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Serpents in the Garden:
Place, Identity and Change
in the Niagara Fruit Belt

by

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B.A. (Hons.), M.A.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University**

**Ottawa, Ontario
July, 2001**

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the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis

**Serpents in the Garden: Place Identity and
Change in the Niagara Fruit Belt**

submitted by Angela Suzanne Hill, B.A. Hons, M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Thesis Supervisor

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Carleton University
July 11, 2001

Abstract

This dissertation examines experiences of loss and change related to the disappearance of prime farming land in a portion of the Niagara Fruit Belt of Ontario, Canada. Thirty-two informant interviews were conducted with men and women who were long-term residents of the region, many of whom were farmers. Archival and statistical sources were used to present a deeper understanding of the region, its people and its history. Census data provided evidence of population growth and farming decline. The Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW), a highway development, is identified as one major initiative which has profoundly influenced the physical, social and cultural environment. Places such as historical buildings, farm properties, urban developments and the QEW are shown to inform how informants view their life-histories, behaviours, interactions and themselves. The analysis illustrates that as fruit farms in the area are disappearing, the corresponding culture and identity of the people are also eroding. Over the years, policies concerning development have diminished informants' sense of empowerment. Encroaching development and an increasing population have invaded and altered informants' personal and social space and evoked a sense of anger, despair and ultimately ambivalence. Fruit farmers and longtime members of the community expressed little hope for the continuation of their previous ways of life and for the places that were once important to them. Some suggestions for preserving the remainder of these valuable lands and the places and traditions associated with them are presented.

Acknowledgments

Writing a Ph.D dissertation can be a long and difficult process. This dissertation could not have been completed without the assistance of a number of people that deserve to be thanked. First, I would like to thank the long-term residents/fruit farmers that I interviewed. Without their insights, this study would never have been written. I am very grateful that these people were able to take the time to talk to me and to provide their experiences and life stories.

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Introduction

This study deals with interpretations of transition and loss, not due to one single disastrous event, but rather as a result of a series of events over the course of time. Throughout the last century, residents of the Niagara Fruit Belt of Ontario have experienced the transformation of their community from having a small town/rural character to becoming more impersonal and urbanized. Rural surroundings and fruit farming have been instrumental in formulating people's experiences, memories, identities and culture. As these surroundings and farming have been threatened or lost, those affected have had to react and adapt to their circumstances and in the process have given up a part of themselves.

The Niagara Fruit Belt is one of the few places in Canada that has the climate to grow tender fruit. Located in the Carolinian life zone, this area has many plant and animal species that are rarely found elsewhere in the nation, giving the forests and wetlands a unique character (Regional Municipality of Niagara, 2000(c): 2-3). Rich in history and archaeological resources, the Niagara Fruit Belt was home to the Neutral First Nation and to some of Canada's earliest English-speaking settlers, the United Empire Loyalists. Early aboriginal settlements, Loyalist homesteads and many important battle sites from the War of 1812, along with the fruit growing lands all make the area a distinctive Canadian resource (Regional Municipality of Niagara, 2000(a): 2-3).

The dissertation presents an analysis of how economic and developmental policy can threaten Canada's rural resources and the culture and lifestyles of a group of people. Development initiatives which have been accepted and often promoted by governments have resulted in the loss of prime growing lands. Farmers have been plagued with obstacles, namely from population pressures which have shown little respect for their land and work and brought theft, vandalism and pollution to the area. Additional factors such as consumer expectations, government regulations, price controls and global competition have also worked to hamper farmers in making an adequate living and threatened the continuation of farming. Political and economic policies along with numerous technological changes in society have had significant effects. The main focus of this study, however, is an examination of the ways in which some residents of this unique geographic area have experienced and coped with changes to their surroundings. As the area has changed over time, relationships with the area have also changed (Anderson, 1959: 112-113).

This dissertation expands upon current literature on issues of rural/urban planning and agricultural land loss within the urban fringe by providing a sociological analysis of the experiences, interpretations and responses of the people affected. Informant interviews and newspaper archives are used to show how past difficulties with governments and development initiatives have formulated belief systems about the present, while current situations work to shape memories of history and an anticipation of the future.

Marris (1986: xiii-xiv) argues that responses to loss and change in communities vary depending upon the circumstances of the community and the residents' cultural traditions. They are also contingent upon individuals' learned reactions to difficult life experiences and the ability that they have to take charge of their local conditions. The manner in which people cope with loss or change is related to how they make sense of the situation. Using these premises, this dissertation demonstrates how some older, long-term residents make sense of change through a culture of stoicism that has been developed through experiences of life in the region both in the past and the present. These people are emotionally attached to the area, but decades of struggle and defeat over maintaining farm lands and historical buildings have made them learn to accept situations which they believe are beyond their control.

Several research methods were used to enable a broad analysis of development and change. A sample of long-term residents was interviewed to provide first-hand beliefs and interpretations of social and political conditions. Archival and statistical information was used to provide a historical and demographic overview of the people and the region. Most of the people interviewed tended to be older and of Canadian or British descent. Many have lived in the community for all of their lives and represent a disappearing culture of farm families in the region. The information that they provided on living in the area had often been passed on through generations. While the meanings that people attribute to their social world are formulated in childhood through

interactions with others (Mead, 1934), these interpretations are shaped through one's own life-history and the transmission of the past through the life-histories of others. Thus, the experiences presented provide an account which is informed by the past and interactions with others.

On a superficial level, the people under investigation may be considered to be a dominant or elite social group who are afforded status and advantage in their social interactions. As a result, many social scientists could potentially overlook them as being worthy of study. This dissertation offers an opportunity to view these people in a different way, as having vulnerabilities and as being in positions of social disadvantage, and it does this through an examination of their own views of the social world.

The first chapter provides a detailed description of the research setting to better situate the people and places under investigation. The Niagara Fruit Belt is described to establish the importance of this area for fruit production in Canada. Prime agricultural land and tree fruit production are shown to be in decline. The population of the area is profiled according to its ethnic and occupational characteristics and the culture and farming background of informants are presented to introduce their unique experiences and hardships. Farming is shown to be an integral aspect of the landscape and the culture of informants. Decades of living and farming in the area provide the basis for the manner in which informants react to and deal with experiences of change.

The second chapter outlines methodology. Personal reflections are an

integral component of the research process. Research was undertaken in the Niagara Fruit Belt since I had grown up in the area and was aware that increasing urbanization was causing considerable pressure on farm lands and farmers.¹ Some of my family members had farmed in the area, and this connection assisted me in finding informants and in developing a rapport with them. Not only did my personal and family history make me a credible and non-threatening researcher but it also enhanced my understanding of and sympathy towards the people I interviewed. Experiences of how the research originated and transpired will be elaborated upon in this chapter. In addition, a discussion of grounded theory and life history, two of the approaches used in gathering the research, will be offered. Some ethical considerations involved in conducting in-depth interviews are also discussed. The chapter details the processes undertaken in obtaining informants for the study and other supporting documentation such as statistical information and archival retrieval. It outlines the manner in which the data were documented, organized and presented in order to provide an account of how the evidence was derived.

A fundamental component of informant culture and identity is the belief that there is no control over the region's physical and social future. While

¹ At the time of the research, I was personally not happy with the changes taking place in the area. The small town/rural landscape seemed preferable to a landscape filled with condensed, homogeneous housing and urban sprawl. I was however, aware that there were people in the region who embraced growth and could make a profit from it. My directive was to discover long-term residents' and farmers' opinions and experiences of change. While I found that informants shared my belief that urbanization was unattractive, I was surprised to find some of the problems they were having with this situation. Informants' beliefs about the causes of their difficulties and their rationale for not protesting the circumstances was also an unexpected finding.

uncertainty is generally a consistent element of farming, in this region it has been amplified by many negative influences. The most notable are political. Political intervention has contributed to a sense of loss of empowerment. One of the most profound results of political interference has been the development of a four-lane highway, the Queen Elizabeth Highway (QEW). A historical account of the development of the highway is presented in chapter three to show how it has become symbolic of government interference, ineffectiveness and policy making that has lacked local input. The highway development has contributed to the loss of familiar places, agricultural landscapes and the increase of urbanization. It has deeply affected the physical and social characteristics of the region and has overshadowed informants' interpretations of development and growth.

Chapter four outlines how places provide the setting for interaction and the formation of self conception and social identity. Familiar surroundings and predictable interactions enable people to understand behaviours and develop appropriate responses to them (Marris, 1986: 6-10). Places are revealed to symbolize life events, memories and history. They play a fundamental role in creating and altering informants' perceptions and beliefs about their social relations. Informants are shown to define their situations by examining events in relationship to each other across space. McHugh (1968) describes this as relativity. Specifically, people may share an interpretation of objects with others or they may interpret them differently from others if they have had their own

distinct experiences. Some perspectives are a reflection of common culture and others may be unique to that individual. This dissertation will argue that informants' common culture has been shaped by the places and experiences associated with living in the area over many years. Informants have their own perspectives based upon personal life-events and they also share perspectives derived from similar experiences of growing up in the same community during a specific historical period. These perspectives have formulated common ways of behaving and conceptions of normality (McHugh, 1968: 28-31& 45) which clearly delineates insiders from outsiders. The boundaries of urbanization, the highway and agricultural spaces are shown to influence how informants conceptualize their physical environment and their social world.

Chapter five discusses some of the physical and social changes to the area and highlights informants' responses. The impacts of urbanization, land-use pressures, market forces and government regulations of fruit farming are described as they have made this occupation increasingly difficult. Informants believed that newcomers to the region do not share their own values and behaviours and consequently, threaten their culture and surroundings. In addition, they believed that challenging these circumstances was not worthwhile. Rather, they have tried to adapt and make their world predictable by rationalizing the inevitability of conditions beyond their control (Marris, 1986: 12-15). Long-term residents displayed sadness and anger over some of the changes in the area but these emotions were overshadowed with the pragmatic

belief that they were powerless to alter the future.

Premises about the effects of societal growth and transformation are outlined in chapter six. Informants pointed to the Queen Elizabeth Way as playing a major role in the beginnings of physical and social changes in the Niagara Fruit Belt. Progress is shown to have a negative influence for informants. However, these personal beliefs were offset by the belief that acceptance of progress is necessary. The ways in which fruit farmers and longtime members of the community have come to terms with and adapted to the experiences of growth and development are described. Informants have transposed familiar constructs of understanding onto new realities to enable them to interpret actions and to make what they defined as appropriate responses (Marris, 1986). The research demonstrates that long-term residents used past events, namely the development of a highway and its repercussions on the community, to formulate their beliefs about the current, urbanized environment. This process is described as emergence. Employing Mead's (1932) work, McHugh (1968: 24-25) defines emergence as occurring when "...the past influences the symbolic definition of the present, the definition of the present is influenced by inferences about the future, and the events of the future will reconstruct our definition of the past", thus, "...the social present is formed by both the current meaning of the past and the current anticipation of the future."

Informants are shown to have reassessed and modified the past in relation to the development of the highway and have heightened its negative

influence due to their present day perspectives of the highway and their expectations of the future. Based on their past and present experiences, the long-term residents interviewed in this study predicted the continued demise of farming. Since progress was not prevented in the past, it was regarded as an inevitable part of the future. With this belief, informants were acting to formulate the future.

The final chapter offers a summary of the research. Two government programs and regional policy plans are presented to demonstrate that there is some interest in assisting the fruit farming business and in preserving the tender fruit lands. Nonetheless, these initiatives often tend to be short-lived or only partially resolve concerns. Avenues for further research are suggested which could expand this study. Finally, it is observed that the Niagara Fruit Belt remains under considerable pressure to be developed and urbanized. Therefore, it will be difficult to maintain many of the places that once characterized the area.

Chapter One:

Research Setting and Cultural Characteristics

The natural beauties of the Niagara Peninsula are exceptional. All along the top of the mountain a widely extending view may be obtained of the low lying-orchards, and vineyards with villages nesting among them, and of the beautiful waters of Lake Ontario (Coombs, 1930: 11).

The impacts of transportation, housing and industrial developments have dramatically altered the Niagara Fruit Belt of Ontario, an area once known largely for its rural and agricultural landscape. This chapter provides an overview of the setting and characteristics of the region under investigation. It describes land use and the decline of fruit farming. Population characteristics and informant culture are also discussed. The intention is to provide insight on the places, history, people and identities of the region.

Setting:

Three Census Areas

Research was undertaken in a portion of the Niagara Fruit Belt of Ontario, Canada. The Niagara Fruit Belt extends from Hamilton to Niagara Falls and is approximately 386 square miles. The specific area designated by Krueger

(1959) includes sections both below and above the Niagara Escarpment where orchards and vineyards have existed (Niagara Escarpment Study Group, 1968: 1-2).

Interviews took place in three adjacent census areas; Stoney Creek of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality and Grimsby and Lincoln² of the Niagara Regional Municipality. The research area is close to the cities of Hamilton and St. Catharines which in 1996 had populations of 322,352 and 130,926 respectively (See Appendix A-Map). The area is of interest because it is experiencing population and urbanization pressures on what was once largely prime agricultural lands. Stoney Creek, due to being adjacent to Hamilton, is arguably more affected by the pressures of urbanization. Notably, Stoney Creek has a larger population and is more densely populated per square kilometre than Grimsby and Lincoln. The population of Stoney Creek was 54,318 in 1996. In comparison, Grimsby and Lincoln, which are more distant from Hamilton, had populations of 19,585 and 18,801.

Population expansion has been a constant process. It is recorded that between 1941 and 1966 Niagara's population doubled (Gayler, 1994: 251-253 & 275). Census data over the fifteen-year period of 1981 to 1996 also shows a large population increase in the area. During this period, Stoney Creek grew by 47.8 percent, Grimsby by 24.0 percent and Lincoln by 32.4 percent. Population

²The majority of interviews occurred in Stoney Creek and Grimsby, Ontario. A small number occurred in Lincoln. The latter area is included in the discussion as a basis of comparison since it is less urbanized than the other two areas. One interview took place outside of the region since the informant had moved.

growth in Ontario during the same period was 24.7 percent and in Canada, it was 18.5 percent. The total area (Stoney Creek, Grimsby and Lincoln) under investigation grew by 38.9 percent, a greater rate than both the population of Ontario and Canada (Statistics Canada, 1987: 2-6, 2-11, 2-12; Statistics Canada, 1997(a): 103 & 107) (Table 1)

The Niagara Escarpment

A distinctive geological feature of the region under investigation is the Niagara Escarpment. The Niagara Escarpment runs from Queenston to Tobermory. This unique area was named a World Biosphere Reserve in 1990, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Niagara Escarpment Commission, 1994: 5). The Escarpment is extremely important in its influence on the climate of the Niagara region, making it highly suitable to the cultivation of tender fruits and grapes. In particular, the peninsular shape of the area helps reduce extreme temperatures harmful to plant growth; specifically, in the narrow area between Lake Ontario and the Niagara Escarpment where the concentration of tender fruit production is the highest (Shaw, 1994: 111). As a result of its mild climate, the Niagara Peninsula region has very productive farmland (Burke, 1990: 51) and represents the best location in Canada for growing tender fruits which includes: peaches, pears, plums and prunes, apricots, sweet cherries and sour cherries (Krueger, 1982: 1; Niagara Tender Fruit Working Group, 1990: 1). There are

only two other places in Canada which can produce tender fruit: the region of Kent-Essex in Ontario and the Okanagan Valley in British Columbia. Both of these locations do not have the same capacity for tender fruit production as the Niagara region (Conservation Easement Committee, 1992: 14). The Niagara Fruit Belt's productive farmland is faced with pressures of population growth and urbanization and these pressures are in the process of eliminating a way of life which has a long history in the region.

Fruit Farming

The first permanent, white settlers, loyal to the British Crown, (the United Empire Loyalists) arrived in the Niagara Peninsula during the American revolution in the 1780's (Reid, 1977: 11; Powell & Coffman, 1956: 8-9; Smy, 1984: 15-17; Turner, 1994: 187). Upon arrival, the settlers began clearing land to grow field crops, such as wheat, corn and oats (Smy, 1984: 21). Wild fruit was found to be growing in abundance throughout the area and some fruit and grapes were cultivated for individual and local needs. Agricultural land use, however, was mainly for grain and livestock raising. It wasn't until the 1870's that fruit farming³ was established as an industry (Gillard and Tooke, 1975: 104; Chapman, 1994: 284-283; Powell & Coffman, 1956: 44). Wild grapevines were transplanted into gardens and through pruning and cultivation the berry size

³Fruit farms are defined here as farms producing grapes and tree fruits which may include: apples, pears, plums & prunes, sweet & sour cherries, peaches and apricots. Each fruit farm may grow different varieties and combinations of fruits. In addition to grapes and tree fruits, some fruit farms in the region also produce berries, such as raspberries and strawberries and other crops.

improved. The first cultivated vineyard is reported to have been developed by John Schiller around 1800 in Cooksville near York (which is now Mississauga). Schiller is also reported to have begun producing wine in 1811 on a semi-commercial basis (Moyer, 1983: 1).

Initially, fruit trees were established through native fruits being transplanted to start orchards and through seeds sent from Europe and the United States. Imported seeds were found to have problems with plant hardiness and even where trees and blossoms did develop, the fruit size, flavour and yield were often disappointing. Planted fruit tree orchards began emerging as early as 1814. By 1869, most farmers did not grow seedlings to develop a new orchard. Instead, it was common to sow seeds in the fall or spring, and then take the seedlings the following autumn to graft on desirable tree varieties. As time progressed, farmers hoping to establish an orchard often obtained nursery trees through word of mouth, newspaper advertisements, catalogues and agents or "tree pedlars", representing nursery companies. One of the first important commercial nurseries in the Niagara Peninsula was established in the 1830's in St. Catharines. In 1859, the Fruit Growers' Association of Upper Canada, which was to become the Fruit Growers' Association of Ontario, was instituted (Crawford, 1983: 63-68). Industries soon developed around the fruit production. In 1865, the first Canadian canning factory was established in Grimsby, Ontario (Gillard and Tooke, 1975: 108). Over the subsequent years, fruit farming continued to expand. Agricultural land use peaked in 1911.

Between 1901 and 1941 acreage used for grapes and fruit farming expanded. Fruit and grape acreage reached its highest level in 1951. After 1951, tree fruit acreage began to decline and this situation has continued to present times (Chapman, 1994: 283; Krueger, 1978: 179).

Other Industries

Fruit and grape farming has had a long-term influence on the economy and social relations of the region. Nonetheless, other kinds of agricultural and horticultural activities have been and continue to be evident. These include greenhouses, livestock and poultry, dairy, grains, eggs, nurseries and berries (Human Resources Development Canada, 1995: 13; Chapman, 1994: 286-287). Agriculture has never been the only industry in the region. Its proximity to large cities and the United States as well as the presence of natural resources in the area has encouraged the development of numerous other industries. As early as 1850, the area had flour and grist mills, saw mills, woollen mills, distilleries and breweries, metal works, tanneries, shipyards and a variety of other businesses (Reid, 1977: 12). By 1930, the region was described as "...one of the busiest manufacturing centres on the continent (Coombs, 1930: 14)."

There were factories producing textiles, metal products, such as agricultural implements, tools and materials, pulp and paper, brick, rubber goods, and leather. In addition, fruit and vegetable production in the area led to the development of canning factories and wineries (Coombs, 1930: 14).

Today, there continues to be many more jobs outside of farming than within. In 1991, 3.3 percent of the populations of Stoney Creek, Grimsby and Lincoln or 1,515 people worked in primary occupations⁴ (Statistics Canada 1994(a): 224 & Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 154). Comparatively, in the Niagara Peninsula region as a whole, 3.4 percent of the population or 7,145 people worked in the farming/horticulture occupation (Human Resources Development Canada, 1995: 26). Three and a half percent of the total population of Canada was classified as agricultural population, while in Ontario, 2 percent was indicated to be agricultural. Ontario, the most populated province in Canada, also had the most census farms and the largest number of households with one or more persons in the agricultural population (Statistics Canada, 1995(a): 8 & 29-30).

Most jobs in the area were in the categories of clerical, managerial and administration or machining, product fabricating assembling (Table 2). As well, of the three census districts under investigation, the highest percentage of people in primary occupations out of the total occupations was 9.8 percent in Lincoln, while Grimsby and Stoney Creek followed with 3.0 percent and 1.3 percent respectively. Stoney Creek, being closest in proximity to Hamilton, had fewer people working in primary occupations, while Lincoln being farthest away, had more people working in primary occupations (Table 3) (Statistics Canada

⁴Primary Occupations include: Occupations unique to agriculture excluding labourers; occupations unique to forestry operations, mining, oil and gas extraction, and fishing, excluding labourers; and primary production labourers (Statistics Canada, 1993(c): 17-18)

1994(a): 224 & Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 154).

The percentage of people working in primary occupations is relatively small. Nonetheless, it has an important bearing on the local economy, generating thousands of direct and indirect jobs and millions of dollars of cash expenditures which benefit the entire community (Agricultural Easement Committee, 1995: 1). In Niagara, investment opportunities in eco-tourism/agri-tourism are expected to amount to \$275 million by the year 2014. As well, in 1998 the wine industry created about four thousand jobs mainly in the Niagara region (Regional Municipality of Niagara, 2000(b): 2). Equally important is the fact that, due to the large usage of acreage, agriculture is a highly visible industry which formulates people's concepts about the physical landscape and the norms and behaviours it contains. As such, its presence and disappearance affect the surroundings and character of the region.

The Demise of Fruit Growing:

Tree Fruit Farming

In Canada, Ontario has the largest total amount of bearing and non-bearing tree fruits and nuts with 7,175,661 trees on 47,064 acres. British Columbia ranks second and Quebec and Nova Scotia follow (Table 4) (Statistics Canada 1997(d): 18). Ontario has largest acreage of grapes and apple, pear, plum and prune, sour cherry and peach trees in Canada (Table 5) (Statistics Canada, 1997(d): 18-25 & 32).

Tree fruit farming world-wide appears to be on the decline and Canada does not appear to be an exception. A general Canadian decline in tree fruit acreage compares to the world trend of decline by 60 percent over the past 25 years (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 1999(a)). In Ontario, the average area in acres per tree fruit farm has grown from 1 in 1921 to 16 in 1996. The total acreage and number of farms reporting tree fruit production has nevertheless, decreased. The period from 1921 to 1996 represents a steady decline in total fruit tree acres and farms. In 1921, there were 180,617 acres of land designated for tree fruits and 138,761 farms reporting tree fruit production while in 1996 there were 47,064 acres and 3,031 farms. Thus, the number of acres for fruit production has decreased by 74 percent and the number of fruit farms has decreased by 98 percent over a 75 year period. The average area in acres for a tree fruit farm was larger in 1996 than previously, but on the whole there were fewer farms and total acres in production (Table 6).

In the thirty-year period from 1966 to 1996, the total number of tree fruit farms reported in Ontario went from 5,732 to 3,031, representing a decrease of 47 percent. In addition, the total acreage for tree fruit farms decreased by 28 percent from 65,432 to 47,064 acres (Table 6) (Statistics Canada, 1997(b): 28-29). For apple acreage, the decline may be partially due to an increase in the number of trees planted in a smaller area. This is not the case with other fruit trees such as sour cherry, apricot, peach and plum trees where acreage and number of trees are on the decline.

Within Ontario, the Niagara Regional Municipality is a substantial producer of tree fruit (Table 7). The Niagara region has the most acreage of pears, plums and prunes, sweet cherries, sour cherries, peaches and apricots in the province. It is only with regard to apples that Niagara ranks fourth in the province in comparison to other municipalities. Comparatively, adjacent to Niagara, the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality⁵ does not have as considerable an amount of tree fruit acreage as Niagara, but it still has a large number of acres devoted to fruit growing (Tables 8-14) (Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 38-51).

With respect to longitudinal data, production of tree fruit and grapes are on the decline in both municipalities. In the Niagara Regional Municipality, the amount of acreage and number of tree fruit and nuts dropped between 1986 and 1996. For example, there were 16,982 acres of tree fruits and nuts in 1986 compared to 13,797 acres in 1996, a decrease of 19 percent (Table 7).

The Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality reports a decline of 29 percent in the amount of tree fruit acreage between 1986 and 1996. Interestingly, however, there was a slight increase in the total number of trees between 1986 and 1996, likely indicating that dwarf trees are being planted which take up less acreage (Table 7) (Statistics Canada, 1987: 1-47 & 1-48;

⁵Due to reasons of confidentiality, the 1996 Census of Canada has consolidated census areas with very few farms with data from adjacent areas. Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality is the census division, Stoney Creek is the census consolidated subdivision for which data are available and is the largest component of the amalgamation and Stoney Creek and Hamilton are the names of the geographic areas that were merged. Stoney Creek reported 123 farms and Hamilton reported 16 farms (Statistics Canada, 1997(c): xviii-xxix)

Statistics Canada, 1992(a): 58-59; Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 36-37).

Grape Growing

The Niagara Regional Municipality is the largest grape growing region in Ontario. Grape growing has also gone through a slight decline in the last decade. Specifically in 1986, 792 farms reported 18,117 acres for harvest while in 1996, 588 farms reported 12,694 acres of grapes for harvest. This reflects a decrease of 26 percent of farms reporting grapes for harvest and a decrease of 30 percent of acres for harvest. Similarly, there was a 33 percent decrease in the number of farms reporting grapes under cultivation and a 34 percent decrease in acres under cultivation during the same period. In general, there was a tendency to be fewer farms and acreage of grapes between 1986 and 1996. However, there was a slight increase in grape acreage under cultivation and for harvest between 1991 and 1996 (Table 15).

The Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality ranks second in Ontario for grape production. Similar to the Niagara Municipality, between 1986 and 1996 there was a 41 percent decline in the number of farms reporting grapes for harvest and a 32 percent decline in the number of acres for harvest. In this period, farms reporting grapes under cultivation decreased by 49 percent and farms reporting acres under cultivation decreased by 40 percent. There was also a slight increase in grape acreage under cultivation and for harvest between 1991 and 1996 (Table 15) (Statistics Canada, 1987: 1-57 & 1-58;

Canada, 1992(b): 88-89; Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 64-65). The increase, which is indicated in both municipalities, may reflect a shift away from fruit tree farming into grape growing due to better market conditions for wine production. With respect to fruit and grape growing, Hamilton-Wentworth tends to be losing farms and acreage to a larger extent than the Niagara Region.

The area under investigation is a major source of fruit and grape production in Canada. Nonetheless, there tends to be a decreasing amount of acreage utilized for these purposes. The Niagara Fruit Belt is experiencing pressures of urbanization and in conjunction, a substantial loss of prime agricultural land. The area had the largest proportional loss of prime agricultural land in southern Ontario between 1931 and 1986 (Burke, 1990: 51). Urbanization has occurred on more than one-third of the most valuable tender fruit lands (Conservation Easement Committee, 1992: 15). The problems appear to be magnified for farm lands that are in the urban fringe, close to growing towns and cities.

The last twenty years in Ontario have been a period in which fewer farms are producing tree fruits and the area of acres for tree fruit production has reduced in size (Statistics Canada, 1997(b): 28-29). A general trend of farming in Canada is likely reflected here. An examination of statistics on farming across Canada reveals that the population living on farms is declining. In 1991, there were 867 thousand person living on farms, which is about a quarter of the population living on farms in 1931. Statistics Canada argues that there are

several reasons for the decline. The average size of families is decreasing. Therefore, there are fewer people living on farms. As well, changing technology has created more machinery which needs less labour, creating farms which are larger in size and smaller in number (Statistics Canada, 1995(b): 14). It should be noted that fruit farming in the region is being exposed to a number of other kinds of problems, such as urban pressures, rising land prices, increasing costs, low profit margins and weather disasters (Conservation Easement Committee, 1992: 15). Some of these kinds of experiences have been documented elsewhere in Canada, such as in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia (Christensen, 1982). Yet, the Niagara Fruit Belt also has some unique problems due to its history and location which contribute to the overall uncertainty of farming in the future.

Politics, Economics and Land Use:

Early History

It has been shown that urbanization in the Niagara Fruit Belt has generally occurred in the areas where the soil is best for tender fruits and where intensive fruit growing has been situated (Krueger, 1978: 189). Spatial changes have contributed greatly to loss of farmland over the years. Chapter three will discuss how one significant spatial change occurred in 1939 when the Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW) was constructed through the heartland of fruit farming. The QEW currently lies on and near most of the tender fruit lands in the area

(Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1998: Map).

It has been shown that by the 1940's agriculture in Canada was on the decline due to a move towards employment in non-agricultural sectors and the mechanization of farming (Troughton, 1992: 30). With regard to fruit growing in the Niagara Fruit Belt, economic factors also contributed to the disappearance of farms and an increase in urbanization. Severe price fluctuations made profits from growing fruit erratic. A period of high interest rates made it risky for farmers to spend money to maintain existing orchards or invest in planting new orchards. Variable weather conditions also contributed to a decline in fruit farming (Dwyer, 1975: 47-48). Given the demands on farming and the resulting sale of farm lands for housing and industrial use in addition to other technological, physical and social changes, the area began to move away from being one of quiet villages, with "fruit wagons and radial cars on the main street" to an area of growing urbanization with the inevitability that fruit orchards and vineyards would eventually disappear (Gillard and Tooke, 1975: 108).

In the mid 1950's, people's awareness that agricultural lands were disappearing became heightened, such that studies were established in order to deal with these issues (Krueger, 1982: 4). In 1969, Dr. L. G. Reeds stated in the "Niagara Region Agricultural Research report"⁶ that,

⁶The report (Agriculture Research and Analysis by Dr. L. G. Reeds) was part of the Niagara Region Official Plan Studies- Background Reports by Phillips Planning and Engineering Ltd.

"Many orchards show signs of neglect or abandonment, and there is virtually no evidence of farm improvement or of newly-planted orchards. Land prices...are beyond a level at which fruit production can compete with other uses." (as quoted in italics by Dwyer, 1975: 48)

Reeds (1969) conclusion was that the disappearance of the orchards in the region was unavoidable (Dwyer, 1975: 48).

Establishment of a Regional Plan

The Mayo Commission was initiated in 1965 to examine local government structures in the region and determine some changes in regard to the problem with land-use and the decline of fruit orchards. The Commission's findings indicated a need for a cohesive regional planning process whereby policy could be established for land development. The Ontario government's response to the Commission's findings was Bill 174 which established the Regional Municipality of Niagara in 1970. Bill 174 also advised the Regional Council to prepare an Official Plan for the regional area by the end of December 1973.⁷ The Official Plan was developed through the work of a consulting company along with discussions with municipal councils and the public. The Plan was completed in 1974 and defined boundaries for urban development.

The Plan has been shown to be contradictory in that while it expressed concern over the disappearance of agricultural land, it also allocated substantial

⁷ A small section of the regional municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth is also investigated. However, since the Niagara Fruit Belt lies mainly within the boundaries of the Niagara Regional Municipality, its land use policies are the focus of discussion here.

amounts of land in some of the best fruit growing areas for urban expansion. In designating urban boundaries, it allowed for a population of 640,000 by 1991. Yet the anticipated population was forecasted to be 500,000.⁸

In response, the Minister of Housing rejected the Plan and requested that it be reevaluated. The debate at the time focussed on when and where to create boundaries for development. Reduction of urban boundary designations was regarded by some as a loss of potential development ventures and financial gains.

In 1976, a new report was submitted indicating support for unique agricultural lands. However, it reduced the designation of urban development by only 500 acres from the 25,880 originally assigned. The Province's Ministry of Housing responded by further reducing urban boundaries by about 3,000 acres. The action was not received happily by those individuals hoping for further development or by those opposing urban expansion. Developers and landowners who wished to sell their property felt that too much land had been taken away from the urban boundaries. The regional municipality and local government politicians tended to support developers and landowners. In contrast, agricultural and land preservation groups and individuals felt that the urban designation was still too large. Consequently, in 1979 the debate was taken to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) and in 1981, the OMB issued its

⁸The forecast was a high estimate since the actual population of the Niagara Regional Municipality was 393,936 in 1991. In 1996, it was 403,504 (Statistics Canada, 1997(a): 107).

decision⁹ to not dramatically reduce urban boundaries. The OMB excluded an additional 1,700 acres from the urban area boundaries designated earlier. It also indicated that outside of the assigned urban boundaries, a restricted consent policy for development would exist. Nonetheless, it stipulated that boundaries bordering valuable agricultural land for growing tender fruit and grape lands would be made permanent. The OMB decision set a course for urban development for the next twenty-five years and beyond, as an indefinite guide for future generations. The decision acknowledged that the permanence of adjacent boundaries to valuable agricultural lands would be dependent on the support of future regional and municipal councils and the government of Ontario (Gayler, 1979: 43-46; Gayler, 1982: 167-170; Jackson, 1977: 26-32; Jackson, 1982: 173; Krueger, 1982: 5-10). The future of these lands therefore, remains subject to the whims of governments.

