebecers "French Canadians", when the more common term amongst younger people is Québécois, an identity explicitly politically constructed by French speakers which juxtaposes itself to an explicitly Canadian identity (Handler et al. 1984; Juteau 2002).

Interviewer: Your clients, are they more English or more French?

Respondent D: Uh, they have a tendency to be more English, yeah.

Interviewer: Is that because your network is more English?

Respondent D: Because I am English. That's why. That's why they hire me, I think. I don't know, I mean, they could, uh, but I do have some French Canadian ones too.

Interviewer: Oh yeah. Do you speak French?

Respondent D: Oh yes, sure. I can speak French no problem. Um, I do get some French Canadians, from time to time. I'd say maybe, 20, 20%.

Interviewer: Okay I was just gonna...

Respondent D: Or sometimes you know, I call them, you know, they're so English some of these French Canadians, I mean, they can speak English better than you can, you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, exactly, it's like, are they French or English, what are they, yeah?

Respondent D: Some of them are very very good you know. Uh, so I don't think of them as being French really, although they can speak French, but yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. It's funny that.

Respondent D: Yeah, yeah. That's the thing about Quebec. Yeah, especially when you get them up at a certain level, they're always bilingual, always.
Yeah.

Interviewer: Exactly, yeah. And they don't really care which language they're being served in, you know because?

Respondent D: No, that's why they've got the top positions in companies and professions or whatever.

This exchange was fascinating on many levels. First, the respondent acknowledges that his mother tongue may very well play a role in building his clientele. This could be interpreted as evidence of an ethnic economy (Light & Karageorgis, 1994). Secondly, he insists on calling his clients "French Canadians" repeatedly, a term loaded with federalist political implications opposed to the terms "Québécois" or even "French-speaking Quebeckers". Additionally, in spite of his initial claim to speak French comfortably, the rest of this exchange suggests that he has little or no need to speak French with his clients, as those who might be French first language come from a social milieu of elite Francophones who are perfectly bilingual and occupy the top positions in the economy. He also suggests that such people get ahead in their occupations precisely because they are not uptight about which language they speak with whom. Finally, this respondent does not identify these elite bilinguals as French, he does not even "think of them as being French, really". This suggests that perhaps class plays a significant role in the strength of linguistic affiliation as a component of identity, or that acceptably competent linguistic bilingualism both conveys

status and symbolically represents power in a form of *noblesse oblige*. However, it remains to be seen how this dynamic plays out lower down in the class spectrum.

For slightly younger respondents, Landed Locals are particularly aware that they and their children must speak French. It is not enough to assume that they will be interacting with an elite bilingual Francophone group willing to accommodate unilingual Anglophones. In choosing to stay in Quebec, they recognize that French language competence would be important to their own success and that of their children. But achieving fluency that finds acceptance in Quebec might be more difficult than just speaking the language. One respondent confided, "By English standards we're bilingual, by French standards we're not." When I asked for her to elaborate, she explained:

Respondent C: When I finished university, I was bilingual enough to work in every other province except Quebec. And I went and took one of those jobs, and then I realized you know, the way things worked out, it really wasn't what I wanted to do. Um, but if I had wanted to work in the pharmaceutical industry like I was doing there,

Interviewer: You weren't bilingual enough?

Respondent C: I wasn't as bilingual in the proper way.

Interviewer: And what way is that? I've been trying to figure that out. What way is that?

Respondent C: Primarily French. So if I was speaking English with an accent, it would have been okay.

Of the challenges associated with the demographic changes in the community, some individuals have had particularly to confront their limited French skills, especially as their clientele has gradually changed over time.

Interviewer: So in the store, is that reflected in the store with your

clients that come in here?

Respondent LL: Yeah. My French, I, my French had to improve a lot. I had taken it all the way through school [in Ontario], and then never used it. But a lot of it came back, so now we've got clients that speak no English at all, and then we have others, they know that I'm working on my French, so I'll speak French, they'll speak English or you know, we'll play around like that [...] you end up speaking Franglais.

In conversation with another respondent, MM, he claimed French competence adequate to get by: "It's acceptable, for, it's okay for a business, French, I know what they want. Conversation I'm okay for a little while but then it, uh." He tries to do his ordering with Quebec suppliers in French, but the first time he initiates contact, sometimes he has difficulties and has to get someone to help out. Once the relationship is established, Respondent MM always makes an effort: "I try to know the name in French. I can order, I can place all my orders in French." But his ability to work in French does not cross over into his social life, and his leisure pursuits are conducted in English, and his travel destinations are primarily English speaking.

This group sometimes seems to have mixed feelings for their lives, enjoying the rhythm of their days, being active in community organizations, but recognizing that language reflects the declining influence of Anglophones in Quebec. They accept and acknowledge that they must make arrangements to "get by" linguistically, but even their best efforts strike them as somehow inadequate. This ambivalence about the possibility of being accepted as "bilingual enough" is a hallmark of this group. They have determined that their status as English speakers will affect how they are perceived by the wider Francophone society, and that their status will be lower here because they are not bilingual in the "right way" for Quebec society, that is, French first language. This ambivalence spills over into the

educational choices they make for their children, ensuring that they maximize their exposure to French, even if that is within the English school system.

Families whose occupation ties them to the land and the locality tend to especially recognize that their children need to be adequately fluent in French in order to successfully maximize the possibility that their children will have the opportunity to choose whether to remain in Quebec and possibly take over the family business, or to leave the province in search of other opportunities. All of the Anglophone families interviewed expressed a strong desire for their children to be bilingual, but in an additive fashion. Never did a parent express to me a desire that their children would lose their English competency in favor of the French language. The Landed Local families have the right to choose to have their children enrolled in either the English or the French school system. Within the local English school system, there has been a significant increase recently in the number of hours per week of instruction in French, and students there can also participate in a full immersion program, with French as the primary language of instruction. Landed Local families with children sometimes chose to enroll their children in this immersion program, but one parent. Respondent C, expressed reservations about her children's experiences there.

I wanted them to go to French school and what I saw I wasn't really thrilled with, what I heard from other parents who had gone through it. So I happily sent them to Milltown, it was called a bilingual program at that time. One day in English, one day in French [...] and I have to say, that, um, they don't have that strong foundation and I don't know exactly where they missed but I, I don't know if it was a continuity problem, but I know that [she] was in grade 4 before she really could read well.

Respondent C's narrative explanation about choosing the English school was quite different and more explicitly political at a different point in the conversation:

You know it seems like we made the decision to send the kids to school, to the English school, because we have the right to do that. It's a choice that we, that we have and the schools seem to be trying to make changes so that the kids are, are exposed to as much French as possible. They call it immersion and whatever, but I'm, I'm not certain how effective it actually is. I'm not sure they grasp either language well.

Clearly this parent feels ambivalent about how well her children have been served by the English language school at the pedagogical level, but she seems to attribute this more to the bilingual/immersion model than to a specific shortcoming of an individual teacher. At one point this parent articulates specifically that choosing the English school system is a political action on their part as they have the right to send them there, but in her first statement her concern seems to suggest some weakness in the French school system, even though she seems to now think her children have not been particularly well-served by the decision they made as parents to send them through the English school system. She had hoped that they would spend time and make friends with French speaking children outside of school, but this has not been the case.

Respondent C: ... we figured we would send the kids to school in English and then when they play soccer during the summer, when they ski in the winter, and when they're doing all of their other events hopefully they'll be exposed to a French *milieu*. That hasn't been the case, you know. It, it's always a possibility except it seemed that whatever they were getting involved, with just the numbers that year, there is as many English kids as French and it just, you know, but it's coming.

Interviewer: Do the kids mingle? Are they pretty good at mingling?

Respondent C: Yeah, I think they're pretty good. It depends.

Respondent B: They don't mingle with the French kids. They hate them.

Respondent C: No they don't.

Respondent B: Well, they don't

Respondent C: I think they are afraid of them.

Respondent B: Yeah, they wouldn't pay any more attention to a French kid than the man in the moon.

Respondent C: Mmm, I don't know. I think that's severe.

Respondent B: They don't. And the French kids on the teams, they're, they're just, now, they're in with their own little clique so it's

Respondent C: Yeah, I mean, that's a kid thing too.

Interviewer: Yeah, for sure.

Respondent C: Well, it's an adult thing too. It's a people thing.

Respondent B: I didn't know what a Frenchman was growing up.

Interviewer: Yeah?

Respondent B: I mean, there wasn't any here.

These parents disagree about the extent and cause of the divide between the French and English kids, but in the father's own experience, "there wasn't any here" goes a long way to suggest that the area has changed significantly during his lifetime, and that families are struggling to provide their children the tools they believe they need for success in a rapidly changing society.

In a different Landed Local family, the oldest son started in the French school system, but moved to the immersion program in the English school system fairly early on, a phenomenon observed in multiple cases in this category of respondent:

Respondent KK: Yeah, they're both in immersion. Wayne started out at, he went to uh, St. Thomas's in Milltown, in French. And he did very well. He just decided he, or I think we decided actually, he was, I think he preferred it as well. We sent him back to English school and uh, actually, he'd gone to daycare in French as well. Both boys had, so he did have a rudimentary knowledge of French. Yeah. They both do fine.

Interviewer: They managed?

Respondent LL: They do well in French. They're not fluent fluent, but they're better than we are, which is a start.

The recognition that their boys aren't "fluent fluent" echoes the concerns expressed earlier by a different respondent where Anglophones speaking French are not "bilingual enough" to be well-employed in Quebec, even though they are suitably bilingual for employment in any other province. This suggests a deep-seated uneasiness that their children will not be able to maximize their well-being if they stay in Quebec and maintain English as their first language. In spite of this, no respondent expressed an interest in or an effort to ensure that their children became French first language. There is a sort of parallel here with first generation immigrants in their sense of the value of maintaining their language in this place and a suggestion that it might as well be different from the experience of previous immigrants (Alba et al. 2002). The Anglophones here are convinced that maintaining their language skills over the generations provides economic, educational, and employment opportunities in the world beyond Quebec. While their social position in Quebec has transitioned to a lower status than they held prior to 1976, no Anglophone family in this study was prepared for their children to not learn English at home, because they believe that their English language skills ensure that the widest possible range of opportunities outside of the province.

In some cases, Landed Locals wanting to ensure the French competence of their children placed them into the French school system. However, the children of Landed Local Anglophone families never completed the entirety of their education in the French school system. This suggests a greater commitment to English competence than to French competence, perhaps as a form of hedging in terms of future opportunities. One Landed Local parent stated that the idealism of the teachers, combined with the captive nature of their audience, contributed to her eldest son's switching from the French school system to the English one during the provincial political turbulence of the late 1980's. To emphasize the frustrations she had with his time in the French school, Respondent A related one experience her son had in his English class:

I remember one time him coming home with some homework that was marked wrong because he had written something about hair in English, you know it was his English thing, and the teacher had corrected, 'hairs', and I had said, but it isn't hairs. I said that's not quite right, I'm sorry. I mean, because the poor ole, often the 's' is added and you know, and hairs, there can be hairs 's', but when they're talking about a head of hair, it's hair.

Essentially, in pointing out the error of the English teacher in the French school, this parent calls attention to a school system that seems to be failing to educate her son correctly in his native tongue. The implied question is, if the teachers were making such presumably basic errors in English language instruction, what other errors might they be making in other subjects? Obviously, no parent wants their children educated in a substandard way, and this story suggests that the French system is, in her opinion of her children's experience, somehow inadequate, so she felt her children were better served by switching them into the English system before they got to high school. The quality of either school system is not in question here; rather, it is the interpretation of the quality of education being provided to

the child of an Anglophone parent who feels physically tied by occupation to the province, and who wants to ensure the best chance of success for her children, both in their youth and for their futures, that is of interest to this research.

In general, the Landed Locals came across as torn about their choices regarding their children's educations. The more marginal and uncertain the future survival opportunities available to a specific family, the more likely they were to express a sense of the decline of English, as did Respondent KK:

Oh definitely. It's not going to be long, maybe, maybe the boy's generation that uh, is pretty much going to be all French I think, hunh?

The Landed Locals feel uneasy about language. Due to the nature of their enterprises, they feel especially bound to ensure adequate French competency for their children, without compromising their English language skills. The changing status of English speakers locally particularly impacts this group, as they have direct, regular daily experience of the new social hierarchy that privileges French speakers in Quebec. Thus, language production becomes a prime site for identity construction as well as experiences of social exclusion and inclusion.

9.3. Landless Locals

The ambivalence of the Landed Locals about the acceptance of their French skills as legitimate is somewhat more pointed amongst the Landless Locals, which is also marked by a similar generational divide. As a whole, this group seems most concerned with the everyday experience of language and how it affects their daily lives. Perhaps this results in part from the fact that they occupy a lower class status, by virtue of their often limited

economic resources. They too develop a variety of strategies to deal with language difficulties. Oftentimes an Anglophone Landless Local will rely upon the language skills of a Francophone partner, or a spouse with better French skills, or their children or their children's spouses. But these work-arounds are not always available, and when they are missing, there are implications for business outcomes and economic well-being.