Current Policies

The Niagara Municipality developed a new Regional Strategy for Development and Conservation in 1998. The plan placed the highest priority on preserving lands designated as unique agricultural lands (Good Grape and Good Tender Fruit Areas), while good agricultural lands were prioritized second (The Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1998: 32). Lands classified as rural area

⁹These decisions are available in the following documents: OMB Decision on Urban Areas Boundaries for Niagara Falls, Thorold, and Port Colborne (1979) and OMB Decision on Urban Areas Boundaries for Grimsby, Lincoln, Niagara-on-the-Lake and St. Catharines plus Amendment One (1981).

(which excludes the former two kinds of designated land areas) allow some non-farm development such as, "...estate subdivisions, recreational uses, and small-scale commercial and institutional development... (The Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1998: 43)."

Pressure to increase urban area boundaries continues. In particular, the financial difficulties of farmers are motivating politicians to allow farmers to develop portions of their land to support themselves (Chapman, 1994: 294-296). Regional agricultural policies regarding land use were recently changed in Niagara. The changes reduced previous restrictions on farm retirement lots, residential infilling¹⁰, surplus farm dwellings and the creation of new farms. New policies were also created to allow for secondary uses of agricultural designated property such as home occupations and the creation of a farm help lot to be used by a farm family member, substituting for the future farm retirement lot. An appeal by the Township of West Lincoln requested that the residential infilling policy not be limited to "bona fide" farmers. The OMB has accepted the appeal (Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1997). Thus, the new land use policy on residential infilling is oriented to both farmers and non-farmers.

Comparatively, the City of Stoney Creek has recommended that its urban

¹⁰Farm retirement lot is defined as "one lot from a farm operation for a full time farmer of retirement age who is retiring from active working life, was farming on January 1, 1994 or an earlier date set out in an existing official plan, and has owned and operated the farm operation for a substantial number of years (Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs, 1998)." Residential infilling is defined as "the creation of a residential lot between two existing non-farm residences which are on separated lots of a similar size and which are situated on the same side of a road and are not more than 100 metres apart (Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs, 1998)."

boundary be expanded to allow 600 acres of prime agricultural land to be rezoned for housing. The recommendation is being considered by the Region (Stoney Creek News, 1999: 1-5). These kinds of discussions provide evidence of continued interest in and pressure for development opportunities which will jeopardize remaining prime agricultural lands.

Market Conditions

Land policies are strongly influenced by economic conditions. The desire for increased urbanization is influenced by the interests of farmers who may wish to sell their property for profit (Chapman, 1994: 296). Farmers have experienced an onslaught of difficulties throughout the years. Market situations, increasing costs for farm equipment and supplies, and difficulties in finding labour have made farming an uncertain business (Jackson, 1977: 33).

Changes in the food processing sector include: increased costs in processing due to such factors as waste disposal standards, and reduced tariffs under the Free Trade Agreement have also contributed to farmers' difficulties. The costs involved with processing Ontario fruit are not competitive with the costs of purchasing foreign processed fruits giving processors little incentive to continue.

As a result, processors are leaving Ontario or buying foreign fruit. Such events, as the closure of Gerber Canada's Niagara Falls plant in 1990 and the discontinuation of domestic peach purchases by H. J. Heinz Limited of Leamington, Ontario, have been extremely problematic for farmers (Niagara

Tender Fruit Working Group, 1990: 3-8). These kinds of challenges have made the sale of farm property a strong lure.

Aging Farmers

Many farmers view their land as a source of money for retirement (Jackson, 1977: 34; Clement and Janzen, 1978: 25). As Jackson, (1977: 34) states, "A harvest of homes yields more than a harvest of peaches."

The knowledge that farmers can make large amounts of money by selling their land does not support their remaining in a difficult and often unprofitable business. Property is often sold to speculators rather than farmers since entry into farming is difficult for new farmers due to the costs of land and equipment (Clement and Janzen, 1978: 25; Jackson, 1977: 34). Young people simply can't afford to buy land for farming in the area (Informant Interviews: Edward, 49, CF & Roger, 67, CF & Lucy, 60, CF). The average age of farmers in Ontario is quite high. In particular, the average age of male farm operators, in 1996, was 50.0, while the average age for female farm operators was 47.9 (Statistics Canada, 1997(e): 24). One farmer discusses the phenomenon¹¹,

Roger: Particularly the fruit farms, the price of land, in this golden horseshoe, is, (pause) market on land has gone up much faster than the market on the produce. So there is very few young people that are buying farms. There may be a few young people that are inheriting the family farm from generations and generations and generations.

¹¹In the transcripts of interviews, I have used pseudonyms (false names) for everyone interviewed. I have indicated my initials (SH) for my presence in the transcripts. After each interview segment, the pseudonym, age and farming status (currently farming is indicated by "CF"; previously farmed or lived on a farm is indicated by "PF" and; never farmed is indicated by "NF") of the person is noted.

SH: Ahum-

Roger: -Well there is not very many 40 year olds that are going out, because if you are going to buy 30 acres and you are going to equip it, you had better be looking at a half a million dollars. And if you have a half a million dollars you aren't going to be dumb enough to put it in farming of ANY KIND! And that's a quote.

(Roger, 67, CF & Lucy, 60, CF)

Government Reactions

Government concern over the future of agricultural lands in the area has been inconsistent. This kind of reaction is likely due to the fact that Canada has a decentralized system of government with many levels of government; municipal, regional, provincial, and federal along with special-purpose bodies such as the Conservation Authorities in Ontario, all having some role in rural land issues. Further, federal and provincial governments tend to be sectorally oriented with regard to rural land planning. Consequently, land-use planning may be separated from other planning-related endeavours and may be directed at symptoms rather than causes of problems (Bryant, 1989: 178-182).

Regional governments acknowledge the economic and geographic significance of agriculture and the pressures the sector is experiencing. As well, they are working towards assisting farmers to improve the economic viability of the agricultural occupation, by supporting food processors on farms, permitting roadside produce stands and encouraging farmers' markets (The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1998). Nonetheless, local municipal governments also tend to be positively oriented to development and believe that growth will improve the tax base and employment opportunities but do not take into account the increased pressures for services that new developments

demand (Jackson, 1977: 35-36).

Provincial governments have varying policies towards land use depending upon the ministry involved. For example, the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing and the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, and Food, and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA) have had policies which do not promote urban sprawl and development on prime agricultural areas. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Transportation have had policies which promote urban expansion. Specifically, the Ministry of the Environment's policies towards improving standards for services such as sewers and water mains have led to the financing of sewer and water facilities in the centre of tender fruit soil areas. Further, highway development policies have encouraged the expansion of the Queen Elizabeth Way (Gayler, 1979: 47-51; Krueger, 1978: 191; Krueger, 1982: 6; OMAFRA, 1998). In order to rectify the situation, the various provincial ministries need to co-ordinate their approaches in formulating policies regarding agricultural lands (Conservation Easement Committee, 1992: 57).

Federal government policies have offered little protection against competition from countries importing fruit to Canada with lower production costs (Krueger, 1978: 191; Clement and Janzen, 1978: 24-25). Trade policies, in the late 1980's, such as the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (FTA), the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and rulings under the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) have led to further uncertainty towards the future of farming. The GATT ruling which allowed Canadian house wines to

be made from 70 percent imported grapes encouraged a Grape Acreage Reduction Program whereby farmers removed grape acreage (Chapman, 1994: 291-293). The elimination of tariffs appears to have had varying impacts on fruit and vegetable farming (Dempster, 1989: 1277-1280; Goddard, 1994: 467-472). Nonetheless, it has been indicated that after the "snapback" period (a 20-year provision allowing each party the right to apply temporary duties under specific conditions) the negative impacts of FTA and NAFTA may be more strongly felt. For example, there may be a greater number of imports leading to more competition for Canadian farm producers (Goddard, 1994: 465 & 472). The various levels of government do not share a cohesive plan to promote positive agricultural policies. More often, different levels of government hamper and contradict each other in these efforts. It is evident that a number of factors have fostered the increase of urban sprawl and the loss of a non-renewable resource; prime agricultural land.

Population Characteristics

The population of the area under investigation is growing and its composition has been changing over time. The British origin has always reflected a large percentage of the total population in the region in comparison to other ethnic groups. Yet, the proportion of people originating from Britain has declined in the last several decades. In 1981, people originating from Britain represented over 50 percent of the population (Statistics Canada, 1981: 1-417 &

1-202). In 1991, 23 percent indicated they were of British origin and 6.5 percent indicated Canadian origin¹², representing a combined total of almost 30 percent of the total population. Other ethnic origins were indicated as follows: 32.8 percent indicated multiple origins; 12.8 percent indicated other single origins; 10.0 percent indicated Italian; 5.4 percent indicated Dutch; 3.4 percent indicated German and; 1.8 percent indicated French (Table 16). In 1981, multiple origin represented a small proportion of the population in comparison to British origin. In contrast, the ethnic origin indicated most often in 1991 was multiple ethnic origin while British origin was indicated second.

Individuals born outside of Canada represented 22 percent of the total population of Lincoln, Grimsby and Stoney Creek in 1991. Stoney Creek had more recent immigrants than Lincoln and Grimsby. Recent immigrants represented 24 percent of the population of Stoney Creek, while in Lincoln and Grimsby they represented 16 percent and 19 percent of the population respectively. Of the total people defined as recent immigrants, 44 percent arrived prior to 1961 and 56 percent arrived after 1961 (Table 17). Although, recent immigrants are a relatively small portion of the total population, greater arrivals after 1961 have made their presence more noticeable in the last decades.

With respect to recent immigrants' place of birth, the largest percentage

¹²The Aboriginal population was indicated separately from "Canadian" (Statistics Canada, 1992(b): 50 & 74).

was reported as from "Other Europe". The second largest percentage was from the United Kingdom. Approximately 10 percent of recent immigrants were visible minorities (Table 18). Thus, the relative proportion of recent immigrants is not substantially large when compared to the size of the general population.

Nonetheless, the cultural influences that they bring to the area will be shown to have a strong effect on long-term residents. Although recent immigrants do not dominate the population in numbers, further chapters will reveal how their cultural differences tend to magnify their presence.

Informant Characteristics

Qualitative evidence was obtained through interviews with thirty-two people, which included seventeen women and fifteen men. Informants' ages, at the time of the interviews, ranged from 42 years to 93 years (Table 19). The mean age of informants was 65 years and the median age was 66.5 years. In general, informants represented a sample of an older and smaller segment of the population (Table 20).

Twenty-four of the informants were born in the community. Of the twenty-four, eight identified themselves as being of United Empire Loyalist descent, eleven had family ties to the community for two or more generations and five informants were first generation residents born in the community. The remaining eight informants of the total interviewed indicated that they have spent a substantial period of their lives living in the community (Table 21).

All of the informants were born in Canada and most are descended from several generations of Canadian born ancestors. A few exceptions occurred where informants had families that had originally immigrated from Britain, United States and in one case, Italy.

Informants were interviewed in both rural and urban areas of the Niagara Fruit Belt region. Of the total interviews, eleven informants were currently farming, eleven informants have farmed or lived on a fruit farm in the past and ten informants have never farmed or lived on a farm (Table 22). Both women and men were defined as being farmers where both spouses contributed to the farm labour. Of the eleven informants who had farmed or lived on a farm in the past, six were retired from farming, two had moved from fruit farming into other occupations and three had grown up on a fruit farm. Two of the informants who were currently farming were beyond the retirement age of sixty-five. Nineteen out of the thirty-two informants currently or at one time regarded themselves as farmers. Of the informants who were currently farming, four had part-time work¹³ in other occupations (Table 2 and 23). The desire to farm on a part-time basis may be related to the close proximity to urban employment, the seasonal nature of farming or the insufficient amount of income available in full-time farming (Steeves, 1980).

The informants represent a relatively small proportion of the total

¹³Part-time farmers have a net farm income but do not report farming as their occupation. Part-time farming made up about 16 per cent of the total agricultural population in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1995(a): 7).

population when taking into account their age and ethnicity. Furthermore as indicated earlier, farming represents a small proportion of occupations in the area. Consequently, informants who farm represent a small segment of the total population. It is important to point out that the culture, memories and perceptions of these individuals may not be representative of the population at large. Yet, they are of interest because of their distinctive perspectives. Given the age of the people interviewed, the findings reflect the memories and experiences of social and environmental occurrences and changes that are unique to the cohort since they lived through a specific historical period which other cohorts have not (Riley, 1988: 29). With respect to their personal histories, many informants have lived through the difficult years of the Depression and World War Two. They have experienced social, economic and political changes. They have endured difficulties and pleasures which are not only unique to their generation but may also be unique to living in the region. They have derived an impression of the region and its character through experiences and memories of their lifetimes and for many, the lifetimes of their parents and grandparents. Most of the people interviewed were able to provide multi-generational memories of living and farming in the region. Further, eleven of them belonged to a historical society and consequently, had a special interest in history. All of the informants had a strong emotional attachment to the region's farm lands. Each had some experience or memory attached to these lands and expressed the belief that farming was integral to the character and

history of the area.

The following quotation provides an indication of how the region and its people were conceptualized in the past.

...those who have resided in this beautiful Niagara District will tell you that living conditions here are ideal. Those who live here want to stay forever, and those who have moved away always want to come back. Because it is rich in those things which make life enjoyable, and because of its historic past, its inhabitants are among the finest to be found on the face of the globe. Breeding counts, and the descendants of those hardy pioneers who for the sake of freedom and British traditions hewed homes from the primeval forest and later stood up in battle to defend those homes possess such a nobility of character and such a modest pride in those things which make life beautiful that they may well be called "the salt of the earth" (Coombs, 1930: 9).

Even though the previous description was written in the 1930's, a large proportion of informants expressed similar beliefs. Such beliefs were suggested in their expressions of pride and attachment to the community due to its beauty, history, people, historical buildings and farming landscape. Nonetheless, the conceptions described in the quotation were largely considered valued components of the past. All of the fruit farmers and longtime members of the community that were interviewed indicated that much of their pride and attachment to the region was now threatened due to changes in the community.

Farming Identity

Given that a large number of the informants currently farm, have farmed in the past or lived on a farm, farming experiences were found to influence their social identity. Farming is not just an occupation. It is also a part of day-to-day

life. One of the main reasons people farm is to make a living and hopefully gain profit. However, farming has many obstacles, suggesting that it must have an intrinsic value for people to remain in this work. In other words, "it is a way of life" (Edward, 49, CF, E-mail correspondence). The following discussions display these beliefs.

SH: Can you tell me what keeps you motivated to stay in farming?

Beatrice: What keeps me here? Certainly not the pay. But the life style. You know the fact that I can take an hour today to talk to you. If I worked at GM, I would say, you know you do your job. It's in your blood. You sort of love growing things. I don't know, what keeps you motivated. Some days you ask yourself why you do this. I would be far better off if I was a teacher worked eight months and had the summer off. But it is a oh gosh, it is your own business. You work for yourself. You answer to yourself if you screw up. You blame yourself. If you do well, you are proud. Every year is different. It gives you a new challenge every year. I love it. (Pause) I guess you do it and then once you are in it, you are sort of stuck. So you are either stuck and like it or stuck and hate it. And my sister hated it and she got out. But I love it. I love playing in the dirt. It's food. People always like food. You know you are not trying to sell shoes that change colour every year. I don't know. I like it. (Beatrice, 43, CF & Peter, 45, CF)

Rosemary: It's a great way to bring up kids.

Carl: Yeah it is. And uh, you can teach a sense of value that you just can't get from somewhere else. The fact that if you want to sit out your back door, in some instances or most instances, you can sit outside nude.

SH: (laugh)

Carl: Well not now you can't but there was a time when basically when the farm shut down at five or six o'clock at night. There wouldn't be anybody in your driveway. So you could sit out there in your birthday suit and don't have to worry about it. But not now.

(Rosemary, 42, CF & Carl, 47, CF)

SH: So, seeing your parents have such a hard time. Did you want to do the same thing? Did you grow up thinking, I definitely want to farm?

Charles: Oh, I enjoy farming.

SH: What was it about farming, you enjoyed?

Charles: Oh, just growing crops, you know, like fruit..and-

Ruby: being outside-

Charles: Yes, I enjoyed working the land, and planting crops and tending fruit trees and grapery and so forth.

SH: What made it interesting for you?

Charles: I guess we are all driven by the monetary thing aren't we? But, uh well, it was interesting. It's not an easy job to be, uh, I mean, you have to use a certain amount of intelligence to be a successful farmer in any line of farming and in fruit farming, I mean you have so many pests that come along and you have. You

have to spray, and you have to prune properly and same as any farm, you have to feed the land.

(Charles, 72, PF & Ruby, PF-sat in on the interview)

SH: What made you decide to continue farming?

Edward: I guess just growing up on a farm. I enjoyed it. All the time I grew up I can't say I ever wanted to farm but I went to University of Guelph, took agriculture. I guess when it came time to go out looking for work, I couldn't think of anything that I wanted to do better. I couldn't see myself working in a factory, which after we bought this property, I did, I worked in (S) for a few years.

SH: Is that right?

Edward: To help pay for the mortgage. And at that time I had a choice, I actually took a management training program and was on salary and it came to a point I had to decide to either stay with (S) 100 percent or get out. I couldn't share it and I thought at the same time, I didn't want to work at a factory all my life.

SH: Mmm.

Edward: So it just seemed, ah I mean I, growing up on a farm, I was comfortable with it. And I think that as time has gone on, it's a nice place, it's a nice lifestyle. Like, farming is a lifestyle. Not really an occupation, it's a lifestyle. When you go through it, you sort of (pause) you realize yourself the benefits as you grew up and you sort of want your kids to have the same benefit. Even if you don't necessarily want them to stay in farming. It is a nice way to raise kids and it's a nice life.

(Edward, 49, CF)

While making money is essential to survive, farming is not necessarily chosen for economic reasons. As well, people generally do not continue working as farmers purely for anticipated high earnings. People often farm simply because they like the lifestyle.

Family Participation in Farming

Fruit farming, like most farming operations, is generally a family operation. Family members are often actively included in farm work and activities. Family participation makes the farming occupation unique from many other kinds of occupations. The following discussion shows how neighbours and family members participated in farm labour.

SH: Who did your father hire to work on the farm?

Anne: Well, there were a lot of people. A lot of the women around wanted jobs. But we didn't make a lot of money 'cause it was such a low pay. But I always helped and mom always did and dad would do it. But (Ruddy) never wanted to pick anything very much. He used to say when I get a farm, if I ever have one. I am going to have watermelons NOT cherries (laugh). But anyway, there was quite few women that came and helped and mom had a few friends that had a group that called themselves. You ought to know it's. (pause) They were all neighbours and they used to come and help too. There would be six or eight of us picking, at least that many. (pause) And every once in a while mom would say to my brother, "You had better go and get us some water. I am getting dry and it's hot here." So he'd go away and he'd be gone a long time with a little pail to get water and after a while she would say, "Water boy where are you hiding." He'd come back and she would say, "You were gone a long time." He'd say well it took him a long time to fill the pail (laugh). He'd do anything to get away from it.
(Anne, 83, PF)

Farming can provide an opportunity to share labour and knowledge with family members. Nonetheless, as indicated in the previous excerpt, farm labour may not always be a desirable thing for everyone.

Husbands and wives are often both active in the farming operation. Men are often considered to be "the farmers," yet it is apparent that women have had an important role in fruit farming and continue to do so. In 1991, for the first time the Canadian Census included having more than one person per farm reported as a farm operator. The Census provided evidence that one-quarter of all farm operators were women (Statistics Canada, n.d.). Nonetheless, the new category still may not completely capture women's contribution to the farm operation. Clearly, women's labour on the farm has been and continues to be equally valuable to the success of the operation to that of men's (Ghorayshi, 1989). Verifying that women have made a valuable contribution to farming, one informant discusses his grandmother's participation.

**David: Grandma was quite self sufficient. She was a strong person. She was the backbone. She did all the tying of the grapes, picking. She was wonderful. Even when she was elderly, when she was 75, she still tied grapes. I can remember her on the back of a pick-up truck, with a ladder on the back of a pick-up truck, picking cherries off that ladder. I was a young kid and I had to take the basket down for her so that she didn't have to come down.
(David, 64, PF)**

Part of farming culture is that everyone in the family is required to help out. It is not just men who farm. The labour of women and children also contribute to the success of many operations.

Characteristics of Work

Farming is characterized by hard work, long hours, physical dangers and economic and climatic uncertainties. With respect to fruit farming, much of the labour is done when the fruit ripens during the summer months. However, the rest of the year continues to be busy during which preparations are made for harvest. The Niagara fruit farmers' yearly work activities are described as follows:

November - March: Prune the trees and grape vines; pull the grape brush off the wires; gather brush from trees and vines, and burn it (later we chopped much of it with a large mower, and left it in the fields for mulch).

April - June: Tie up grape vines to wires, cultivate and spray trees and vines as required; apply fertilizer.

June: Thin peaches if crop is too heavy.

July- August: Further spraying on some fruits; thin pears and apples. In more recent years, irrigate orchards in dry spells.

June- October: Pick berries, cherries, plums, peaches, pears, grapes, apples. Berries and peaches need picking more than once.

While young orchards were still growing to full size, growers often planted berries or currants between the trees to have some crop to pick during these years.

At any time of the year a fruit farmer had to prepare to open drainage ditches in order to drain excess water from orchards- most fruit do not stand wet feet (Dean, 1998: 4).

During harvest months, several informants discussed the long working days that they experienced.

Daniel: If I could give a fine example. I do Toronto just up until about a week and a half ago, I was doing Toronto. Now what that means is at 2:30 the alarm goes off in the morning, at 2:30 in the morning. At 3:00, I am out of here and I am in the truck and I am down at the Toronto market and I am in there by, quite often I am in there by about ah, 4:00. And I am selling my load, 4:00 a.m!

SH: Wow.

Daniel: And by the time I have the truck loaded in Toronto and I am out of there, it is noon, by the time I get home, and quite often we have at that time anywhere from 12 to 14 people working in the field. And although, I had a good fellow this year that worked for me and he was able to organize pretty well. It's still not the same, because I'm having to put orders together for the following day and make sure my orders get met. And I find myself not getting any rest, or sleep, until 9:00 at night. And then back up at 2:30 in the morning. Now that is a typical day for two months.

SH: That's pretty exhausting, eh.

Daniel: And on Saturdays it's the same thing. So six days a week, we are doing that. And thank god for Sundays (laugh).

(Daniel, 54, CF & Nancy 51, CF)

SH: Looking back what was the hardest times for you as a farmer? What was the most difficult times?

Bert: Well it was hard in the summer because we started selling produce in early June and we would be right on until the end of October and those days were long!

SH: Yeah.

Bert: Very long! Like start at 2:00 in the morning and go right until dark.

(Bert, 79, PF)

One man indicates the activities which occur during fall and winter season.

SH: So the winter is when you trim the trees?

David: Yes.

SH: What months?

David: When the tree is not growing, when it is dormant. We'd get into a big grapery, a 25-acre grapery and you'd hardly think you'd ever get done (laugh). A hundred vines in a row. It takes a while to trim the vines eh, and then we used to leave the brush on. You'd trim it, then what you'd call block it out, then on a really cold day. You couldn't just trim, on a cold day, you'd need vigorous exercise or you'd freeze to death. That is cold staying out in the grapery! Wind blowing and zero, just stomping your feet to try to keep warm. You'd have to a lot of fortitude to stay there.

SH: So you trim it and what is tying?

David: Before the buds come on strong, you tighten the wires. There was three wires in them days. Six to posts, because some of them rot, change them then tighten the wires and then you tie the vine to the wires. Three wires, eh. And then the buds, usually generally try to get finished tying before the buds, otherwise because you are tying, you will damage them. Can't always get done because of the weather eh. It doesn't cooperate.

SH: So when do you do that?

David: Oh, you do that in April or March. I remember, we had the frost out of the ground so we can dig holes for the posts. You have to change the wooden posts. We'd dig the holes with a hand auger. When I was a young fellow, (W) used to rent me out to guys. He said "Nobody can dig holes like a young scamp eh." He said "He needs the exercise, take him." "Oh, what you'll pay him?" "Oh, whatever you feel like", he says, "Don't worry about that. He works cheap. He is a hard worker. If he don't do it right, let me know." (laugh)

(David, 64, PF)

It is clear that work on fruit farms is difficult throughout the year.

Considering the long hours and hard labour, fruit farming is not an occupation where one can easily become rich. Many of the informants interviewed indicated that it was difficult to make a good profit.

SH: What was it like farming here in the past?

Sharon: I don't think people realized the amount of work involved. They are shocked at what you did. But you just did it. Father was always working hard. Mother worked hard too. She used to can vegetables. I would drive the tractor and my father would go behind and spray.

SH: So did your dad want to be a farmer too?

Sharon: Oh yes, his father was a farmer and so was his grandfather. It's different now. Unless you are born and raised on a farm, there are not a lot of people out there that want to farm. We didn't have a lot of money to throw around. But we paid the bills and kept going. It wasn't easy but we helped each other then.

(Sharon, 63, PF)

SH: So did you make any money on all that work?

David: Sometimes, if the market was good, you did do well. I remember (W) saying that in the depression, they got more for grapes in the depression then they did in the 40's. The last year (W) was on the farm, I did his income tax. I don't know how he lived on what he made. He didn't make much more than enough to pay the taxes. But he used to go out doing custom work, spraying and all that. That is how he got along. He didn't make any money. No.

(David, 64, PF)

Increasing Costs, Pluriactivity and Diversification

Informants observed that farming is becoming more expensive due to the costs associated with technology, production and labour.

SH: Did you find that you were able to make money on this?

Roger: Well that is a question I get asked a lot and my answer is yes, I have to make call it profit as opposed to just generating a cash flow. You have got to make a profit, because the costs are so high, the input costs of spray is a huge percentage input cost. Now fuel for a tractor is a whole lot more than it was 15 years ago. It is maybe four or five times more than it was 15 years ago, but the sales of fruit has...

Lucy: ...not gone up...

Roger: ...not gone up that much.

SH: Exactly.

Roger: And equipment is just out of this world. Tractors and sprayers and that sort of thing.

SH: Can you tell me over the span of time some of the changes in terms of costs?

Roger: Well, yeah, my father used to say that if not you should be able to buy a hair cut with the proceeds of a sale of a 6-quart basket which is about 10 pounds of peaches. And in the 1930's when hair cuts were about 20 to 25 cents. He could sell a basket of peaches usually at Hamilton market for that amount of money. In the 40's, haircuts went up some and the price of peaches went up some. In the late 60's, haircuts and peaches were about a dollar and in the mid 1990's, peaches are six to seven dollars and haircuts are if you are lucky 12 dollars.

(Later in the interview)

SH: What do you find expensive? What is the most costly for you?

Roger: Well, spraying materials, spraying chemicals if you want to include fertilizer, chemicals. Spraying chemicals has got to be way up there. Anybody who has much acreage and has to hire help, their labour is going to be right up in there. Containers are expensive. I have always said that containers, the cost of containers shouldn't be more than 10 percent of the sale price of the produce so that when baskets were 12 and a half cents each you got (pause) maybe 60 cents for you. Peaches now the baskets are 65 cents. Well you get six or seven dollars for peaches so we keep it within 10 percent. But containers are very expensive.

Lucy: That's the paper baskets. Wood baskets are a buck each.

(Roger, 67, CF & Lucy, 60, CF)

Official statistics verify these descriptions. In the fifteen-year period from 1981 to 1996, the cost of farming in Ontario had generally become more expensive. Specifically, farms reported that the average amount of wages and salaries had increased by 214.8 percent. The average amount of fuel, oil and lubricants for farm machinery had gone up 27.7 percent. Fertilizer and lime had

increased by 88.1 percent. Herbicides, insecticides and fungicides increased by 190.9 percent. As well, custom work, contract work and machine rental or leasing had gone up by 258.5 percent (Statistics Canada, 1997(b): 182) (Table 24).

In general, informants observed that fruit farming has had periods in which it has been difficult to make a living and other periods in which it has been highly profitable. Most emphasized that the current situation was one in which farming had more financial burdens than benefits. It is not surprising that many farmers find that alternative sources of employment and income on a part-time basis are important for maintaining their farms and their standard of living. Furthermore, societal changes in the ways in which people regard work has resulted in an increase in part-time work, multiple job-holding, time-sharing and women working outside of the home. Many farm households in Canada engage in pluriactivity and obtain a large percentage of their total income from work off of the farm (Fuller & Bollman, 1992). Thirty-six percent of the current farmers in this study had part-time employment outside of the farm.

Survival for farms may also mean diversification within the farm. Diversification is often necessary for farm operations that are close to urban settings. As well, there is an indication that farms that are close to cities engage in diversification more than farms that are further away (Deslauriers et. al., 1992: 81-82). A number of the fruit farms investigated had established other avenues for gaining income from their farms such as, pick your owns, on-site stores and

other kinds of enterprises. Informants generally acknowledged that they had to be open to different forms of diversification in order to maintain their farming operations.

Farming Hazards

Farming can be a dangerous and unpredictable occupation. Dangerous working conditions may significantly affect the lives and well-being of those who work on farms. One of the primary working hazards for fruit farmers are the pesticides, insecticides and fertilizers that are used on the trees and vines. Ward (1971: 41) reports that these chemicals are extremely toxic and potent. Specifically, a single ounce of insecticide in a thousand gallons of water can kill an acre of pests. Ward notes that in the case of some substances the manufacturers warn that after spraying a field, farm workers should stay out of the area for 30 days unless they are wearing protective clothing and masks. Unfortunately, many farmers cannot adhere to these guidelines when, for example, their crop ripens (1971: 41-42).

Mechanical agents which indicate "...an external energy source: animal, thermal, electrical, or chemical (Denis, 1988: 421)" are another work hazard. In Canada, from 150 to 200 persons die of farm accidents due to mechanical agents each year (Robertson, 1984: 20-22). Physical agents such as "...noise, vibrations, compressed air, radiation, lighting, and temperature (Denis, 1988: 420)" all pose additional work hazards.

Many of the informants interviewed indicated the risks of farming both in the past and the present. One informant discusses a death in her family due to farming.

Sharon: Grandpa (Kingston) was killed in a farming accident.

SH: What happened?

Sharon: He was driving some horses through the field and his horses were startled and he was thrown off his wagon. He was in his 70's.

(Sharon, 63, PF)

Several informants mention that pesticides were particularly dangerous years ago when there was a general lack of knowledge about them.

SH: Back then, did they use pesticides?

David: Yes, spraying apples and pears especially, some deadly sprays.

SH: What years are you talking about?

David: Back when I was young kid. This would be the latter 40's. Pears and apples. And you had to be right on the date too. You couldn't be two or three days late. You had to do it in certain stages. I can still remember a picture, it was for spraying apples under glass in the garage at home in the farm and it was for all the different stages and the buds, and the blossoms and the apple tree, the leaves developing and when to spray for certain things. Your great-uncle Edgar was really up on sprays. He was really excellent and everybody used to go to Edgar for advice on when to spray and what to spray and different pests and fungus. I remember when I was young man, I guess 15 or 16, driving the sprayer and uncle (W) manually sprayed and he would get it all over the place. Sometimes the wind would change, because we were going up and down the rows of the pears, and I was well-covered but I got it on my skin many times. And this was these terrible sprays now that are so toxic that you don't even go near it. And we used it with utter abandon.

SH: Did you wear any protection, like over your face?

David: No. I used to have a leather hat on and gloves but half the time I just ignored it. It would blow in your face and I would wipe it off. Now like this stuff is supposed to build up in your tank, in your reservoir. When I used pesticides in the last few years in the barn and that, I got a really bad headache and I asked some knowledgeable guy a doctor or somebody like that and he said your tank is full. It's a wonder you don't have liver problems because the liver has to clean itself.

(David, 64, PF)

SH: You worked with pesticides?

Bert: Yes.

SH: Were there any hazards in working with that?

Bert: Yes and that is another story. My brother died at a young age and I know several other fellows that died at a young age who handled a lot of pesticides and we didn't take enough precautions that we should have. I hate to tell you this but I have seen. They talk about DDT being so harmful to you. I have seen us put our

bare hands right in the tank to clean out the suction hose and you would be covered with spray. When you are spraying the wind would change and blow it on you. We weren't as careful as we should have been.

SH: Did you have any training in that?

Bert: Well they give, they used to recommend what to do but when you are out there in the field and the suction line plugs up or something breaks, or a hose breaks and goes on you, you have got to get on with the job and (pause). That is probably partly the matter with me now. I shake quite a bit and it could be from (pause).

SH: That is scary, isn't it? What were other, that seems like a bad thing that you had to work with.

Bert: Well that was and it's kind of dangerous too, you know. Oftentimes, you can be working by yourself in a field with a tractor and implements and something breaks and you want to fix it and nobody around and you strain yourself trying to move a part or get a part. And it wasn't all fun I will tell you.

(Bert, 79, PF)

Informants indicated their concern about past working conditions. They realized that their work had dangers which likely have had repercussions on their health. They suggested that risks are all part of a difficult occupation. Another informant also indicates some of the present day dangers of farming.

SH: What are the hazards in working in a farm?

Beatrice: Pesticides are very dangerous. Equipment is dangerous. But I guess living down town is dangerous also. (pause) The chemicals we use are dangerous. But we try to be safety conscious. There are ways of being safe and you try to be safe. (pause) Pesticide training that we have to take. We don't want to be these, be polluters. They always say agriculture is the biggest polluter. You don't want to do that. You cultivate your trees. You want to take care of your environment. You don't want to dump all this stuff all over the place.

(Beatrice, 43, CF & Peter, 45, CF)

Fortunately, a greater awareness of farming hazards today has initiated regulations to prevent accidents. For example, current regulations under the Pest Control Act require farmers and anyone else handling pesticides and fertilizers to become certified every five years (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1998). Regulations may make work safer. Nonetheless, farming remains a dangerous occupation.

Weather Conditions

Another difficulty that farmers face is the uncertainty of weather conditions. Unpredictable weather can cause numerous problems such as, hail or frost damage (Conservation Easement Committee, 1992: 2). Informants mentioned weather as one consistently, unpredictable element that they constantly had to deal with.

SH: I guess things too like the weather must have been difficult?

Bert: Yes. I have seen us lose a whole peach crop one year with hail, just as when they were getting ripe and at that time we did not have insurance.

SH: Hmm.

Bert: And we lost a crop in the vineyard another year with hail too. But hail and frost were the two disasters and extremely wet weather could cause a lot of trouble too.

SH: In a year, was the weather the biggest problem do you think?

Bert: You never know, everything could be going along fine and then your peach could be ripe and they are just ready to pick and you get four days of rain. Nobody to pick and your peaches are ripe. That is one of your hazards. That is why a good farmer wouldn't go and buy a lot of money to buy something until he gets the money in his pocket. That's what we wanted a truck, we made sure we had the money to pay for it before we bought it. Because you are not sure of it until you get it.

(Bert, 79, PF)

SH: For you did you like that life?

Natalie: I never grew up with it, so I didn't know much about it until I met Jerry then I began to realize all the ins and outs. And then I would be standing looking out the window and complaining it's not raining and then it would rain, and oh wonderful it's raining and then now we are getting too much. We don't need this. (laugh) So that's how I learned about farming. It was never doing the right thing when you wanted it to.

(Natalie, 55, PF & Jerry, 61, PF)

Anne: I remember once dad took a load of sour cherries down and they had a lot of wind and they had gotten marked and he took them down to E.D. Smith and they refused them.

SH: Oh, really.

Anne: He had to bring them home and he had to go through the whole load and pick out all the good ones and repack them all.

SH: Sounds like a lot of work.

Anne: Oh, it was. It was.

SH: Was he upset about it?

**Anne: Oh yeah, he had lost a lot of money on it. He would only probably get half of what he thought he would.
(Anne, 83, PF)**

Long hours, uncertain markets, dangerous working conditions and unpredictable weather conditions all characterize the farming occupation. Informants who currently farmed or who farmed in the past often pointed to difficulties of farming. The fact that farming is regarded as a way of life corresponds to an understanding that those who choose a farming life style must have strong, enduring personalities. The social background and experiences of informants have influenced the ways in which they relate and adapt to new experiences. Informants share a culture derived from living in a region where social and environmental change has been continuous. The long-term impositions of urbanization along with the farming culture of stoicism will be shown to have built a shared set of expectations concerning the inevitability of the demise of agriculture.

This chapter has provided a profile of some of the characteristics of the region under investigation. It has discussed fruit farming and the influences of detrimental land-use policies and political and economic factors. It has indicated some of the characteristics of the population and the cultural aspects of farming. Such attributes define how people perceive themselves and their environment. Difficulties and hardships are part of informants' identities due to their generational, cultural and farming experiences. Further chapters will show how

these identities and experiences have shaped informants' perceptions of themselves and their community. The next chapter will discuss the methodological approaches used in conducting the research.

Chapter Two:

Methodological Processes

The impetus for this research arose from an interest in how increasing numbers of housing and industrial developments are affecting long-term residents and farmers in the Niagara Fruit Belt of Ontario. This chapter provides insight on how the findings evolved through an examination of the methodological processes which were employed. In undertaking qualitative research, the aim was to go beyond examining numbers and statistics to explore relationships and the meanings and motivations of experiences and actions through the realm of the personal (Armstrong, 1983: 31-32). It was hoped that qualitative methodology would more easily enable the people being studied to participate actively in the description and definition of their lives.

An integral aspect of methodology can be the personal reflections of researchers. Researchers are important instruments of the research. As such, we should be reflexive in understanding how our own experiences impact on the research. Given that researchers' own voices, thoughts and opinions are embedded in the research, revealing our presence by discussing the circumstances and influences relating to data collection can only add to the results. Evaluating and reflecting upon our own experiences can also enable a

better understanding of the dialogue, memories and actions of those we research (Cotterill and Letherby, 1993; Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1981; Roberts, 1981; Stanley and Wise, 1983).

The experiences and processes which occurred in doing the research are the focus of the chapter. A description of grounded theory and life history approaches is outlined. The various sources used to acquire information on the topic are indicated. Ethical issues and social relations between informants and researchers are reviewed. The ways in which the research findings were documented, organized and presented are also discussed.

The Use of Grounded Theory

Qualitative research was undertaken using the grounded theory approach. Grounded theory methodology was developed by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss and has been described in the following way:

Grounded theory is a *general methodology* for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 273).

Glaser and Strauss believe that researchers should study a topic without bringing preconceived ideas and theories to the research that may *rigidly* frame the relevant hypotheses and categories. They suggest beginning the research by ignoring existing literature on the subject matter to ensure that categories emerge on their own. Once a set of categories have been developed,

correspondence with the literature can be assessed. The concepts and hypotheses can be developed during the research and then researchers can determine if any existing theories are available to generate substantive theories. The findings are consequently more exploratory and are not confined to existing theories. The sources of data are the same in grounded theory studies as in other qualitative research. They are: interviews, field observations and documents such as newspapers or letters. In grounded theory, there is an emphasis on interpretative work which usually includes the perspectives of the people studied. As well, theory development is emphasized. During the course of the research, researchers can verify hypotheses and generate theory through constant comparative analyses (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:26-28, 33-34 & 37; Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 273-274). Theory is generated from the data or,

...if existing (grounded) theories seem ~~appropriate to the area of~~ investigation, then these may be *elaborated* and modified as incoming data are meticulously played against them (Strauss & Corbin, 1994: 273).

Theory is regarded as a process which is continually developing and is never complete. The general procedure of the grounded theory method is to inquire about the influence of something, such as gender, power, or social class, on the phenomenon being examined and to explore the influence retrospectively. The benefit of the grounded theory approach is that it takes into account the links between time, place and the derivation of knowledge and by building conditions into theories, it allows more theories to be created (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 31-32; Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 276). Grounded theory

methodology questions the conditions of the situation and who was involved. It examines ways of action and interaction between and among various kinds of people. It is not interested specifically in individuals, but it is directed towards discovering process. Finally, grounded theory emphasizes that theories are part of history which influences how they are created and how they change (Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 276-280).

The grounded theory approach proved to be extremely effective since it allowed the use of a set of broad questions which were narrowed and focused through the emerging trends of data collection rather than through existing theoretical parameters. Since the approach acknowledges that sociologists will research areas of social life that are not explained by existing theories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 11), it had the flexibility to permit the development of a set of unanticipated findings. Specifically, I began with examining change in the Niagara Fruit Belt and the difficulties in fruit farming. As I talked to informants, I started developing additional questions and ideas and began to narrow my topic. Since informants often discussed similar experiences, I began exploring these commonalities further. For example, one unexpected topic that many informants mentioned was the construction of a highway in the region (See Chapter Three). Since the grounded theory approach introduced me to the importance of the highway construction, I was able to establish new premises. I observed that events connected to the highway influence conceptions of change and progress. A review of the literature and newspaper archives produced supportive

information that built on the findings and affirmed the patterns that were emerging. The grounded theory approach facilitated the introduction of new concepts that may have been overlooked if another methodology had been utilized.

Data Collection Sources

The research was undertaken using theoretical sampling: jointly collecting, coding and analyzing data to develop theory as it emerged. The research began with some general concepts. I was aware that there was urbanization taking place in the area of study which was making the rural landscape disappear. I was also aware that there were both negative and positive reactions to this change, which provoked me to question how long-term residents such as fruit farmers viewed the situation. These concepts were the basis for further exploration of the research problem and allowed categories to emerge from the data to create theories about responses (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 45-76).

A triangulation approach was used in gathering the data. Triangulation occurs where different research sources are combined to verify reports, create new avenues of exploration and validate the various findings (Denzin, 1978). Several research sources were used which include: literature reviews, unstructured interviews, statistical analysis and archived sources and materials. The latter included an examination of newspaper accounts, interview tapes and

old photographs. All of these sources allowed for verification of emerging concepts.

Literature Review

Preliminary work entailed conducting a brief literature review and developing some broad questions for investigation. In particular, I wanted to know if this setting was really important in terms of agriculture and if there was an increase in population and urbanization that was reflected in statistics. I also examined historical descriptions of the area and its people to enhance my understanding of the setting and culture. Contrary to directing my expectations for the findings, the initial research was instrumental in allowing me to gain a familiarity with the concepts related to the subject area (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). It also enabled me to evaluate my personal conceptions about the subject matter (Grele, 1985: 130; Shields and Dervin, 1993: 67; Sitton, Mehaffy and Davis, 1983). Upon completion of all other research, I conducted another, more thorough literature review to fill in the remaining research gaps.

Unstructured Interviews

After establishing a guideline for the research, I began finding informants to interview. I decided that the best way of proceeding would be through conducting unstructured interviews to directly hear the opinions and thoughts of the people I was studying. My primary goal was to interview people who had

been born in the area and who had strong emotional ties to it. In addition, I wanted to interview descendants of early settlers. Of particular interest were people who farmed or were related to fruit farmers. My supposition was that it would be these informants who would have rich, long-term memories, a sense of connection to the land and a strong identification with the area.

My sample of interviews was strategically created with the criteria that informants had to be long-term residents and/or long-term farmers in the area. The initial interviews were obtained through personal contacts in the community through a referral method. These interviews were set up through visits and telephone calls.

Further contacts were supplied through informants who provided names of people to be interviewed so that the sample began to snowball in size (Coleman, 1964: 444). As well, informants were obtained through a local historical society.¹⁴ Interviews were conducted over a period of a year and a

¹⁴ I went into the research setting with the hope was that my contacts would snowball in number. I found that in general people recommended another family member to interview or a neighbour. After the first set of interviews, I found myself concerned that the snowball was going to move too slowly and would not lead me to enough people given that I was in the setting for a short period of time and there were often long delays before I could return. I also realized early on that conducting interviews with farmers was not going to be easy. First, because this was a fairly insular group who tended to be very suspicious of being interviewed and second, these people were extremely busy, with little time to talk to researchers. With these two factors in mind, I therefore, decided to pursue a different avenue of finding informants and wrote a local historical society in January of 1997 stating that, "I was doing a study on accounts of history and memories of the area and its changes over time and that I hoped to talk to some of the society's members. " Following this up with a phone call, I arranged to interview some members in the spring of 1997. At this time I redesigned my interview guide so that it would be appropriate for these people, fully believing that my study would move away from farmers' interpretations of life and change in the region to that of long-term residents' interpretations. After the next set of interviews I examined my data to see if there were any trends emerging. I found that the historical society members interviewed were either non-farmers or had previously farmed or lived on a farm. Thus, this introduced the notion that my informants fell into three distinct categories: Current farmers, Previous Farmers and Never Farmed.

half, during the months of June¹⁵ and November of 1996, and May and November of 1997. After completing thirty-two informant interviews, I had established a set of premises and was confident that further interviews would only yield similar findings so that a saturation point had been reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 61-62)

Unstructured interviews were conducted with open-ended questions, where the phrasing of questions and order were subject to change depending upon the characteristics and needs of the informants. An interview guide was used with some pre-determined questions (See Appendix B) to generate discussion. These questions were flexible in that they could be dropped if they appeared to be inappropriate. In addition, informants were encouraged to raise issues that they felt were important to discuss. As a result, many of the interviews flowed in the direction that informants wished depending upon their interests and concerns. Questions were not presented in a fixed order and were phrased and ordered to correspond with how the conversation appeared to be moving. The discussion guided the interview instead of the interview questions

I proceeded to analyse my data to see if there were any major differences or similarities in responses depending upon informants' group status. In this comparison, I observed that the differences were not large enough to be worthy of a great deal of discussion. Over the course of the research, I continued to obtain informants through the snowball method through interviews with farmers and with historical society members.

¹⁵ A few interviews took place in June of 1996. However, I found that the summer months were not good for interviewing fruit farmers since this is an extremely busy period for them. I arranged for the next interviews to be held before and after the summer period. These times provided easier access to fruit farmers and to other informants (who took vacations during the summer months). Another consideration was that these months generally have reasonably good driving conditions, allowing an easy commute from my home in Ottawa to the research setting. It was mutually beneficial to accommodate my schedule to fit informants' needs (Gluck, 1977: 8).

directing the discussion. It was my intention that individuals' unique ways of defining their worlds would be acknowledged by providing them with the opportunity to raise their own issues. It would also allow a number of topics to be explored and hypotheses to be tested both during the course of an interview and in subsequent interviews with other informants (Denzin, 1978: 115-117).

The unstructured interview was frustrating at times particularly when informants changed topics just as I was finding out some interesting details. However, where informants took control over interviews, interesting and insightful stories and information were often produced as a result (Bertaux, 1981: 39; Crago, 1992: 197). Unstructured interviews encourage people to talk about emotional subject matter. Many informants described conditions, events and interactions where they had experienced intense emotions. In many cases, these conversations contained amusing stories and fond memories from which I derived a great deal of pleasure. In contrast, there were times when strong negative emotions were expressed. For example, one informant was very angry about his current situation and at times I sensed that his anger was directed at me. During emotional discussions, I tried to ensure that my own reactions did not hamper informants' disclosures since I wanted the interviews to proceed without constraint (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997: 66). As a result of discussing emotional topics, I found that I became closer to the subject matter and often carried informants' discussions with me for some time beyond the interview.

Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to two and a half hours and took place

in informants' homes with one or more individuals at a time. Twelve interviews took place with individuals on a one-on-one basis. In two instances, a spouse sat in on the interview but participated only minimally and was not included as part of the total informant sample. Two people were interviewed together in nine cases. In one case, three informants were interviewed together. Finally, one person was interviewed twice, both individually and with others.

The majority of group interviews were with married couples. One interview was with three siblings and another was with a mother and daughter. I found that the dynamics in group interviews differed from individual interviews. Informants participating in group interviews often encouraged, refuted and prompted each other's memories and responses. There may have been greater ease in these interviews since the informants outnumbered me and could talk to one another as well as to me. These interviews were more difficult for me since informants had a tendency to talk over and around each other. As a result, I had to listen carefully during the interview and prompt where necessary to ensure that each informant had his or her opportunity to speak.

Archival Data

Newspaper articles were reviewed at both the public library in Grimsby, Ontario and the National Library in Ottawa. First, I examined articles from the Grimsby local, weekly paper which was originally called The Independent and Advertiser: Devoted to the Interests of the Farmer, Fruit Grower and Business

Man and is presently called The Grimsby Independent: More Than A Newspaper - A Community Service. I read articles, beginning in the late 1890's through to the early 1950's, looking for topics which discussed farming, significant places, culture and changes in the area. The facilities in the Grimsby library were limited. Newspaper articles on microfiche could not be photocopied so when I wanted to reproduce articles, they had to be hand-copied. The articles provided an excellent perspective on life in the region. Unfortunately, the issues were incomplete since a fire at the newspaper had destroyed some papers from the 1890's to the 1940's.

Upon determining that the highway was a major source of interest, the National Archives was found to be another source for newspaper reports. My hope was to find some of the missing issues of the Grimsby paper at the Archives. However, early issues of the paper were not available. I considered examining another local paper, The Stoney Creek News but found that it had only begun publishing in the mid-1940's, after construction of the highway. Instead, I began reading the Hamilton Spectator for news reports on farming and highway development. I read daily articles from 1936 through to 1939, the significant period of highway construction, to capture as many references to the highway as possible. I also examined articles during the year of 1937 (a year in which protests mounted) from The Globe and Mail for any references to the highway. It is likely that more information about the Queen Elizabeth Way could have been obtained from newspapers in other parts of the region. Since the

objective was to focus on the area where informants resided, these papers were not examined. It was through talking to informants and then proceeding to read newspaper articles that the impacts of the Queen Elizabeth Highway emerged as a major theme.

Other Sources

Several other sources of information were obtained. Local historical society newsletters were useful for their historical references. The society also granted me access to their interview tapes. I reviewed twelve archived interview tapes of residents in the community. Many of these residents were considered old-timers and some had already passed away. I transcribed portions which were relevant to farming and/or change in the area and used this material to supplement other sources. In addition, I subscribed to two, weekly community newspapers¹⁶ from the region for a two-year period to gain perspectives on current activities and interests. I monitored these papers to see if issues such as development, change and farming were discussed and I kept track of how often these topics occurred and what kinds of viewpoints were being expressed.¹⁷ While at the Archives, I took the opportunity to view old

¹⁶ The Stoney Creek News and the Grimsby Independent.

¹⁷ It was found that the Grimsby Independent discussed farming, change and development issues more frequently than the Stoney Creek News. This could have been due to the fact that there were more farms in the Grimsby area and therefore, these issues had greater significance. In comparison, the Stoney Creek area had already lost many of its farms to urbanization. The owners/editors of the papers may have also been influencing the types of stories printed.

photographs from the late 1890's to the late 1950's, to obtain a visual understanding of the region and ways of life during these years. I contacted regional government departments and regulatory and farming organizations to inquire about land-use and agricultural policies. Labour market information and statistical data from the Canadian Census were examined to gain a broader perspective of the population, farming activities and changes in the region.

Life History

As indicated previously, part of the research included face-to-face interviews. These produced some information on informants' life histories. Life history has the benefit of providing the future with something of the past (Gluck, 1977: 12; Willson, 1986: 269). It shows how events link and affect other events so that one event may be the outcome of another (Fischer, 1983: 32; Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992: 6-7). Life history research can reveal social processes (Becker, 1970: 69) through enabling understanding of the action and events of the present through those of the past. In a sense, it is a process of story telling, but it can be much more complex, since it provides a conception of truth through eyewitness accounts and chronicles of personal knowledge, experiences and emotions. It presents narratives which through contradictions, silences and topic shifts show the tensions between individual desires to resist and conform to the expectations of culture (Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992: 7). Life history documents perceptions of history that may not be generally recorded (Hareven,

1978: 143; Jensen, 1983: 86). It can capture the experiences and lives of ordinary people, people who may not find themselves in positions of power or authority (Tonkin, 1992: 133-134). In deriving life history, interviews with the same person may be repeated and can continue indefinitely, finding new information on each occasion. In a sense, the research does not have to end because it is never complete while the informant is alive (Portelli, 1991: 55), since informants may always have something to add throughout their lives. Life history has the benefit of allowing an ongoing process of testing and re-testing hypotheses (Thompson, 1981(b): 294). While life history may not confirm hypotheses, it can provide evidence of negative cases and generate new avenues for investigation. In addition, it can provide new insight to an area which may have grown stagnant by yielding a large amount of detail which may encourage fresh thought and direction (Becker, 1970: 67-69).

Life history may be researched in a number of ways through a number of sources of data. In addition to interviews, life history materials can be any documents that relate to individuals' viewpoints and experiences. In particular, the two basic forms of data often used are private and public archival records. Private archival records can consist of interviews, questionnaires, autobiographies, diaries, or letters. Public archival records may consist of actuarial records, political and judicial records, government documents or media accounts (Denzin, 1978: 218-219). Both private and public documents and materials can be accessible through public archives.

Denzin observes that life histories have three basic forms: complete, topical and edited. In a complete life history, the researcher obtains information about the whole life of the person or group under investigation. In a topical life history, the researcher derives information concerning a specific area or phase of life of the informant. The edited life history contains interjections of questions, comments and explanations from the observer. Both the topical and complete form of life history can be edited (Denzin, 1978: 217-218; Helling, 1988: 215).

In this study, life history information was obtained through interviews, newspaper and tape-recorded archives and the examination of informants' personal photographs, and documentation such as genealogical materials and land deeds. Since community and farming experiences were the research focus, only aspects of informants' lives relating to these experiences were reported in an edited, topical form. Gathering life history information allowed greater insight to emerge on the nature of life in the community both in the past and in the present.

Ethical Considerations:

Ethical Absolutists versus Ethical Relativists

Ethical issues are important for establishing parameters for acceptable practice in research. Ethical codes such as those of the American Sociological Association (1997), the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (1994) and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), The

National Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC) and The Medical Research Council's (MRC) Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (2000) have been instituted to guide researchers in these concerns. Sociologists differ in their viewpoints concerning their ethical obligations. In particular, those described as ethical absolutists or liberals feel all sociological work should have the same ethical codes applied and covert research should not occur. Misrepresentation and secrecy in research are felt to harm those studied. In contrast, ethical relativists or humanists feel that the standard for ethics is one that can be monitored by a researcher's own conscience. They believe that informed consent procedures can be problematic where they deny researchers access to social settings and protect the powerful from being studied (Denzin, 1978: 326-335 & Mitchell, 1993: 23-32). Furthermore, overt disclosure is felt to potentially influence the research if research subjects know what researchers want to find, then they may control or change what they say and do (Shaffir et. al., 1980: 25). Both arguments can be supported depending upon the social settings and conditions.

The former conception of overt methods guided my research. Fortunately, the research topic did not concern subjects or individuals for whom covert approaches would be possible or appropriate. I was not faced with the dilemmas observed by humanists or ethical relativists. When informants asked what the findings would be, I responded that their discussions would determine both the focus of the research and the outcomes. Informants appeared to be

satisfied with a broad explanation of the study.

Consent and Confidentiality

Before beginning each interview, I spent time with informants discussing why I was interested in talking to them and what I planned to do with the information. Informants were told that portions¹⁸ of the interview would be used for a dissertation and possibly for future publications. I explained that I did not intend to subject them to any anxiety, pain or embarrassment and that they could refuse to answer questions or end the interview at any time. I carefully discussed these issues and then provided informants with a written consent form (see Appendix C) to ensure that their decision to participate was an informed one. While informants read the consent form¹⁹, I read it aloud to ensure that they could hear and see what was on the form. I proceeded to ask informants if they would permit use of a tape recorder during the interview. All of the informants consented. Using the consent form, I asked whether or not I could place the interview tapes in archives²⁰ and indicated that there could be time restrictions on when the tapes would be released (Willson, 1986: 267). I

¹⁸The interviews are not presented in their entirety. Instead, after being transcribed each interview was divided and coded into topics. With the assistance of a rather old, but extremely easy software package called The Text Collector, Version 1.7 (Copyright, 1987: O'Neill Software), I was able to assemble topics from all of the interviews to present and discuss.

¹⁹Copies of the consent form were signed. I kept one copy and gave the other to informants. The consent form was printed in a large font so that it could be read easily.

²⁰My aim was to ensure that tapes could be accessed by others in the future, if informants granted permission.

emphasized that unless a "yes" response was indicated on the consent form, no one other than me and my supervisor would have access to the tape. Informants varied in their desire to have the tapes opened. Where informants indicated that they did not want anyone else to listen to the tape, I promised that only I would hear the tape. Some informants agreed to sign the form before the interview began. Others waited until the end of the interview, since they wanted to make a decision about what would happen to the tape after hearing my questions and responding to them. Whatever the case, my motivation was to ensure that participants felt comfortable with their decision and did not feel coerced (Gluck, 1977: 8).

Informants were advised that the information that they provided was to be considered confidential unless they preferred to have their identities revealed. If informants expressed the desire to reveal their identities, they were given an opportunity to change their minds within a specified period of time. After some consideration on my part, I decided that for the purposes of the dissertation, I would provide all informants with pseudonyms to protect their identities. I felt that it was my obligation to protect their interests particularly since some informants may not have fully understood the implications of revealing their identities. In addition, when informants described places that could potentially reveal their identities, I changed the names of those places. During the interview, if an informant conveyed that a topic was distressful and they preferred to talk about something else then I changed the subject.

Informants were debriefed immediately after the interview. I asked them if they had any questions or concerns about the study and again discussed how the information would be used. I asked informants if they were happy with what they had indicated on the form and allowed them the opportunity to make changes. Following the interviews, I sent a handwritten note to each informant to thank them for their participation in the study and to indicate that the lines of communication were still open if they desired. Finally, my telephone number and address were provided on the consent form so that informants were able to contact me to discuss any concerns or ask further questions.

Public and Private Information

The research captured information that was both public and private in nature. Public, archival data were utilized from newspapers, newsletters and archival tapes. Since there is no requirement to protect the identity of people discussed in public information, the information that was derived, including names and places, is revealed in the study.

Many of the informants interviewed discussed historical events or activities that had taken place in the community. These accounts were often part of public records, such as newspapers or other written documentation. Nonetheless, the descriptions generally contained personal interpretations, perspectives and context within informants' own life events. The latter information may not be present in historical representations. Although the

information often offered new insights into historical events, I refrained from providing the specific details of the people and places involved in order to preserve anonymity.²¹

In several instances situations occurred where exposing informants' identities could have been useful for historical purposes. For example, I discovered a number of newspaper accounts where informants' family members were cited or interviewed. These articles provided information that verified and contradicted informants' recollections. If I had been doing historical research and anonymity was not required, I may have disclosed the family ties between informants and the individuals reported thereby, connecting events and substantiating interpretations. My desire to gather historical evidence was superseded by the importance of providing a sociological analysis that maintained privacy. Given such a restriction, I realized that some interesting findings would have to be withheld but, the assurance of anonymity likely encouraged informants to provide more interesting and less guarded accounts.

Research Relationships:

Personal Identities

Dynamics between researchers and informants affect the data. It has been argued that gathering information through qualitative interviews may be

²¹The department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University indicates researchers should provide informants with an informed consent form which includes "...procedures to ensure anonymity/confidentiality;...(Departmental Guidelines, Carleton University, 1995)."

better accomplished where inequitable relationships between researchers and informants do not occur and where both parties can be open about their identities (Oakley, 1981: 41). Even where equitable relations are the goals, they may be difficult to achieve. Whether intentionally or not, researchers influence the research process through their behaviours and identities (Gluck, 1977: 6; Hareven, 1978: 142; Ferrarotti, 1983: 68). For instance, researchers have been shown to influence informants' accounts in form and content (Ferrarotti, 1983: 68). Researchers' personal biographies are a notable element for consideration. Researchers bring their social class, age, gender and other social affiliations to the research. Personal experiences, identities and histories can act as a benefit or a detriment to the research (Thorne, 1980: 290-291). Researchers may bring prior biases which can influence the results. We may generalize from our own world views and historical periods, assuming the sameness in others or expecting differences where there may be similarities (Thompson, 1981(b): 293). Researchers may have difficulties in gaining rapport with informants due to differing social statuses. As well, informants may hold biased expectations and withhold information based upon their conceptions of researchers' social statuses (Portelli 1991: 30-31). Alternatively, researchers' social statuses and personal histories may assist them in gaining access to informants where others could not, particularly where they are also members of the group under investigation. These statuses and experiences may also allow them to be more sympathetic and understanding of informants' experiences (Etter-Lewis 1993:

139-140). Whatever the case, an awareness of the influence of personal identities and emotions on interaction is useful to the research (Foster and Seitz, 1985; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 63).

At the onset of the research, I realized that revealing my identity and my research objectives was a vital factor in establishing rapport. My similar personal history and social status²² likely helped me to create good relationships with informants. An integral aspect was that I was not an outsider to the region, since I grew up there. I also had family and friends living in the community, some of whom have farmed or currently farm there. Many informants knew me or my family members through interaction in the community. Where they did not know me or my family, I volunteered this information at the beginning of the interview. I believe that personal disclosure allowed for an atmosphere in which informants could more easily offer their personal experiences (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 65). Some informants inquired about my family members, asking how they were and what they were currently doing which lead to reminiscing about past activities or events. Indeed, it surprised me that even when I believed I did not know someone they often felt they knew me.²³ Having grown

²²Since some of the informants knew members of my family, references to them became part of the conversation. For example, one informant mentioned that my father had walked up the same road as he did when they were children and another informant discussed my great-uncle's knowledge of farming. Therefore, my family history was occasionally discussed as part of informants' recollections. Rapport was also likely aided by the fact that I was young, female, white and dressed in a fairly conservative manner, allowing me to appear non-threatening and consistent with being an insider to the community.

²³For example, when I arrived at one informant's house she declared, "Where's my girl?" I thought to myself, is she talking about me? Indeed she was. This informant felt she knew me since she had grown up a few houses away from my grandfather (Field Notes, November 1996). An

up in the community, I shared certain understandings with informants that included knowledge of the same places, people and events. The fact that I was younger than the informants prevented me from sharing their cohort experiences but my community membership served as a basis for them to explain what had occurred in the past and allowed me to understand the context around their discussions.

As the research proceeded, I came to realize that some of my personal identities enhanced rapport with informants while others did not. I was honest with informants about my various identities. Yet in some cases, I felt that it was important to emphasize some identities and de-emphasize others or simply not volunteer them unless I was asked. I managed my various roles and identities of student, government worker and community and family member by determining the appropriateness of revealing any one of these identities and by anticipating informants' reactions to them. I tried not to offer information about myself that could have been detrimental to rapport. In particular, I found that my identities of student, community and family member generally acted to create ease and openness with informants. I found informants to be very accepting of me once they knew that I was a student and was linked to the community. In fact, one of the informants revealed that she was happy to take the time to be interviewed since she understood the difficulties of being a student and hoped that others would similarly help her children (Field Notes: November 1997). My status of

immediate sense of rapport was established between us due to the association.

student legitimized my presence and reason for asking questions. It was also somewhat tenuous, in that I did not want the fact that I was doing a doctorate to create the impression that I was an expert on the subject. Therefore, I did not emphasize this aspect of my student identity. Instead, I focussed on the fact that I wanted to learn more about both farming and the history of the area and that I considered the informants to be the experts. As indicated previously, my family status aided me in developing a sense of rapport with informants. It should be noted that my family identity could have been detrimental to me if my family had had a poor reputation in the community. Fortunately this was not the case, but interestingly enough I did learn some information about my family that I had not known previously (Field Notes: November 1996).

Perhaps the most difficult identity was being a Federal government worker. In an early interview with a farmer whom I knew through family friends, I revealed that I worked for the government. The informant kindly advised me not to tell any other farmers about my work, since he said, "Farmers generally don't like the government or people that work there" (Field Notes: November 1996). Upon arriving at one interview, I had verification of such sentiments when a sign at the front of the property stated, "No government personnel or sales allowed." I felt a sudden sense of misgiving going up the driveway. How would these informants react if they knew that I worked for the government? Consequently, I chose not to reveal my work status unless specifically asked. I revealed information that I thought would be helpful to the research and I did not reveal

anything which I felt would be detrimental to the research. I felt that my decision was not a deceptive act, since the research was not going to be used for government purposes. My life as a government worker was disconnected from my interest in the Niagara Fruit Belt. Nonetheless, there were times when I felt uncomfortable being connected to the government, particularly when informants expressed hostility and anger towards their conception of the government and government personnel. Controlling information about myself meant that I had to withhold aspects of my personal history.