Respondent J: How we survived as long as we did I don't know... We're reaching that point, where struggling by with not speaking much French wasn't doing us any good at all. We were kind of stagnating.

Respondent I: It was hurting us.

Respondent J: It was hurting us. So when they came along [their sons' wives] and were able to communicate properly with the people things took a turn for the better.

Or as Respondent H said:

'Cus when I have trouble here, I get the wife. She talks French, come on down honey and talk to these people I don't quite understand. Or most of the time, my friend was always up here, he was French. He'd help me out a lot.

Sometimes Landless Locals serve a primarily Anglophone population. In other cases, their clients are bilingual Francophones willing to speak English to achieve a particular outcome:

Interviewer: Are they more French or are they more English, that clientele?

Respondent N: Um, bilingual. Perfectly bilingual.

Because many members of this group struggle with French, they sometimes avoid certain places or choose destinations for their leisure activities where they can be certain of being

able to meet their own needs in English. Places where respondents struggle to get assistance are sometimes strongly disliked.

Interviewer: So English is accessible in Charlestown, and not so much in Grandville?

Respondent I: No.

Respondent J: That's right....

Respondent I: Oh yeah, I hate Grandville.

Another respondent, H, was equally forthcoming: "I find Grandville's disgusting." These folks do not enjoy interactions where the lack of language skills leads to frustration or the inability to achieve desired outcomes, and in some cases, they identified specific towns and even specific stores as accommodating or not. Those places where they are certain to avoid language conflict become favored destinations, and these are sometimes in the United States:

Respondent I: it's so nice to be able to sit down and, uh, kibbutz with your waitress. Up here you just don't do it.

Interviewer: Yeah. It's just not the same?

Respondent J: Well, you can, for the most part, it's a communication problem. 'Cus neither her nor I are very bilingual.

Respondent I: I'm not bilingual at all.

Places associated with linguistic failures, demands that they perform in French, or where inadequate accommodations in English are available, create spaces where these respondents directly experience their lower status in Quebec, and understandably, that is not enjoyable.

The respondents in the above quotes are all over 50 and have resided in Quebec for their entire lifetimes. They express a general support for bilingualism, but it is a peculiar sort of bilingualism, which they explained as follows:

Respondent I: Everything, everything in the business is bilingual. At least, we try to make it bilingual.

Respondent J: And that's one of the things we stressed right from the start, that we were going to be bilingual. Not unilingual English, and not unilingual French. I know there's a lot of businesses that are strictly French. I think that's a mistake on their part, of course, it's none of my business. It's all the better for us. If you want to be that stupid, because you know, we're in North America here, and they aren't getting tourists just from Quebec. They come from all over, right, internet, we're national and international, and businesses who are dealing with the public should govern themselves accordingly.

Another formulation is based on an accommodation of the language of the client, possibly resulting from their own experiences trying to get help in their preferred language:

Respondent H: Somebody English comes in, talk English. Somebody French comes in, talk French. I'd have them all bilingual. Never mind this, going down to all these places you go to and nobody can say nothing in English. That's just annoyance, bunch of bullshit, for no reason at all. Just go in and both be bilingual and handle the customer in his language.

This accommodation approach is favored by younger respondents as well, both in their own shopping and in providing services to their clients:

Respondent K: And well, I'm English. I can get by in my French if I have to. I'm better when she's not around! But then I really have to try, you see, but when she's around, I don't really have to try because she's here.

Interviewer: Okay, so you sort of assist clients based on who you're

Respondent K: Oh yes, she'll serve everybody! If I don't have to speak French I'm all the happier, and I'm gonna do something quiet. I mean

if I have to, I will, but if you're trying to help the person and sell something, people really appreciate if you're doing it in their language.

Interviewer: Sure.

Respondent K: And that's fair. I understand that, so.

Respondent L: And they like it too if you do all your possible to talk in their language.

This in particular is important with English-speaking clients, according to one older respondent who provides services to shop owners.

Respondent O: It is, yea. They're all English owners and you do not make the mistake of walking into an English shop and talking in French to the English owners. Approach them in English.

Interviewer: But there's only one way to know that.

Respondent O: Yea, you learn from making cold calls.

Linguistic accommodation to the language of the client is common in the study area, but it can cause problems, especially if the Anglophone speaks French poorly and does not have an intermediary available to help smooth comprehension.

Respondent J: You know I first bought this place, we had a French family, didn't speak any English, he spoke English but she didn't, and I was doing my darnedest to speak French, so one day she was telling me a story and I and I faked it so much, I'd say, oh *oui*, oh *oui*, oh *oui*.

Interviewer: Then you got yourself in trouble, eh?

Respondent J: Exact! She was telling, either her mother had died or very deathly ill or something, and I, oh *oui*, ha ha ha.

Interviewer: Oh no! Oh no!

Respondent J: And her husband explained to me what it was, I was oh my! So from that point on, I was very careful.

The potential for miscommunication between Anglophones and Francophones in the study area can also contribute to bilingual Francophones feeling put upon to speak English, a situation that they might find disagreeable, just as some Anglophones feel angry about not being able to be served in English when they are clients.

Respondent O: Yea, no, because, uh, see, that's part of the those rules, sociolinguistic rules of accommodation, they're not established yet, they're not established yet, they're in flux, they're changing all the time, okay. So when a bilingual Francophone walks into an [Anglophone-owned] establishment, is he obliged to speak in English?

These comments often suggest a sense of exclusion to a degree from at least some aspects of society. Landless Locals do not want to be left out, particularly in their roles as consumers and businesspeople, and they feel that Quebec-based operations should endeavor to be able to serve them, as they attempt to serve their French-speaking clients, to whatever degree they are able, and through whatever means they employ, such as intermediaries. When their need (or desire) to be served in English is rejected in the marketplace, it reinforces a perception they have that Anglophones somehow are not welcomed or valued as customers by French-speaking Quebeckers. Inter-linguistic exchanges can be a site where exclusion might be felt explicitly, although exclusion is not solely the result of the linguistic capital of the persons included in the exchange, but rather of the array of resources available and activated to overcome limitations to linguistic competency on the part of either party. Inter-linguistic exchanges can provoke hostility in terms of accommodation on the part of either party; however, due to the current provincial legal status of French as primary in Quebec, the inability for English-speakers to get their needs met in English reinforces publicly and personally their lower status in Quebec society, an experience which they resent, particularly given the older generation's memory

of a time when it was imperative that Francophones be able to accommodate the needs of Anglophones.

Older Landless Locals often think that other Anglophones who speak French, especially those younger than themselves, speak it well.

Respondent J: But uh, Carol is totally bilingual. Matter of fact, there's French people that don't know she's not French.

Interviewer: Ah. Did she, was she raised French or?

Respondent J: To a degree I guess. Her stepfather, I guess, Daniel is French. But she didn't spend too many years with them I don't think.

Also, these older Quebeckers sometimes call attention to the fact that colloquial French is not the same as what they were taught in school.

Respondent H: I mean I, if it, I used to be really good at the school Parisian French.

Interviewer: Oh yeah?

Respondent H: Oh yeah, really good at it. But it's not the same French!

However, younger Anglophones without a long memory of a time when English speakers were dominant in Quebec society are often leery of claiming fluency. This might be due to failed interactions with Francophones in French, or an internalization of criticisms received by their French-speaking peers about their pronunciation, or other issues related to employment or educational opportunities.

Interviewer: How's your French?

Respondent N: It's good. It's not great, but it's definitely enough to get by.

When they do claim fluency, it is generally because they completed the majority of their education in the French school system. Some Landless Locals are coming around to French language education, but again are not poised to relinquish their English mother tongue. They almost always cite the ability to leave the province and find work in English-speaking Canada as a reason to guard their Anglophone status, although only one of my respondents in this category has actually done this. Bilingualism is clearly viewed as a valuable asset.

Respondent O: [...] and being bilingual is an asset. It's an advantage, and that was pointed out in the first year I was in business, when I was told by an Anglophone customer, an English-speaking customer, that if I wasn't fully fluent in English, I wouldn't have been in his home [...].

Interviewer: Oh my.

Respondent O: So, yeah, but it plays to my advantage.

Landless Locals who possess full competency in both languages are somewhat rare, but they are those who can be successful in the community, as they can move between the "two solitudes" which were claimed as a hallmark of Quebec society prior to 1976. I would argue that today's Quebec is not marked so much by two solitudes, but by a multiplicity of experiences of exclusion and inclusion, some linguistic, some educational, and many economic. But bilingual Anglophones might not be able to fully access the culture of either language group.

Respondent O: Yeah, and the Francophones think I'm Anglophone, and Anglophone thinks I'm Francophone. And I'm a linguist. I'm a, I'm a hybrid. I'm neither. I'm sitting between two linguistic chairs, neither 100% English or Francophone. And non-threatening to both. And so that's been an advantage to get in.

But sitting between two chairs is both uncomfortable and unstable. This respondent's self-identification as hybrid suggests marginality, being tolerated in both, but also rejected by both as a non-member. A position of marginality does not express full participation in society, and for Landless Locals, this may be as much an element of class as it is of language. This explicitly poses problems in terms of their children's education.

Those individuals who are not successful in school face limited opportunities, even in low-skill occupations. For example, one farm family's English first language hired man (a Landless Local who is not self-employed) is illiterate in both French and English although he speaks both well. As Respondent B explained, it was due in large part to the difficulties he had getting on in a French school in the 1960's. He said:

Yeah, they stopped him in French school as a kid back in the 60's when they beat the shit outta ya, you know, and it wasn't like it was in Milltown, it was in Rockville, and uh, so they fought their way in and out of school.

According to this respondent, their hired man might have been able to get a job at one of the two largest employers in the study area back in the 1970's or 80's, but now even the most menial of jobs filled by those employers requires that a job seeker be literate in at least one language, if not both.

Insufficiently educated Anglophones are not the only ones who have a hard time securing adequate employment in the area, but all Anglophones, at least according to these respondents:

Respondent C: You know we were talking about that and um, we

can probably count on one hand the people that we know who have really good jobs.

Respondent B: That are English.

Respondent C: That are English-speaking.

Interviewer: Yes?

Respondent C: We have a lot of friends who own and operate their own businesses, and they're, they're successful. And some are very, you know, varying from moderately to extremely, but actually holding a job, that is very very very few.

This employment situation, in conjunction with the limited English language post-secondary schooling options in the area, may contribute to the boomerang effect I observed amongst Landed Locals, where current residents who grew up in the area spend some time away studying and/or working, but eventually return once they have a degree of security in their career. Additionally, in order to survive in the study region, it helps significantly if a family or individual can draw on economic resources accrued by previous family members or elsewhere. In this group of respondents, the Landless Locals, we see particularly how the resources, or lack thereof, connected to their families' past generations contribute to their current survival strategies. If the resources your family had was a skill set, as opposed to capital, that is what you possess to carry forward. In general, this group consisted of older respondents, and none of the respondents under 40 had children, so language competence becomes another tool that can be encouraged to help ensure opportunities for the next generation.

Respondent H: My son's kid though is going to the French school, my granddaughter, and now I think he's going to take her out in a year or so. 'Cus he wants her to be perfectly bilingual in French, but it's like you say, they don't take English there til later on.

At the same time, these individuals do not want to see English devalued in the community, because the less demand there is for English services, the more marginalized they become.

9.4. Townies

The Townies operate businesses where they must be able to serve clients in both languages, and they frequently have staff who must manage across linguistic boundaries. In large part, this is due to the changing demographics of the study area. One Townie remarked, “Yeah, it’s more French now and I’m lousy at French and I just bungle along.” Like the other Local groups, they recognize the importance of being bilingual, and have ensured that their children, in the eyes of the parents, are adequately competent in French, even when their own French skills are not as sufficient as they would like. These young people often provide much of the bridge between their parents and their clients. The Townies greatly respect individuals they see as competent bilinguals, and they are generally accepting of accented English.

Respondent S: The thing is, it [nearby town] does have that kind of welfare mentality, but they’re neat people, because most of them are bilingual. Most of them are Francophone bilingual.

Interviewer: Which is pretty rare?

Respondent S: Rare. And the same with Tillerville. Tillerville is a unique town because they’re really bilingual and but they’ve got a real hillbilly accent, you know, like, real local accents when they speak English. I love it.

The greatest amount of linguistic frustration in this group was expressed not towards their clients, whom they are perfectly willing to accommodate (however imperfectly), but towards their suppliers, whom they feel strongly should be able to work with them in English, as well as their political representatives, of whom they expect the same.

Interviewer: Are you able to deal with them (suppliers) in English or do you deal with them in French?

Respondent S: No, it's French. When they get here, it's all French. The [...] rep, she'll speak English, the other ones are all unilingual French. And that's where, that's where I get lost, if it's anything technical or.