Research Control

Researchers exert control over what is reported about informants' lives and interactions (Barry, 1989: 566; O'Rourke and Batsleer, 1987: 38) and what we reveal may differ from what informants expect to be reported (Borland, 1991: 63-64). Nonetheless, informants are not powerless in qualitative research. They do have a number of subtle or blatant ways of gaining control over interviews. They can withdraw from questions by not responding or even leaving the interview. They can also create side-tracks away from topics which they do not want to discuss (Crago, 1992: 197). Portelli (1991: 49) has found that informants vary their narratives in the ratio between the length of time that the events are depicted and the length of time of the narration. Specifically, informants may discuss very brief life episodes at great length or they may fleetingly describe life episodes that lasted a long period of time. While such

variation may be indicative of informants' greater interest in one area over that of another, it may also be a method of distracting attentions away from sensitive areas. Informants may also exert control over their discussion through repeating the same stories or telling stories that are unrelated to the questions asked. Repeating stories can be an indication of informants' desires to correct information, add missing details, or prevent the interview from ending. In general, many informants direct conversations and maintain control over them (Portelli, 1991: 278).

Compensation

Research can be a dialectical process in which both researchers and informants give and take in their interactions (Foster and Seitz, 1985: 9; McMahan, 1989). Informants can gain pleasure in participating in research where they can talk about themselves with a supportive and interested person. Scanlon (1993: 643-645) has argued that researchers should provide something more to informants to ensure there is a balance of benefits. In her work, Scanlon made monetary compensation to her informants as well as volunteered her time to help them with their problems. After conducting the research, she continued to try to create interest in their plight through writing articles and giving presentations. Scanlon suggests that repayments produce scholarship that is responsive to the needs of informants. Researchers are not always able to repay informants. They may not have the time, money or opportunity to repay

their informants and further, there can be negative consequences associated with repayment behaviours when informants do not feel that they need remuneration or help. Repayment can potentially result in an infringement on researchers' time and resources and on informants' lives and personal wishes.

I found that informants generally did not give the impression that I owed them compensation for being interviewed.²⁴ Informants were exceedingly kind. Many of them allowed me to view their personal documents such as land deeds and photographs. Some informants gave me tours of their homes and properties. These courtesies enabled me to gain an understanding of the pride attached to owning historical homes, artifacts and land. It provided me the

²⁴In one interview, the informants complained that people always wanted to survey them. An excerpt from the conversation went as follows:

Rosemary: But also the government doesn't realize as far as farming is, it's business. So they keep sending us pieces of paper that takes Carl a long time. Like all these surveys. They want it. They are doing these surveys right in the middle of our busy season. And they expect the farmer to sit down and spend an hour to fill out these forms. And they will call and be very upset because they have not received their form back when they want. And it's like, what do they think farmers do sit in their office all day and do paper work. No, they don't do that. If you want these surveys filled out send them in the winter time when there is a winter storm and the farmer can actually sit down and maybe fill this out. But we are not going to fill it out during apple season or whenever they want these things. SH: Yeah. Rosemary: But their idea of farming is oh, the farmer is right there. And he has time to do it. What else is he doing! Carl: You see they figure that we can do it for nothing. You see some of these surveys they send around, it takes me about three hours. I did one, one time and it took me three hours to do it. SH: That's long. Carl: Yeah, no kidding. So what is my time worth? I don't get paid a damn cent. Whoever is on the other end is getting paid for it. SH: And what is the purpose of these things? Carl: Well, statistics. Somebody wants it. Like the, for instance the Royal Bank called us, well 20 minutes over the phone. I said how much will I get paid! ... (Rosemary, 42, CF & Carl, 47, CF)

While I realized that these sentiments were not directed at me, I felt that I should provide compensation to informants. As a result, I offered some money at the end of the interview. However, both informants refused and appeared surprised that I would make the suggestion. I later mailed a small amount of money to the couple with a thank you note suggesting that they could use it for a dinner out. Afterwards, I provided the next set of informants with gifts to thank them for the interviews. Even though, the informants interviewed may not have felt that they required compensation, I felt the need to thank them in a modest way for all that they had given me.

opportunity to learn the meanings and values associated with the heritage of the area. Informants not only offered me information, but they also gave me refreshments and gifts of fruit. The generosity of informants enhanced my motivation to detail their experiences and concerns.

Maintaining Contact

The research experience can have the potential to alter participants' lives by changing the way they think about issues and themselves (Cotterill and Letherby, 1993: 77; Portelli, 1991: 43). Talking to people and entering their worlds increases researchers' knowledge and can create a mutual sense of attachment. Researchers may inadvertently fall into friendship roles through being good listeners, making it hard to leave the relationship (Ribbens, 1989: 586-587). As a result, researchers and informants may wish to continue the interaction.

At the end of the interviews, I felt emotionally attached to a number of informants. Since I lived a number of hours away, maintaining frequent personal contacts was not possible. I maintained contact with several informants through phone calls, letters²⁵ and Electronic Mail. When I found archival information

²⁵For example, after what I had defined as a fairly unsuccessful interview, the informant wrote me and sent a tape of some of his favourite music. He apologized that he had not been very communicative during the interview stating, "I have always been sorry that I wasn't more help to you. You took me by surprise and I wasn't thinking very well, more concerned about fixing that old barn, I guess (Letter: August 24, 1997)." He stated that he wanted to have another interview and wanted to include his sister who could "...think of things that I can't bring to mind readily (Letter: August 24, 1997)." After receiving the letter, I set up another interview where I was made to feel very welcome.

that I thought would be of interest to informants, I sent them copies. For example, I sent an obituary of a family member to one informant. These communications enabled me to continue my questioning even after I had left the research setting. They helped to resolve issues and questions as they emerged in writing up the findings and enhanced my desire to complete the project. Taking time to know informants through forming relationships beyond the interview situation was profitable for gaining a more personal glimpse of their lives (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 66).

Documenting, Organizing and Presenting the Research:

Field Diary

Interpreting and understanding findings is easier where research is well documented and organized. I found that keeping a field diary assisted in the process. It was here that I reflected upon the research and informants' responses. I kept track of relevant quotes, issues of personal biography, emotional feelings and the behavioural dynamics of myself and informants. I also examined verbal and non-verbal actions to better understand what had occurred in interviews and evaluate the research outcomes (Foster and Seitz, 1985). For example, if a situation or discussion made me feel uncomfortable, I recorded it and used it to reflect upon my emotions and bring new insight to the research. I documented experiences of physical surroundings and interesting incidents in a field note section of the diary. As well, the diary had sections

which addressed further avenues of exploration and a list of potential people to be interviewed.

Transcription

My objective in transcribing and presenting the research was to ensure that the material did not misrepresent informants' intentions or become distorted. After completing the interviews, I transcribed the tapes in their entirety to review the total interaction. Complete transcripts allowed the interview to be re-read and re-lived, enabling topics to be explored again and creating the possibility of finding new ideas that may not have been uncovered earlier. One tape generally took several days to transcribe. Transcribing interviews with more than one informant tended to take longer, since several voices made it difficult to distinguish everything that was being said.

While I was transcribing the tapes, I coded the topics discussed at the beginning of each paragraph. I was then able to use qualitative computer software to group and examine similar topics from each of the interviews. The software made the research easier to present and analyze by compiling related topics. I kept the interview as true to the actual conversation as possible without translating or changing informants' language into standard English, since the way people speak is a reflection of their identity (Blauner, 1987: 48-50). The benefits of keeping the flavour of the conversational style outweighed having transcription that was not grammatically correct. Some editing occurred where

places or names were changed to protect identities.²⁶

Presenting the Results

Some researchers establish the setting and draw conclusions at the beginning and end of the document, but do not interject into the narrative of the interviews (Adams: 1991; Blauner, 1987: 58; Etter-Lewis 1993). These researchers may hope that by removing themselves from the narrative, the narrative will more closely present history as it happened or was recollected to happen and it will more strongly represent the truth (Blauner, 1987: 59). However, the structure of an interview contributes to the meaning of it and if elements are removed, such as a researcher's questions, the replies become unclear (Tonkin, 1992: 67). Furthermore, some interviews need explanatory voices in them to make the results easier to read. I did not remove questions, comments or interjections in the passages since I did not want to alter the dynamics of the interview. Although keeping the researcher out of the text can allow the account to flow more smoothly, I felt that researchers' roles in the research should not be hidden. Moreover, my presence in the transcript allowed my influence to be evident and prevented the dialogue from appearing distorted (Portelli, 1991: 54-55).

The qualitative interview method is extremely beneficial in obtaining first

²⁶Where names or places are changed round brackets are placed around the words. Pauses, laughter or other behaviours are indicated in round brackets. Where people talked over one another, a hyphen is placed at the beginning and end of overlapping discussions.

hand evidence of experiences and interpretations. However, it also has some unique characteristics that should be taken into account. Words, phrases and thinking and belief processes can be connected to periods in history (Grele, 1985: 262), generational cohorts, cultures and/or locations and may only make sense where these factors are understood. One example occurred where informants explained events in relation to locations. Some of these locations no longer exist or are changing. Since I had been a member of the community, I generally understood what was being described. However, these discussions may have made less sense to an outsider or to someone in the future. Further, some informants use descriptive terms which may be distinctive to the region. For example, the term "survey" is used to describe a housing development. Where necessary, explanations were provided for some terminology or descriptions to ensure that they would be understandable.

Another difficulty in documenting qualitative research is that it is not static. Specifically, the information derived may be shaped by current events. Further, the same person can give different details about their lives depending upon when they are interviewed and by whom. There may also be inconsistencies between sources but also within sources. In particular, informants may refer to the same situations in both positive and negative ways. They may also alter times and events in their recollections (Helling, 1988: 229 & 231; Portelli, 1991: 26 & 61). All of these characteristics help to provide evidence of prevailing attitudes and social change and reveal informants'

interests, emotions, dreams and desires (Portelli, 1991; Tonkin, 1992; Willson, 1986: 253 & 269). The discovery of factual inaccuracy can actually be beneficial to the research in that it may generate further questions and more insights (Portelli, 1991: 26; Tonkin, 1992: 114). The research results presented here therefore, represented attitudes of a group of people during a specific time period.

The methodology chapter has provided an overview of how data were gathered and documented and how the findings subsequently evolved through discussing data collection processes, grounded theory and life history approaches. Issues concerning ethics and relationships were discussed and some personal insights on the benefits and difficulties of the research were rendered. The processes undertaken were intended to thoroughly derive as much information as possible. Through combining several sources of data, this dissertation provides a distinctive perspective of a region and its people. Unstructured interviews allowed the personal experiences and opinions of those studied to be the focus of the research. My experiences, practices and identities as expressed in this chapter were an integral aspect of the entire research process and its outcomes. Having provided an explanation of the methodological approaches and practices, it is my hope that the foundation for reading and understanding the rest of the dissertation has been established.

The next chapter will discuss some historical aspects of the development

of the Queen Elizabeth Way, indicating how it has become symbolic of urbanization and political indifference toward agriculture. The community has witnessed a variety of changes, and these changes have been continuous over a long period of time. While there are many causes of agricultural decline, the Queen Elizabeth Way has been an historic marker for and an important symbol of the beginnings of this decline.

Chapter Three:

"The March of Time and Progress" Implications of the Development of the Queen Elizabeth Way

SH: If someone came into town and you had to let them know what the area was like, what would you say and what would you be the most proud of?

**Margaret: I guess the first thing that came to mind was that this used to be a fruit belt in here, around here, you know. That is the one regret that I have, is that it has been paved over, you know. It wasn't really good planning in a way. The development should have been taken south, rather than all this Niagara Peninsula below the, and covered with concrete like the Queen E. and stuff like that. It should have gone south instead of covering up the escarpment. And I would like to tell people that, that was what the Niagara Peninsula was about.
(Margaret, 75, PF)**

As the research for this dissertation unfolded, informants consistently mentioned the Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW) as being instrumental in bringing change and urbanization to the area. This chapter provides a history of the development of the highway. The information presented will act to verify and expand upon informants' own observations. Canada's first four lane highway, the QEW, has had a large impact on the Niagara Fruit Belt and its residents. In many ways, the highway set the stage for the area to become increasingly urbanized which has been to the detriment of unique farm lands (Gayler, 1996: 250). Informants suggest that the QEW could have been built elsewhere. Had this happened, it is very likely that the region, as it is today, would be very different. At present, the QEW is part of the landscape, appearing as if it has

always been there. Many residents may not remember the highway as a source of protest, disillusionment and anger. For others, however, the QEW is symbolic of urban growth and uncompromising government policy which overlooks their interests.

The chapter examines records of newspaper accounts to show the events surrounding the highway development. It demonstrates that while some people did welcome the highway,²⁷ many land owners that were directly affected were very much against the project. Indeed, more than half a century later these events continue to be remembered negatively and are expressed with regret. Such beliefs may have arisen due to the fact that the highway has never really been completed. It has continued to expand over the years and influence people while it grew. The discussion shows how the QEW has been perceived as a threat to agricultural interests from its beginnings to the present. The ways in which the QEW is regarded today have been derived through personal and learned experiences of the past, present conditions and an anticipation of future events (McHugh, 1968). The events of the past have established a course for the region's appearance today and for informants' beliefs about their physical spaces, urban growth and government interference. The highway acted to enhance pressures on land in the area. It helped promote a cultural shift from a local orientation to one directed to the broader society (Miner, 1939: 234).

²⁷Such as, the Mayor of Grimsby, Robert H. Lewis, who was quoted as believing that it would "...improve the property (The Hamilton Spectator, April 10, 1937: 24)." As well, other town officials also felt the end result could be positive (The Hamilton Spectator, July 14, 1937: 23).

Economic and Social Climate

The decision to construct the Queen Elizabeth Way was made in the mid-1930's, by the Ontario Liberal government of Premier Mitchell Hepburn.

Preceding this era, there had been a dramatic shift in the form of travel through the introduction of the automobile. The Ford Model T first went into mass production in 1908 in the United States (Flad, 1997). Mass production inspired an impetus to build and pave more roads across the United States and Canada. Much of the impetus came from the Ford company which, between 1914 and 1924, had a motion picture business producing films to show the enjoyment and benefits of travel by automobile. These films promoted both the company's products and the construction of paved roads. The rationale was that paved roads would inspire more people to buy automobiles (Wik, 1972: 1 & 40-41 & Driving Passion documentary film, Turner Original Productions Inc. 1995). American automobile ideology influenced Canadian culture so that by the 1930's, paved roads were considered a sign of modernization and prosperity. The period, which began with the stock market crash of 1929 until the early 1940's and the Second World War, was one of great unemployment and economic difficulty. Canadians suffered more unemployment than they had at any other time and large numbers of people could not survive without public aid (Palmer, 1983: 206). The Ontario government and its Department of Highways believed that new highways could be an important element in circumventing these problems (Stamp, 1987: 28; Barnsley, 1987: 42). The major proponent of

the Queen Elizabeth Way initiative was Thomas B. McQuesten, the Minister of Highways from 1934 to 1943. McQuesten was known for channelling his aspirations into innovative, development projects (Barnsley, 1987: 7-8 & 42). He was supported in his ambitions by two provincial government officials, Robert Melville Smith, the Deputy Minister of Highways from 1927 to 1943, and A. A. Smith, the chief engineer of the Department of Highways from 1928 to 1951 (Stamp, 1987: 19).

Benefits of Farming in the Depression Years

During the Depression years, farming was viewed as extremely important in providing food to the nation and curtailing unemployment in the cities. After the First World War and into the 1930's, improved farming methods and returning to, or remaining on the farm was encouraged. The back-to-the-farm movement occurred when it was observed that urban centres were becoming overburdened with people moving out of rural areas, initiating the fear that there would not be enough food to feed the population (Wik, 1972: 189-195). In Ontario, it was also thought that one way of solving unemployment would be to direct the unemployed to agricultural employment. This kind of philosophy is outlined by one author's observation that,

It is imperative that every possible effort be made to organize the unemployed to help themselves and to render some return to the community for the relief they receive... Specifically, such measures as the following might be undertaken. During the fruit and vegetable season which is almost upon us, groups of unemployed people should be sent out to farms to harvest crops which would other wise go to waste; and canning depots should be established in the towns to can the fruits and vegetables

for use by relief recipients during the months that follow (Cassidy, 1932: 290-291).

Fruit farms supported the economy through providing employment on farms and in related industries such as canning and basket-making (The Independent, June 17, 1936 & October 14, 1937 and informant interview). They also brought tourism, notably from the United States, into the area. In particular, the fruit blossoms of spring drew a great number of tourists. A newspaper transcript indicates the impact of these tourists stating, "From early morning until about 10 o'clock in the evening on Sunday, traffic through the district kept up an almost continuous parade, there being over a thousand cars per hour passing by while traffic was at its peak (The Independent, May 20, 1936: 1)."

The culture of the Niagara Fruit Belt during the 1930's was one which emphasized the benefits of farming. Newspaper articles report a number of lectures in the area which promoted farming. One lecture by an economist from the University of Wisconsin is summarized in the following manner:

The farmer, he claims, has better food even in times of depression, than his city neighbours; he has better health; he can accumulate more property; he is more likely to enjoy his work than city people; finally, and most important, the farmer is more likely to rear a family and do his part to promote the general welfare of the nation. He might have added that the farmer has the satisfaction of knowing that he is engaged in the most important industry of this country-the fundamental industry-upon the success of which every man, woman and child, in all other human activities, is directly and absolutely dependent for the means of life (The Independent, April 1, 1936: 3).

The guest speaker of another lecture, attended by 600 farmers and fruit growers in Vineland, observed that,

Farming is the only industry in the world that can produce national income and preserve national capital...It is a privilege to hold dominion over land in your own country. Leave your land better than you found it...It is a great thing to hold dominion over so many acres in your own country and say, 'I will at my will to change the face of the land' (The Hamilton Spectator, July 7, 1937: 18).

Informants who lived during these years consistently argued that while life was difficult during the Depression years, living on fruit farms made conditions bearable. For example, a man observes that he always ate well on the farm.

Charles: It was good even during the depression. We ate well. We didn't have any money to speak of, but we were better off than a lot of people. We ate well, and I guess that is probably one reason why I am here now (laugh).

(Later in the interview)

But going through the depression from 1930's, essentially until the war started, the second world war, it was worrisome. But we were fortunately a lot better than most people because uh, we had, I can't say in front of Ruby (his wife) that I ate better then, but we lived on a farm, where we had all kinds of fruit and vegetables and uh, our own meat and stuff like that. So it was very good that way.

(Charles, 72, PF)

Another informant discusses how farmers in the Niagara Fruit Belt had the advantage of being able to make a living and offer employment to others.

Roger: You can't understand people, men in the 1930's, in the late 30's. My father used to put a two line ad in the paper the first of August that he wanted a man for a few weeks and men would walk from King and James with the newspaper sometimes not get here until the next day and looking for this few weeks work at 10 to 12 cents per hour and by the time they got here somebody much closer had ridden a bicycle and got here and had the job and the poor guy who walked here from Hamilton had to be given a sandwich and a cup of tea to get him off the place and to get him going to go home. If he had a home.

SH: So they were more desperate for the job then, I guess?

Roger: Oh, if you weren't there in the 30's you would just never believe it. There is just no way anybody can ever explain it to you.

(Later in the interview)

SH: But back then do you think was life harder for farmers or is it harder now?

Roger: Well, of course the 1930's, the depression in the 1930's was an era all by itself, that is probably unfair to compare them to previous or since. The, well up

until the fifties, there was a lot of farms in the Winona, Stoney Creek, Grimsby area that were eight to 15 acres and a man and wife could make a living. Not a big deal but they could get the bills paid and eat on 10 or 15 acres. Ah, the same time that you were selling a basket of peaches for 50 cents you got an hour's labour for 35. You got a whole gallon, an imperial gallon of gasoline for 35 cents and you didn't have much for gasoline then. It was all gasoline tractors so that (pause) now with the kinds of overhead, the price of land and the reduced demand, you can't make a living off 15 acres. You have got to have maybe 30 acres.
(Roger 67, CF & Lucy, 60, CF)

During the Depression era, farming contributed greatly to the character of the area and the well-being of its residents. When farms were threatened, an integral component of the Niagara Fruit Belt's society and residents' identity was also threatened.

McQuesten's Motivation

Before McQuesten's term in office, plans were established to create an express highway between Toronto and Hamilton, called the Middle Road. When McQuesten came into office in 1934, he asked his staff to investigate the construction of highways in other countries such as the Autobahn of Germany. The original design of the Middle Road, a four lane undivided highway, was then expanded to allow for a median between the lanes. At the same time, McQuesten quietly began considering extending the project further from Hamilton to Niagara (Best, 1991: 113). McQuesten's hope was to resolve highway accident problems (Stamp, 1987: 16), allow greater physical and economic linkage to the Americans and build a superhighway which would be "a road of the future" (Stamp, 1987: 34); matching or surpassing any existing in the

world (Barnsley, 1987: 42; Stamp, 1987: 28 & 34). The desire for prosperity and growth in the region motivated McQuesten and the provincial government to champion the highway. The rationalization was that improved roads would encourage increased numbers of American tourists to travel to Canada bringing American dollars to the economy.

Highways already existed between the American border and Toronto. However, these were considered inefficient or indirect. In particular, Highway 8, from Hamilton to Niagara Falls, was experiencing congested traffic and a large number of accidents. Highway 20, which was built above the Niagara escarpment as an alternate route to Highway 8, did not appear to be resolving the problem due to its more roundabout location. Motorists continued to prefer the more direct and scenic route of Highway 8. Rather than expanding either of these highways, government officials preferred the notion of developing a superhighway which would allow traffic to travel at higher speeds to their Canadian destinations while diminishing exposure to congestion and accidents (Stamp, 1987: 25-28).

In addition to attracting American dollars to Canada, the provincial government may have had another incentive to build highways, to increase employment in the region. Specifically, highway projects served to diminish unemployment when they were used as labour relief programs. Construction on the Middle Road, in 1929, had been initiated with a labour relief directive in mind (van Nostrand, 1983: 2). It was likely hoped that the development of the Queen

Elizabeth Way would also create employment through providing construction jobs.

Farming was considered a valuable occupation during the Depression years. It was vital in feeding and employing the nation. The development of the QEW posed a contradiction. Provincial politicians believed that decreased economic hardship could be found in projects such as paved roads. However, the highway conflicted with the farming landscape. It removed productive farm land and its route diverted traffic from the towns and villages, thereby taking important tourism dollars away. Subsequently, as the next section will indicate, many people in the area felt the project was detrimental to the needs of the community.

Secrecy and Dissent in the Making of the Highway

The Queen Elizabeth Way project took away properties and homes through expropriation without allowing much time for dispute. The way in which these events unfolded appears to be related to the Minister of Highways' determination to build the highway. McQuesten was clearly an ambitious man. He came from an old Hamilton family and had experience both as a lawyer and as a civic politician. Previous to the Queen Elizabeth Way project, he had been involved in two significant road projects through his membership with the Niagara Parks Commission and the Board of Park Management in Hamilton (Stamp, 1987: 19). His experiences and pursuit of progress may have blinded

him from carefully evaluating the potential costs incurred in developing the highway through the loss of historical homes and productive farm land.

McQuesten was driven to develop innovative, modern initiatives rather than to preserve the past.²⁸ Today, Thomas McQuesten has been described as a "...shrewd bargainer".. who "...acquired properties and materials at low or reasonable prices to the advantage of the province (Barnsley, 1987: 3)."

Residents could not have anticipated the events which would take place until they were in the midst of them, since the Queen Elizabeth Way project was initiated in a very secretive manner. McQuesten is observed to have typically begun major projects without a great deal of ceremony as was the case with the Queen Elizabeth Way. Several factors could be considered in explaining why the QEW was undertaken so quietly. Funding for the project may have been uncertain. The government may have wanted to avoid having speculators purchase the land proposed for highway development and escalate its values before it could begin expropriation. Finally, McQuesten may have hoped to avoid bad publicity and resistance to the project. His previous experience with the media, such as the Toronto Telegram, had not been positive. In particular, the newspaper had accused him of being the enemy of the railway system. Realizing that the highway would bring expropriations and change to the region (Best, 1991: 113-116), McQuesten may have wanted to avoid media attention

²⁸For example, McQuesten was criticized for not understanding the necessity of authentic work in the restoration of historical buildings (Best, 1991: 116-117).

and conflict with residents.

Early Plans

Newspaper reports indicate that information concerning the highway came very slowly to citizens in the area. Early in 1936, local municipal politicians remained uncertain about the highway plans. Evidence is provided in one report where an alderman, F. G. Coy contends that, "any chance of the provincial government constructing a new highway in the County of Lincoln was in the dim future."

He further states, "I understand that the government is retrenching, and I do not think they are keen on building a new highway. We are interested in No. 8 highway being improved for the safety of our people (The Independent, February 26, 1936: 1 & 8)."

At the same time, McQuesten is reported to state that,

...there was a demand for the building of highways in various parts of the province and that the adoption of an unreasonable attitude by any municipality through which or near which any proposed highway was to pass might have the effect of deferring the building of the highway (The Independent, February 26, 1936: 1).

In the summer of 1936, indications of what would soon affect fruit growers in the Niagara Fruit Belt began to be present. Reports described expropriations of fruit growers' lands in the Burlington area where the highway was beginning to extend from the Middle Road toward Niagara (The Independent, August 12, 1936: 1). At the time, little had been verified. However, it became clear to

residents that a highway initiative was going to occur.

Moving Ahead

The climate of uncertainty continued into 1937. In January 1937, a newspaper report mentioned that stakes were being placed in Clinton Township²⁹. When the president of the local provincial liberal association was asked about these stakes, he stated that " ...he did not know just what might happen in reference to the new highway yet (The Hamilton Spectator, January 18, 1937: 11)."

In March of 1937, the Grimsby Ratepayers' Association went on record to say that they were opposed to the highway construction. They felt that "...a new highway north of the railway tracks was unnecessary and would be very costly to merchants as it would divert traffic from the present business section (The Hamilton Spectator, March 6, 1937: 27)."

In addition, they were concerned that the government would not pay "...more than about one-quarter value for farm lands which construction of a new road would necessitate taking over (The Hamilton Spectator, March 6, 1937: 27)."

Taking action the group sent a motion opposing the highway to the Premier and the Minister of Highways (The Hamilton Spectator, March 6, 1937: 27). As expropriation was occurring in the Burlington area, Niagara Fruit Belt farmers grew increasingly concerned about what was inevitably going to take place in

²⁹Presently, Clinton Township is part of the Niagara Regional Municipality.

their own back yards. Newspaper accounts of expropriation and consequent settlements foretold of what was about to happen in the Niagara area. In one case, the Department of Highways took a swath of 1.458 acres of land, 120 feet in width through the middle of a farm. The remaining farm was cut in two with approximately 10 acres on each side. The owner was reported to feel that the award of compensation from arbitration with the Ontario Municipal Board was insufficient (The Hamilton Spectator, March 22, 1937: 12).

Although McQuesten believed that the new highway would be beneficial (Best, 1991: 116), residents' reactions tended to differ. Historical information provides evidence that many farmers, in the area, believed that development of the highway would be a mistake. Furthermore, farmers of the Niagara Fruit Belt did not passively await the building of the highway. Instead protest meetings occurred where anger and resistance was indicated. One such meeting occurred in Saltfleet Township³⁰, in March 1937. The meeting was reportedly heated and led to the development of a committee of growers who intended to unite with other growers in the region to oppose the highway. With foresight, they also decided that if opposing the highway was not possible they would work together to ensure that a, "fair uniform price for land and trees and vines..." could be obtained (The Hamilton Spectator, March 22, 1937: 12). It was observed that,

³⁰Presently, Saltfleet Township is part of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality.

The consensus of opinion seemed to be that another highway was not required below the mountain for local traffic, that if a trunk highway was needed for international purposes, then it should not be built on the present proposed route entailing the severance of hundreds of small fruit farms that would be practically ruined. The general impression seemed to be that the logical route for the new highway is the mountain top, built along the escarpment as a scenic route (The Hamilton Spectator, March 22, 1937: 12).

After the meeting, the Saltfleet committee went to the Maple Avenue growers, whose property had already been expropriated, to seek advice on how to fight further development of the highway. It was felt that if the highway was built in the Niagara Fruit Belt, residents would experience more hardships than in the Burlington area. A deputation of 150 to 200 fruit growers decided to visit the Minister of Highways and then if necessary, the Premier, to request answers to their problems. Residents still continued to hope that the government had their best interests at stake. They believed that the Minister had "...not been made fully cognizant of the hardship that would be created by the new highway, nor of the methods adopted by officials of his department in dealing with the property owners (The Hamilton Spectator, March 23, 1937: 23)."

In Beamsville, growers were also beginning to protest the highway. A meeting, held in the area with 75 property holders, resolved against the highway but one speaker advised that, "This road is going through. You can't stop it. Ask plenty and avoid pussyfooting (The Hamilton Spectator, March 27, 1937: 26)."

Within days the tone of another meeting held in Grimsby was even more pessimistic. Concerned residents had begun to realize that further protests would be useless considering that tenders for work on the highway had already

been put forth by the government. All of the speakers were opposed to the highway but they felt their course of action should be to obtain fair value for their property. Participants at the meeting requested that the Township Council ask the Highways Department for information that they had continued to withhold. The Highways Department had still not indicated where the highway would be located and how wide it would be (The Hamilton Spectator, March 29, 1937: 22). In a newspaper report, William Mitchell, a North Grimsby Township councillor appointed as one of two agents for the property owners (The Hamilton Spectator, April 29, 1937: 22), declares,

I believe the present government has been misled as to need of a new highway. They are only building it for the benefit of Toronto and nobody else, so the tourists can speed to Toronto. I consider this is a mighty foolish way for the government to spend your money. It is only six years ago they spent \$600,000 on No. 20 highway and we, the people of Lincoln, are paying on those debentures yet (The Hamilton Spectator, March 29, 1937: 22).

Even though it was now evident that a highway would be built, uncertainty about where it would be located persisted. In response to an enquiry from a protest meeting in North Grimsby Township, the Department of Highways indicated that the route for the highway had not been decided (The Independent, April 7, 1937: 1). Meanwhile, newspaper headlines proclaimed that the hope now for fruit growers was to obtain fair prices for their property. The area was now staked out and grading of the new road was scheduled to begin in Saltfleet Township.

Highway Effects

Farmers began to anticipate the difficulties the new highway would create for them, specifically by dividing their properties in half. One farmer, George Utter, estimated that he and his farm help would have the inconvenience of waiting to cross the highway from 2,000 to 2,400 times each season (The Hamilton Spectator, April 5, 1937: 12). Additional problems with highway construction were being revealed through reports from Maple Avenue residents, who complained of fine sand drifting into their crops (The Hamilton Spectator, Wednesday, April 21, 1937: 24). As well, it became apparent that homes would be lost when the mayor of Grimsby announced that about eight to ten homes were to be demolished for the road. Yet, the mayor still refused to reveal the exact route of the road (The Hamilton Spectator, April 10, 1937: 24).

By May 1937 work had begun on the highway in Stoney Creek. Some benefits were derived in that the highway did provide employment to the area. Reports stated that work on the highway was being given to men in the district as well as to men on relief so unemployment had decreased for the first time in years (The Hamilton Spectator, May 20, 1937: 33 and June 19, 1937: 20).

While employment may have yielded some compensation to Stoney Creek residents, in Grimsby negotiations on expropriations were still continuing. These land owners wanted compensation for having their farms cut in two. Nonetheless, the government was reportedly not willing to pay for severances. The government's attitude is reflected in the following statement,

The department is anxious to get the work started, they were reported as saying, and wanted to know if the growers were going to negotiate or if the department would have to take other steps to secure the land required (The Hamilton Spectator, May 29, 1937: 24).

The highway was going to be built, with or without financial settlements that were acceptable to residents. By July 1937, highway development into the heart of the Niagara Fruit Belt was progressing. The Telegram warned of violence between fruit farmers and highway surveyors. The headline read, "Road Through Fruit Belt Compared to Invasion of Belgium by Kaiser". A sense of betrayal was evident in the remarks once again made by William Mitchell, when he declares,

I wonder how Premier Hepburn would like to wake up some morning and find a big 30-ton bulldozer-road grader cutting a swath 140 feet wide through the middle of his 600 acres of prize onions, especially if he had no agreement with anybody that he was even going to get paid for his land and his crop (Toronto Telegram, July 7, 1937 as quoted in Best, 1991: 134).