This Townie related an incident in which he contacted the newly elected member of parliament. When the member's staff responded to his message, left in English, the return phone call was not helpful: "So the unilingual secretary phoned me. She couldn't speak in English. She couldn't speak any English." This contrasted with his experience where provincial officials wanted something from him, rather than the other way around:

But they'll audit, they'll be bilingual when they audit ya. As a matter of fact, I had to wait for an auditor for Quebec, because he was the only bilingual one in the area.

They are not necessarily worried about language issues in their businesses per se, because they have witnessed the result of successful mutual accommodation amongst their staff:

Respondent T: So somehow they figured it out because René didn't speak English and Alan didn't speak French but they worked together for a long time.

Interviewer: So what's up with that?

Respondent T: Somebody's lying.

These apparently successful outcomes between unilingual English and unilingual French speakers could obscure any number of on the job dangers or potentially expensive errors due to misunderstandings, but the last statement reinforces the idea that the Townies seem to hold that if the language groups have a compelling enough reason to manage inter-

linguistic exchanges, they will develop an adequate system of information transmission. While they always try to serve their clients in the language chosen by the client, they feel that their suppliers do not offer them the same courtesy, and they resent that.

As a whole, because they recognize the need to grasp both languages in their business operations, they choose to ensure that their children receive an education that will maximize their bilingual competence. Their own limitations in French inspire them on this path.

Interviewer: Did you learn French before you came here or did you just pick it up?

Respondent S: No, no, no, and even, I took French at the university, it's a bit passive, big deal. And that's why we sent all of our daughters through French school. I said, they're not going to go through what I go through, they're going to learn French, and they knew English was and they still have friends from school, and now, you know, they're all bilingual now, and uh, the oldest, as a matter of fact, she's now taking languages at [...].

Interviewer: But they ended up at English university?

Respondent S: Yes they did. And they, we transferred them over in grade 7, because in the French school they'd send them to the regional school in grade 7 and that was a little young.

Interviewer: A little young, yeah.

Respondent S: A little young for, but in the English school, they wouldn't go until grade 8. So they could go for one year in the English school. This is, we have the choice. The Québécois don't have a choice.

However, there can be drawbacks to choosing this path, as we heard from the experience of the Landed Locals, which was repeated by this Townie respondent.

Respondent S: The thing is, their English writing skills were so poor that they had to re-learn it all in grade 7, or learn it all in grade 7,

which they did. That came fine, I mean.

But when respondents from this category discussed language and education, they criticized the political elements, rather than the results, perhaps because they had adequate human capital resources to ensure that their children learned fundamental skills at home.

Interviewer: And the English think the French school isn't very good, from what I've been told.

Respondent S: No. And well, Émilie has a father who speaks. She could hardly speak English at all. So she was restricted here, like, at least 25% of the customers are English. She doesn't speak English. I'm going, to Réal, what are you doing to your kids? Why are you putting your kid in that restricted economy now, geography? It's scary. What are they thinking? And these are bilingual customers, bringing their kids up only in French. My god. They have such a wonderful opportunity here.

So this group focuses on politics and potential outcomes, rather than current conditions. Like the other Locals, they want to be served in English by their suppliers, and whenever possible when they are in the position of consumers, but they emphasize that they and their children are privileged vis-à-vis language and education in the province. They believe that their children are better placed to choose their future career paths due to the bilingual skills their parents have intentionally ensured that they developed. Clearly the Townies view themselves, and their children, as better placed in the global social hierarchy than their Francophone peers. This group expressed little of the ambivalence about language education of the other groups of Locals, although they acknowledge their own frustrating experiences with inter-linguistic exchanges.

9.5. Conclusion

Locals have the privilege of a long history in the area. Their social networks allow them access to work-around strategies regarding language of which non-locals may be unaware or unable to activate. However, because they have a particular orientation to their choice of living in the study area, they may feel the most constrained to stay in the area, and hence may particularly feel unable to escape some of the pressures associated with their social status as speakers of English in a space where its legitimacy is contested. The Landed Locals and Landless Locals feel these constraints most acutely, and are particularly frustrated when they cannot be served in the language they prefer. All of them hope to ensure adequate language skills for their children, but the Landed Locals especially express concern about whether linguistic competence will actually allow their children to earn full recognition or equal social status to their Francophone peers. They see themselves as acting politically when they choose their children's education system, and many of their comments about language included comments about politics. This is understandable, as the Locals resided here throughout the politically tense years which witnessed the rising power of Francophone Quebec. For those who see themselves as particularly tied to this place, language conflict presents them with ambiguous choices, where outcomes are not wholly satisfactory, where bilingualism and identity as an Anglophone is promoted, while simultaneously contributing to a possible decline in status within the province. There exists a palpable concern amongst the Landed and Landless Locals about their condition, a sense not entirely shared by the Townies.

Chapter 10 - Language, Education & Identity: The People from Away

10.1. Introduction

Migrants to the study area have the least local knowledge, and what information they can easily access may be limited, partial, or skewed. Only over time, in the course of their self-employment activities, do these in-movers come to realize the full magnitude of the challenges they may face locally, be they economic, linguistic, social, educational, health, transport, or other. Their responses regarding language indicate a variety of issues, including but not limited to: inadequate French skills, inadequate access to intermediaries, insufficient availability of bureaucratic resources in English, inadequate access to information; emotional responses of avoidance, uncertainty and frustration; and other limitations to participation in the local economy. Some of these individuals are able to operate in a sphere similar to that of ex-patriots anywhere, where their circle only ever tangentially comes into linguistic conflict in their daily lives. Others struggle with language challenges every day. Some ignore difficulties, others embrace diversity and celebrate it, but generally only if they feel sufficiently competent as French speakers themselves, or if they can choose the terms on which they engage with it. When it comes to issues of language and identity, those who face the greatest challenges are immigrants to the area, and their experiences vary according to the group in which their configuration of social, human, and economic capital places them.

10.2. Dreamers

The Dreamers are the least likely, as a group in this study, to have adequate command of the French language. When they do speak French, their language is that of France and not of Quebec. They, much like unilingual Landless Locals, commonly express the frustrations

of having to communicate across the language barrier. Sometimes issues that arise may or may not be specifically related to language difference but rather a more general form of miscommunication. This group in particular believes that in order to facilitate their relocation to the study area, they must be self-employed. Working for someone else did not seem a possibility due to their limited or non-existent French skills.

Respondent EE: To me, when I started this business, it was a second thought for me, to keep me busy, 'cus there was nothing else I could do, being English-speaking. I couldn't go anywhere to work, and I'd never not worked.

This particular impression was repeated to me on several occasions by other non-respondents considering relocation as well.

Like the Landless Locals, the Dreamers find relief during their leisure time activities by seeking out sites where they are sure English will be widely spoken. However, they are sometimes reticent to directly acknowledge the degree to which language challenges them, although others are more willing to admit it.

Respondent Y: Well, it's, it's, it's not that any of this stuff is overbearing, you know what I mean, it's just a way of life in Quebec for Anglophones, so, you know.

Interviewer: That's right.

Respondent Z: I find it a pressure.

Respondent Y: Well it is a pressure. It is.

Respondent Z: I mean, like as soon as I cross that damn border, ahh.

Respondent Y: Yeah, when we drive into Vermont, we feel so much at home.

Respondent Z: I feel like I don't have to worry about, I don't have to

apologize to anyone, you know?

Respondent Y: You know, *petite peu de français, un petite peu.*

The uncertainty and anxiety surrounding the language of interaction suggested by this exchange serves to highlight the challenge facing Dreamers in the study area who do not feel that they have adequate competence in French. The majority of these folks are Canadians, often from outside the province, and, as such, they believe that they have no access to the subsidized language training programs offered to new immigrants to Quebec. This topic came up on multiple occasions throughout the course of my study. This apparent disparity influences Anglophone Canadians who move to Quebec to feel as if they do not benefit from the same resources for adaptation offered to international migrants or even study program sojourners from other Canadian provinces. It reinforces the sense of being treated unequally, and in a manner that serves to perpetuate the difficulty of becoming competent French speakers and successful members of Quebec society. This situation also grates on Anglophone Quebecers who want to upgrade their French skills, but who must do so at their own expense. In fact, language tensions and perceived competency have clearly influenced out-migration by Anglophone Quebecers in the past (e.g. Caldwell 1982), but that has not always kept them from returning to the province later on, as some of the Dreamers have.

Respondent W: [...] because when I left it was a little tense politically here you know. My French is so-so.

Interviewer: Well yeah, and then you got back here just before the referendum?

Respondent W: Well, it was '90 and I got off the plane, and we got a newspaper and it said, there was just Meech Lake, and mother and I said, oh what's that? Like, maybe it's a new resort, a controversial resort you know.

Interviewer: Of course nobody knew down in the United States.

Respondent X: That's amazing. They don't get anything, nothing.

Respondent W: And then, and then, it was happening all over again, all of that stuff. Because I did leave Quebec a couple of times because my French wasn't really as good as it should have been.

This pair of respondents has been in the study area the longest of any of the Dreamers, and because they have been able to survive here, they perhaps feel less defensive about admitting the degree to which language presents challenges. In other cases, there is a lack of desire to acknowledge the degree to which French language competence creates difficulties in their day to day living and business activities, as well as the uncertainty they have about whether challenges are linguistic or somehow related to non-linguistic competence.

Interviewer: Dealing with suppliers, is it difficult to deal with them in English ? I mean, how's your French?

Respondent Z: Uh, most of the people when it's dealing with the one distributor, we've run into companies that don't, they have some people that speak English but they're not really proficient with our language. And there are some errors that have happened with numbers or with ordering stuff, but it pays for, when you aren't, it's hard to say.

Respondent Y: Well I've got an imitation one [gesturing to bottle] here for you. And the thing is, when you don't have a cohesive uh, language thing, the nuances are missed. The fact is, we order only and forever and a day, we have ordered only real bacon bits. Why I get imitation ones, that's a little thing that blows me away.

Respondent Z: The thing is, that can be a non-language related fluke, like it's hard sometimes, it's hard to say.

Respondent Y: Except sometimes, it's uh, what I'm saying is that at the end of the day, the person didn't click. Didn't like generate an alarm somewhere, right?

This frustration runs below the surface, but it is a constant irritant. It resurfaces again in conversations about their interactions with the provincial authorities.

Respondent Z: I've found, I find it difficult, I find, the Bill, is it Bill 108?

Respondent Y: Bill 101.

Respondent Z: That if you are a business that's incorporated in Quebec, there's no obligation for your suppliers to put any correspondence and I get stuff in the mail and it's only in French, and I find that difficult.

Respondent Y: Big big suppliers too, like, uh

Respondent Z: They have no, they don't have to. The government has to, the forms have to be English and French, but any other suppliers, they don't even have to speak English. I find that a bit, especially with correspondence. Like if you need to write, you need to handle something,

Respondent Y: Like your entertainment license for example.

Respondent Z: Yeah, all the applications and stuff. They'll send it to you in English, but then you, it's hard sometimes to locate a person who speaks English on the phone, um, and then they'll forget, they'll send you stuff in French. It's like, what the hell, you know.

Respondent Y: Well, our entertainment license I think they've been, I think they still send that in French, even, but I think because of that, we had four or five return notes saying you know that's not enough, we still need this, and it's because we don't see the original, it's not in English, so we don't see it.

Interviewer: Right, right.

Respondent Z: Sometimes you feel like there's a game you have to play, like you have to be someone who's better in the language in order to be dealt with faster, or you know.

In spite of this, these respondents preferred to focus on the interpersonal aspect of inter-linguistic exchanges, in a sense downplaying the systemic aspects of the differential

treatment of Anglophones and Francophones doing business in Quebec in terms of requirements of accessing bureaucratic information and resources.

Respondent Z: [...] The health inspector actually is, he said to me, you know, we're not under any obligation to speak English to you. And that's hard to deal with. The guy goes, well, it's a different person every time, but we have had one guy a couple of times, but

Respondent Y: But they don't actually

Respondent Z: They fill out their reports in French, and they say, you know, you can fax Quebec City if you want an English translation of this, so it's a lot of steps.

Respondent Y: Yeah, they make it difficult.

Respondent Z: And it's hard.

Respondent Y: But in saying that, it still comes down to a person, I mean, when they arrive. So if you can be their friend, you know, they wouldn't, they're not going to pull that on you, but they will, and they reserve the right to, and I'm sure they will, especially those guys, they're pretty powerful.

This acknowledgement of the fear that these business owners feel towards the power wielded by provincial officials suggests just how marginal this group is. Since their interactions with the government are often fraught with anxiety related to language, this group attempts to limit their interactions with officials, and as a body, tends not to seek out bureaucratic or other institutional resources which might support their economic endeavors.

Similarly to the Landless Locals, these business owners consciously make an effort to accommodate the language of their clients, even though they may be quite limited in their abilities to do so. And as they try to accommodate their clients, some of their suppliers try to accommodate them:

Respondent Y: Like our supplier is in Grandville, and they have, they have a couple of good people that speak

Respondent Z: Roger, well, yeah, I mean they did that on purpose

Respondent Y: Roger. And Suzette speaks English.

Respondent Z: not hired them, but they decided he'd be the one to take our orders...

While apologetic for their less than fluent skills, Dreamers also often downplay how this might factor into their business success.

Respondent Z: And I uh, I mean, I would hand out menus, and I usually, I usually follow the customer's cue. If they speak French to me, I speak French to them, speak English, I speak English, so. And I speak in French as much as I can, and if I get to the point where I can't explain I say, do you mind if I explain in English?

They claim that clients meet them halfway, but they fail to consider how this violation of the client accommodation norm might not help them in their business operations.

Additionally, self-assessment of French skills varied widely, with those who had been here longest being more modest in their self-assessments than more recent in-movers. For example, this long resident respondent offered a report of only passable proficiency:

Interviewer: How's your French now?

Respondent X: She's good.

Respondent W: It's passable.

Respondent X: She's not.

Respondent W: It's passable.

Respondent X: She says she's not, but she's very good, she's very good for things in the store like, maybe, no, but like you can, you

converse very well in the store. Maybe, but no, you're very good.

Respondent W: Well, I can get by.

While this recent transplant brags about her skills:

Interviewer: How's your French?

Respondent V: Actually, it's pretty good.

Interviewer: It keeps getting better, amazingly, yeah?

Respondent V: Yeah, it does. Yeah, I'm not searching for words as much as I used to. You know I'm, they come out of my, they just come out, you know.

In my opinion, this respondent over-estimates her competence in the above passage. As a non-native speaker of French myself, I would suggest that not searching for words is only a preliminary step towards adequate communicative competence, although I would equate it with a reduction in the stress involved in inter-linguistic exchanges. This variation in skills assessment crops up regularly throughout the group of Dreamers, suggesting that self-assessments of competence and actual competence may in fact be related to the clientele served, whether the clients can accommodate the English-speaking business owner, and the business owner's perception of success in sales interactions, as well as the percentage of clientele willing or desiring to speak English. Over time, I would suspect that those operations unable to meet the linguistic desires and needs of their clientele would find that this effects their business operations. Additionally, self-perceptions of competence likely influence operational decisions and satisfaction levels of business owners in the study area. However, given the consistent reports of not feeling fully able to confidently meet linguistic goals across most of the groups lends credence to the idea that

Anglophones as a group in Quebec occupy an inferior position, as language anxiety might be an indicator of social stress and exclusion.

Business owners reported that the clientele would shift in terms of language spoken over the course of the week as well, with the busier weekend period marked by more French speakers than English. If the venue is busy enough on weekends to require additional staff, this hired help generally must have French language and English language skills.

Interviewer: Do you find it mostly French or mostly English? Or, what was yesterday like?

Respondent U: Yesterday was English. All English. And the weekends would be very French.

Interviewer: Yeah, well you get the Montreal people on the weekends and the local people on the weekdays?

Respondent U: That's right. More local on weekdays.

The Dreamers, with their generally school-learned French, also make a distinction in their ability to converse readily with French-speakers, as did the marginalized Landless Locals.

Respondent V: I have a hard time understanding some French too. Um, a lot of people from, like rural areas, I don't know, they have a different accent or inflection or whatever, and I have real challenges with some of them.

They report less difficulty with non-Quebec French speakers:

Respondent V: And the interesting thing is, here at, you know, like when there's quite a few people from France that come through here, and I can understand their French much more easily.

This group, while they want to be better able to work in French, finds the concept of schooling in French to be daunting. Members of this group were very curious about my

own decision to study in French, and some of them tried to identify other people they considered Anglophones who were pursuing higher education in French.

Respondent W: ...She worked for us once upon a time. And she had gone to McGill, and then she went and did her Ph.D. too, eventually, at the University of Montreal in French, in engineering.

Interviewer: Oh my!

Respondent W: And her mother, she's English, I thought, well, my heavens! And then Laura's niece is going to the University of Sherbrooke, she's taking her law degree in French.

Interviewer: Wow.

Respondent W: And she's Anglophone too! So, you know, you should form a little club.

In one case, the respondent's children had been sent to an immersion program in Ontario, so she considered them to be bilingual. The fact that she is unaware of the distinction in French proficiency made by those in the Local groups (i.e. English first language versus French first language), suggests that this group underestimates the depth of their exclusion from Quebec society, and that just learning the language to what is seen as bilingual proficiency by Anglophones might not be enough to overcome the social distinction of being Anglophone or Francophone within the wider community.

For the Dreamers, inter-linguistic exchanges become the site of significant anxiety, stress, and denial regarding linguistic adequacy, self-worth, and social inclusion in Quebec society. My formulation of the reasoning goes something like this: if I'm not adequately proficient in French, I'm less accepted as a full member of Quebec society (and it is harder for me to navigate the bureaucracy, so I avoid it, interacting with it only when problems arise, which might have been avoided with better language skills), so I do not want to

admit my insufficient skills, and if I do admit them, it is because I blame the school system for teaching me the “wrong” French. Additionally, the Quebec government heaps insult on injury by not providing equal opportunity to receive training to upgrade my language skills vis-à-vis new immigrants. The longer I am here, the more willing I become to admit the limitations in my French skills. The Dreamers, although they have fully chosen this experience, occupy a linguistically precarious position and lack the depth of social networks which might help them to more successfully pursue their endeavors. This group might disproportionately account for the high rate of turnover in the Milltown business district retail district; however, this study cannot confirm this with certainty as it was not designed to do so. Additionally, because of their greater linguistic viability in other provinces of Canada, they seem the most likely of all of the groups to re-locate outside of Quebec if their businesses are unsuccessful, as was anticipated by one Dreamer interviewed.

10.3. Ex-urban Refugees

The Ex-urban Refugees include individuals who have lived in the study period for a significant period of time, as well as those who are more recent arrivals. These folks have a variety of opinions and attitudes towards language, often congruent with their age or experiences outside of the study area, but they are committed to ensuring that their children and grandchildren, if any, have adequate competency in French, and in this way they closely resemble the Townies and Landed Locals. Additionally, they experience dilemmas related to language on occasion, and have a variety of strategies in place for dealing with them, including refusing or losing the business of clients who speak only French. Like the

Dreamers, they often struggle to identify the caliber of French spoken by others, as well as generally express an appreciation for the bilingual environment, although not universally.

The generational experience of living through the shift in relative importance of French and English has marked the oldest of these respondents.

Respondent CC: Walking down the street [in Montreal] with him, walking down the street and I said to my grandfather, 'there's a sign that's in French'. And I said, 'how important is it to speak French Grandpa?' And he said, 'it's not important to speak French. Right, because all the French people speak English.' Now listen, think of the time, okay? It's nineteen forty-two, forty-three and I got to tell you that, whoa, okay, but it didn't mean that much to me. Just, that's the way it was. Then we moved to Texas. And we moved back to Montreal and it wasn't important for the Anglo group to speak French and it wasn't until my early business years that I thought, oh, I'm missing out on something and I attempted, not wholeheartedly, but I enrolled at Berlitz.

What strikes me particularly about this passage is that formerly the French population needed to be bilingual, and now it is the Anglophones who see a need to be bilingual. This transition clearly indicates that the Anglophone group has been relegated to a secondary position in the province, at least off the island of Montreal. Now the Anglophones must accommodate the Francophones, as the Francophones once had to accommodate the Anglophones, and if they fail to do so, they will be less economically successful. This version of the rule of accommodation indicates the shift from majority to minority status on the part of Anglophone Quebecers.

The Ex-urban Refugees have moved to the study area either directly or indirectly from Montreal. As city people moving to the country, their norms and expectations deviate from those of the Locals. They often appreciate dimensions of bilingualism that extend beyond

communication competence for business, which makes them somewhat more like the cosmopolitans to be discussed in the following section. However, their long history and personal experiences with the changing linguistic landscape over their lifetimes has resulted in fairly strong political opinions about the importance of English language maintenance, even in the face of support for bilingualism, as the following long exchange illustrates.

Respondent CC: But with our daughters, one of them we sent to French school. She is fluently bilingual and when she speaks French, you have no idea that English is her mother tongue. None whatsoever. And I rely on her a lot... our older daughter is bilingual, not as fluent, but she'll just pitch right in and start.

Respondent DD: It's not a problem. The kids now

Respondent CC: It's not a problem.

Respondent DD: know how to, whether they go to English or French, they come out bilingual.

Interviewer: And they'd have to be to stay here, right?

Respondent CC: Well, I had a debate many years ago with one of my former partners. 1978. Robert, who was really a separatist in disguise, nice guy,

Respondent DD: No he wasn't.

Respondent CC: No, he was happier than a pig in shit about Bill 101 [...]. I said to him, Robert, it's going to be the downfall of the French Canadian Québécois situation. Ah no no no no. I said, Robert, I'll tell you what's going to happen. Your children cannot go and learn to speak English until they're much older. My children can do one of two things. They'll learn French right away when they're in grade three and if that doesn't satisfy me, I'll put them in French school. Guess who's gonna be bilingual?

Interviewer: There you go.

Respondent CC: And guess who's gonna get the top jobs? The ones who are bilingual. And it, it's all the Anglos who are bilingual, guess where the hell you are again? Right back there, sawing wood, bringing water,

herding the sheep.

The explicit privileging of bilingual Anglophones over unilingual Anglophones or Francophones in this long extract serves to further highlight how this respondent still seeks to find a way to imagine a prosperous future with a dominant social position for his children and grandchildren. The irony of course is that in this research, the respondents herding sheep and hewing wood are Anglophones, and bilingual ones at that, which suggests that this respondent is out of touch with the younger Locals who lack the depth and breadth of resources this particular individual is able to activate.

Education of their children in French remains a priority in general for those Ex-urban Refugees who have children, and even for those who do not who expressed an opinion on the issue. These respondents value living in a bilingual area of Quebec, and want to ensure that their children will have the opportunity to be successful if they remain in the province. Furthermore, they argue that bilingualism gives them an advantage in terms of occupational opportunity even within the province.

Respondent AA: And I, if I had a child there would be no question whether I would send the child to French school and I can't understand why anybody sends their kid to Milltown School. Even if the curriculum or something is superior or a bit better or whatever. Whatever, I'd say for crying out loud, my kid will at least learn French.

This respondent makes further comments based on time spent elsewhere in Quebec, which supports the earlier extended comment regarding the advantage Anglophone bilinguals might have over their Francophone peers:

Respondent AA: [...] when we would have these things, and I'd be, for politeness, going from English to French, the English kids of

course understood everything and the French kids would ask their, the English kids, 'what's that? What'd she say, or what did she say?' and that was a really interesting social study to me.

There are degrees of French competence, and the study area, with its high concentration of Anglophones, does not necessarily create an atmosphere where Anglophone kids attending the French language school will succeed in developing full bilingualism.

Respondent AA: Now, out here, but there, the English kids who were in the French school became more French.

Interviewer, Sure, yeah yeah.

Respondent AA: I mean, out here a big percentage of St. Thomas is English kids, but they seem to, I mean this is just my observation from that history, is they seem to have more trouble getting all the English kids to speak French on the premises, etc., you know. I, I think there are some on the, oh yeah, of course there are some kids who are going to do it more readily than others but I think, um, again, 'cause in Saint Sauveur, once you got out of the school, most everything was French.

This group recognizes how unique this region currently is in Quebec, but there is not necessarily an expectation that it will always remain this way, nor is remaining unilingual viewed as a positive thing by Ex-urban Refugees, even though they see that it is possible, and some of them choose to only work in the language in which they are comfortable.

Respondent AA added:

And here you can live your whole life here and never speak a word of French.... I still am amazed how many English people, how, I wouldn't say stubbornly English they remain, but they've just managed to remain English, you know.

The members of this group have often had previous successful careers elsewhere, and the occupation with which they busy themselves at this point in their lives often has less to do with ensuring their livelihood than engaging their energies and interests, particularly for

the older respondents in this category. Because of this, they can afford to be picky in regards to language issues.

Interviewer: Now, your clients are all English clients or you've French clients too or a mix?

Respondent II: I don't care what they speak as long as they speak English. I don't speak French. I don't want to read French, French financial statements. I'm not trying for business.

Additionally, their businesses also can engage the services of bilingual staff or younger family members with French competency to help resolve any language related difficulties that might arise. However, this does not change the fact that they express deep-seated inferiority related to their weaknesses in French, when they don't feel comfortable with their French skills.

Respondent DD: I have Lily who works for us who is English but quite bilingual. My daughter speaks French and I've said, don't make me deal with clients, please.

Interviewer: 'Cause now they're more French so it's harder for you?

Respondent DD: Yup. And I will tell you, when I answer the phone and I have a French client on the phone, I'll say *juste une minute, s'il vous plait*.