Farmers continued to plead that their homes and their means were being taken away (The Hamilton Spectator, July 13, 1937: 7), but the appeals appeared to fall to deaf ears. Fruit trees and graperies were in the process of being torn out, while many farmers still had not attained what they considered fair prices for compensation. Pressure increased for farmers to make financial settlements. They, however, complained that the Highways Department had not taken the time to assess the actual value of the properties in question. Norman Nelles, a local farmer, observes that,

The only one who has come at any time to inspect my home either inside or outside, so far as I know, was a moving contractor who was sent there

by the department to estimate cost of moving the stone house. I never heard a word from the department at all before an offer was delivered, this offer being \$2,200 for 2 1/2 acres of land and \$450 for moving building. The offer did not specify what building was meant. There has been no offer to buy the house we live in, the tenant house or the barn. No one at any time asked me what price I wanted. The trees on the land have been torn out, but the houses are left. I doubt if department heads are aware of the manner in which this affair has been handled (The Hamilton Spectator, July 10, 1937: 24)

Within days a response came from the Department of Highways. The department said that the land buyers had "...simply not got around to them yet" and that the situation would be "...rectified in time" (The Hamilton Spectator, July 13, 1937: 7). The government's response was unsatisfactory to the farmers in question. In an open letter to the press, William Mitchell asserts that,

...a deliberate attempt has been made by officials of the department to coerce property owners to accept from the department very much less than the true amount of their damage and, when owners stood out for their just rights, then they were threatened with arbitration proceedings...an owner should not have his home and a large part of his farm forcibly taken from him and then have to wait for six months or a year for a settlement..(The Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1937: 23).

The highway continued to move forward. The extent to which construction influenced the farmland and homes in its path started to be evident in ensuing newspaper reports.

Within a few days the contractors expect the right-of-way for the new highway will be cleared as far east as Jordon Harbour. The powerful machine being used to tear out the fruit tree is making fast progress. Yesterday and to-day cherry trees that would have produced many hundreds of baskets of fruit within a few days were torn out, the contractors being unable to wait the extra few days required for the fruit to ripen. The growers naturally expect to be paid for this fruit. The first auction sale to come as a direct result of the highway here is being held to-day when the farm equipment of Alfred Dow is being sold. Mr. Dow's home and five acres of land have been taken away by expropriation (The Hamilton Spectator, July 3, 1937: 18).

A similar report in the Globe and Mail on July 3, 1937, mentioned that the Dominion Construction Company had men working sixteen hours a day to tear out thousands of peach, cherry, and pear trees as well as graperies. Sixty-two cherry trees and 140 peach trees were torn out on one farmer's property just before they were ready to bear fruit. The impact of losing these trees is revealed in a newspaper interview with one farmer, E. C. Alpin, in which he expresses his thoughts.

The cherry trees, he said today, would have produced between 400 and 500 baskets of fruit within a week, and the peaches would have been ready for picking in three weeks. "All being thrown away," he commented (The Globe and Mail, July 3, 1937: 7).

It wasn't just that the land was being taken away. Farmers' livelihood was also disappearing. The farming livelihood had been built through years of intensive labour. This kind of work could not be transferred elsewhere easily since it takes many years before fruit trees can bear fruit and bring profit to farmers.³¹

The fall of 1937 brought the end of highway construction for the year due

³¹Specifically, "It takes newly-planted peach trees five years before they begin to produce and several more years before they reach maximum bearing capacity (The Niagara Escarpment Study Group, 1968: 37-38)."

"Grapes take about four years before they start to produce well and several more years before the cost of setting up the vineyard is paid off. The break even point for fruit tree growing varies depending on the climate, soil types and cultivating practices. A rough estimate of the break even point of a dwarf pear tree is six years, standard pear tree is nine years, plum tree is six to eight years, dwarf apple tree is three to four years and sweet cherry is ten years. The number of years to break even is less for dwarf trees as compared to standard trees. However, it is more expensive to set up a dwarf orchard and these trees have a lower life expectancy (Informant communication through E-mail, Edward, 49, CF, 1998)."

to winter weather conditions. The impact of the highway in terms of improving economic conditions for the unemployed was already being felt, as suggested when the work was ordered stopped and a number of the Townships' residents were dismissed from their jobs (The Hamilton Spectator, October 26, 1937: 7 & 10).

Farmers in Grimsby continued to hope for fair financial settlements for their property into 1938. It was reported that a financial settlement test case for the property of Mr. Alfred Dow had been reached the Ontario Municipal Board. The settlement gave Mr. Dow less money than he had been previously offered and provided no justification for that amount.

Farmers were angry that the government had ruled that the Ontario Municipal Board would hear arbitration appeals and that no further appeals could be made after its decisions. They felt that the Ontario Municipal Board consisted of political appointees and therefore would not make fair rulings. Instead, they requested that a county judge be assigned to hear the arbitration proceedings. The request was dismissed by the government. In addition, when property owners refused to make settlements for highway right-of-way land, the government interpreted the Highway Act as allowing them to expropriate more land than required. One farmer, J. Holbrook, quoted a government official as saying that it would be cheaper for them to expropriate whole farms, using sections of it for the highway and then sell the remaining rather than pay owners what they requested for the right-of-way (The Hamilton Spectator, June 4, 1938:

22). He further asserts that,

The government is removing an investment. Our lands were not for sale. The growers were an unwilling party. This is being forced on us against our wishes. We are entitled to adequate compensation (The Hamilton Spectator, June 4, 1938: 22).

Not only were productive fruit lands destroyed but homes were also demolished. The following article describes the demolition of an ancestral home that had been built in 1850. Sadness concerning its destruction is reflected in the way the home is personified as having memories and emotions.

"Stone Shanty" has passed. Carefully has the Dominion Construction Co. taken it down, but tearfully have the old residents of the district watched its "razement". It's just one of those happenings that occur in the March of Time and Progress. As the writer stood and watched those husky, young Canadians under the direction of Percy Cunningham, rend asunder what the pioneers of the district had put together some 80 or more years ago, thought naturally reverted to the days of tallow candles and crinoline... What memories must have been stored in the massive stone walls that "Scottie" MacKay's "Bulldozers" crumpled into powder in a few moments. If those stones could talk, they would tell you of the days of pioneer struggle. They would repeat the story of the hectic days of "66", for there were plenty of Nelles' in that foray. They would tell you that a son born within its walls (and still alive) had been an original member of the World's greatest organization for law and order, The Royal North-West Mounted Police. Those are stories that will never be told again. (The Independent, Thursday, September 8, 1938)

This newspaper article shows the sense of ambivalence connected to the changes that were taking place. The home's demolition was regarded as a sacrifice for the future and for advancement. The home was regarded as not just a building, but a major component of people's lives (Erikson, 1976: 175). It symbolized family identity and history and its destruction represented the disappearance of a source of memories.

It can be surmised that events related to the highway development may have caused many residents to lose faith in the order of the world. With the expropriation of some homes and land, confidence in how the world appeared may have been shaken (Erikson, 1976). As well, government disrespect towards farmers' wishes during a period in which farming was considered vital to the nation may have been very disillusioning. The government failed farmers in the region by not acknowledging the importance of food production, the occupation of farming, or the historical and cultural significance of their land and homes. Its unwillingness to negotiate or reconsider its plans appeared to have produced a great deal of frustration for many residents. Furthermore, the loss of land meant the loss of the farming occupation and identity. Perhaps for some residents the construction of the highway was a positive event, since it brought jobs and money to the region. Newspaper accounts,³² however, reveal that many individuals, who had their land and homes expropriated, did not profit from the occurrence and went through a period of great stress.

Highway Reconstruction:

War Years

In the ensuing months the highway continued to progress. Eventually financial disputes ended and on June 7, 1939, the new highway was visited by

³²A large proportion of informants interviewed also suggest that the highway construction was not positive for residents at the time.

King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. The Royal couple toured Canada's first four-lane superhighway at which time it was dedicated, The Queen Elizabeth Way. Newspaper reports of the time hailed the new highway as "...the crowning achievement in a great story of progress, the saga of Ontario's highways. (The Hamilton Spectator, June 7, 1939)."

The highway, however, was not yet complete. Contractors were pressured by the Department of Highways, during the spring and summer of 1940, to quickly pave 36 miles of road through the Niagara area in ten weeks. As a result, farmers were reportedly forced to use school children to harvest their crops since most available labourers were directed to the construction (Best, 1991: 147). The highway was officially opened in the Niagara area on August 23, 1940 (Barnsley, 1987: 4-8), having cost approximately 10 million dollars (Best, 1991: 148). Upon completion the country was in the midst of World War Two.

During the War years, McQuesten appears to have tried to justify the highway decision and appease residents. In a meeting held in the area in 1941, he argued that roads were essential to the war effort for moving troops (Best, 1991: 152-153). Nonetheless, it is reported that the road was used very little during these years (informant discussion). The section of highway from Niagara Falls to Fort Erie was opened as four lanes of gravel surface in 1941. It wasn't until 1956 that the section was officially opened with four lanes of paved highway (Stamp, 1987: 49).

Highway Traffic Act Amendments

Perhaps if the highway had remained as it was first built, residents would have eventually come to accept it and forget the difficulties surrounding expropriation. Instead, after the War, further repercussions began to arise, since the QEW was continually redesigned and expanded with the purpose of ensuring that automobile traffic was efficient and safe. Changes beginning around 1948 transformed the highway from being accessible to adjacent land owners to being a separate, inaccessible place (Van Nostrand, 1983: 11 & 13).

The first highway alteration was implemented in response to growing numbers of traffic accidents (Van Nostrand, 1983: 13 & Stamp, 1987: 53). The Progressive Conservative Ontario government of Leslie Frost had established amendments to the Highway Traffic Act which gave the department control over activities within the vicinity of controlled access highways such as the sale of produce, buildings and signs (The Grimsby Independent, July 13, 1950: 1 and October 5, 1950: 1). In 1950, the Ministry of Highways under Minister Doucett, decided to stop fruit growers from selling fruit at stands along the highway. Instead they recommended that growers use four central stations which had been created along the highway between Stoney Creek and St. Catharines (The Grimsby Independent, June 15, 1950: 1). The rationale was that the sale of produce on highways created a hazard when drivers stopped for purchases. Farmers could not justify the restriction since at the same time the Department of Highways was placing picnic tables along the highway which they considered to

be an equal hazard (The Grimsby Independent, February 22, 1951: 1). Anger was once again directed at the Ministry of Highways. In addition, the farmers selling their produce in the central stations reportedly began to fight amongst themselves. The stations were designed so that produce closest to the entrance would be seen and purchased by the public first. As a result, farmers competed amongst themselves to access the best location. A report states that, "To say the least it has caused bitter feelings. Friends and neighbours of long standing are no longer speaking and each one is jealously watching to see who is selling the most (The Grimsby Independent, July 13, 1950: 1 & 8)."

In comparison to having produce sold from their properties, the central stations also decreased profits for farmers. Fruit was spoiling in transport to and from the stations. As well, farmers and their help were forced to spend the entire day at the stand, whereas before they could work in the fields or do other tasks throughout the day. Farmers responded by petitioning the government to allow them to return to selling from their properties (The Grimsby Independent, July 13, 1950: 1 & 8).

Within a month, thirteen fruit growers were charged with, "...offering fruit for sale within 150 feet of the Queen Elizabeth Way or within 600 feet of an intersection (The Grimsby Independent, August 10, 1950)."

Several months later a conviction was laid against two of the fruit growers which consisted of a 79-dollar fine or one month in jail (The Grimsby Independent, October 19, 1950: 1). Some response came in the following year

when a Bill was introduced by W. L. Houck, the Niagara Falls Member of Parliament, to provide compensation for buildings to be removed from the vicinity of the highway and to reduce by half the restricted area for buildings by intersections (The Grimsby Independent, February 15, 1951: 1). A statement made in the legislature by J. L. Easton, the C.C.F. Wentworth member, may best sum up feelings towards the government amendments to the Highway Traffic Act.

The Queen Elizabeth Way, which here passes through the most beautiful and prolific fruit growing section of Ontario, and yet in this modern Garden of Eden, a serpent still wanders, but in this case the serpent is called the Department of Highways (The Grimsby Independent, February 22, 1951: 1).

Once again, government actions in relation to the highway had interfered with farming activities and the culture of the community.

Highway Expansion

Over the years with successive alterations, the highway has become increasingly unpleasant as the land on its edges has been altered through highway extensions and industrial development (Best, 1991: 195). In 1952, grade-separated overpasses or interchanges replaced intersections that were considered dangerous and a number of level crossings began to be removed. Service roads parallel to the highway were also constructed. In the 1960's, the Toronto to Hamilton section of the QEW was widened to six lanes. All remaining intersections were replaced with overpasses or interchanges so that the highway

now had fully-controlled access. At the same time, many of the aesthetically appealing aspects of the highway were removed such as the ornamental light standards and the landscaped medians and verges.

High volumes of traffic incited another stage of reconstruction in 1971. The highway was widened to six lanes between Toronto and Burlington and a traffic circle in Stoney Creek was removed and replaced with a high speed interchange (Stamp, 1987: 54-57 & 65). In 1973, after 40 years a series of service and collector roads adjoining the highway, the QEW Diamond Interchange, was completed in the Grimsby area. The Ministry of Transportation and Communication purchased over 100 properties and many homes were moved or demolished (Grimsby Historical Society, 1979: 270). After decades of complaints about salt and sand damage to orchards, in the mid-1980's the Supreme Court confirmed that farmers should be awarded compensation. Yet, it took until 1997 for some farmers to actually receive compensation (The Grimsby Independent, February 25, 1998: 1, 3 & 6). One farmer's reaction to the delay, reported in a local newspaper, again represents disillusionment with the government. The farmer states, "It's very frustrating dealing with the government...They have limitless funds to carry on and use delaying tactics endlessly (The Grimsby Independent, February 25, 1998: 3)."

Through these years, further expropriations of land occurred to accommodate these changes. The motivation to sell adjacent farm lands also increased as farming in the highway vicinity became more difficult due to heavy

traffic, lack of access to property on both sides of the highway and damage to orchards from highway salt and sand. Today, the highway continues to expand and change and is more noisy, dirty and conspicuous. In becoming a "technological monster", it has alienated itself from neighbouring communities rather than becoming a component of them (van Nostrand, 1983: 18 & 20).

Highway Recollections and Continuing Implications

In many ways, the Queen Elizabeth Way was a great achievement. It was an architectural advancement beyond anything Canada had seen, characterized by interchanges, bridges and lamp posts. It was also a scenic parkway, beautified with landscaping, monuments, and boulevards which contained trees and shrubs (Best, 1991: 134-135; van Nostrand, 1983: 9; Stamp, 1987: 1987: 24). McQuesten had anticipated that when the highway was complete, it would be appreciated and admired (Best, 1991: 116). It has been observed that some people did appreciate and admire the highway (Stamp, 1987: 9). Over time the QEW has fundamentally changed the landscape. It has affected the economy and the social conditions of the area by fostering the development of industrial complexes and housing developments and the increase of population. The highway has transformed people's perspectives of their ability to control their environment and life styles and has become a negative component of the community. It has become integrated into the history and the future of the area.

The Queen Elizabeth Way was intended to function as a quick route

between United States and Toronto. It was not built to serve the needs of local residents. Jackson (1984:23) observes that from Roman times roads or highways began at the centre of political power. He states,

It was as if it were superimposed on its rural setting and had no relationship to it. The straightest alignment was the shortest and the one preferred, and so confident were the Roman surveyors and engineers of their ability to overcome almost any topographical obstacle that they laid out their road straight from one point to another, often distant, and thought nothing of crossing marshes by means of solid causeways and slicing through hills (Jackson, 1984: 23-24).

Similar to the design of the Roman highway described above, the Queen Elizabeth Way was also imposed on the rural landscape in the straightest and most direct routes to and from areas of power. As such, it has overlooked the wishes of those that it affected the most. The highway has also been vital in bringing people to the region and in carrying people away. As Jackson states,

But the importance of the road in the political landscape reminds us of something we are not always willing to accept: man as a political animal is always inclined to be footloose, inclined to leave family and home for a more stimulating place. As inhabitants of the earth we like to put our roots down and to belong to a certain spot, never to move again; the road or highway is a menace. Yet that other, political identity urges us to leave and to seek out the locus of action and discourse. Town, where we become citizens and can be seen, begins directly outside our door, where the road stands for public life (1984: 27).

The QEW experience of highway development is not unique. Flad (1997: 119) argues that the introduction of the highway in the United States created a largely visible transformation which altered the economy, society, ecology and physical characteristics of the environment. He states, "The concerns for speed, safety, comfort, efficiency, and privacy that are emblematic of the car culture are

reflective of an environment that is linear, antiseptic, homogeneous, and cluttered. A tree-lined road is interpreted as a safety hazard (Flad, 1997: 119)."

Similarly, Jakle (1990: 301) argues that the spread of the automobile has been a catalyst in converting farmland to city-oriented uses and in reducing the farm population. The development of highways causes a number of changes which can be detrimental to the rural landscape.

Highway developments often tend to benefit some and disadvantage others (see Janovy, 1997; Economist, 1997; Serres, 1996). One example is a proposed highway in Kansas, USA which will run through the wetlands of the Haskell Indian Nations University. Those that are in support of the highway anticipate that it will make traffic less congested and more rapid. However, others oppose it going through a sacred environmental site in which Native burial grounds, sweat lodges and a Medicine Wheel reside (Janovy, 1997). Similarly, another highway project in West Virginia, USA, The Robert C. Byrd Highway, has supporters who believe it will bring a more efficient route and employment opportunities. In contrast, opponents note that the highway goes nowhere. Farmers in the area support and oppose the highway depending upon whether the highway will "...cross their fields (bad) or merely skirt them (good for property prices)" (The Economist, 1997: 26).

Miner's 1936 study of rural French Canada indicated that a highway proposal divided farmers from non-farmers in that the former group did not want their property severed or isolated, while the latter saw it as an opportunity for

employment (1939: 253).

The Vancouver Island Highway is a recent Canadian example of highway development problems. Many people sold their property willingly for the project (Times Colonist, 1994). However, others fought expropriation. In particular, one family received a great deal of publicity for not leaving their property. After a period of struggle they finally left stating, "Memories came flooding back as we packed our belongings...It was a very sad time for us. Very depressing. It's a heart-wrenching experience packing up 20 years' possessions (Times Colonist, 1995)."

It appears that the characteristics of highway development and expropriation bring both support and opposition. Those that oppose highway development are generally attached to the area and don't want to see it changed. Those in support of highway developments often believe that economic benefits outweigh any difficulties.

Informant Interpretations and Recollections of the QEW

Informant discussions demonstrate how events surrounding the highway development are interpreted. Informants frequently introduced the QEW into the conversation particularly when asked about their conceptions of the greatest changes in the area. They indicated that the highway should not have been built in its present location. Subsequently, they felt that the decision to build the QEW was a detriment to the community. Informants' interpretations of the QEW

were shaped by their present experiences of the highway as well as their past or generational memories. Many had vivid recollections of the early history of the construction of the highway when land expropriation occurred. Anger was often expressed over the imposition that the highway caused. This anger may be a reflection of long-term experiences associated with the highway. One couple describes how the highway affected their lives.

SH: How do you feel about all the changes with the fruit farms being developed?

Jerry: Well, I think what really destroyed this part of the country, in particular this part of the Niagara Peninsula, say from Hamilton to Beamsville was when they decided to put the Queen Elizabeth highway through. I think that was about 1934 that they decided on it and then it, went ahead with it about 1937. They took thousands acres of farms, fruit land and it wasn't only the land that was gone but the farms were split in two. And the story goes back, in those days, somebody by the name of McQuesten and the premier of Ontario. The story went that they decided to build that highway from Hamilton to Niagara Falls and eventually to Fort Erie and he just took a pencil and drew on a map where it was to go. Rather than to give any consideration to put it on top of the escarpment where the fruit land wasn't as good. This is really the only area in Ontario where you can grow peaches. The climate is favourable to it. There is a small area in B.C. But like, even from here, if you go to Burlington, peach trees will not survive. It's that, dramatic a change and they will not survive on top of the escarpment.

SH: So it was a random decision?

Jerry: Right.

SH: What was your family's reaction to this?

Jerry: Oh of course they were against it. But (pause) there really wasn't much they could do about it. I mean when the government decides to expropriate, they just go ahead and do it. There is no power to stop them.

SH: Hmm.

Jerry: In those days, there weren't that many people there. It's not like today where you can get a hundred people together protesting. Because it was all farms.

Natalie: At that point too, there was still access to the other side of the farm too.

Jerry: Right.

Natalie: It wasn't like it is today where you have to go the other side-

Jerry: -where you have to cross over.

Natalie: But I mean they gradually accepted the fact. They still had access to the farm.

SH: So they didn't realize how it would eventually be?

Jerry: Well, I don't think they realized how bad the traffic would get.

(Jerry, 61, PF & Natalie, 55, PF)

After the highway went through, the family continued to farm the divided sections of their land. However, in the 1960's, another expropriation occurred to

make room for a service road adjacent to the highway. Expropriation made farming impossible for the family, ending generations of life and work on the land.

SH: When you moved from there, did you sell the property?

Jerry: The property was expropriated by the highway.

SH: Oh. Is that also where you farmed?

Jerry: Yes.

SH: Up until when did you farm there?

Jerry: Up until 1966.

SH: Is that when it was expropriated?

Jerry: Yes. Actually it was a couple years sooner than that. But I was still farming until a couple years after that.

SH: So, did you want to leave?

Jerry: Not really, it's just that the farm got cut up so much. There was no access. There were two pieces of property one on each side of the highway. There was really no access to get from one piece to the other. My mother actually was alive at the time and she decided to sell.

SH: Was it a hard decision?

Jerry: Well, it was an emotional decision, because I was the fifth generation on that particular farm.

Natalie: But she still kept, retained a small piece of property and they did farm it for a while after that-

Jerry:-after that-

Natalie:-but not too long.

SH: And what side of the highway was it on?

Jerry: Well, where the main farm was on the north side of the highway, but there was some other property on the south side of the highway as well.

SH: So you kept that part of it?

Jerry : Yeah, there was no house on it, but I farmed it.

SH: Did the house go too?

Jerry: The house was torn down.

SH: When was that built?

Jerry: The 1800's, sometime. It was built and then added on to. You know how the old farm houses are.

SH: Leaving that house after so long, was there anything you could do to keep it?

Jerry: No. It was expropriation.

Natalie: Actually, the service road went right through where the house was.

SH: Is that right?

Jerry: You can't fight the government. They have a lot more money than we do. They fight us with our own money (laugh).

SH: Yeah. So eventually, you were still farming the one section, what made you finally give it up?

Jerry: Well, it wasn't feasibly economical to farm it, because it wasn't large enough and I was working elsewhere to keep things going, and it was just too hard for me, both jobs.

SH: So what happened to that property?

Jerry: It was eventually bought by developers and now has industrial complexes built on it.

SH: When you drive down there, how do you feel?

Jerry: Oh, yeah, it's pretty sad. There are a lot of memories especially when you were a kid and you remember walking up that road and going to school and how different things were, then. You know, your dad used to walk up that road too.

SH: Is it depressing?

Jerry: No, I wouldn't say it is now.

SH: Do you still have good memories of it?

Natalie: I remember when I first met Jerry, he was farming at the time. I remember the good times we had there. The only sad thing that bothers me is the fact that I know Jerry liked the farm and he had to give that up.

(Jerry, 61, PF & Natalie, 55, PF)

These informants expressed sadness over the development of the highway. Since fighting the government was perceived to be difficult the only alternative was to leave the land. Another informant, similarly describes the implications of the QEW. When asked what was the most dramatic change in the area, he states,

Sam: Well, that would have to be the urban development and the Queen Elizabeth highway.

SH: How did the urban development and the Queen E. change things for you?

Sam: Well the Queen Elizabeth cut our farm in half.

SH: Oh it did eh. Did they expropriate it?

Sam: We had no choice.

SH: You had no choice? Yeah. How did that change things by cutting the farm in half?

Sam: Well, the farm below the escarpment. Well in the beginning, it wasn't a closed access. You could cross the other side of it and farm. But it made it difficult to, of course when the service roads were put in, we had to have licensed people operating our machinery to cross the highway and of course, we had our machinery going across the highway a mile or so down on pavement.

SH: So do you still have that property on the other side?

Sam: No.

SH: You sold it off did you?

Sam: Yes.

SH: And what is the property now?

Sam: Oh (industry name).

SH: So when they decided to put the QEW in did people protest?

Sam: Yes.

SH: They did?

Sam: Oh yeah.

SH: Yeah. And did you personally protest?

Sam: Oh yeah.

SH: Yeah. And what did you do? Who did you fight with?

Sam: Well, it was the Department of Highways. Of course each single farmer had very little to do. So in each municipality, a group of farmers would get together and appoint one person to represent them. And in those days farms weren't that large.

They were four or five or six acres and quite often they'd go right through. And you've got an acre on this side and three acres on the other side. So, it was (pause) and your building might be on that one acre. So, it made it difficult.

SH: Yeah.

Sam: That was a big change.

SH: When was that?

Sam: 37.

SH: 37 eh? And why didn't they listen? It seems so-

Sam: -Wouldn't listen.

SH: What was the decision based on that they would put it through there?

Sam: Well it was probably the shortest time between Queenston and Toronto.

SH: Oh, okay. Yeah I am surprised they wouldn't put it up there.

Sam: Eventually that is what going to happen. They will have to put another road up in Hamilton that will cut into the 403. They don't realize that now but that's.

SH: But you probably knew?

Sam: Well, I was just a kid when that was coming through. My father was very emotional about it.

SH: Was he?

Sam: The farm was all along the highway.

SH: He must have been terribly angry?

Sam: Oh yeah.

SH: I can't imagine.

Sam: One farmer was told that his house was so big that they were just going to take half of it. And he could have the other half.

SH: Oh, what did he say to that?

Sam: Well, he didn't last very long, thinking about that. His farm right now, there was a gravel pit where it was, and now it's a housing development, just east of the town.

SH: So his house was right on the path of where it was going to be?

Sam: Yeah. Right there. (Slaps his hands)

SH: Wow. Had he been there for years and years?

Sam: Oh yeah.

SH: Yeah. That would be just tragic.

Sam: He had a big farm and lots of property but (laugh).

(Sam, 78, CF)

The previous excerpt indicates that the highway decision was an arbitrary one. It also displays a sense of powerlessness over government decisions. Anecdotes, such as the description of McQuesten drawing an arbitrary line for the highway, or the farmer's house being divided in half, provide evidence that informants believed that the government was insensitive to residents.

One informant had a somewhat different interpretation of the events surrounding the highway development. The man shared a sense of cynicism

towards the government but did not remember protests over the highway development.

SH: So, do you think it is inevitable that this whole area will eventually will not be farmed anymore?

Roger: I remember about 1936, when the Queen Elizabeth went through and the provincial government bought property to put the Queen Elizabeth through what was part of my grandfather's farm down there. And he said that, "There goes the fruit and wine of the Niagara peninsula."

SH: Hmm.

Roger: And my grandfather was (laugh), I guess I am like him, come off the top and people looked at him and kind of wondered. And that was part of it, they could have, if the Niagara peninsula fruit growing was all such a big deal they could have put the Queen Elizabeth back in the swamp. Back over the hill there, where you couldn't grow much anyway.

SH: Did they expropriate your grandfather's property?

Roger: They didn't expropriate his, they may have expropriated some, I don't know. I don't really remember hearing talk of expropriating.

SH: Was there, when that went through, was there any protest or anything?

Roger: No I don't recollect any protests. Everybody was so damn glad to get a little cash out of their farm, no matter how they got it out that they didn't question it.

SH: Is that right? So when your grandfather said the highway was going through was he upset about it or was he, did he accept it?

Roger: Well at that point he was at about the same stage as I am. He was coasting and personally to him why, (pause) like I say I think that there was years when it was pretty tough to get a living out of anything and here was cash. Don't look a gift horse in the mouth. And there wasn't this socialist, Greenpeace idea of save this, save that.

(Roger, 67, CF & Lucy, 60, CF)

The sentiments expressed in the previous transcript echo that of others in its description of the decisions around the location of the highway and the belief that it led to the demise of farming. The fact that part of this informant's interpretation differs from other informant accounts may indicate several things. First, it may be that the memory of expropriation and protests in the region was not meaningful to the informant or his family. It may also indicate that he felt that protesting the demise of farming was not worthwhile. Present perspectives of the farming situation are reflected upon the past in that the informant would

rather give in to the inevitability of development and profit from it than resist what he could not control. Frustrated with the difficulties of farming, the informant may have wished to benefit from changes rather than resist them. Not everyone views historical events in the same manner. Memories, beliefs and reactions to circumstances differ from one person to the next.

This chapter has provided information on the development and impacts of the Queen Elizabeth Way. From its onset, the QEW has influenced people's lives and the physical and social characteristics of the region. The development of the QEW corresponded with a general cultural move from a society which was dependent on the community and farmer to one which depended more on the outside economy. It represented the end of a cohesive, integrated community where farmers had had political control (Miner, 1939: 239 & 253). The highway has played an important role in shaping the characteristics of the area and the way in which informants view their community, farming and governments. These views reflect present day notions of historical events. Historical documentation provides some evidence to support the accuracy of informants' descriptions. For informants, the QEW has become part of a set of convictions about past and present threats to farm lands. It overshadows beliefs about the outcomes of future development initiatives (Marris, 1986: 6). The circumstances related to the QEW taught residents a lesson about the effectiveness of protesting development initiatives lead by powerful bodies, such as the government.

Informants through history and experience have realized that protest is not worthwhile. The next chapter outlines how places such as, buildings, landscapes and the QEW are important for generating experiences, memories, belief systems and identity formation.

Chapter Four:

The Influence of Place

Adding, subtracting or altering the physical boundaries that define spaces and social relations transform in gradual and incremental ways people's relation with the built environment and one another (Lawrence, 1996(a): 73).

Places and conceptual boundaries are integral to people's perceptions of their world and their social relations. They map or bound the political organization of territory and they represent shared and unique memories, life experiences and interactions both in the past and the present. The previous chapter showed how the QEW has influenced farming and people in the area. This chapter argues that places are an instrumental part of how people view their identities, community and social relations. Places reflect change and political influence and generate self-conception, social understandings and memories. It is argued that two of the most notable places in the area are farm boundaries and the QEW since they symbolize past events and future struggles with urbanization. Places are shown to have strong meanings for informants and these are related to how they interpret the transformation of the area over time.

Defining Community and Place

Although, sociological studies often use community as a focus of study,

the concept of community has come to be perceived and defined in a number of ways depending upon the objective of the researcher. Important elements contained in definitions of community include geographic area, common ties and social interaction (Hillery, 1955). Some researchers have defined community in terms of common ties and social interaction in the neighbourhood (see Gans, 1962; Liebow, 1967; Whyte, 1955). In contrast, Wellman and Crump (1978: 4-5) argue against equating neighbourhood with the study of community for a number of reasons. They observe that neighbourhoods may not always have social organization and ties and that local relationships may not create distinct neighbourhoods. In addition, studies of neighbourhoods can sometimes overlook the influence of external ties, such as those established at work. Instead, some researchers, including Wellman and Crump (1978: 5), argue for a network analytic perspective of community, which searches for "... social linkages and flows of resources..." first, and then examines "... the spatial distribution and solidary sentiments associated with the observed linkages."

With this approach, communities are observed which may not be attached to neighbourhoods or solidary sentiments. The possibility that communities can be found in neighbourhoods is not eliminated, but strong ties are acknowledged to exist beyond the limits of the neighbourhood (Wellman and Crump, 1978: 5). The argument has a great deal of credence in that as our communication and technology broadens, a sense of community may not be linked to one location. Yet it may be too restrictive in that it implies that physical space is not

fundamental. Physical surroundings largely enable people to define the world and share these definitions with others (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 129-130).

People locate themselves both where they can ensure a livelihood and where they can enjoy and be attached to their surroundings (Firey, 1945 & 1947). Social linkages and spatial surroundings can both be significant in creating meanings and associations in social relations. Social linkages may change or disappear. A place may no longer contain social linkages but it can still strongly constitute community and identity.

Definitions of community are multifaceted and should vary depending upon the values and characteristics of those being studied and their consideration of community as it relates to their existence and identity. A perspective and definition of community thereby, only becomes possible after considering the definitions of those under investigation. The communities that people can be attached to could potentially be numerous. They can also vary in importance depending upon how meaningful they are as a component of identity. Communities may develop a pattern of distribution through a competitive struggle. The pattern of ecological order may shift depending upon the extent to which the society and places change. If people and their institutions are unable to compete with new conditions, they may leave (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 213-247).

Given that community can be defined in a number of ways, the community under investigation is largely defined as a place to which informants can be

attached sentimentally and economically (Firey, 1945 & 1947). It should be considered more than a geographic region, made up of not only elements and space but also, "... associations of people, things, concepts, behaviour, times, past events, legends or stories--a physical-psychological complex of properties (Mammott, 1980: 162)."