Interviewer: And you change it to somebody else?

Respondent DD: But if there is no one there I say in English, I'm sorry I don't speak French. And before, very often before I can say but I'll have someone call you back because I can take a number in French, they hang up on me [...]. Many times, I would say many times I've said, but I will also tell you that many French people also switch to English. Oh, that's our problem. But when they hang up, oh the shame, oh my god the shame, the shame!...I've lived in Quebec, for years I've said, well, I grew up in Ontario, but that only works for so long. There is no excuse.

Interviewer: But it's quite hard to learn, especially as an adult.

Respondent DD: I have a problem. I've taken courses, as he has, it's like a mental block.

Interviewer: Oh, it's hard.

Respondent DD: And I'm not a stupid person, but my French is terrible.

Members of this group who have developed a comfort level with their own French skills have a hard time connecting with the shame experienced by the respondent in the preceding excerpt, usually because they made a decision earlier to embrace the language challenge. They lack sympathy for those who struggle with language issues and they express puzzlement about the experiences of monolingual Anglophones.

Respondent AA: Um, Simon, my partner, who we've been actually living together physically living together for two years. His name is Simon Dubois, but he is English. His father was French Canadian and his mother was British. But his father left when he was seven and so the household language was obviously English. So he, he has three older siblings. Um, none of them really speak French. I mean, he can communicate with his customers with all kinds of, with every grammatical error in the sentence but I mean he's still, you know, kind of thing. Pronunciation's nowhere, anyway. But it must feel weird to have a French name and not be able to speak French? I always think that must be a little strange.

Her comment about having a French surname and not being able to speak French struck me, as an American, as interesting. In the United States, family surnames rarely indicate that the individual has linguistic competence in the language associated with the ethnic or national origins of the name. For instance, many residents of neighboring Vermont have ties to French-speaking Quebec immigrants and French surnames (frequently anglicized in pronunciation); however, very few of these people maintain the language of their ancestors for any substantial length of time. However, in Quebec, surnames, while they offer a clue to origin, cannot be substituted for certainty regarding mother tongue. Furthermore, with

two widely spoken languages available with historically separate residential and occupational spheres, going from one language to the other, trading unilingualism in one language for bilingualism and eventually to unilingualism in the other language over the course of generations, remains a possibility. However, given the consistent emphasis in the study area on the importance of English beyond the borders of Quebec, I do not anticipate any widespread local acculturation of mother tongue English speakers to the point of becoming unilingual French speakers, although bilingualism remains a desirable solution for Anglophones residing here, especially if both Francophones and Anglophones develop skills in both languages.

10.4. Connected Cosmopolitans

This elite group values language skills. In general they find their own linguistic competence in French to be less than what they would like, but it presents no real constraints to their behavior or economic pursuits. They can recognize accommodation on the part of others, but tend to assume that they can conduct their affairs in English. In the following exchange, my respondent off-handedly stated that all of her clients were English, because she speaks English with all of them. However, upon further consideration, she realized that was not quite the whole story.

Interviewer: Do they all speak English?

Respondent G: Oh, it's all English.

Interviewer: It's all English, yeah.

Respondent G: Oh, René, René's French.

This offhand acknowledgement of the bilingualism required by a client can be contrasted with the norm of accommodation to the language of the client as expressed by all of the

Local groups. Another Cosmopolitan, Respondent Q, who did not grow up in Quebec was more concerned about her limited French skills, but chalks up her experiences with inter-linguistic exchanges not to her own status, but to the nature of the community in which they live.

We deal with a lot of people and language is never, I was quite nervous, um, going into that, into serving the public with the Auberge. Especially the Auberge 'cus most of the, certainly 75% of our clientele were French and it was never a problem. It was a wonderful opportunity for me, actually, to speak French, and the same with the store. Um, I, people correct us on the sandwich board now and again, when I misspell something or you know, but it's all done in good humor. It's just a non-issue really. We're very fortunate, and that may speak to the community or say more about the community than anything else.

At the same time, this respondent did expect that she would be served in English by her suppliers, as she would attempt to serve her clients in French, so the norm of customer accommodation gets echoed in this business, at the level of the supplier.

Interviewer: And how's your French would you say?

Respondent Q: Oh dear. It's not very good [...] I mean I, I speak to the customers and I, when I do, I speak French but I don't speak French very well so I prefer to speak in my own language [...] all of my communication yesterday except with customers would have been in English.

Interviewer: Oh, well. So that's convenient, eh?

Respondent Q: It's very very very good for me.

Interviewer: Yeah, and your suppliers are good about that?

Respondent Q: Yes. Well, you know, they're selling a product too. I mean, I'm lucky that they're, that they accommodate me. I felt badly about it, but that's the way it goes.

Unlike the Dreamers, the Cosmopolitans successfully locate suppliers that can and will work with them in their preferred language. That may be due in part to their financial resources, which allow them to select suppliers based on multiple criteria, including the ability to work with them in English. They did not express any of the linguistic frustration of the Dreamers. The closest experience related to me was anxiety associated with speaking French, and feeling slightly guilty that their French skills were not stronger.

Interviewer: And you did some of your school in French?

Respondent G: Yeah, just two years.

Interviewer: At St. Thomas and in Switzerland too I would think?

Respondent G: Yeah, yeah. And my French should be a lot better than it is. But I get along.

Interviewer: Well and that's the thing, eh?

Respondent G: And my kids went to French school.

Interviewer: They did?

Respondent G: Elementary. And then they switched 'em.

Interviewer: Okay.

Respondent G: So, that's, they speak with a much better accent than me.

Their children have all definitely had their early schooling in French, and on occasion even their post-secondary education. In some ways, this appears to assuage the slight guilt these elite parents feel for not being fluent French speakers. They admire the bilingualism of others, but do not need to inconvenience themselves particularly to either meet their needs or conduct business. These elite do celebrate bilingualism, and they like the cachet of

living in a bilingual area, especially since they manage to resolve language related challenges.

Interviewer: Are there any places in town that you think of as being particularly English friendly? Or places

Respondent Q: English friendly?

Interviewer: Yeah, where you can always get help in English.

Respondent Q: Everywhere.

Interviewer: Everywhere in Milltown?

Respondent Q: Yeah.

If you have adequate resources, language challenges are reduced to mere annoyances which apparently can be overcome with a minimum of effort or distress.

Interviewer: Did you do French at all in school?

Respondent Q: Yeah, I did a bit of French [in Ontario] and I took French courses at university as a minor, but, um, you know, uh, were you educated in French?

Respondent R: No, we had, I was in the English system [in Quebec] so we had French probably more than likely what you had.

Respondent Q: It wasn't very good.

Respondent R: But I learned mostly from working during the summers on construction jobs and things like that, and, uh, I was a ski instructor for a few years where I was on a bilingual team in the Laurentians.

While this group comprises only a small number of the total cases in the study, it is notable that both cases whose children reside with them in Quebec sent their children through the French school system, and in one of these cases, their eldest is completing tertiary education in French as well.

Interviewer: Your boys went to the Milltown school, the English school or the French school?

Respondent R: No, they went to the French school.

Interviewer: Nice.

Respondent R: Yeah, they still are. They went to French, they are

Interviewer: Your oldest went to [...]?

Respondent R: Yeah, and the youngest one is gonna switch to English and he's quite nervous about it, going into, going into an English school.

Respondent Q: Because he's gone to French school the whole time.

Respondent R: [...] Oh yeah, he can write in English, he, he's got no problems, but he, he's a little nervous about it.

These Cosmopolitans, with their elite status and access to significant economic resources accumulated by prior generations, have ensured that their children have the education and language competence to remain in a superior social position. The difference between the respondents and their children is the understanding that bilingualism will be the norm for the younger generation, and that while they can conduct their affairs in English, their children will be able to conduct their affairs equally well in either language. Unlike most of the rest of my respondents, the Cosmopolitans do not face many difficulties in terms of household survival strategies due to their linguistic identification as Anglophones. This suggests that class plays an important role in how language is experienced by Anglophone Quebeckers.

10.5. Conclusion

The configurations of resources available to individuals, be they economic, social, linguistic, educational, etc., apparently contribute to how language is experienced in a contested political context. Those who have the least resources express the greatest difficulties and frustrations associated with resolving inter-linguistic exchanges. Those with the most stable configurations and greatest resources live language as a colorful backdrop to their experience, to be appreciated or avoided as best meets their needs. For those in the middle, who see themselves as particularly tied to this place, language conflict presents them with ambiguous choices, where outcomes are not wholly satisfactory, where they protect and promote their status and identity as bilingual Anglophones, even while doing so may simultaneously contribute to a possible decline in status. Language alone does not act as a major social marker across social classes; however, it is a site where status gets expressed, and respondents experience it as one of a number of complex mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion. Unlike the suggestions made by Lamarre et al. (2002), it is impossible to say that across the board there is a declining salience of language as a component of identity in the study area; rather, it confirms the suggestion by Ibrahim & Galt (2003) that contextualization of research in what might be considered ethnic enterprises reveals much more complex social relations than might be uncovered through different methodologies.

Chapter 11 - Emergent Identities in Post-Agricultural Rurality

11.1. Introduction

Our journey past the small enterprises that help shape the social landscape of one part of Quebec's Eastern Townships has led us beyond a simple rural/urban divide. Instead, we have encountered a range of individuals, with multiple histories, an array of capital resources, be they human, economic, or social, employing a variety of methods for meeting their complex needs within the study area, living in diverse settings and expressing themselves in a shared language, but without evidence of a shared ethnic or cultural experience. Do the analytic framework and the analysis set forth in Part III of this thesis answer the main goals established at the beginning?

11.2. Answering Research Questions

11.2.1. The Border & Being Anglophone

The location of the research area near the border with the United States originally struck me as possibly economically and psychologically relevant to the people who live there. However, in my analysis of the data, proximity to Vermont is clearly not important to how they configure their household survival strategies. The exception to this is that it provides a potential outlet for unilingual Anglophones to relieve the psychological and/or emotional stress related to living their daily lives in a potentially demanding linguistic environment. In this sense, the border serves to reaffirm the identity of "Anglophone" as valuable, perhaps as a parallel to Verini (1996), who emphasizes the context-dependence of identity. Language related stress, in this instance, encourages individuals to seek relief in finding a place where they know English is dominant, and proximity to Vermont means this relief is

more readily accessible than it might be elsewhere in Quebec. This perhaps adds value to this specific location when Anglophones are choosing a residential destination in Quebec. It also serves to reinforce their desire to maintain their English language preference as the border crossing experience itself provides ready evidence of the benefit of speaking English fluently. If anything, conceiving of the United States as a refuge from language-related stress in Quebec seems more related to the literature on cultural shock and sojourner adjustment strategies (e.g. Furnham 1997; Ward et al. 2004) than to the literature on border communities (e.g. Hidalgo 1995; Sturgeon 2004). The categories developed for this analysis shows how this varies by identity group. Comments along this line came not only from immigrant Dreamers and Ex-urban Refugees but also from Landless Locals and Townies, which suggests that language is experienced as a mechanism of social exclusion by Anglophones at multiple class levels. In this sense, I think the data supports the idea that the border is valuable to certain Anglophone residents in affirming their identity, but not in the economic dimension I had anticipated and previewed in the literature, but rather in a more psychological manner.

In this context, language acts simultaneously as a mechanism of social exclusion and as a mechanism of social inclusion: in particular, English is presented as an important tool linking Anglophone Quebeckers to the larger Anglophone economy, while the use of English simultaneously works against some Anglophone Quebeckers in ensuring their sense of membership in the larger Quebec Francophone society, especially for those below the level of social elites, but this varies by what category an individual occupies. As a mechanism of social exclusion, language can therefore contribute to the minority experience.

11.2.2. Being Minority

The experience of being a minority in and of itself creates a social dimension which majority members are unable to fully access. The question was not just why do individuals choose self-employment or entrepreneurship, but rather, how do these choices get reflected in the web of social relations that come to characterize a place, and in what social spaces these relations are created, nurtured and developed. The answer this research provides is that self-employment in the study area depends much upon access to resources, especially economic resources; for a minority group member, these resources are generally accessed through the activation of the social network of the entrepreneur, rather than through government programs or traditional commercial sources. The more other people in a social network are familiar with self-employment, local conditions, and the individuals seeking funding, the better prepared they may be to invest in these enterprises. Perhaps the best theoretical fit in terms of describing these Anglophones as a minority group comes from Uzzi (1999), who explored how financing for firms is tied to social networks and how conventional sources of lending are less accessible to minorities and women. In this study, the increasing difficulty of securing traditional forms of credit suggested by respondents across all categories perhaps provides the best economic evidence that this group holds minority status here, whereas the clear statements about avoiding places where English is not spoken and preferring English language destinations reveal the internalization of language as a marker of social exclusion. The intensity of this internalization appeared lower for cosmopolitans than for individuals in other groups.

11.2.3. Ethnic Entrepreneurship

One of the initial goals of this research was to explore the appropriateness of fit of previous research on ethnic entrepreneurship to understanding the experiences of a minority group based on language rather than ethnicity. Certain groups developed in the course of my analysis do suggest similarities to some of this literature, while others clearly do not. For instance, the Dreamers, as immigrants to the study area, with limited language skills, a constrained social network, lack of local knowledge, and dependence on a specific clientele, vaguely resemble the immigrants who turn to self-employment as a survival strategy in Marger & Hoffman (1992). At the same time, they could be seen as attempting to exploit their cultural knowledge of “people like them”, who they imagine their clients to be, which would suggest a superficial affinity to the Toronto-based Portuguese immigrant real estate agents discussed in Teixeira (1998). As for self-employed minority individuals exploiting a ethnic (or in this case, linguistic) niche as suggested in Spener & Bean (1999), only the Ex-urban Refugees seem to be able to focus on providing their professional skills to a linguistic co-market, should they so desire, and few of them choose this option, whereas most respondents across all categories endeavor to serve clients in either language, either directly or indirectly through intermediaries through the norm of language accommodation of the seller to the buyer. These immigrant-based analyses do not seem as convincing when considering the diversified income producing activities of the various types of non-immigrant Locals, be they Landed, Landless, or Townie. Furthermore, the Cosmopolitans in particular seem to lie wholly outside my readings on the literature on ethnic entrepreneurs, and I find no convincing explanation for their economic undertakings from this quarter, but their presence lends credence to the need to look at class as one way of explaining local social and economic configurations.

The experience of the Locals seems to have much more in common with Sanghera (2002), who argues that small businesses are embedded in a mesh of social relations and economic constraints which better explain how household survival strategies operate in a specific context than ethnic or cultural arguments. While the economic activities of the Townies, Landless and Landed Locals, as well as the Dreamers, possibly seem consistent with the structural nature of self-employment in traditional economies as discussed in Steinmetz & Wright (1989), this explanation strikes me as inadequate to explain the phenomenon of the Ex-urban Refugees, who often employ technology to minimize the constraints of distance in serving a dispersed clientele with their professional skills.

While these Anglophones do not necessarily constitute an ethnic group in the sense of a belief in shared historical origins, they do seem to constitute a language-based minority group. The literature on ethnic entrepreneurship offers a reasonable explanation for some, but not all, of what I observed. The adequacy of the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship when applied to this case of asymmetric language relations suggests that there are limitations to its theoretical utility particularly when members of the minority group in question are marked by significant differences in social, economic and human resources. It is possible that research on ethnic entrepreneurship can be extended to non-ethnic minorities (or to residential concentrations of any sort of group that exhibits a degree of resource homogeneity); but these extensions are less than compelling in this specific situation.

11.2.4. Place & Rural Sociology

This place has features that are relevant to the lives of the people who live there that are more significant than its position near the border with the United States. Some of the features that matter include its physical geography, climate, waterways, infrastructure, human-mediated landscape, recreational and tourist resource development, distance from urban environments, and its housing stock. More importantly, the inhabitants and their economic and social activities create the human community in the physical space.

Social spaces can bring people together or reinforce existing distinctions amongst groups. The different organization of daily travel destinations by members of different categories suggests that space serves to keep some groups of Anglophones separate from others in this area, especially Landed and Landless Locals when compared to all other groups. The notion of locally owned commercial enterprises as “third places” which provide an institutional space for informal social life (Oldenburg 1991), links the power of place with the existence of locally owned, locally operated enterprises which provide not only economic resources for the operators, but also physical and psychological spaces for social engagement by the wider population, suggesting that vibrant, diverse, small-holder enterprises might hold the key to a locality’s success or decline (Putnam 1993; Tolbert et al. 1998). While the diversity and vibrancy arguments seem to apply, these third places can also serve as indicators of inclusion or exclusion from particular social segments. Third places alone do not resolve the different needs or expectations amongst a Landless Local, a Dreamer, and a Cosmopolitan. Furthermore, the notion of “local” ownership is problematic in that a shop in Milltown owned by a Dreamer residing in town is not seen as “local” ownership to the small Landless Local service provider living in a small periphery village.

Because of its focus on place, rural sociology has informed my efforts here. Early community studies in rural sociology focused on how differences in the organization of economic activity resulted in differential outcomes of social well-being by geographic context (Goldschmidt 1946; Goldschmidt 1947). Flora et al. (1997) and Tolbert et al. (1998) explored how localized capitalistic endeavors and civic engagement influence socioeconomic well-being, but found that situational factors and network diversity were correlated with greater well-being. In my study, I considered data on the connections individuals had with community organizations, their utilization of government resources, how they financed their operations, and where they spent their money. The picture varied tremendously by the respondent's category, and even more so when their place of residence was considered. These findings indicated that Landed and Landless Locals are less economically engaged as consumers in the local market, but, particularly in the case of the Landed Locals, are more resilient in terms of income sources than the Dreamers, who are more economically engaged locally in both income and consumption. Ex-urban Refugees tend to spend more in the study area, but may garner a greater percentage of their income from away, perhaps an inverse of the situation of Landless Locals. When we consider the data on the connection between civic engagement and category, the notion that civic engagement is tied to socioeconomic well-being does not clearly seem to hold in this place, although the high degree of network diversity within the population, as well as culturally defined attractive features of this context seems to partially support their arguments regarding community vitality. However, I did not include a specific measure of socioeconomic well-being in my research, so I cannot entirely affirm or reject their arguments. Also, the activities of some of the Dreamers to establish a new downtown

business development group indicates that even high levels of civic engagement does not ensure successful outcomes at the level of the individual, the group, or the community.

11.2.5. Social Capital

Small entrepreneurial businesses and self-employed individuals do seek each other out for commercial or social exchange, and same language group speakers are favored for these interactions. The density of social and commercial networks which then result may therefore hold some explanatory power for a particular sort of entrepreneurial vitality. It has been argued that a place can perpetuate its condition through the density of its social ties (not just necessarily their nature as weak or strong) and the proximity of physical nodes where these ties can be made (Granovetter 1985). This would support arguments, like Uzzi (1999), that indicate that social trust plays a role in concentrating ethnic (and language group) entrepreneurial activities. Cases indicating that financing or clients came through social network contacts provide evidence of the role of social ties in the study area. Additionally, the tendency of respondents to refer the researcher to similarly categorically situated individuals demonstrates that these links do not flow evenly across different groups, so that the resources associated with social capital in one group might vary dramatically from that available to individual in another category, and which may have significant downsides, consistent with what others have argued (e.g. Lévesque & White 1999; Portes & Landolt 1996). While this research was not designed to elicit comprehensive information about social networks and social capital, data was generated that hints at the social capital available to and activated by various respondents. The variation in ties observed amongst Anglophones compared with those between Anglophone and Francophones might further lend credence to this notion of social trust

being easier to establish amongst same mother-tongue speakers, but was not a focus in this research.

11.3. Building Theory for Complexity

In coming to understand my respondents, I had to integrate complexity into my analysis. Many forces affect the opportunity structure in which they meet their needs. These forces include their different resources: human, economic, linguistic, familial and social. Specific examples of these resources include: length of time in the community, educational background, work experience, time spent outside the study area, French language skills, access to land resources or accumulated family assets, and historical connections to the local area or more distant places. Additional factors in this case study were local economic sector development, wider regional, provincial, national, and even global economic trends, as well as place-related pull and push factors, including the politics of Quebec and Canada. These factors help construct the web of opportunity in terms of who you know, what resources you can tap, and whether or not you will be able to create a satisfactory survival strategy and fulfill your lifestyle ambitions in a particular place.

The results of my inquiry strongly support the idea that economic activity and social relations are linked, that the economic decisions made by individuals are not made in a vacuum, but informed by myriad factors not all of which are economic at base. Some of the factors clearly important to the development of our household survival strategies include: the specifics of place; human capital; social capital; economic resources; and the available opportunity structure. In some cases, self-employment seems a reactive choice to the limited employment options available locally; in others, self-employment is more an

expression of personal preferences and pro-active choice in lifestyle. The study area is noteworthy in the diversity of capital, in all its forms, available to the Anglophone self-employed. This diversity suggests to me resilience, if not at the level of each individual, at least at the level of the entire study area. Such diversity also means that there will be different expectations and competing interests within the community, which some groups are more likely to be able to influence than others, and these include the divisions within the Anglophone population, so language does not necessarily serve as a uniting factor in relationships, even within a minority community.

11.4. Community Vitality

We leave the study area with the feeling that, should we return in twenty years, changes will have occurred, but some Anglophones will remain, and successfully so. The transitions revealed here do not suggest a singular decline, but rather, significant shifts in the social fabric of this place that will continue to play out over time, influenced by diverse forces.

Why am I left with the sense of change rather than decline, a claim that has been made repeatedly for over fifty years by others (e.g. Ross, 1954a; Ross 1954b; Caldwell 1980; Caldwell 1992; Stevenson 1999; Floch & Warnke 2004)? Utilizing an ethnographic approach over an extended period of time allowed me to observe the nuances in this population that might have been overlooked by employing a different methodology. Had I relied on aggregated statistics available through Statistics Canada, I too would have missed the characteristics which mark the diversity of the local Anglophone population, and I might have come to the determination that this is a community in decline. As it is, I see the

study area as a dynamic, evolving rural place with an array of economic activity, with many opportunities for some Anglophones, and declining opportunities for others, where language and identity connect, sometimes constrain, and otherwise shape the experiences of the residents.

11.5. Review of Findings

This research builds on the early work of Reimer & Shaver (1988), when they suggested that further research on rural Anglophones was needed. The information presented here also brings into question some research on ethnic enclave economies, while supporting Norbert Elias' emphasis on the importance of understanding the complex configurations of social life. Finally, and perhaps most interestingly, what emerges from the data is a complex notion of class that cannot be summed up by the economic activities of individuals.

11.5.1. Language effects

My community-based analysis offers one explanation for the complex dynamics of everyday realities for a linguistic minority, and how local populations develop their economic survival strategies under these particular constraints. This study suggests that the border-language nexus experience reveals fractures within a single language group, with evidence of generational ruptures, as well as fragmentation along the lines of social class for those who face language challenges.

Furthermore, the concept of a "language community" seems inappropriate when exploring the data. I much prefer the term "group based on a preferred language of expression" to

“language community”, due to the social connections inferred by the use of the term “community”. Just because the respondents speak English does not mean that they interpret similar social interactions in the same manner or share the same goals for the locality. Additionally, they lack an expression of linguistic unity in relation to other elements of their experience, particularly those connected to capital resources of all sorts.

11.5.2. Language & Economic Activity

Language competence in English and French contributes to shaping the array of choices available to individuals residing in the study area. The evidence does suggest that the choice of self-employment rather than traditional wage employment is related, at least tangentially if not directly, to the job market for Anglophones in the study area. There are elements of possible ethnic enclave effects in specific groups, which are most pronounced at the lowest tier of self-employed Landless Locals and Dreamers, which might have more to do with class than with language in particular.

Self-employment and ethnic or language group entrepreneurial patterns in the study area reveal underlying differences in the social reality experienced by the various status groups who share a preferred language of expression. These patterns suggest that the cleavages which exist within a superficially coherent minority group reveal differences in opportunity and resource access, as well as in the activation of these opportunities and resources, as they contribute to the survival strategies employed by households and individuals. The types of strategies employed vary dramatically by ownership of land, capital resources, educational resources, age, language skills and various other factors. There is no singular “language community” experience, but a wide range of experiences

that are only partially related to language, and more clearly connected to issues of economic class and status. However, language-linked social interactions reveal much about how minority status is experienced within the study area.

The concentrations of different types of entrepreneurial activity indicate that certain economic sectors and places can attract certain types of people, particularly if they are in-movers as opposed to native-born. This tendency may serve to perpetuate a specific market sector, whether or not it is a wholly successful long-term survival strategy for a particular individual or community. Additionally, these pockets of entrepreneurial activity are not necessarily financially successful; businesses which are started by those with some financial resources who are choosing a certain lifestyle with workplace proximity appear to be, in general, the least viable or most vulnerable to economic shocks over the longer term.

11.5.3. Identity/Minority Distinction

This research highlights the complex interplay of a multiplicity of forces in considering identity. Affiliations and similarities shift as we change the focus of analysis, whether these highlight place, self-employment practices, resource mixes, or an individual's relationship to language. Perhaps in a sense this result is predictable, in emphasizing that our configurations fluctuate, that the elements of identity that matter most are only important relative to those around us, and that in everyday practices we can observe the social construction, or the making and unmaking, of identity. But if my emphasis on complexity suggests the need for subtlety and sophistication in our consideration of the social world, and if doing so breaks down dichotomous, overly simplistic generalizations based on singular dimensions of identity, perhaps that will lead to a more nuanced and

subtle appreciation of shared and discrete human experiences. It is precisely these mixes of resources, be they human, social, economic, or other, which comprise us as unique individuals.