Furthermore, there may be some common ties or social interaction within its confines but these do not necessarily have to link everyone together. It can contain multiple communities, in the form of social networks and these may connect to other communities that transcend outside its own boundaries. It is a set of places and neighbourhoods that some know and have experienced, whether in the past or in the present. It is also a set of places and neighbourhoods that some may only know through others' experiences or they may never know at all. The geographic, spatial community can be altering both physically and conceptually due to actual changes and perceived changes. Finally, the term place is used as a multi-dimensional concept that can connote dwelling, community or region (Cuba & Hummon, 1993) and generates meanings in relation to informants' discussions and interpretations.

The Importance of Place for Self Identity

Self-conception has a number of components. Interaction with others is fundamental to the development of self-conception. Nonetheless, interaction does not occur in isolation. It generally occurs in physical settings and where it

is not physically located it can be located through imagination. Even where interaction occurs by phone, letters or Electronic Mail, the participants may need to describe and structure it with objects and symbols to make it comprehensible. Within self-conception is a sense of place identity. Proshansky et. al., (1983: 59) observe that 'place identity' consists of,

... cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being. At the core of such physical environment-related cognitions is the 'environmental past' of the person; a past consisting of places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs.

Reality is constructed through interpreting one's behaviours through the examination of others' reactions to them (Mead, 1934; Richardson, 1980: 215). The people and places of our past create our present self-identity (Marcus, 1992). Mead (1934) observes that human beings have the ability to act toward themselves and the ability enables us to observe things in our surroundings and thereby, direct our actions by these observations. Furthermore, objects have their character or meaning bestowed on them by individuals. People construct material objects, give them meaning and determine the types of actions towards them. They interpret or act on their understandings of the symbols they have given objects (Blumer, 1969: 80). In order to make sense of their world people interact with others while using material objects to create context to actions. They view the material setting of a place to derive cues in order to gauge how to

behave. Where people scan their surroundings for cues for behaviours, they may contrast one place with another to ensure that their responses are appropriate (Richardson, 1980: 217-219). On a daily basis, we may not be conscious of how physical settings influence our interactions, experiences and responses (Hewitt, 1984: 173; Memmott, 1980; Proshansky, 1978: 157 & 161; Proshansky et. al., 1983: 63). However, if these physical settings are endangered, we develop a heightened awareness of them, no longer taking them for granted as a constant part of life (Buttimer, 1980: 167; Proshansky, 1978: 157). As well, beliefs about place may transform in response to changes in society and physical settings (Proshansky et. al., 1983: 58).

Places and Objects as Symbolic Representations

Events and people can be brought to life through objects or places. The events may have occurred recently or in the distant past and the people may be living or dead, part of daily interactions or part of memories or history. Nonetheless, places and objects can become representative of these events and people. Loyalty and patriotism are often represented by material objects or physical sites such as monuments at parks where the past can be made visible (Tuan, 1974: 99). The following interview excerpt shows how material objects and places preserve history for the informant.

SH: What else do you have about your family history?

Jerry: Oh, I have old documents.

SH: What sort of things are in the documents?

Jerry: Oh, mostly indentures, loans, death certificates. I will show you some. (He

proceeds to show me some)

SH: Is it at all frustrating that your family was here for so long and documents are the only thing you have?

Jerry: Well, it's always interesting to walk through the cemetery in Stoney Creek where the founding families were buried. It's interesting to look at the stones. Especially if you go around the 1875 to 1900 area most people didn't live very long. Because TB was around then, they used to call it consumption.

SH: So you can see your family history there?

Jerry: Yeah.

(Jerry, 61, PF & Natalie, 55, PF)

It is evident that family documents and the cemetery were meaningful to the informant because they represented a link to his past and his family history. Similarly, another informant describes a sense of pride towards her home and the objects that it contains.

SH: If you had to show a stranger this community what would be the most important for you to show them?

Sharon: I would show them this house and the things in it. Like this spinning wheel and the old furniture and the furniture that my ancestor made. There are lots of memories on the property too. There are some trees around here that I really like. Like the black walnut tree. It drops about eight to ten bushels of walnuts every year. There is a crab apple tree and red delicious tree out front also. We used to sell crab apple apples in the fall.

(Sharon, 63, PF)

Objects and places with symbolic significance can be possessed or occupied whether briefly or for longer periods. As a result, those who possess or occupy may feel 'self' attached to these representations. Others may also collude in the belief that those who reside in or possess the place or object are attached to them. The desire to be connected to environments and the things within them may be related to how they convey impressions of status, social worth (Saegert, 1976: 221), family identity, culture and a feeling of belonging. Many long-term residents of the region lived in homes or possessed objects that

were historically linked to the area. Through ownership, long-term residents had a special connection to the past and the region.

Over time, images of a community and its people may change depending upon a variety of environmental and social factors. Nonetheless, past images may persist and may in fact be embellished if material objects from them remain. In appropriating and altering places to serve functions and needs, people impose their own personality and meanings upon them. Identity, social relations and cultural values are produced and reproduced in places and spaces (Lawrence, 1996(a): 75). Retaining aspects of these places can be highly desirable to the people involved. One important way of retaining recollection of places, as they were, is through preserving some aspect of their original character. The region under investigation contained places that some informants felt symbolized historical, Canadian events. Places that are viewed as historically significant such as monuments give the landscape a sense of long-term collective memory, purpose and principles (Jackson, 1984: 152). One couple reflects upon these kinds of feelings.

Roy: And to me this, this says it. We only have one past, and if it's destroyed it's gone forever. Preservation is the one thing we can do to ensure that future generations will have a past to appreciate.

SH: So for you, that is why?

Roy: Yeah. I'd like, I'd like for my family to know what it was like, (pause) in earlier days. To me that's my reason.

SH: So just in your days or even more?

Roy: Oh even more, I mean...

SH: ... The real past....

Roy: ... The real past. As we view come along there should be something, I'd like to see something from every era really, preserved in some way. I know it's impossible to do everything like that, but.

Linda: I guess it gives you a sense of belonging. That we would all kind of like to have.

SH: Those places?...

Linda: Older places, yeah. Or even the older homes around. They're renovating, what was the house on Elm Street... Mrs. P's house. You know that house has been there for, always as far as I can remember. And it's just a small but any ways somebody, it was all, it was getting very tumbled down looking and somebody has bought it and, are fixing it up you know....

Roy: Restoration ...

Linda: ... Restoring it. And that seems to make me feel good because you just feel badly when things are just, are neglected and not valued.

(Roy, 62, NF & Linda, 63, NF)

Another informant similarly discusses the value of preserving places that reflect history.

SH: Why did you join the historical society and why is it important to you?

Margaret: Well because I guess I live in an old house and I want it preserved and I think we should be remembering the things of our past. Because history is forgotten and it's history is repeated and if you don't think of anything as worthwhile, you know, you don't value it. And I think there a lot of things that should be valued about the community and that's why I became interested. I guess I had friends that were interested too, you sort of plan together.

SH: What do you think are the important things to be remembered about the past?

Margaret: The contributions that people made, to the, to the homes that they built, and their industry in their farming and their pride in building schools and churches and things like that and the interest that they had in having a good community. I think would be the things that should be preserved, not just taken for granted like it has been here but it hasn't been. People have had concerns and people should know about their concerns. And where the people came from what their background is. Just what you are doing now, you get a little bit of background in how people lived. I wish I knew a little bit more about what people did and what their thinking was, you know. If they had just written things down you know. You know living here, things that happened.

(Margaret, 75, PF)

This woman indicates that buildings should be preserved because they reflect people and their culture, showing how places are an integral part of individual and community identity.

Preservation may occur through maintaining components of the places such as objects, symbols or names. An example is provided when several informants discussed how they had hoped to preserve their family name in

connection with their property after it had been sold.

SH: Who ended up taking over the farm? Did one of your brother's end up taking over the farm?

Rose: Yeah he ended up with, my brother (Greg) ended up with my father's farm, after father died and he was the one that sold it to the... what do you call those people?

Jane: Developer. The one side, the smaller side on the west side of (Daly) was sold when they were putting in the Queen E., one of the new intersections of the Queen E.

Rose: The approach to the Queen E.

Jane: And they needed a lot of land.

Rose: His land was, they came around to find out what it was made of and they were looking for a cemetery at the time and they were figuring would it be a cemetery and then when they went to build the bridge up there, they came and said it was the right kind of...

Rose: So they took the top soil all off and put it aside and then dug a lot of it all out and then the last part of the farm was sold for development.

SH: So when was the farm sold? Would you know?

Jane: Oh I don't remember, do you remember? You would have to talk to uncle (Greg) about that. It sat there for quite a while. (Mr. Clear) bought it. And I used to be at the council meetings all the time so I made a list of family, names within the family, so they could name the streets. The names of the family, then it changed hands two or three times, so there is none of the names are up there.

Rose: (Roger) ran into the man, after the streets were all named and he said, "So you are the fellow that wanted to get one the streets named," and he said, "We put up the BUCKS," so we. They didn't stick to one name. They put half of one name and half of another.

Jane: It turned out to be all Scottish names. Although down below there is (M) which is my maiden name but that didn't have anything to do with it.

SH: So you had hoped they would use your name?

Jane: Yeah, (Long) was the last name and then there was (Clarence).

Rose: You see when dad was in the council and there was the long lane that (Hartz) had to go in there, dad stuck to it that it would be called (Hartz) Lane. But they used to call it (Long's) Hill when they used to sleigh ride down there. But then it was (Lemon) Mountain road, (Lemon) Mountain round all the time when I went to school and then it turns out to be (Daly) side road. So (Daly)'s got the name but (Lemon) didn't get in on it and we didn't get in on it.

Jane: (Daly) lived on the corner (laugh).

(Jane, 68, NF & Rose, 93, PF).

Maintaining the family name was important for these informants since it symbolized their attachment and past presence. Since they identified with the place, they wanted it to retain some of their identity.

Human connection to places can outlast their presence and their life times. People may leave places but they can still be remembered in relation to

them. The following interview provides an example.

John Sedgewick: I find it strange, we have been here twenty years and all of my children's generation obviously know this as the Sedgewick house, but all of their parents, know this as the Stewart's house. We are newcomers. Only been here twenty years (laugh).

(John and Marie Sedgewick, archive tape- May 1989)

Long-term residents often associated houses with their memories of the people who lived there. In this sense, the home had become representative of people.

Places can also be deemed to have characters of their own. A couple discusses how they believe their home has a distinctive personality in the form of a ghost.

John Sedgewick: Living in a house that is not just one generation old but many generations old, you get a feeling that you are not alone.

Marie Sedgewick: We have a ghost.

John Sedgewick: We have a ghost... I am an extremely practical person. When I say practical, maybe sceptical is more the right word to use. If I can't see it and touch it, it doesn't exist. End of discussion. However, my wife and daughter are not that way, and I don't think that's because they are women. It's maybe they are more tuned into these things. I stay here and live here when my wife is not here and my kids are not here. But when you are in this house by yourself, you get the impression that there is somebody in the next room. Or wherever you are, there is somebody here. This is not a house that is like going into a new survey home where everything is new and it doesn't have a character that if you are here by yourself, even as sceptical as I am, you feel it. Okay now, I don't feel it in a form of a ghost as my daughter and my wife might do. But you feel it as a sense of, I don't want to use the word history, but, and it's really hard to use the words, because this has no tangible. Often I am sitting here doing something and I hear a noise and I know there is nobody in the house...But you get a sense you know when somebody is standing behind you there is no way of knowing you have somebody behind you but you turn around anyway. You get the impression, when you are alone in this house, that there is somebody there. Not bothering you or throwing things around or trying to scare you at all, but you get the sense that the house has this character.

(John and Marie Sedgewick, archive tape- May 1989)

The house in the previous excerpt has somehow become alive. It has

become personified (Brower, 1980: 193) by being given a human presence.

Places can manifest emotions and identity and thereby, become embodied with life.

Attachment to Place

It has been shown that people form bonds with places and connect them to their identity (Feldman, 1990). Many factors initiate and sustain place perceptions, attachment and identification. These include: the types of experiences associated (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Erikson, 1976; Fried, 1963; Marris, 1986; Tuan, 1974), the kinds and frequency of social relations (Gans, 1962; Gerson et. al., 1977; Hunter, 1975; Krannich & Greider, 1990) duration of residence (Gerson et. al., 1977), gender or ethnicity (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Fried, 1982; Hall, 1966; Massey, 1994; Proshansky et. al., 1983; Tuan, 1974), social class and residential satisfaction (Fried, 1982), life stage passages and the cultural norms attached to them (Cuba and Hummon, 1993, Feldman, 1996; Proshansky et. al., 1983; Rowles, 1980) and spatial activity (Cuba and Hummon, 1993).

Informant Attachments

In the current study, conversations often generated information about experiences and attitudes towards places, people and events in the region. Fruit farmers and longtime members of the community frequently indicated a sense of

emotional attachment towards places that they wanted to have preserved, specifically home dwellings and historical buildings. It was found that informants generally mentioned feeling attached to their current dwelling. Most of the informants interviewed indicated being proud of their community (which was usually the town or area closest to their home) for its landscape, history and friendly people. It was observed that there was not a great deal of difference in the ways in which farmers and non-farming informants described places that were important to them. However, farmers tended to be less idealistic about the beauty of the landscape. For them, the purpose of the land was to generate income and if it did not do so, they could justify, albeit grudgingly, the necessity to leave. Thus, both economic and emotional sentiments played a role in informants' perceptions of the area and in their choice to live there (Firey, 1945 & 1947).

Places and attachment were largely discussed by farming informants in relation to their association with occupational experiences. Fruit farming, unlike many occupations, is highly dependent on place. It is not a mobile occupation in that it can not easily be transferred from place to place since starting a fruit growing operation takes a number of years (The Niagara Escarpment Study Group, 1968: 37-38 & Edward, 49, CF, E-mail correspondence). Since many types of fruit growing are restricted to the Niagara region, moving to another Ontario location to fruit farm is generally not feasible. Short of moving to another province or the United States, these farmers are dependent on their

location. Therefore, the kind of attachment that farmers had was also a reflection of their occupational dependency.

Life-Stage

Life-stage has an influence on resident's attachment to places and their need to remember and preserve them. Places can be particularly important for older people since they can generate memories that span over their life times (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). While the current study did not endeavour to compare the reactions of different age groups, informants often indicated that their attachment to places in the community was greater than the attachment of their children to these places. The reason may be that older residents, who have lived in the area for a number of years, have longer-term memories of places and events which younger residents lack. It may also be that they had entered a life-stage where the importance of remembering and preserving these places was heightened. One man discusses how as he has become older the desire to preserve places has increased.

SH: Are there any places in the community as it's changing that you would like to see preserved?

Rick: (Pause) Yeah, again I believe as you get older you become more nostalgic and you relate to buildings and you are very protective of these old buildings. And we're protective of them under the guise of saying we want to preserve this stuff for our children so that they can see what we had. You go back to what we said earlier, do the kids really care? And yet they have to care because at some time, whether they like it or not, some of them, not all of them but some of them will arrive at the same point that we are at now. Some will say I remember that building there and no, I don't want it torn down.

(Rick, 68, NF & Jennifer, 68, NF)

Perceptions of places and change may be associated with informants

particular life-stage and the experiences of their cohort.

Attachment and the Past

People do not always experience the same place in the same manner. Where places signify events and people in a positive manner, attachment may be formed. Everyday experiences with places can become a familiar component of self-identity and continuity (Feldman, 1996: 421). The experience of significant events can heighten or diminish attachment to place. The experience of withstanding harsh natural forces such as a drought, can create pride and attachment towards an environment (Tuan, 1974: 97). On the other hand, an experience of defeat or despair could potentially create a decreased attachment to place.

People can also hold mixed feelings about the same place. Just as they may have good and bad perceptions about people, places may be viewed in the same manner (Tuan, 1973: 419). People often carry valuations about places. These may be good or bad. They may convey justifiable truths, false stereotypes or aspired hopes and desires. One article about the Niagara region exemplifies how perceptions of places can have associations attached to them. It states,

Grimsby was the town where the best cherries were to be found and it was totally populated by the Nelles family -anyone else was an outsider and only a visitor (Meeker, 1981: 114).

Meeker (1981: 113) readily admits that her perspectives were sometimes

biased. Her discussion, however, provides information on some of the conceptions that she, and perhaps many others have held true. These conceptions, while not always false, often embellish the truth or focus on distinctive areas while missing other evident facts. Nonetheless, these perspectives in focussing both on farming and on a United Empire Loyalist family provide a stereotype which some community members may want maintained. Individuals not sharing these perspectives may threaten existing cultural understandings and are thought to be outsiders.

For a large proportion of informants, perceptions of life in the region particularly in the past possess extreme positive aspects that tend to override negative aspects. The notion is captured in the following recollection.

Liz: When I was first born, Stoney Creek was a village and so was that part of it. There were fruit trees all around, in fact there was an orchard right on (M) Ave. which was where I lived. There was a few houses where the municipal parking lot is, that was an orchard and who owned that, Mr. (W), I can't remember. So it was just a part of life, the fruit, all of that. And then there was an orchard behind too, where the senior citizen's apartment is now. There was an old big house there and there were fruit trees back there too. And it was peaceful, quiet, everybody knew everybody. People cared about people, looked after people. Maybe if there was some place similar, but it's quite a unique place, in terms of the people. (Liz, 50, NF)

Most informants indicated a sense of well-being attached to living in the region which translates into a feeling of belonging and 'rootedness' (Godkin, 1980: 77). Well-being was expressed in relation to the past and to a lesser extent to the present. Associated with positive attachment was the belief that people care about one another, and that the area is beautiful and contains important Canadian history. In addition, the places described appeared to

represent nostalgia for the past and longing for what was considered better ways of life (Newcomb, 1972: 441). Hummon (1980) has shown in his work that for many the perception of small town life is "...natural, quiet, friendly, neighborly, safe, good for families and children..." and essentially, represents "...a simpler world." Some nostalgia was evident amongst informants. Although they emphasized that these small town characteristics were in the process of disappearing.

Places and Events:

Shared Places

Meanings around physical settings can be shared through common experiences, definitions and memories (Memmott, 1980: 162). It was found that different informants describe the same places as being special. Even though different events may have been described, the location was often the same. Informants may have similar sentiments towards places but their own unique memories of them. Evidence is suggested in the following two, separate interviews in which the informants remember past events which took place in the same setting.

David: Some of the things are still there. The open gas flame on the mountain. The ponds where we played hockey. That was on Fruitland Road and our fathers before us and our grandfathers before us played there. What games we had. We played all day in the winter.
(David, 64, PF)

SH: How did you meet your husband?

Anne: Well, he went to the same church as I went to and there was a big pond, right behind, quite a ways back on Fruitland Road back of the church. It had been

a stone quarry and it was filled with water and it used to freeze over so we used to skate on it. And I remember I went down with some other girl, I can't remember who it was and I was going to skate and his sister came over and after a while he came over and he was skating on the pond. I was 16 or 15, I guess I was then and he was 18. He was skating on the pond and I really liked him. I liked him as soon as I saw him. So it was supposed to be.
(Anne, 83, PF)

Both of these informants indicated a strong positive attachment to the same place due to the events that occurred there. It can be assumed that other individuals may know the same place and may have had a range of experiences there, both good and bad (Memmott, 1980: 163). What is important is that the existence of places, both in reality and in memory, act to trigger the recollection of events.

Two informants fondly recollected periods when fruit farming was profitable. They both conveyed a similar story of one farmer's success in fruit farming.

SH: Your parents farmed and what made you decide to continue farming?

Sam: Well, yeah, (pause) I wouldn't want to be a farmer at the present time because we are living just on the edge and it's getting tougher all the time. With government interference and with business everyday telling us what to grow and how to grow it. But in those days when I was growing up this was kind of the aristocrat of the farming. Because in those days a school teacher might make \$2,800 and a doctor maybe four or five or a lawyer. With fruit growers, there are lots of instances where with one crop, for instance Jack Orr, if you know where Jack Orr used to live in that brick house?

SH: Yeah.

Sam: His father built the house with one plum crop.

SH: Hmm.

Sam: Now his whole farm wasn't plum, but he got \$5000 or so with one crop. The same way that happened with this house here. So many of the small villages and towns here were built by retired farmers. They would retire and move into town.
(Sam, 78, CF)

David: Jack Orr was a wonderful farmer. He was a modern farmer. He was up on all the techniques. He only made a living. He had a university education. He was a very clever man. (pause) During the first War, Eddy Orr, that would be Jack Orr's dad, built this beautiful home on number 8 highway, just from dames and plums that he shipped to England during the War. He made so much money he

was able to build this beautiful home. It is still down there, Jack had land on the north side of number 8 and he had, his home was on the south side and it ran back to the escarpment and there were three flats on the escarpment. Wonderful man.

(David, 64, PF)

These stories show how one profitable farmer and his home have become synonymous with favourable recollections of farming. Fruit farmers' prominent role in the community was kept alive through informant recollections and the places where they once lived.

Mental Maps

A large proportion of informants used places to detail or guide their stories. They portrayed the region through the use of mental maps; constructs produced by memories of reality and imagination. Tuan (1975) describes mental maps as images in the mind which allow communication of information to others about a physical environment. Mental maps allow people to prepare for behaviours by mentally picturing the physical environment. They help trigger memories by associating events, people or things through images denoted in a physical location. They allow knowledge to be structured and accumulated with one image activating others. Finally, they can be imaginary through allowing people to create images of unseen places through their experiences or ideas of what they believe a place to be like (209 -211). The ensuing interview transcript provides some indication of how people use mental maps to describe their experiences.

Ron Deuxberry: I can remember the cold weather, where Lake Avenue School is now there was a spruce hedge there and there was an open spot before you got to it going towards the mountain and we used to rush to get in behind that hedge to get a little.

Interviewer: To get a little shelter from the cold.

Ron Deuxberry: Shelter from the bad winds. And there was another tree on the Lake Avenue just south of Number 8 which is Queenston Road of course today, and it was a big Elm tree and I used to rush to get in behind that to catch my breath.

Interviewer: Well that is very good. I am sure people will have a better understanding and more appreciation of what it was like around in those parts around 70 years or there of.

Ron Deuxberry: Now, I can remember one particular morning, I got down to the east side of the hill and it was so bitter cold, I turned around and went back home and I opened the door and my mother said, What are you doing back here and I says It is too cold to go to school today. Of course she had a big box stove going and a big cook stove and she was warm in the kitchen and she said you get up and go to school. So anyway when I got to school, my hands and my face were frozen. So spent pretty near all day in the teacher's room. She didn't realize it was about 20 below zero.

(Ron Deuxberry, archive tape-March, 1992)

It is evident that the recollection of cold winters triggers a memory of places and events associated through mental maps. Similarly, places guide the description when a woman recalls where she grew up and the activities that took place.

Leone Jackson: Next to that we had a peach orchard. Where the Serbian church is. That land down in there was a peach orchard when I was a child. So then along also down in there we had terrific, that was terrific raspberry land and in my teens I picked raspberries from daylight until it got too hot to stay out and then after we went until it got dark. While picking raspberries you got scratched, but it was very pleasant work.

Interviewer: And good to eat too.

Leone Jackson: Oh definitely! Well somewhere along in there, we had a, then there came an apple orchard. And somewhere in between these orchards there would be wheat and corn.

Interviewer: That's interesting.

Leone Jackson: Especially a great deal of wheat and every fall we would have. Oh across the road, we owned the land on the south side of the road up what is now Quigley Road to the railroad. My father bought that from Grandpa Nash. So it was all Nash land.

(Leone Jackson, archive tape- October 1992)

In the previous discussion, a visual map is provided which effectively

allows listeners to understand and sympathize with the woman's experiences, thereby putting themselves in her place. People may not be as aware of the place as they are of the people and events within the place (Proshansky et. al., 1983: 63). However, in discussing experiences, places can become important elements of these descriptions. Informants often provided directions when they discussed their memories and correspondingly these descriptions of places initiated further memories. Two women discuss some landmarks in the area.

Jane: Do you know what stop 69 is?

SH: I have heard it, but why was it called that?

Jane: I think it was stop 69. That would be the stop on the rail. That was the only one that has stuck. The other numbers didn't stick. And because that didn't seem to have a name that was kind of in between Stoney Creek and Fruitland, so the stop 69 stuck.

SH: So it was from the railway?

Rose: From the radial car.

Jane: The street car type thing, whatever you want to call it.

Rose: Oh that was something else?

SH: How long was that street car there? When did that put the street car in, do you know?

Rose: Mr. C worked on the railroad.

Jane: Did he? Well, Mom used to go back and forth to the city. Was it there when you were a kid?

Rose: Yes. In fact, we used to start at the top of "Lemon" mountain and sleigh ride, on those big bob sleighs, and go then right down and go down our hill right down to the corner and turn and go down and some used to go right up over the railroad. And they made us stop going on there because somebody went up and over the railroad tracks and they might possibly run into the street car.

Jane: So it was there before your time.

Rose: It was there.

(Jane, 68, NF & Rose, 93, PF)

The conversation above is not only focussed on the interaction or event but the location creates context for the speaker, as well as the listener.

Places create a context for events. Mental maps of places allow people to guide others in understanding interactions and experiences. Images of the

physical world can guide and communicate understandings of interactions both in the past and present. Being able to share and understand these perspectives is also part of being a member of the community.

Boundaries and Heterotopias

Realms of physical space and objects within them are influential in establishing social behaviour. Both boundaries and heterotopias are important concepts for understanding the way in which informants interpret their surroundings and the interactions in them.

Boundaries

Boundaries are contained within and outside of places. Boundaries can be: "Physical, social, temporal, conceptual, and/or symbolic (Pellow, 1996: 1)."

They can be defined as divisive or as inclusive and they can change, disappear or increase. They can designate expectations for behaviours or activities. As well, they can create, maintain, change and delineate society and social relations (Pellow, 1996: 1-3). Boundaries can act to stabilize social relationships by delineating where behaviour can and can not occur (Jackson, 1984: 15). They can also act to disrupt social relationships by creating barriers to social relations and activities.

Lawrence (1981, 1984, 1996(b)) argues that boundaries can have one or more objectives. They can be used as "...*physical barriers* for communication of

a visual or auditory kind; as *symbolic markers*, often with a decorative or aesthetic value, expressing differences between domains; as *judicial borders* defining the extent of legal possession; and as *administrative limits* for the management and control of domains (Lawrence, 1996(b): 15)."

Boundaries are an inherent aspect of the Niagara Fruit Belt with respect to the ways in which they influence perceptions and interaction. Several important boundaries make up the physical landscape namely; farm properties, urban developments and the Queen Elizabeth Highway. The boundaries of farm properties and urban developments contain all of the elements outlined by Lawrence (1981, 1984, 1996(b)). They contain physical barriers such as, fences; symbolic markers such as, fruit trees or vineyards, judicial borders such as, legal ownership of property and administrative limits such as, municipal land-use policies. As indicated previously, the boundaries that divide farm properties from urban developments represent some controversy. These boundaries are changing and connote difficult social interactions. These social interactions will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

Comparatively, the Queen Elizabeth Way acts as both a real, physical boundary and an abstract, symbolic boundary. It is a physical barrier because it impedes people from entering and crossing it and it is symbolic of urbanization, regulations and the unyielding force of governments that are disinterested in the protection and longevity of farming. The QEW's physical features and social practices make it conceptually detached from the region but at the same time it

remains a constant presence reminding residents of the change it represents. It carries administrative rules and practices for its maintenance, reconstruction and allowable activities. All of these factors have made the boundary an untenable one for long-term residents. Their inability to control the physical and social space both in the past and in the present has affected the nature of their relationship to the QEW. The QEW boundary has exerted power over them (Rodman and Cooper, 1996: 108). Residents have not been beaten by the highway but rather they have continually contested and resisted it (Pellow, 1996: 218) through legal actions, ignoring it or moving away.

The QEW as Heterotopia

As well as being a boundary, the Queen Elizabeth Highway can also be described as a heterotopia. Foucault (1986: 24) describes heterotopias as places which are "...outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality."

He argues that heterotopias exist in every culture. A heterotopia is argued to have one or more specific functions in society. Heterotopias can bring together in one real place several sites that may not be compatible with one another, for example a theatre may contain a number of sets that are alien to one another. Heterotopias can indicate an aspect of time, such as a cemetery indicates a place for the end of life. They can accumulate time, such as a museum or library that contains objects of time and they can be transitory, such

as a festival which comes into a place and then leaves. Heterotopias can be open and penetrable or closed and isolated, but are generally private not public and are not considered to be easily accessible. Finally, heterotopias can be places that partition people away from one another. They can indicate a space apart from other spaces and they are often opposite in character to other spaces for example, they may be well organized and perfect while the other spaces are disorganized and imperfect (Foucault, 1986: 24-27).

The Queen Elizabeth Way is a place that largely functions outside of the community. It represents a rapid travel route, not a place to spend time in the community. The people travelling on the highway are in automobiles insulated from human contact (Hall, 1966: 166). They are not visible to most of the people in the area. In being a heterotopia, the QEW is a place representing technological and urban change with large numbers of people travelling on it at high speeds. In contrast, the region through which it passes has a slower and less transitional nature.

The Queen Elizabeth Way has affected people's thinking about their identity and social relations through creating a negative presence of urbanization and government influence on the landscape. Jackson (1994: 190-191) observes,

Roads no longer merely lead to places, they are places. And as always they serve two important roles: as promoters of growth and dispersion, and as magnets around which new kinds of development can cluster.

All of the informants observed that the highway is incompatible with the

agricultural landscape and has brought greater urbanization to the area. An interview with one informant recalls the impact of the highway on farming when it went through.

SH: Do you remember changes like when the Queen Elizabeth highway was put in?

Anne: Yeah, I remember when they were building it. I don't remember too much about it. But they did take over lot of the farms and that to get through there.

SH: Did they take over any-?

Anne: -It might have been part of what grandpa had, had, I don't know. But by that time, they weren't there any more, you know. But all that, a lot of that property was farms and fruit and stuff. It must have made quite a bit of difference in the supply of fruit and stuff.

(Anne, 83, PF)

Other informants indicate how the highway has continued to be related to the loss of prime fruit lands.

Beatrice: So that leads to the fact that the best land usually goes first. And that leaves you with the marginal land and YOU try to make a living off more marginal land. The farming land in Niagara-on-the-Lake or St. Catharines, is the best.

Peter: The best part of the land is now the Queen E.

Beatrice: Yeah, it's under the Queen E. It's gone now and so you sort of move out further and we are getting to the edge of where we can produce fruit and let's say down below the hill everything was sold and everyone had to produce up here. It would be more difficult. The best land always goes first.

SH: So do you see it all being paved over in fifty years?

Peter: The one chap is, (Frank) is 80. He was a carpenter. He grew up on a farm, but his trade became carpentry and he said back in the thirties when he was working, there was a chap that told him that one day by the turn of the century there would be lights all around the end of the lake. There are now. And I can see it.

Beatrice: Down below, if you go along the Queen E corridor, it will disappear. It. You can see it coming. I mean there are signs all away along there now for sale and you see industrial complexes going along. I don't know if we'll see it. But our kids for sure will see that along the Queen E. down below the hill is going to look like Toronto. So then, where are we going to grow our food?

(Peter, 45, CF & Beatrice, 43, CF)

In the latter excerpt, the highway represents a negative space that is expanding and consuming the positive space of farm lands. A sense of pessimism towards the future of fruit farming is reflected in informants'

observations concerning the highway. Many other informants also expressed these feelings. Referring to the decline of fruit farming in the region, one informant states,

Carl: Not only that but unfortunately in this particular area, they put the QEW below the hill. Below the escarpment. And you are going right straight through the best agricultural land in Canada. And of course where the road goes, so do people. So we are doomed.

SH: You really think that?

Carl: The industry over all. Eventually.

(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

In addition, to the disappearance of farmland, the presence of the highway has affected residents' access to other parts of their community. One interview provides information on how there was easy access to Lake Ontario prior to the highway.

Linda: And that was an important part actually, people used to go down in the evening on a hot day after Dad came back from work, and you would go down to go for a swim in the summer.

SH: I guess you can't do that now eh?

Roy: No. And we used to frequently go down, well maybe two or three families and have a wiener roast (pause). So the lake was really quite an important part in the summer of life here. And I suppose like older kids, we never did, but they could have probably rode down on their bikes (pause). But it was an important part of living here. Until they put in the Queen Elizabeth Way.