In considering minority groups, this research provides further evidence that no minority group is monolithic. Cleavages exist both between and within groups that have significance in regard to the opportunity structure and constraints experienced by individuals, and these elements shift gradually over time. People come to self-employment as a survival strategy through many routes, as evidenced also in Marger & Hoffman (1992). Thus, public policies informed by aggregated information about minority communities could be sensitive to the different ways in which individuals in such communities construct their daily lives. Research needs to account for the variety of experience within single minority groups due to age, education, social capital, mobility, human capital, and economic resources.

11.5.4. Class Issues

Alongside language, class emerges to possess a continuing, and perhaps increasing, significance in rural lives. According to a Marxist interpretation, all respondents could have been designated as members of a single class, the *petite bourgeoisie*, as they exploit their own labor in addition to holding some capital resources. However, the decision to engage in self-employment in a rural setting is far more complicated than an analysis that assumed class *a priori* might have suggested. Rather than comprising a single class group, respondents were marked by differences revealed through their opinions regarding language, opportunity, education, and mobility. In this case, the additional reference point

of local versus from away in terms of origin plays an important role in the social relations of the area, and it too is marked by differences associated with different levels of the various types of capital resources.

The distinction between haves and have-nots, insiders and outsiders, is not novel, but the fact that there are Anglophone outsiders moving into Quebec's countryside reveals how diverse the so-called "English-speaking Community" is, and how much of a misnomer "language community" can be. Speaking the same language does not mean we see ourselves as members of the same group. Public policy based on language group membership, ethnic group membership, national origin, or other broad social characteristic would be unsuitable for at least some of the intended recipients. There are several areas where policy could be made more inclusive, such as government service provision, language training programs, and education.

11.6. Possible Public Policy Considerations

Applying our understanding of the various categories to public policy development might lead to outcomes more attuned to the variety of local needs. For example, the accessibility of information technology plays a role in supporting certain sectors of economic activity in rural areas, but information technology does not come into play in all economic sectors. Wider availability of broadband connectivity might benefit those individuals whose clientele extend beyond the specific area, particularly the Townies and the Ex-urban Refugees; however, it is much less important for enterprises owned by Landless Locals delivering direct services. The various levels of information technology uptake further emphasize the distinctions amongst the groups. Public policies aimed at deploying assets to

ensure high-speed connections, while of use to local residents in many ways beyond economic production and consumption, may also serve to enhance the appeal of the place to potential Ex-urban Refugees, in that they might be able to pursue their careers at a distance from major urban centers.

All the groups, but especially the Dreamers, could benefit from more inclusive language practices at the level of bureaucratic resources; for example, the province of Quebec could initiate an automated program that ensures business owners receive all communications in their preferred language, without the business owners having to make repeated special requests. Such a development could reduce both the costs of doing business and of delivering government services to citizens.

Furthermore, given the current and projected demographic conditions in Quebec (Marois 2007), resources currently focused on developing youthful entrepreneurs should perhaps be expanded to include all Quebeckers, regardless of age, language or employment status, which might encourage longer productive working lives in the aging population¹. As a result, more aging members of the Landless Locals and other under-resourced individuals might be able to undertake new enterprises that contribute to the economy.

Finally, public policies in and of themselves will most likely not be able to combat the perception of discrimination on the part of bilingual Anglophone Quebeckers, especially the people from away who come to live in the countryside. Nonetheless, efforts increasing the accessibility of language training in French and English or low cost translation services

¹ A program like *jeune entrepreneur* has just come available recently in the study area to unemployed individuals between the ages of 54 and 65.

for small businesses might help ease the anxiety focused on language production by the Dreamers who find themselves confronted with hurdles of all sorts.

11.7. Suggestions for Future Research

This research could be expanded upon by conducting a similar study of self-employed Francophones in the area, or by considering those Anglophones who are unemployed, employed in regular employment, seasonally employed, receiving various forms of social assistance or pension payments, or who manage to secure their livelihoods through a mix of the above, plus informal economic activities. Such work could shed light on whether or not the complexity of responses of Anglophone small business owners are replicated by Francophones, or whether these responses are somehow unique to a linguistic minority, as well as explore household survival strategies which do not include self-employment activities as a primary income source. The categories of Landed Local, Landless Local, Townie, Dreamer, Ex-urban Refugee, and Cosmopolitan could be explored in other places with similar geographic and rural-recreational profiles. Such work could also determine which, if any, of the criteria I focused on, are important in diverse settings, although I contend that household survival strategies are always relevant, as are the local conditions under which households derive their survival strategies and the mix of resources and opportunities available to individuals within those households.

11.8. Concluding Remarks

Individuals experience complex outcomes and interpretations of their lives. No group, whether majority or minority, is comprised of individuals with identical experiences and mixes of resources. Within any criteria, some individuals will struggle more or less than

others with similar resources. When we shift the criteria of interest, be it language, ethnic origin, employment, local or outsider, or whatever human characteristic, the relative position of an individual vis-à-vis others may improve, decline or remain constant. In a situation of linguistic multiplicity, the variety of experiences of same language speakers, how language becomes more significant, or not, as a marker of identity when many languages co-exist, may contribute to friction in inter-linguistic exchanges. By pursuing research alert to complexity, we can derive a better idea of which elements result in specific individuals consistently coming out on the bottom or top of the social hierarchy, develop policies relevant to desired social outcomes, and eventually articulate clear theories of social complexity. By developing nuanced categories and applying them to specific contexts, we can reveal affinities and differences which might not be apparent on the surface.

The structure of some rural societies is changing dramatically as horses and hobby farms replace commercial agriculture in bucolic landscapes. This social structure is emerging and transforming, shaped by situational historical forces that might be present in other places as well. The distinction of Local vs. From Away provided a standpoint from which to begin to examine the more complex layers of social relations where language issues percolate through the substrate, but the true diversity of the population only becomes apparent upon exploring the complex identities which are revealed by the Landless Locals, the Landed Locals, the Townies, the Dreamers, the Ex-urban Refugees, and the Cosmopolitans. As Christopher McAll suggested, this post-agricultural rurality presents a new dynamic in contemporary society.

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¹ The name of the author and the title of this book have been changed to protect confidentiality.

ANNEX I

Interview Protocol: Self-Employed Individuals

Interviewer Opening:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this taped interview to help me understand what it is like to operate your own business in this area. We are going to be discussing your business activities, and I will be asking you some questions regarding your background, family composition, and community involvement. We'll also do a reconstruction of what you did during your last work day. If there is any topic you do not wish to explore, please inform me and we will move on. In addition, you have the right to end this interview at any time. Simply inform me that you would like to do so.

Block I – The history of the business (approximately 45 minutes)

For the first part of this interview, I'd like to hear about how you got started in your current business enterprise. When did you get started in this enterprise and how has your business evolved since then? How has your business changed over the years?

Aide mémoire for interviewer:

get dates/events related to the decision to start and actual start-up, as well as of transitions
discuss financing sources of start-up/buy-out;

talk about prior experience(s)/education related to business/self-employment, etc

ask about any major life events related to the business (education, marriages, divorces, children, etc.)

Have they faced any major setbacks, challenges, or hurdles in operating this business?

For each of the periods of the business as identified by the respondent, explore the following:

A. Suppliers and Clients

I'd like to know more about the market you served and the suppliers you utilized during this time. Can you tell me about who your customers are? How do you reach them? And your suppliers? How have you found the suppliers you need?

Aide mémoire for interviewer:

Make sure to find out advertising strategies/publications/radio stations/tv etc.

Range clientele drawn from

Language spoken by clientele (be careful here...)

Names & locations of main suppliers

Language spoken with suppliers

B. Staffing

Tell me about your staff during this time. I'd like to know about how you found workers, how many people you employed and what sort of employees you had (family, etc.).

Aide mémoire for interviewer:
How many employees are family members?
Employees referred by whom?

C. Contact with Structural Resources

What, if any, government, social, or private business training or consulting services did you access during each period? In what ways have you participated in the local community during each period— (business or other)?

Aide mémoire for interviewer:
You might need to prompt them with examples: local development agencies, banks, towns, revenue Quebec & Canada.
Community ties: Lions Club, Chambre of Commerce, churches, etc.

Block II - Reconstruction of the most recent work day's events (approximately 30 minutes)

I'd like to try and reconstruct your most recent workday with you. Starting with the time you started working, I'd like to know what you did, who you spoke to, where you went, etc. Be as specific as possible.

Aide mémoire for interviewer:
How typical was this day? What, if anything, was unusual? Ask follow-up questions about interactions with others.
Inquire lightly as to language of various interactions.

Block III – Personal Information & Closing (approximately 10 minutes)

To help me put your situation in perspective, I'm hoping you'd be willing to share some information with me about your family make-up, age, and residence history in this area. Do other members of your household work or go to school? Where, doing what?

Aide mémoire for interviewer:
Try to find out if the business supports them in the style they desire or if they have to augment it with outside sources.

Get the respondent's educational background (French/English)
 Inquire as to how the respondent defines himself/herself linguistically, and where they use various languages

Thanks so much for sharing all this with me. In closing, I just like to know if there anything else you would like to add? And finally, is there anyone else you would suggest that I interview for this study?

Wrap - Up

Thank you so much for taking the time to participate in this interview. I really appreciate your willingness to share your story with me. If you have any questions or concerns in the days following this interview, please feel free to call me.

Would you mind if I called you if there is any part of this tape that I don't understand or if I need additional information?

The information you provided today will be helpful in my effort to better understand what is happening to small business owners here.

PROCESS:

Here is what is going to happen next. I will be transcribing our interview. I can provide you with a cd copy of the actual interview if you request it. Feel free to review this information and correct any errors or omissions. If you hear anything you want removed, please let me know and I will retract it from my database.

If you feel you want to add something to this interview, or have a special story you would like to tell in relation to your experiences, I would encourage you to share that information by writing it down and mailing it or emailing it to me.

Once I have completed my initial round of interviews, I may be contacting some of my respondents to conduct a follow-up session. Would you be willing to meet with me again for a second interview which would last about 45 minutes?

RIGHTS:

As a participant in this study, you have a number of rights of which you should be aware. Your rights are detailed in the handout I provided you at the beginning of the interview. You may withdraw from this study at any time without concern of prejudice.

Do you have any questions or concerns at this point?

Again, thank you so much for your participation. I hope to complete the research phase of my study by the end of the year and complete my dissertation in the year following. I will be presenting the results of my study at various conferences, and I hope to address the local community as well.

ANNEX II

Follow-Up Interview Protocol: Self-Employed Individuals

Interviewer Opening:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this second taped interview to help me understand what it is like to operate your own business in this area. We are going to be discussing your day to day activities, and I will be asking you some questions regarding the places you frequent, community involvement, and expectations for the future. We'll also do a reconstruction of where you went yesterday and in the past few weeks. If there is any topic you do not wish to explore, please inform me and we will move on. In addition, you have the right to end this interview at any time. Simply inform me that you would like to do so.

Block I – Place & Space (15minutes)

I'd like to get a feel for your sense of this place. Can you indicate to me on this map what areas you consider to be close and frequent daily? Can you mark any specific places you went yesterday and tell me why you went to those places? What were your interactions like? Was that a pretty typical day? How about additional places you have been to in the last week? The last month?

Aide mémoire for interviewer:

Try to get at language issues without pushing. You might be able to cover some of the materials in Block II during the course of this portion of the interview.

Also, try to find out if yesterday's movements were typical or not.

Block II – Community Relations (10 minutes)

Can you recall and share with me a recent experience you have had at a community event or activity (church, sports activity, supper, dance, town meeting, etc.). Tell me about the event, who was there, and what you did. Was this a typical event & experience for you?

Block III – Language (10 minutes)

In the course of your daily activities, what language do you usually speak at home? When you were out yesterday, what languages did you speak with whom and where? Was this fairly typical for you?

Aide mémoire for interviewer:

Are there any specific places/shops that you consider “English-friendly”, where it is easy to get help in English? Why do you think that is?

Where is it hard to get help in English?

Do you avoid places where it is difficult to get help in English?

Block IV – The Future (10 minutes)

To wrap up our conversation today, I'd like to hear about your plans for the future, both personal and for the business. Of course, anything you share with me is confidential.

Aide mémoire for interviewer:

Do you ever feel that your language skills have affected your life decisions? If so, which ones, and in what way?

Wrap - Up

Once again, thank you so much for taking the time to participate in this interview. I really appreciate your willingness to share your story with me. If you have any questions or concerns in the days following this interview, please feel free to call me.

Would you mind if I called you if there is any part of this tape that I don't understand or if I need additional information?

The information you provided today will be helpful in my effort to better understand what is happening to small business owners here.

PROCESS:

Here is what is going to happen next. Once again I will be transcribing our interview. I can provide you with a cd copy of the actual interview if you would like it. Feel free to review this information and correct any errors or omissions. If you hear anything you want removed, please let me know and I will retract it from my database.