Roy: There used to be at Lake Avenue, stop lights for getting across the Queen Elizabeth. The lanes would stop.

SH: So I guess that's a big change too?

Linda: Oh yes. I can remember when they put the Queen Elizabeth Way in, when they constructed it. And that, it changed, change, progress, doesn't always bring wonderful changes in some ways because then it just seemed to cut you off, just going down to the lake. We had actually stayed at a cottage on Community Beach which was a nice area in those days, I don't know that you can even find it now. Over the summer. And then the next year, we didn't because that's when they started their construction.

SH: When was it put in do you know?

Linda: Well that would have been-

Roy: -39. (pause)

Linda: Let's see, yeah I think so, around 1939.

Roy: Would they have continued that through the war years?

Linda: I can't remember (pause). Maybe just before that. But when you think about it, that did change the, make a lot of changes in, around here.

Roy: They're people movers, the big highways. They're people movers.

(Roy, 62, NF & Linda, 63, NF)

Effectively then, the QEW physically divided the community by preventing ease of access from one side to the other. It has had a large impact on the area in that its presence is a constant reminder of change, disruption, political influences and urbanization. It is a heterotopia and boundary in that it visually and symbolically imposes upon the area and is considered to have attributes that are in opposition to the rest of the community.

Behaviour in Places

The ways in which people define and organize places and spaces are through social constructs such as culture, race, gender and social class (Massey, 1994). Not only are there boundaries of territory in the physical world, but there are boundaries of cultural space; ways of behaving (Erikson, 1966: 9-10). Members of societies develop norms related to individual space, territoriality and privacy. Experiences in the physical world enable these norms and values to become a vital component of an individual's place-identity. Children learn social roles within physical settings such as the home, school or neighbourhood. These physical settings provide the context to learn and distinguish where appropriate behaviours should occur (Proshansky et. al., 1983: 64, 68, 75).

Erikson (1966: 10) observes that, "Both of these dimensions of group

space, the geographical and the cultural, set the community apart as a special place and provide an important point of reference for its members."

People living together in communities must learn something about how the territories they occupy in social space are defined. Conflict can occur where different social groups come together and do not have a set of shared understandings regarding the ordering and interactions expected (Erikson, 1966). Social class, gender and ethnicity play a role in the kinds of behaviours that are acted out in places. Different social groups may have a completely different understanding of how they should behave with regard to such issues as respect for privacy and physical boundaries (Aiello & Thompson, 1980; Goffman, 1963: 151-153; Hall, 1959; Hall, 1966; Hall, 1976; Proshansky et. al., 1983: 70). They may inappropriately read the available cues and make incorrect responses to them (Proshansky et. al., 1983: 72) or they may not bother to adhere to the existing cultural conditions (Erikson, 1966). Specific places may be designated for one social group and access may be restricted to others (Hall, 1966: 133; Petschauer, 1997: 109). One social group may view a place as being of religious or spiritual significance while another may view the same place very differently. Social groups may have different spatial distances for interaction. For example one group may have boundaries around themselves when they are in conversation which act to separate them from others. In contrast, another group may believe that these boundaries do not exist. With regard to the perceptions of privacy, differences are also present. For example, one social

group may perceive a closed office door as an indication that they want to be undisturbed whereas another may not have the same perspective (Hall, 1966: 124-128). There are distinctive differences between social groups with regard to appropriate behaviours within social space.

It has been shown that where one social group or person invades the space of another territorial threat can be experienced and aggression, depression or stress may occur as a result (Brower, 1980: 182). Where a person from one culture moves into another they may experience "cultural shock" in which familiar cues have changed or disappeared (Hall, 1959: 199). Through time, people learn to create social distance from one another. Knowledge of spatial needs allows people to develop "bridges" which enable territories of one another to be entered (Petschauer, 1997: 146). Proshansky argues that people residing in cities learn techniques for coping with others which he describes as "strategic co-present social interactions." Specifically, there are ways of responding to the presence of others by avoiding personal relationships with strangers (Proshansky, 1978: 166-167). Similarly Goffman (1963) describes the behaviour of strangers moving amongst one another as a "ritual of civil inattention", whereby privacy is maintained while another person's presence is acknowledged.

Informants were found to be learning to cope with the presence of new cultures. Nonetheless, as the next chapter will show, there was a lack of comfort and understanding related to these interactions. Population growth has

been a source of transition for residents. Fruit farmers and longtime community members felt that newcomers did not respect the same places and boundaries nor did they behave consistently with their expectations. While informants were adapting to living amongst a larger population, they acknowledged that the behaviours and territories that they had been familiar with were now disappearing.

This chapter has discussed how places are important for self-conception, memory generation and social interactions. It has reviewed how places provoke feelings of pride and nostalgia and how places become meaningful to people due to the experiences and events that happen in them. Farm lands, urban developments and the Queen Elizabeth Way each play important roles in how the region and social relations and identities are regarded. These places are an integral part of a common culture of shared experiences and expectations (McHugh, 1968: 28-31 & 45). Farm lands have been part of informants' physical and social environment for all or most of their lives but urban developments and the QEW are changing these conditions and previous ways of thinking. As a result, informants perception of their worlds and themselves is being transformed. The next chapter will elaborate upon the problems associated with change and growth. It will also discuss some of the social and economic pressures on the fruit farming occupation.

Chapter Five:

Dilemmas of Population Growth, Land Use and Social and Economic Forces

A friend of mine is moving out of Grimsby. She is a senior and has lived here for 45 years, raising a family and working a fruit orchard along with her husband. But it is finally time to move. Of course, the landscape of their backyard has changed over the years. Where once fruit flourished in fields by the bushel full, you now only see vast paved streets with homes slowly being constructed, stretching towards the escarpment. ... A space rover in the future, say 5,000 years from now if sent to earth from another planet would discover that- yes, there was once fertile soil along the shores of a great lake. The riddle left to these outer space scientists will be why did they pave over it. A report will sum up that basically our civilization decided to live on top of its most fertile soil. ...Why not build the highway on top of the hill- which is home to clay and cow corn?...The bottom line is the growth of development in this area has been due to the foresighted individual who decided the highway should go along the lake. I'm sure this guy later in life vowed television was just a fad and rock and roll would never last...
(The Grimsby Independent, Editorial, July 16, 1997: 6).

The Queen Elizabeth Way and the related impacts of industrialization and urbanization have been transforming the landscape and people's perceptions of it for a long time. This chapter presents some of the problems informants were experiencing with community change. It discusses informants' experiences with newcomers' cultural differences and the disappearance of familiar places. Farmers in Canada have been shown to have greater rates of stress and depression as compared to other occupations. One reflection of this is that suicide rates have been found to be amongst the highest in the farming occupation (Pugh, 1992: 32). Greater financial stresses experienced by farmers than by non-farmers, are likely the main cause of these difficulties (Swisher et.

al., 1998). Going beyond financial issues, this chapter discusses some of the kinds of stresses that were experienced with farming both in the area and in relation to the wider economy. In particular, housing developments in close proximity to agricultural land and external market forces and government regulations are outlined as they negatively influence the farming occupation. These conditions are shown to heighten a sense of frustration and powerlessness and act to enhance informants' belief systems that external forces are controlling their existence.

The Disappearance of Familiar Places

As noted earlier, farming has had an instrumental impact on the culture and landscape of the region. Farming is extremely visible for example, the farm buildings, fences and trees and vineyards are physically distinctive. As well, farming activities have a consistent influence on inhabitants due to their link to the times of day and seasons of the year making them a predictable and familiar presence on the landscape (Fitchen, 1991: 46). Farming has had a long history of being a major source of financial activity for the community. Yet, farms are disappearing and their significance to the region is diminishing. Informants were concerned or saddened by the changes taking place in the area. They described a sense of grief and loss when they discussed places that have changed or disappeared. For them, change was considered inevitable but not favourable. It was to be accepted, but at the same time the past was considered

a better time. Most of the informants interviewed indicated a strong attachment to the farm landscape and negative reaction towards urban development. The following excerpts provide examples of these feelings.

Liz: I drove down number 8 highway to go to my brother's, the last time I went there and my cousin got married, he got married in Beamsville and so we drove down number 8 highway. And I just noticed how much it's changed and how much it's built up and changes in the road but another thing I noticed too, is there are still some things that are the same and I find that comforting. But, there are still orchards there. (pause) But so many of them are gone. And I find that distressing. It was really hard for me when (James) sold his farm and they put in the (building name) there by (Nolton) road.
(Liz, 50, NF)

Leone Jackson: Because this house is built with, the floorboards upstairs are 18 inches wide. The floorboards in Grandma Nash's cupboard in the parlour are 18 inches wide. Angus said it was all virgin pine in this house and the sheeting underneath the outside sheeting are all great wide 16 and 18 inches boards. I am very proud of this house and I have received many offers of vast sums of money to sell the land. But I like the house so much that I can't be parted from it.

Interviewer: That is what makes it such a strong heritage.

Leone Jackson: Yes. I agree with you and it hurts me, terribly, to see so much good land in this part of the Niagara Peninsula just being wasted in a sense.

Interviewer: Somewhat, what it wasn't meant to be used as.

Leone Jackson: Yes. Because there is no other land in Canada like it.

Interviewer: You are right.

(Leone Jackson, archive tape-October, 1992)

Another interview transcript provides an example of perceptions of the types of changes that have occurred to farm landscape.

Ben: But, things have changed a lot. Everything is all now, like I say it's all overrun, it's all factories and houses and. You know, you drive by a spot, and then you think well there was a nice farm there. See up on the plateau there is the old (Davis) Farm. ... Eventually that farm was sold and factories or houses moved in and then now there is a big truck equipment place in there now. And there is, a fast food chain. A bus route. There isn't much left of it anymore.
(Ben, 68, NF & Joanne, 66, NF)

With these changes, informants may experience a disrupted sense of self and continuity (Fried, 1963: 153). Material objects and places enable people to make sense of their world allowing experiences to be concrete and useful.

When the physical landscape changes, people must adjust by reshaping their perceptions and movement and correspondingly, create a shift in their culture (Richardson, 1980: 217). The following discussion again shows how the changing landscape and increasing population are regarded.

David: To me when I go down the hill, down into the valley there is so many people and all the land marks are gone. It is a city now. It was so beautiful. The environment is ruined. The air is bad. The water, the lake is ruined. There is so many people. I went down there the other day and I wanted to make a turn to come up (Daly's) hill off of highway 8. You could have stood, not too many years ago, you could have had a conversation there for half an hour and not been an obstruction. Now I wait here for two minutes to get off the road. The traffic, the traffic is so bad. I say, what is happened to my world? I am pleased that I am not 20 years old. I remember how beautiful it was.
(David, 64, PF)

Growth is altering the way in which this man regards his surroundings and the appropriateness of behaviour. The previous culture, one in which there were fewer people and more time to spend in conversation, was thought to have been replaced by one that contains more strangers and a faster pace of life.

When the places that people are strongly attached to alter or disappear, they take on new meanings (Memmott, 1980: 162) and people correspondingly learn to define their world in a different way. The new places may now be regarded with sadness, anger or resentment. One informant describes how the property and house where she spent most of her life have changed.

Anne: I was born down on (Black) Street just at a little house that mom and dad rented. I was born in 1913. My grandfather owned property on number 8 highway, and when the man couldn't afford to pay for it, then grandpa got it back, then he asked my dad if he could look after it because he couldn't do it himself, so dad said he would. There wasn't much on the farm then. At the front of the house there was all black current plants and at the back there was all wood. So dad cleared that all out and planted fruit. He didn't have very much to start with. I don't know what year that would be because I was born in a house down further on number 8 highway, across from my grandfather and grandmother (J). That would be after I was getting a bit bigger. I guess (Ruddy) was born then too. Because he

was born a year and nine months after me. So, anyway, I lived there until I got married, so it was quite a while.

SH: So, that was right down in (town name)?

Anne: Yeah, it's uh, there is a funeral parlour there now, (name) it's called and it was almost right there, right across. But now it's all houses and survey in there.

SH: It must be strange?

Anne: It was awful, you know when they ripped the old home down. I used to drive down and mother used to say, "Oh they are tearing our house down and it was such a nice house." You know, but there is all houses in there now. There is quite a big survey in there. It goes right through to (Black) street now. So it's not like it was. And, she felt awful bad, but you know they couldn't keep the house up because they were getting older and they moved up to that apartment you know.

(Anne, 83, PF)

Places or objects can be representative of family and history. Where the object or place is threatened, the representations are also threatened. A very personal injury may be perceived where the threat is not only towards the object or place but is also towards the sentiments and beliefs that it embodies.

Some places may not be noticeably important. Yet these places while not prominent to some, may be deeply important to others (Tuan, 1977: 162).

Places that disappear become places of memory. The new places that have obscured the old are considered non-places compared to the places of memory. Where there is anger or unhappiness attached to their disappearance, it is likely that people will remember and experience dissonance in relation to the event.

Effects of Population Growth

Urbanization and growth have brought both physical and social changes. One major change has been the influx of new people and the perception that there are increased problems as a result. For long-term residents, a feeling of territorial and social encroachment was experienced. Territorial encroachments

are experienced in forms of violation, invasion and contamination. Violation occurs where there is unwarranted use of a territory and "Violators are those who have repulsed or circumvented those who would deny them access." Invasion takes place "...when those not entitled to entrance or use nevertheless cross the boundaries and interrupt, halt, take over, or change the social meaning of the territory (Lyman and Scott, 1970: 98-99)." Contamination occurs when a territory is polluted and may become defined as being undesirable or unusable (Lyman and Scott, 1970: 98-101).

A sense of social encroachment may occur where newcomers are felt to have different or even contradictory understandings of behaviours. To some extent all of these encroachments were experienced.

Violation

Informants often mentioned feeling that their sense of security and safety was being diminished. Increased crime was generally blamed on newcomers.

SH: What kinds of hazards did you have on the farm in your parents time?

Joe: We have more hazards now than we did then. We have to keep our door locked and the gate locked.

(Later in the interview)

SH: What do you think of all the development around here?

Joe: Some of it is all right. But uh, (pause) the situation, we never used to lock our door or anything in the olden days and you better not do that anymore, eh. You can't leave your vehicle or anything or somebody will have it. This guy over here just south of (Far) road near (Fairview), they stole his truck right out of his yard. That is one of things that is considerably different. They steal my gas right outside of house. Oh yeah. You may have some improvements in some things. One fellow could farm more ground and so on but at the end of the day, I don't think that you are any better off. Your crime situation, they have tried to belittle it but it's (pause) a lot different than it was say even in the 30's when things were tough. You could trust people a lot further in those days than you can now.
(Joe, 75, CF)

Ben: The crimes are getting worse.

Joanne: Being close to home with that rape again this week. That's over on (Malcolm Road)

SH: Oh really, I didn't hear this.

Joanne: Yeah.

Ben: Just down by the second light. Yeah.

SH: Wow.

Ben: So. They have all these, okay my father was an immigrant, which is this whole country is immigrants, but the type of immigrants coming in now they're bringing their (pause) madness with them. Half of these people are, they're supposed to be deported. The other half are in jail or causing a lot of problems, and they get away with it (pause).

(Ben, 68, NF & Joanne, 66, NF)

The previous transcripts indicate how safety is now felt to be jeopardized. In the second transcript, it is evident that newcomers to the community, specifically recent immigrants, were regarded as creating these negative effects.

Invasion

Informants generally felt that newcomers did not understand or conform to the existing behavioural norms with respect to physical and social boundaries. As a result, informants felt that their territories were being invaded. A couple describes their experiences with new cultures.

Carl: You have a different ethnic mix now too.

SH: Uhum.

Carl: And that has a big bearing on it, not that I am prejudice or anything but by and large when you had Europeans they were of one cultural background more or less. They all thought. Like they were an old society and they all thought one way. They all respect the land and so on and so forth.

Rosemary: They respected each other too.

Carl: Yeah. And now you've got a lot of Asian cultures coming in.

Rosemary: Indian.

Carl: Well, Asian.

Rosemary: Okay.

Carl: That whole block. And they are from a society that is so large that they don't respect each other or anybody else's property. And they just take a lot of things for granted.

SH: Hmm.

Carl: And you can see that when they come out to pick their own fruit and that.

SH: Is that right?

Carl: It's like, an invasion. They get out and they are gone. Just into the field and look out. Whereas you get, typically the Italians will come out and they are a dickering society. They will always dicker. Nothing. They always overfill their basket and they always want it for the cheapest. Oh, I mean that has been the way that particular culture has been since they came.

Rosemary: Yeah, but they respect you too, though.

Carl: But, yeah, okay. Whereas you get some of these other people that come in and some of them are just downright rude.

SH: Is that right?

Rosemary: Yeah, they will open up their picnic basket right here in our back yard. They will eat right here in our back yard. Not even come and ask is it okay if I eat underneath the Maple tree.

Carl: So, it's a learning experience for us. Because that is the society. The mix in the society has changed. So has the way we have to deal with the people and what their expectations are.

(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary 42, CF)

The previous interview indicates how both personal boundaries of the home and social expectations of behaviour were being threatened by newcomers. The feeling that social and physical space were in jeopardy was emphasized in the statement that it is like "an invasion". Correspondingly, there was a realization that new ways of behaving would have to be anticipated and accommodated.

Contamination

Another problem associated with the growing population was an increase in noise and pollution. Many places that were previously perceived as being beautiful were now considered contaminated.

SH: How would you say it is changing around here?

Sharon: Well, there are more people around, more houses. I think that's the big change. There is a lot more noise from the highway, the big trucks and cars. And that sort of thing.

SH: So what do you think about the changes that have been happening?

Sharon: Well, I guess, we have to change.

(later in the interview)

SH: What would you be least proud of?

Sharon: I think it's the amount of traffic along the roads. I used to go for walks along the ridge. I don't anymore. It's too busy. It's not that safe anymore. People throw garbage out the windows, like bottles and cans. I don't know why people do that. Why they don't just take it home. That's bad. There are too many people speeding along the (Road). I don't go for walks along there.

SH: So what are the major changes around here?

Sharon: It's more noisy and there's more traffic and people are dumping their garbage here. I try to keep the ditches clean. I want it to look good, but it is hard to keep up with people dumping around here.

(Sharon, 63, PF)

This woman had tried to maintain cleanliness by picking up garbage on her street, but she was posed with an insurmountable task. The woman indicated frustration in not being able to circumvent the pollution and noise.

Social Encroachment

The physical presence of newcomers in the community was also considered to be an encroachment on informants' social space. The increasing population made informants feel that they did not know as many residents as they once did. A woman expresses concern over her new sense of anonymity.

Jane: It used to be at one time, if I walked through Stoney Creek and my kids were with me and any friends, I would be stopped so many times to talk to people I would know so many people-

Rose: -Oh tell me about it-

Jane: -that they would be bored you know standing around because everybody wanted to talk to me. It has changed now.

Rose: Even now when I go out with Jane she visits so long that I wonder if I am going to drop before...

Jane: ...I could walk down the street here and not meet anybody I knew where at one time you knew everybody. If you didn't know them personally as a friend you knew who they were.

SH: So what do you feel about this difference?

Jane: I just feel that things have to change and I wonder where the end will come because our civilization as we know it started I am not sure what year, but it was certainly not recorded history (pause) and I think we come from just a few and we are expanding, we are filling the world, just watching in my life time how it has expanded.

(Jane, 68, NF & Rose, 93, PF)

Emotional loss was experienced in no longer knowing most residents. Familiar places now had to be shared with strangers. Other informants also describe their experiences with the larger population.

Ben: Well I find (clearing throat) you're talking about people you grow up with (clearing throat). You can go to Stoney Creek Battlefield when they have the June Celebration you know the battle, re-enactment, and you can go up there and I'll bet you over the course of a couple of hours up there I wouldn't see 10 people that I know anymore.

SH: Is that right? So that's the big change?

Ben: Big, big change. You don't know, you know, you never see the (clearing throat) the Stoney Creek people anymore. Course, there is just, there is a lot of the people that I've know in my generation is dying out too so, you know. But there is all new people in there. They're not, they're not Stoney Creekers. (laugh)

SH: Yeah. That must be weird, so how does that feel? I mean it must be different.

Ben: Well (pause) time marches on, you can't do too much about it.

(Ben, 68, NF & Joanne, 66, NF)

SH: When you think about your community what do you think of?

Linda: Here.

Roy: The community has lost a lot. My thinking. When I first moved to Stoney Creek, it was '54. Stoney Creek was one mile square. It was one of the most friendly places that I could ever imagine. You walked down the street and everybody spoke. It was a thriving town. I miss that it's gone, well it's just gotten so big. And there's nothing downtown anymore to speak of. The malls come in and businesses move out, but people don't stop. This is the whole problem. And the parking is easier at the mall, and you go to a mall you can go to 15, 20 stores or more, without too much effort. To me, Stoney Creek has lost a great deal with losing the stores. The people are there, but they're just not, not as friendly or, I shouldn't say not as friendly they're just, well too in this day and age you have to be careful about who you talk to I guess. But they're just not as open, would that be the ...

Linda: ... Well, people in general I think they don't stop, if you know somebody that's fine and dandy yes stop and chat, but people that you don't know. That's a hard question. What you consider your community. Here because I think it depends on what you're involved in. If you're involved in a church situation then that sort of an important part, or the Historical Society. The community, it has sort of spread out too much, not too much ...

Roy: ... It lost when it expanded so much. My thinking.

(Roy, 62, NF & Linda, 63, NF)

With expansion and growth came a sense that people were no longer as friendly or as predictable as in the past.

Maggie: We are born farmers, I guess. We just like the wide-open country.

Christine: Yeah. Everything had to be done by hand there was no machinery.

Maggie: People were more neighbourly. Today you don't hardly know your next

door neighbour. Back then we were more together.
(Maggie, 71, PF & Christine, 91, PF)

Population growth has brought with it a sense of distrust towards newcomers. Newcomers were perceived as bringing crime and negative cultural differences to the area. The community was thought to be less friendly and more heterogeneous. It was no longer the comfortable, clean, safe or quiet place that it had been. Instead, it had transformed into something that was much more threatening and anonymous. Consequently, informants were learning to adapt to a whole new set of behavioural expectations.

Territorial Intrusions on Farm Activities

Of the informants interviewed, farmers appeared to be the most affected by urbanization due to its impacts on their property and occupation. There has been a large intrusion on farm boundaries through expanding population pressures which has infringed upon farmers' personal space and property boundaries. Increased problems between neighbours have been shown to occur where houses are located in close proximity (Merry, 1987: 51). These problems are likely aggravated for farmers who are not accustomed to living close to others.

As the non-farming population begins to outnumber the farming population, they become a more dominant political presence in the community which has a wide range of effects. Berry (1978: 3) observes that newcomers

may lobby against farming activities that annoy them. Subsequently, legislation may be enacted to prevent these activities thereby, harming farmers. Further, the increase of population brings with it more automobiles and industrial activities causing air pollution and resulting in damage to crops and trees. Newcomers may intentionally or inadvertently destroy crops and equipment or frighten livestock. Taxes may be increased to service the needs of new residents such as for schools or roads. Finally, governments may be pressured to acquire farmland to serve the needs of the new population such as for roads and reservoirs (Berry, 1978: 3). Development often forces farmers to travel greater distances to find agricultural equipment and supplies for their operations (Lisansky, 1986: 365). All of these influences can cause farmers to go out of business and sell off their property. As one farmer sells, housing developments encroach on the farm properties of other farmers, thereby causing a domino effect in which other farmers are also forced to sell. These kinds of population pressures were very evident in the area under investigation.

Complaints over Farming Activities

When housing developments are adjacent to farm property, farmers often find that they cannot perform their normal work activities without annoying their neighbours. Where a decrease in farms and an increase in non-farming population occurs, land-use disputes inevitably tend to arise between farmers and non-farming newcomers specifically with regard to farming related activities

(Berry, 1978; Fitchen, 1991; Lisansky, 1986; Thompson, 1981(a)).

Both Lisansky's (1986: 366) study in New Jersey, USA and Fitchen's (1991: 103) study in upstate New York, USA found that the smell of the manure, machinery noise and pesticides were some of the sources of complaints made by non-farming newcomers that lead to tensions with farmers.

In the current study, it was found that there were tensions between newcomers and farming informants. Farming informants reported that residents of new housing developments behaved negatively towards farming activities. Informants, who currently farm or farmed in the past, reported that new residents complained about farming-related activities such as: spraying pesticides, burning branches, spreading manure, operating farm equipment such as tractors and using noise makers to drive birds from crops. Farmers have been provided with guidelines for agricultural land use which have the objective of reducing practices which may cause conflicts with neighbours or harmful effects to the environment (OMAFRA, 1995). Nonetheless, proximity to neighbours makes problems unavoidable. In the past, neighbours also farmed and/or were distant enough that farming activities were not a problem. Today, neighbours are closer and often do not farm. Farmers acknowledged that some activities could be disruptive, but they also emphasized that they were essential for their livelihood.

SH: You were saying that neighbours have an influence on you.

Beatrice: Yes.

SH: Tell me how.

Beatrice: Well as you have more neighbours you have to. You know when we turn

our bird bangers³³ on because we have to protect our crops. It uh, there are those neighbours who come from the country who it doesn't bother. But there are neighbours who come up to the country for peace and solitude and a bird banger interferes with their peace and solitude. And they love the birds and we are trying to scare the birds. It just (pause). You have to work with your neighbours also you know. I guess when you live in the city, if you yell too loud your neighbours all hear. Well you know you have more space here but you can drive your equipment too late at night or you know. Sometimes you are forced to, by weather, to do things at odd hours. Well, neighbours may not appreciate it.
(Beatrice, 43, CF & Peter, 45, CF)

Newcomers were clearly distinguished from long-term residents by their lack of acceptance of existing behavioural and cultural patterns, that is from life and farming practices. These differences have created social barriers between the two groups.

Idyllic Rural Stereotypes

Newcomers often move to rural areas because they claim to enjoy the farming landscape and quiet lifestyle. It isn't until they actually reside in the country that they find an integral part of the rural lifestyle is the smells and noises associated with farming activities. These characteristics of rural life generally contravene newcomers' idealistic expectations (Fitchen, 1991; Lisansky, 1986).

Many of the farmers interviewed felt that new residents to the community did not share a cultural understanding of farming. They felt that newcomers were a source of conflict due to their inappropriate beliefs and behaviours

³³ A bird banger is a bird scaring device which is: "...used to scare birds away from orchards, vineyards and other areas where birds can do damage. Two types are in common use: a) propane-fired bird bangers, and b) electronic warblers employing high frequency impulse sound (from 2 kHz upwards) at varying impulse rates (OMAFRA, 1995: 8)."

concerning land-use and farm property. Farming informants indicated that these conflicts arose because new residents have misconceptions about the nature of rural activities. One farmer describes the problems he has performing his daily activities.

SH: Have you had any complaints about the pesticides with your neighbours?

Edward: We have had a couple of specific complaints. Not what I would call major complaints, but you know it is there when you head out with your spraying and you see your neighbours scurrying out and grabbing their kids and taking them in and pulling the blinds and covering the picnic table. Or people come over and say, "How harmful is that? I can smell it, are we being poisoned?" And that is one of the things that isn't exactly truthful is that when you smell the pesticide, it doesn't mean that you are breathing it. It's a perfume that is in it. It is the same thing that when you smell manure you are not being covered with manure, you are actually smelling the odour of it and that a lot of the odours are put in it for safety reasons so that you do know that there is something out there. But some of them are quite smelly and you can smell them for quite a distance, but it doesn't mean that we are poisoning the neighbours but it is hard to convince them of that. But also we are protecting ourselves better. We are wearing spray masks and suits and I could see someone living next door it is kind of scary. But people moved to those areas because they loved to look at the trees growing. They love to see the blossoms in the spring. They love to see the fruit hanging. But they don't like to see us spraying. They don't like to see us out there working at weird hours. If they are having a barbecue at the back yard you know at supper time or whatever, there is nothing worse than some guy tearing up and down with his tractor making dust or something like that.

SH: So how do you feel about that?

Edward: I have mixed feelings about it. Umm. Life goes on and communities do expand, there is more people in this world and they have to live somewhere. I think we should all be a little more tolerant of our neighbours, but when I'm out working and they are barbecuing, I get hungry too, but that doesn't mean that they should share their barbecue because I don't eat right now.

SH: (laugh)

Edward: (laugh) You know, it's something, the same way when kids come over and are destructive. I don't like that. It's a way of life but it doesn't make it right. Things like that are happening and it's a tough problem to solve.

(Edward, 49, CF)

The discussion reveals how newcomers were perceived to misunderstand spraying activities. It was felt that newcomers did not value the same territories and behaviours as long-term residents. Similar to Fitchen's (1991:101) findings, farmers described newcomers as having an idealistic understanding of farming

and rural life that contradicted the reality of farming activities. Newcomers' behaviours and beliefs were perceived to be generally antithetical to farming operations.

Ideal images of agricultural communities are reflected in advertisements used to entice newcomers into the area. These advertisements use the rural nature of the area as a selling point for the purchase of homes. One advertisement depicts a house with a blossoming fruit tree and states, "In Niagara, city convenience meets country charm. Where the climate is a lot easier to handle no matter what the season. Where acres of scenic vineyards and rolling countryside, fine golf courses, beaches, marinas and more are yours to enjoy (Leisureways, 1997: 42)."

Similarly, Canadian wine producers advertise with pictures of rolling acres of vineyards and depictions of rural life portraying an idealistic lifestyle in wine regions. A Sawmill Creek advertisement states,

There is a place where everyone's mail is still marked General Delivery. Where people find themselves lost not in the crowd but in the scenery and serenity that surrounds them. There is a place where conversations happen more often in person than on a telephone. Where more than two cars at an intersection constitutes a traffic jam. It the kind of place where simple, honest values are a way of life. A place some say is hard to find. And maybe they're right. But that doesn't mean you can't enjoy a taste of it - every now and then (Canadian Geographic Magazine, 1996: 54-55).

It is not surprising that suburbanites are attracted to living in rural Niagara when they are subjected to these kinds of images and enticements. Contrary to what the advertisement portrays, farmers regard their property as a business operation which may not necessarily be open for others enjoyment.

Misconceptions on the part of new residents can lead to conflict when they experience the realities of rural living. An excerpt emphasizes these difficulties.

Carl: Ah, we have small, there have been a few houses built around that have given us a problem. Not subdivisions but individual houses. Basically the same type of thing. In one particular case they wanted to leave everything natural. They wanted a country setting. They didn't want the potholes filled in the driveway. They didn't want the branches cut that were hanging down over the road. They wanted it to be as natural as possible. And you know, you have conflicts. In one aspect, yes it is very nice to be able to walk on a Sunday morning down a lane way and hear the birds chirping and the squirrels doing their merry thing and branches hanging down. Very picturesque. But it's not economically viable if you have to take large equipment through there and you've got say it's a lane way that takes traffic for pick your own or something like that. Well you know, you have to make a living. They are making a living, teaching or doing whatever. Working at Stelco or whatever the case. They are probably making a hell of lot more money than you are. But as Rosemary says they want the niceties of the country life. The ambience of the country life but all the modern conveniences. They want all the regulations and all the laws that go with it. That's just a no, no for us.
(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

Trespassing, Theft and Vandalism

Another difficulty posed by increased numbers of people was that farmers were experiencing people entering their property without invitation. It has been documented that when residential development moves into farming areas so does litter, theft and vandalism (Chapman, 1994: 293-294; Thompson, 1981(a): 11 & 13-14). These behaviours cost farmers both financially and emotionally (Thompson, 1981(a): 11 & 13-14). Farming informants indicated that theft of farm produce, vandalism and littering were common occurrences. They also consistently remarked that there were few ways of deterring such behaviours and the law would not protect their property. The frustration attached to these incidents is expressed in the following excerpts.

Rosemary: And they also want to live with as far as rules, farmers, if people walk on their property. We have a pond out back and people love to walk through our farm. Like we have people walk through here.

Carl: Unannounced.

Rosemary: Unannounced. Walk through our property, play around by our pond and if anything happens to them, it's our fault.

SH: Yup.

Rosemary: We didn't even know that they were there. Yet if we went onto their property which could be a postage stamp piece of property. We would be considered trespassing, if we hurt ourselves on their property.

Carl: Or if we wanted to walk through their back yard and take lettuce out of their garden. That would be. We would be right up for it. They can walk up and pick fruit off the tree and "Oh, you've got lot's of it."

Rosemary: Or take a pumpkin out of our pumpkin patch.

Carl: But then it's a game to them.

SH: Yeah.

Rosemary: But we have talked to friends of ours who are police officers and they said yes definitely, we would be in trouble because they were on our property.