If you feel you want to add something to this interview, or have a special story you would like to tell in relation to your experiences, I would encourage you to share that information by writing it down and mailing it or emailing it to me.

RIGHTS:

As a participant in this study, you have a number of rights of which you should be aware. Your rights are detailed in the handout I provided you at the beginning of the interview. You may withdraw from this study at any time without concern of prejudice.

Do you have any questions or concerns at this point?

Again, thank you so much for your participation. I hope to complete the research phase of my study by the end of the year and complete my dissertation in the year following. I will be presenting the results of my study at various conferences, and I hope to address the local community as well.

Annex III

General Characteristics of Each Category: Locals

Landed Locals

Own/Operate a farm or business that prior generation(s) owned/operated.
 If not a farm business, a previous generation sold a farm to buy the business.
 Family name is part of business name.
 Business serves wide variety of clients.
 Studied at university outside of research area – this the only time they lived outside of the study area.
 Married with children. Single marriage. Partner frequently met while at university.
 Likely to live on a road with their family name, or have a road carrying the family name in the study area.
 Live in the agricultural periphery of study area.
 Live in a house that dates back several generations in their family.
 At least one neighbor is a close relative.
 Involved in community social & historical organizations as well as being members in business organizations.
 Mention appeal of local area and proximity to Montreal, although they rarely go there.
 Concern with adequacy of French language education for Anglophones.
 Willingly accept, and sometimes seek out, government assistance.
 Government regulatory burden viewed as onerous but beneficial.
 Very rarely shop in Milltown.

Landless Locals

Involved in skilled service-oriented occupations..
 Started own operation or bought outright (not a generational transfer).
 Their name is often part of business name.
 Business serves mostly residents, year-round or seasonal.
 Born and educated here, or family moved here when a child in primary school or earlier.
 No streets carry family name.
 Low levels of education: some did not complete secondary.
 If they have additional education, it is specialized for an occupation and/or earned as non-traditional student.
 Very rarely have spent time living/working outside of area.
 Generally live in periphery villages or rural areas.
 Variable household configurations.
 Avoid the government as much as possible.
 Associate receiving government assistance with stigma.
 Admit frustration due to language related interactions.
 Rarely travel beyond Charlesville, Bellevue, and nearby Vermont.
 See no reason to shop in Milltown.

Townies

Business model has been flexible and adaptive to change over time.
 Wide array of clients.
 Live in Milltown or immediately outside of it.
 Combine household with business location.
 Not born here, not raised here.
 Married with kids, first or second marriage.
 Have been in area for a significant length of time – 25 to 35 years.
 Have spent some time living outside of area as an adult, for work and education.
 Most assets result from their own labor, employment and self-employment.
 Can tap local network of wealthy investors that they know when necessary.
 While they do travel, tend to express how much they prefer to be here.
 Active members in community business organizations.
 Attempt to deal with government, but often frustrated in their efforts.

Annex IV

General Characteristics of Each Category: People From Away

Ex-urban Refugees

Have lived and worked previously in Montreal.
Professional skilled occupation with education in chosen field.
Choose this location for desired characteristics.
Clients are both far-flung and nearby, often businesses.
Live in rural settings very near Milltown or another concentrated population center nearby.
Travel frequently to Montreal.
Shop in Milltown and other nearby population centers.
Not likely to be in first marriage. As likely to be single as coupled. Kids, if any, are grown.
Members of community business organizations.
Do not mention any issues in interactions with government.

Dreamers

Businesses were purchased or started using personal assets available when they moved here.
Limited experience of retail management or business ownership prior to this one.
Clients tend to be mostly tourists or seasonal residents
Limited knowledge of Milltown before they moved here.
Have lived outside of Quebec, sometimes outside of Canada.
They live in Milltown.
Separation of living accommodations and retail locations.
Variety of household compositions.
They shop in Milltown.
Active in attempting to create new community business organizations.
Struggle to interact with government officials in the ordinary conduct of business.

Cosmopolitans

Business presents a professional image.
Business serves mostly local residents, both seasonal and year-round.
Have significant economic resources.
Married with children.
Have lived outside of Quebec.
Have completed post-secondary education.
Have held prior employment, some prior business ownership experience.
Choose to live in study area for its amenities and community characteristics.
Shop in Milltown.
Regular trips to Montreal.
Do not experience language as a challenge to doing business, although would like to be more proficient.
Ensure their children are bilingual.
Do not see government as a hindrance, but can take or leave its offerings.

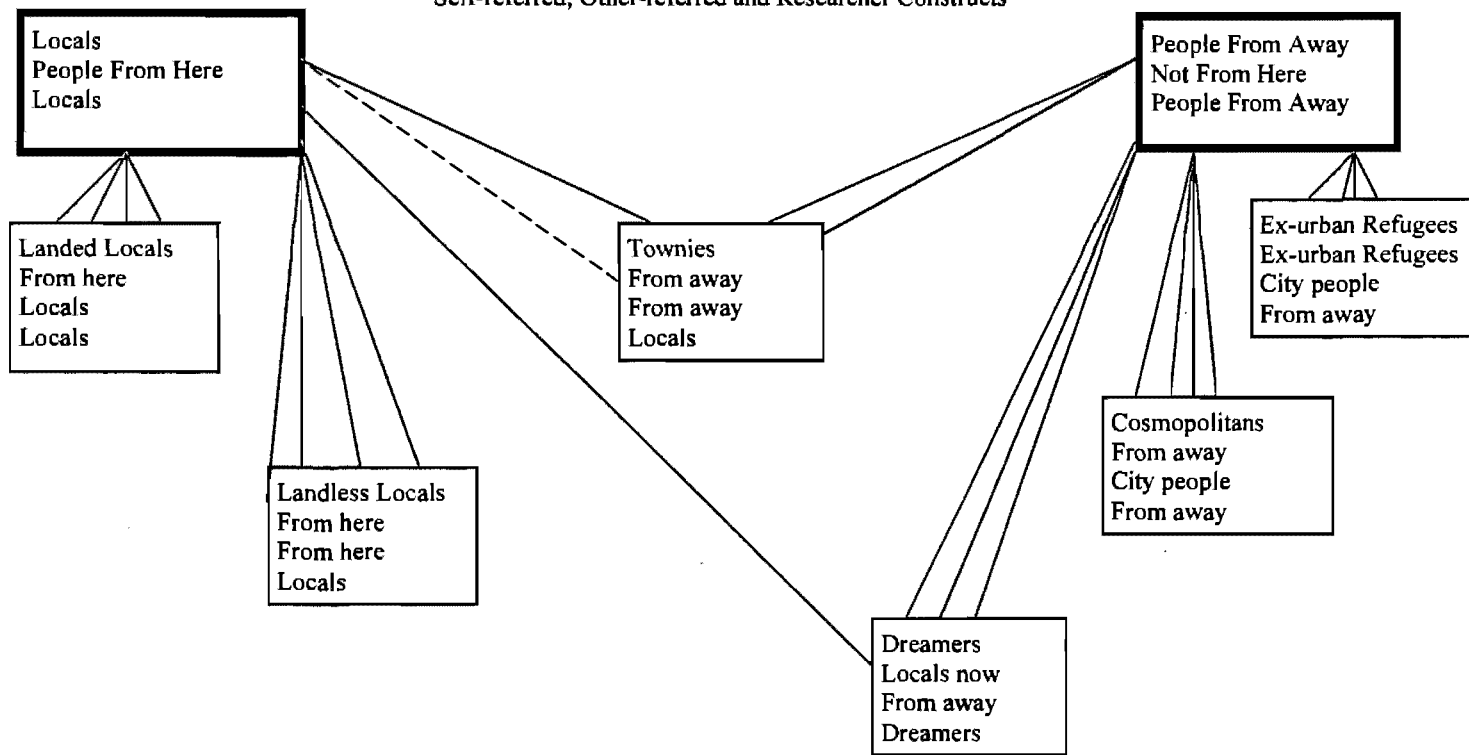
TABLE I**Cases by category**

CATEGORY	RESPONDENTS, GROUPED BY CASE	# OF CASES
Landed Locals	A; B & C; D; E & F; HH; KK & LL; MM	7
Landless Locals	H; I & J; K + L; M; N; O; GG	7
Townies	P; T; S	3
Ex-urban refugees	AA; BB; CC & DD; FF; II; JJ	6
Dreamers	V; U; W + X; Y & Z; EE	5
Cosmopolitans	G; Q & R	2

Respondents grouped with “&” represent a single case with two respondents married to each other or cohabiting.

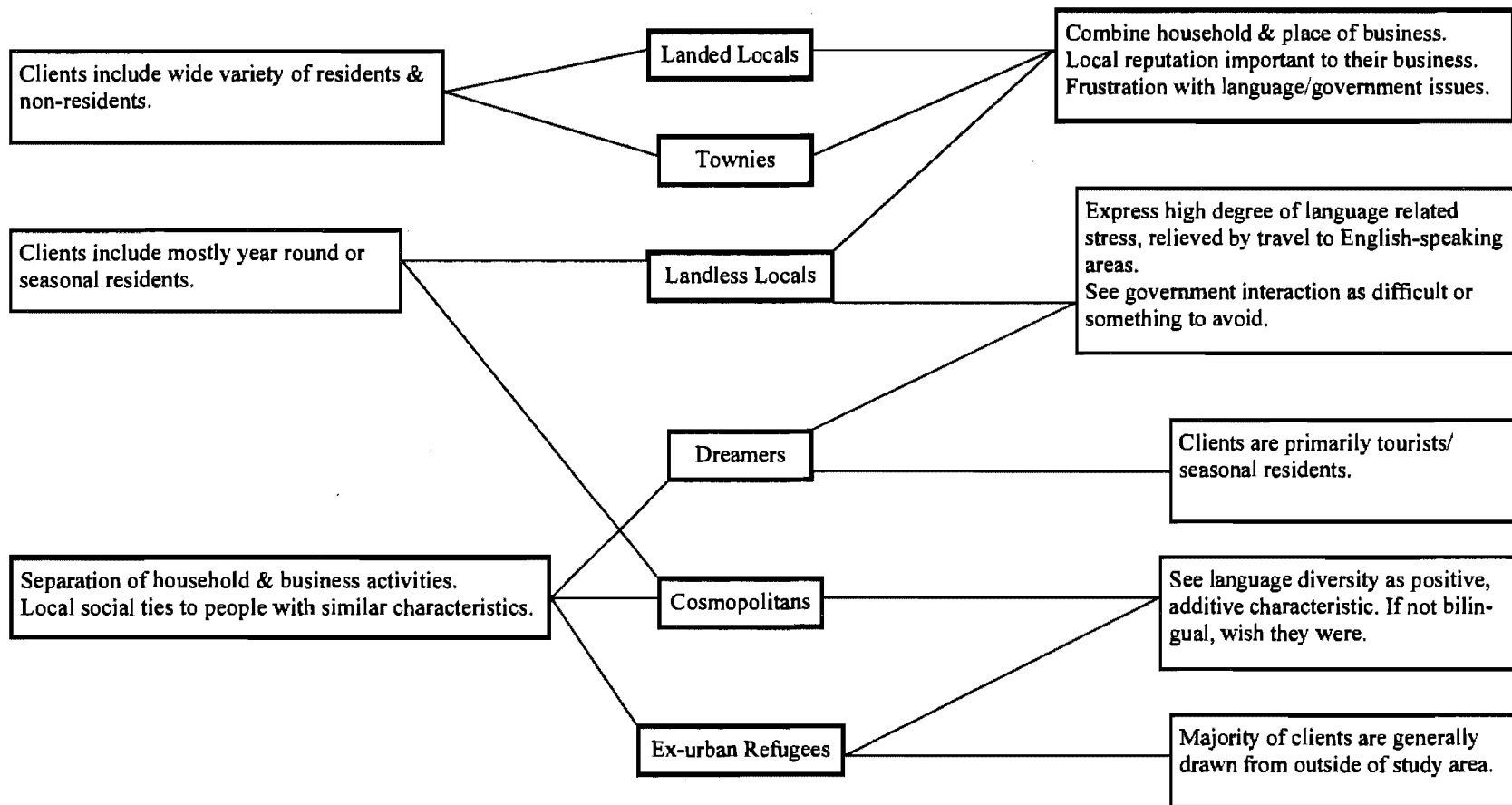
Respondents grouped with “+” represent a single case with two non co-habiting respondents in a business partnership.

Chart A
Identity Group Membership Expressions by Category
 Self-referred, Other-referred and Researcher Constructs



Green—researcher's construct Blue—self-reference by in-group
 Black—as viewed by out-group Locals Red—as viewed by out-group People From Away

Chart B
Characteristics by Membership Category
 Illustrating similarities & differences as well as shared links



Green— characteristics linked to both master categories

Blue—master category of People From Away

Red— master category of Local