Carl: Even though, even if there was a fence around it. It doesn't matter.

SH: Yeah.

Carl: So, unfortunately there is a law for one and another law for another...

(later in conversation) So, you know they have, just like the thing that we talked about, coming in and picking a pear or a peach versus going into somebody's garden and picking lettuce or whatever it happens to be, carrot or whatever. Same thing. They have a. This is wide open. This is freedom, you can do what you want. Go to the farm and run...

Rosemary: "Look at all this fruit and this farmer's rich. He won't. He's not going to miss one peach!"

(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

SH: Do you think when your parents started farming, that they thought that this would happen forever, there would be farming forever and it would always be the same?

Bert: It's hard to say what I thought they were thinking because I can remember when there were no houses around here at all.

SH: Uhum.

Bert: And we have seen progress, streets moving. Like the east end of Hamilton moving closer and closer. And we were, we were willing to sell when we sold. In fact, we had to sell because these people that moved from the city were robbing us blind!

SH: Really?

Bert: They were.

SH: In what sense?

Bert: They would come in and steal your produce.

SH: Hmm.

Bert: I have had even neighbours, even close neighbours catch them down there when they didn't think I was around, helping themselves. Yes, we had a lot of people steal stuff.

SH: So there must have been a lot pressure on you then?

Bert: Well there was. We could get the evidence. We got evidence like followed the people right to their place and seen the people put the produce in a certain spot and take the police there and they wouldn't do anything.

SH: I wonder why. Why wouldn't they do anything?

Bert: Well that's just the way that. That is the way it was.

SH: So I guess you felt with people stealing and that it wasn't as profitable for you?

Bert: Well, I don't know whether. They didn't steal enough I guess to make us or

break us, but when you see them and catch your neighbour that you used to think were pretty good people why it makes you wonder.

SH: Uhum.

Bert: And I was like myself, I would never let my kids or myself pick anything that belonged to anybody else.

SH: Hmm.

Bert: I had a time when grape prices were pretty good and they come in at night and steal and throw their beer bottles around and stuff and a couple times I went out with the shot gun at night and I am glad I didn't meet anybody because if I had shot somebody I would have been in trouble. And after I thought about it a while, I said, "Well it's not worth it to get into this trouble."

SH: Yeah. I guess that must have. When your parents were first here they didn't have that pressure as much?

Bert: No, because it wasn't built up. No. As the development got closer, why, that's when they moved in. (pause) Same where we live. It was built up and down in the valley here, it was all cherries and I had my father-in-law, one Sunday and we are walking through and I am showing him trees loaded with people in there stealing and he says, "How can you stand people doing this to you?"

SH: Yeah.

Bert: But you get used to it.

SH: And by the sounds of it, you couldn't really do anything about it?

Bert: Oh you could put signs up but they would only rip them down. But we got. It was part of life I guess to. See like on the farm at Vineland, it was all fruit out there and we didn't have the problem there with people stealing because everybody there was a fruit grower. They had all they wanted of their own.

SH: With development coming in and you being here, there were people stealing and were there any other problems like with them coming closer? Living closer to the city?

Bert: Well the only problems we had as they moved in and started building, a lot of their builder's garbage come over in your vineyard and your orchard and people would throw their garbage even to get it off their property and they are happy.

SH: So you must have felt like they were getting closer and closer?

Bert: Yeah, well when they get in to close to you, well finally you are forced out anyhow whether you want to sell or not.

(Bert, 79, PF)

It is often believed that farmers can afford the loss of their produce and have more than enough property to permit open access and use. Such beliefs have led farmers to be continually violated. Theft and trespassing have generally not been punishable when the victims are farmers due to the pervasive belief that they have an abundance of land and produce. Informants indicated that it was not the actual loss of produce that they resented. Rather, it was the physical intrusion on their property, the lack of respect concerning ownership

and privacy and the inability to prevent the intrusion through social or legal sanctions. The social and cultural expectations of access to space were being violated (Merry, 1987: 55-57). These behaviours added to the stress of farming and enhanced farmers' beliefs that they did not have control over their occupation or their property.

External Threats of Competition and Regulations

In addition to the problems of development and influx of people into the area, adversarial political and economic conditions, such as government regulations and competition from other countries were also harming the farming occupation. These conditions contributed to the difficulties of making a profitable living and the experience of frustration with restrictions on farming. Informants believed that global competition from other countries, government regulations, price controls and consumer expectations were all infallible, unchangeable conditions that were beyond their control and were imposed by impersonal political, structural bodies. Outsiders were not felt to understand or sympathize with these difficulties.

Global Markets

Competition due to global markets was considered a large obstacle in sustaining Canadian fruit farms. The following excerpts show how informants believed that farming has become oriented to global markets.

SH: Has your family ever considered farming as an occupation?

Jerry: No. Farming has changed a lot. It used to be you could go to markets, you picked your grapes and you took them to Hamilton and Toronto and sold them. But it's a world market now. Products come from all over the world. You can buy anything at any time of the year. Some of the countries really produce cheaply. You know you see bananas in the stores for 29 cents a pound and I really don't know how they do it because the freight on them alone to get them from Brazil to here would be that much money. So, how they do it, I don't know.
(Jerry, 61, PF & Natalie, 55, PF)

Beatrice: Well we certainly have to look at a global picture more than just a local picture now. Fruit is priced globally. Our buyers say well I can buy sour cherries from Michigan at X cents a pound, why should I buy them from you at Y cents a pound. So when they negotiate prices, whereas we used to look at cost of production at our own personal cost of production, now we have to look at global cost of production. Our grapes are paid on something like, don't quote me on this, a five-year average of California. If California price is this then that affects our price. So it has made us look not at, not just locally, but globally. That is what has changed. It's not just the little picture anymore. It's the big picture. There used to be piles of canning factories here and things were sold here. But now it's so easy because of transportation to bring in you know a boat load of something from South Africa. It is only so many days away. I have to compete with that. So we have to look at things we do to see how we can compete. I think that is probably what has changed. From buying and selling a pound of butter and a dozen eggs to your neighbour to having to compete with those things coming in from Chile or from Alabama.
(Beatrice, 43, CF & Peter, 45, CF)

Competition with other countries in fruit produce is not a new phenomenon. In the 1940's, plane loads of fresh fruit and vegetables from California began arriving on a weekly basis to eastern markets in the United States and soon after were coming to Canadian markets (The Independent, March 29, 1945). It was reported that in the period from 1935-1938, imports of fresh fruits amounted to more than 14 million dollars while by 1952 these imports amounted to 63 million dollars. By 1952, problems with external trade were perceived as being one of the most serious issues confronting the fruit industry (The Grimsby Independent, March 11, 1954). In 1998, tender fruit imports to

Canada were valued at \$216 million, with most imports coming from the United States.³⁴ Canada exported 1.9 million of tender fruit during the same year. Imports from the United States generally compete with Canadian tender fruit production since they arrive in the market at the same time. In comparison, imports from other countries usually arrive after the Canadian fruit season has passed and pose less of a competitive threat. With respect to berries and grapes, Canada also imports more than it exports. The ratio of imports to exports in 1998 was five to one, with grapes being the largest imported berry crop (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 1999(a)).

Government Regulations and Controls

Canadian government regulations also have an impact on farmers. Informants mentioned how these regulations were making it difficult to be competitive in a global market.

Daniel: There are more demands put on farming now too. The things imposed by government and we are regulated to death.

SH: What kinds of regulations are there?

Daniel: Well, just simple things that 20 years ago was nonexistent, you know. Paper work and you know if you have just part time help, somebody working for you for just a few months, or a month or even a week now, they are saying oh well, you have to fill out all this and all this paper work. To me it just seems like a lot of work just for a few hours work.

Nancy: Spraying...

Daniel: Yeah and that is another thing.

Nancy: You have to write exams to do the spraying. You have to have a licence to do the spraying.

Daniel... So that you can become registered with the government.

SH: So what do you think of that?

Daniel: Well, I can see it as being good. I think it also speaks well for the farmer. We are tested occasionally in Toronto for pesticide use, just to make sure we

³⁴Eighty percent of total imports came from the United States during the 1993-1997 period (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 1999(a)).

haven't sprayed with something we shouldn't be spraying with. So the knowledge of the chemicals that we are spraying with, of course, is important, not only from our stand point for our own health reasons obviously but also our concern.

SH: Yeah. Do you find that you ever worry about that?

Daniel: I....

Nancy: I worry more about what they are using in the States, people buy it more than Canadian. Because it's all year round. And, they don't have the regulations that we have.

Daniel: Canada is the strictest...

Nancy: Very strict..

Daniel: More strict than down there on the regulations.

Nancy: American fruit is..

Daniel: And yet our food and drug administration, as we say impose strong restrictions on us. But yet the same people turn around and allow from products that come in from Chile and Argentina and from these countries that are sprayed with chemicals that we are not allowed. And yet our consumers need to be aware of the fact that they are eating, consuming vegetables that have got (pause), that are harmful really, if you look at our drug and food administration and yet we are restricted to use that same chemical. So, it's a double standard.

SH: Yeah...

Daniel: So there are restrictions there. There is various things like..the other thing too, some of these chemicals that our (pause) Canadian (pause) drug have taken off the market and prohibited us to use is still being used in the States at a reduced rate, a cheaper chemical. We would like to get our hands on cheaper chemicals. Our chemicals are very expensive, because they are effective but yet they will not hurt you. If you know what I mean.

SH: Hmm.

Daniel: Every spray chemical and every one of our pesticides and insecticides whatever, does have a date for harvest that we are allowed to use, so there is virtually no residue when you buy our fruit, no spray residue.

SH: So in your mind, buying Canadian fruit is healthier?

Daniel: It is healthier. It is healthier than what you are buying from Americans, in California.

SH: But you are saying it is costing you more?

Daniel: We are. We are paying more money. We are paying more money because of the restrictions. Because we are. We could look at it this way. Um, the amount of chemicals, the name brand chemicals, that we are allowed to use (pause) are really restricted, as compared to our American farmers. They probably got, if we could use this as a comparison, they probably got about three pages of chemicals that they can use to our half.

(Daniel, 54, CF & Nancy, 51, CF)

Frustration was expressed over the feeling that the Canadian government had more regulations than other countries and it placed greater restrictions on its own farmers. This is further expressed in other transcripts.

SH: You were saying that there are more regulations. Has that made it more difficult over time?

Sam: Yes. It has made it more difficult. If you surveyed all the farmers across

Canada and North America about what bugs them the most, it would be government rules and the changing of those rules. Just take DDT was one of the most effective chemicals. It was banned because of Ottawa. To take the place of that DDT, the chemicals that you had to use cost twice as much. Now they are going back to DDT in places where they have malaria. Because it wipes out the carriers.

(Sam, 78, CF)

Roger: The socialist governments in Canada particularly over the past 35 years have restricted the growers and this is all types of agriculture, to such limited quantities and such limited varieties of chemicals with their restrictions and they have made the possibilities of getting any particular chemical approved by all the levels of government and we have cases where the federal people will approve one thing that the provincials won't. It's a turf war and there is only three or four dozen chemical companies in the world and it's so expensive. The government regulations have made it so expensive for them to sell their product in such a small market as Canada is compared to United States, Europe, Australia or South Africa. That they want probably far more for their chemical, the same chemical in Canada as they do in competing agricultural parts of the world. And they want they want more for it and they give us less selection and now we are having trouble with the bugs being immune to what we have used and the Canadian governments won't approve what is accepted for the same problem in other parts of the world. And people come along and they say, oh your fruit is too expensive. And I say, you want cheap fruit, wait until January and February and go to the BARN³⁵ and get stuff from Chile. It's grown in a dictatorship by what I would consider slave labour and it's sprayed with god knows what. That is the most profitable.

SH: That must be really frustrating for you guys.

Roger: It's part of the whole problem. It is why the average age is 57. That's one of the reasons why.

SH: What would be the solution. How could it get better?

Roger: Well it's just like Harris³⁶ is trying to get the unions out of the classrooms. You have got to get the governments off the seat of the tractor.

(Roger, 67, CF & Lucy, 60, CF)

Fruit farmers expressed the belief that governments were unnecessarily interfering with farming. It was felt that governments could not be trusted to make decisions or legislation that would be favourable to farmers. Farmers also indicated that the Canadian government was being influenced by American policies. Price controls driven by the United States were one example.

³⁵The Barn is a grocery store in the area.

³⁶Michael (Mike) D. Harris assumed the office of Premier in the Government of Ontario in June, 1995.

Bert: There is one thing I didn't tell you. Here in Ontario we were at the hands of the Americans everything they want to do, they do and they set the trend of the prices that we get. And if they got a surplus or a large crop we can expect to get very poor prices here. That is what has happened in the past. Two years ago, the sour cherry, that's the cherry that you make pies, pie filling, the price was so low in the United States that none of the cherries were harvested here. Because the price wouldn't even pay for the picking. So that's how United States controls. And that was the biggest problem when I started and it is still the biggest problem.

SH: Really?

Bert: They control. (pause)

SH: Do you think it has gotten worse over time, that problem?

Bert: It hasn't got any better. I don't think it has changed in seventy years.

SH: Hmm.

Bert: That is what we talked about when I first started and it's still the same thing.
(Bert, 79, PF)

Governments were regarded as manipulating and curtailing the farming business. These pressures contributed to the belief that farmers could not control their own operations.

Consumer Expectations

The expectations and tastes of consumers have a strong influence on the fruit farming business. For many years, Niagara fruit farmers have been faced with the competitive necessity to ensure that their fruits were visually tasteful to consumers. A newspaper article written in 1951, indicates that, "times haven't changed much" since even in 1899, "...the consumer had waged war against Ontario fruit, claiming that all too often it was sub-standard; not big enough, not sound- and countless other faults which the consumer said did not exist in imported fruits from California and other states of the U.S. (The Grimsby Independent, February 8, 1951)."

In the current study, farmers observed that consumer demand for

perfection in fruits was an ongoing problem. Farmers argued that Niagara fruit may not always be as aesthetically pleasing as produce from other countries. However, it was healthier since less toxic pesticides were used in production³⁷. Nonetheless, consumers often chose more toxic fruit from other countries in an effort to obtain produce that was less costly and more aesthetically pleasing. A couple discusses consumer behaviours:

Rosemary: I think marketing has changed too. People want everything to be perfect, even the seconds. They don't hardly want a bruise or anything like that. They want it to look absolutely perfect and I think that has to do with advertising and marketing like Canada.

Carl: An apple has to be red. If a Macintosh or red delicious isn't all red it's no good. It's that concept. Okay.

Rosemary: And they won't pay the price, like food can come into the country cheaper than what we can do it here. So they will pay a certain amount of dollars for an apple that comes from Washington or and then that apple won't look as good as the apple that we can produce here, but because it comes from here they want it to be absolutely perfect. And that has to do with advertising...

Carl: ...and promotions.

Rosemary: And it has made it very difficult because people won't put anything on the table unless it is absolutely perfect.

SH: Yeah.

Rosemary: What I do in the store is try to tell people, do you realize how much advertising, or how many sprays and stuff they put on that fruit to get it here. If they would just.

Carl: That we can't use-

Rosemary: -That we can't use here.

SH: Is it because of different regulations?

Rosemary: Yeah. That is another thing that is hard on farmers is because of regulations. Our spray's everything.

³⁷Recent evidence verifies the truth in these comments. A study conducted by Consumer Reports in the United States provided evidence that the U.S. produce tested had a higher toxicity score in two-thirds of the cases than that of imported produce (Consumer Reports, 1999: 31). As well, one insecticide, methyl parathion, was found to be the main source for most of the toxicity found in foods analyzed (Consumer Reports, 1999: 29). Methyl parathion is not registered for use in Canada. However, fruits from the U.S. with this pesticide residue can still be imported into Canada (CBC Newsworld Web Site, 1999). In Canada, domestic compliance to maximum residue limits exceeds that of imports, since other countries have different agricultural practices and standards. A comparative study of imported and domestic fresh produce between 1994 and 1998 showed that there were 1.2% violative results out of 24.8% positive findings for domestic fresh produce and 2.0% violative results for imported fresh produce out of 25.3% positive findings. Residues such as DDT were rarely found in domestic samples of produce. Residues such as DDT were found in imported produce but they were generally not at violative levels (Neider & Havelock, 1998: 9-11). Canada tends to use less pesticides than many other countries due to its northern climate (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 1999(b)).

Carl: We are so much stricter than in a lot of the countries.

Rosemary: And it's a lot harder.

SH: But is it more healthy for consumers?

Carl: Oh yeah, but as far as the trade, as far as the competition balance it's not. Like stuff coming in from the Philippines or from Chile, any from third world country. Hell, they can still use DDT. You know that was banned 30 years ago. But as long as the residual amount on the fruit is below the standards set by the government that is fine. But we can't use it to begin with. So that is a very cheap product to use. Effective product. But we can't use it. We have to use the more expensive product.

SH: Hmm.

Carl: To clean that insect or stop that fungus or whatever it happens to be that we are using. So it is an imbalance that way too.

SH: That must be terribly frustrating.

Rosemary: It is. And I don't know what the next, we have a daughter that is hoping to come back here and I think it is going to be, either that or history will repeat itself and it will go back to people are going to realize that Ontario fruit or Ontario vegetables or Ontario anything is probably the best thing that you can eat, because at least it is regulated, people know that the government is very tough on all of us and they will stop eating American strawberries or...

Carl: ...It doesn't have to travel 2000 miles to get here. You know it is picked closer to maturity so it is actually the flavour of an Ontario product, of most Ontario products is a lot better than anything you will get from elsewhere because to get it in the state that it is at the store, it has to be picked immature. Drastically immature. So naturally, as it matures, it increases in flavour. So it doesn't undergo that. It gets an artificial flavour.

(Rosemary, 42, CF & Carl, 47, CF)

These informants indicated that Canadian consumers did not share their belief that domestic produce is more tasteful and safe as compared to imported produce. Just as newcomers were not cognizant of farm life, it was also felt that Canadian consumers were not appreciative of Canadian farm produce.

Consumer expectations, regulations and global market forces all acted to restrict and reduce farmers' capacity to control their produce, environment and occupation. Many of these conditions have been in existence for years. However, they were now exacerbating the other difficulties farmers were experiencing. Informants felt that external forces and demands were increasing and little could be done to change these conditions. A couple sums up the

numerous frustrations they have with farming.

SH: When you said that people think it's sort of romantic what do you think about that I mean, do you think it's romantic, farming?

Carl: Yeah, that's why I said, remember I indicated that when I first started, that's what it was. It was sort of a romantic industry. Not romantic, procedural romantic.

Rosemary: It wasn't at one time a business. It was that a man really loved to work on the soil, be out there with nature and ..

Carl: ...that's what I meant by romantic, okay.

Rosemary: You still had those dreams that you're thinking by the end of the year, I should be at such and such.

Carl: And you can see what you've got at the end of the day. And there weren't a lot of outside pressures on you. There wasn't the labour problems that there are today. There wasn't the government problems, the regulation problems there is today. There wasn't the marketing problems that there is today. There wasn't the people problems like I mean the people outside of your individual business telling you what you should do, that have nothing to do with your business, just the general public telling you, you can't spread your manure today, you can't spray today. You can't do this. You can't burn today.

Rosemary: Another bad thing that is happening with the city people that are coming into our world. They still want the life of the city with all the regulations and telling your neighbour you can't do this and no don't let your dog bark, but they want to come out to the country and have the whole life of country living. And yet the farmer has been here for years and has been able to dump manure when he wants to, spray when he wants to uhm, if he wants the bird banger to go until 12:00 at night. He has been able to do that. But now you have the city people coming into our world and saying, "We don't want this. It's too noisy. It stinks. It's this. It's that." So these city laws are coming into our world and it's taken the romance out of it.

SH: Yeah.

Carl: It's constant irritation and hassle! (pause) As these smaller farmers sell off, of course they are going to sell for speculation and eventually it's going to be the commercial or residential. You're going to have people moving in. What happens if you have an entity say, such as ourselves, that are economically viable and want to maintain the business. Well, all of sudden you are going to a stretch of whatever number of acres and you are going to have houses on both sides. Look at the social problems that you run into!

(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

This chapter has discussed some of the problems that informants have experienced due to changes in their community which included the disappearance of familiar buildings and landscapes, an increased population and the feeling that newcomers do not share the pre-existing cultural expectations. Regulations and economic forces were also discussed as they have amplified farmers' problems. Non-farming informants have had to adapt to

new physical and social dynamics. Comparatively, farmers have had these pressures along with numerous occupational threats. Both have shared the experience of observing the physical and social transition of their social settings and both have reacted in similar manners. Informants have learned from the past that little could be done to fight development and change. The next chapter will discuss how informants have learned to conceptualize and deal with the transformation of their community and agricultural lands.

Chapter Six:

Responses and Adaptations to Urbanization and Change

**There is a certain relief in change, even though it be from bad to worse...it is often a comfort to shift one's position and be bruised in a new place.
(Washington Irving, 1824: Tales of a Traveller)**

This chapter focuses on the ways in which informants have come to terms with and adapted to growth and development. Experiences of community change are outlined through descriptions of some theoretical premises of the effects of societal growth and transformation. The circumstances of change have not been positive for most informants. Yet, informants' experiences of societal, economic and environmental changes over the long-term have allowed them to adapt to these conditions. These people have coped with uncertainties through accepting events that they could not prevent. They have learned from past experiences that one aspect of predictability and continuity in their lives is continued impediments to the small town and agricultural way of life. After struggling with many difficulties, some farmers found that leaving their land provided them with some relief.

Community Transition

The transition of communities from primitive, small, or rural areas to large,

complex or urbanized centres has been studied a great deal. Early sociological and anthropological research into communities often discussed pre-literate societies and more complex societies as dichotomous types and the move between the two types was one of linear development, a "rural-to-urban continuum" where the transition from a rural to urban community was a gradual increase or decrease of certain characteristics (Dasgupta 1988: 4 & 14; Krannich and Greider, 1990: 62-63; Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929). Tonnies' (1887) was amongst the first to describe societies as dichotomous. He suggested that they were either "Gemeinschaft," where community was closed, isolated and consisted of kinsfolk or "Gesellschaft," where community is open, urban and capitalist. Durkheim's (1893) also utilized Mechanical and Organic Solidarity to describe societies as ideal types. Early work, such that of Durkheim (1893) and Tonnies (1887) described the transition to the more complex societies as having unfavourable circumstances for the people affected, in that rapid change creates states of anomie or normlessness and technological and organizational changes reduce individual reliance on the local community (Durkheim, 1893; Hunter, 1975: 538; Tonnies, 1887; Weber, 1958). As well, Writh (1957: 53-54) viewed the urban community as containing impersonal social relationships due to the larger number of people with greater variation between them. As a result,

The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness, and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent or, at best, relatively weak in an aggregate the members of which have such diverse origins and backgrounds (Writh, 1957: 53).

These arguments have been described as the "community lost" perspective (Luloff, 1990: 222; Wellman and Crump, 1978: 6). In contrast, later work, such as that of Whyte (1955), Gans (1962) and Liebow (1967), discuss growth and urbanization as less dichotomous and more positive. They have a "community saved" argument which regards urban communities as continuing to have primary ties for social support, through neighbourhoods, kinship or work. Finally, the "community liberated" argument views urban life in a positive way and acknowledges that there is a decrease in dense social ties but observes that primary ties still remain in a more dispersed manner. Social ties may not be as strong in neighbourhoods but communities can still thrive within cities (Luloff, 1990: 222-223; Wellman and Crump, 1978: 12-19). This argument regards community change and growth as representing opportunities for people to participate in social networks (Krannich and Greider, 1990: 69). Furthermore, while the former two arguments conceptualize communities as present in neighbourhoods, the latter argument regards communities as existing beyond the parameters of the neighbourhood (Wellman and Crump, 1978: 17). Wellman and Crump argue that either saved or liberated patterns may be more typical in one society compared to another but,

...the total network of a community will comprise a mixture of these two patterns in varying proportions. That is, some of the ties within a network will be densely knit and tightly bounded, while others will be sparsely knit and ramified.

People can be members of both types of networks (Wellman and Crump,

1978: 26). Social change, which results in a move toward urbanization, therefore, has influences which are subject to different interpretations (Krannich and Greider, 1990: 66). Each of the previous arguments has value and can be applied under different situations to different social groups. Notably, it should be acknowledged that all members of a society do not react to these different kinds of communities in the same manner. Rural, suburban and urban communities each have benefits and disadvantages. Rather than focussing on the differences between the types of communities or arguing that one type is preferable to another, this study presents long-term residents' interpretations of and adaptations to their community's transition. Although urban growth for informants has had a number of negative ramifications, these experiences may differ for the community as a whole.

Ambivalence Toward Change and Acceptance of Change

It has been shown that places can hold positive memories and a sense of continuity and permanence. They can provide reassurance of stability when there is change everywhere else in one's life (Tuan, 1977: 154). For many there tend to be a period of adjustments when the places that they are attached to are altered or disappear. Change which evokes loss, either real or potential can bring a sense of discontinuity from which "arises both innovation and despair (Marris, 1986: 21)."

Some people may be demoralized by changes and have their lives

significantly disrupted while others may successfully adapt and alter their definitions to maintain stability in their lives (Krannich and Greider, 1990; Freudenburg, 1984; Marris, 1986; Tuan, 1977: 149-150).

A number of factors may influence responses that can include: strength of attachment to the original community, social class or age (Freid, 1963; Freudenburg, 1984; Proshansky, et. al., 1983: 66). Predictors of attachment have been developed which suggest how people may respond when the places they are attached to are threatened. Shumaker and Taylor (1983) outline several of these predictors, arguing that people may respond to protect their places when: the attributes of the place produce a positive image of the area; there are physical boundaries which set off the area and clearly designate where the group belongs; and the locale contains a useful function for the group. Further, group cohesiveness, such as size of group, frequency of interaction and shared experience of external threat and group homogeneity such as having the same race, religious values, or culture also influence responses (240-241).

In this study, informants tended to be living scattered throughout the community. They did not have an area which clearly designated group location or ownership. Distance from one another was likely a factor in preventing these people from being a unified group. It was found that informants' responses were directly related to their culture of stoicism and their accumulated experiences of farming hardships and political interference. In general, informants were not happy with how the area was transforming. They varied in the strength of their

negative responses. Nevertheless, all of them consistently expressed the sentiment that development in the area was inevitable and could not be prevented. Such beliefs were not new. Indeed, thirty years ago, residents in the area expressed similar thoughts. In 1968, the Niagara Escarpment Study reported that,

...a certain mood of despair seems to have settled on the region. The study found in its interviews in the area and in its examination of the regional press, the prevailing view that the fruitlands were an essential part of the scene and economy of the area, but they were going and nothing could be done about it. From the farmer, the political leader, the professor, and the researcher came extravagant prophecies of doom. This "state of mind" is reported here because it is our impression that it has become a tangible factor affecting the development of the area and feeding a downward spiral of decline in standards of resource use and environmental planning. ... By writing off the fruitlands we may in fact also undermine the major sources of growth - we may kill the goose that lays the golden eggs (1968: 6-7).

Urban growth on farm lands has been regarded as a foregone conclusion for many years. It was believed that it was an event that would take place regardless of any opposing actions. Informants felt that it was better to give into change and deny its pitfalls rather than experience the difficulties of resistance. These kinds of beliefs were consistently expressed in the phrase, "You can't stop progress."

The QEW and Perspectives on Progress

As indicated previously, the Queen Elizabeth Way was highly symbolic of problems associated with growth. Beliefs about community transition were related to experiences of the highway development. The majority of informants

introduced the QEW into the conversation when discussing their concerns about development.

SH: Your family sold their farm, and I imagine you see a lot of other families selling their farms, what do these changes mean to you?

Charles: Well, you can't stop progress can you? Well, there has been a lot of new, good people who came in here. I am not. Just because our family goes way back, I don't knock anybody else. I admire people. But Stoney Creek has been the fastest growing area, in this whole urban area. It's more polluted with all the cars and the dust and everything else. Of course the Queen Elizabeth Way went from Hamilton to Niagara Falls in 1938, 39 and of course it cut right through all the farm land and that was a big mistake. They should have put it up on the mountain somewhere, where the farm land isn't so good. But, uh, (pause) it's a city in itself. Where it used to be (pause). If the growth had come a little bit slower, (pause) might have been better.

(Charles, 72, PF)

Another interview transcript provides more evidence that the QEW was regarded as a catalyst for growth. Here a fatalistic viewpoint and distrust of governments is also suggested.

SH: What do you think of all the changes around here?

Carl: I don't like them. But I mean that's progress. It's hard to stop it. When you get a big ship coming at you it's pretty hard to stop.

Rosemary: Tell her how when we take the kids on Ridge Road.

Carl: Oh yeah. Even as far back as I can remember, like when I started driving or when dad would take us up on Ridge Road and back in the fifties and sixties, you would see basically the Stoney Creek Dairy and you would see a few lights along Number 8 highway down in the neighbourhood where the monument is and then basically it was black and you saw a little pocket by Winona of lights. And now it is nothing but solid lights. Even at the city itself. Even Hamilton, thirty years ago wasn't anywhere near what it is today. And like I said before, unfortunately, they put the QEW below the hill. And it's going to follow the road. Transportation.

SH: That was a big mistake?

Carl: As far as agriculture is concerned. Take a look at Burlington, all that farm market gardening where the QE and the 403 are now. Some of the best ground in Ontario. Beautiful, beautiful market gardens and they are gone.

Rosemary: Like when we were kids, I used to have a (relative) in Mississauga that we went to see all the time and right from where we live now right out to Oakville, I guess it was all farms. It was all farms along the Queen E and now look at it.

Carl: Producing farms.

SH: Hmm.

Carl: Now it's just vacant land. But even and then you go a generation back beyond ours and our parents would say, you know there used to be an airfield down (pause) at where the Centre Mall is in Hamilton during the war years and you can see how much the city has grown. But that is progress and people have to live somewhere.

Rosemary: But when they put the Queen E in they didn't think.

Carl: Yeah, when they put the QE in-

Rosemary: -that they were affecting the good soil. If they had put it up on top of the mountain there is not a lot that you can grow up there. You know.

Carl: As far as tender fruit ground. Like I mean it's cash crop ground. It's been perfectly drained and all that kind of thing, but it wouldn't have made any difference to industry and housing.

SH: Yeah.

Carl: But I guess, some people say the powers that be own property along here and governments being what they are, they line their own pockets first. Who knows.

(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

The two previous transcripts show how the concept of progress was associated with the Queen Elizabeth Way. Progress was connected with a self-interested and greedy government system. These perspectives have been derived from current experiences of the QEW and the problems it posed. Generational memories of land expropriation and state interventions supported these conceptions.

Beliefs about Progress

The meanings which informants ascribed to progress have been formulated through past experiences of unsuccessful attempts to hinder development. The following interview transcripts provide examples of how informants have grown to believe that they cannot prevent development projects.

Nancy: You go down on Number 8 highway and see the houses. It was beautiful red, beautiful soil and gorgeous peach trees on there.

Daniel: They are gone.

Nancy: It's gone now. I don't like this, urban development.

Daniel: But when Niagara is gone, it's gone.

Nancy: It's getting more and more. Stoney Creek used to be all almost fruit land at one time and now it's just subdivision after subdivision.

SH: What is the difference between the two of you? It seems like you feel more sad about it.

Nancy: And I come from the city. But you can't stop progress.

(Daniel, 54, CF & Nancy, 51, CF)

Linda: Those are nice housing developments, so it hasn't all been bad. That of course was farm land too (pause). But I guess it is, you know you realize you just have to go along with progress, and there is nothing, up to a point.

Roy: I mean you can object and protest, but in the back of your mind you know that they're going to push it through regardless of what you do.

(Linda, 63, NF & Roy, 62, NF)

SH: Do you find that fruit farms are important to the area at all in terms of what you think about the area?

Ben: Well (pause). They are important but let's face it, progress has, has forced them out.

(Later in the interview)

SH: When you talk about it, I mean do you, do you feel sad about it, that it's gone or how do feel about that, that all these things are gone and, I mean is the next generation ever going to even know that those places were there? (pause)

Ben: I don't feel sad.

SH: No?

Ben: No. I mean, you always reminisce and think back. And when you see your old friends you start talking about old things, but you know. You can't live too much, worry too much because, unless you get discouraged and go out in the country further and further, but it's going to follow you out eventually (pause).

SH: So it's sort of give in to the inevitable?

Ben: Yeah. I would say in 50 years you won't know this country. I think it will make a big difference.

(Ben, 68, NF & Joanne, 66, NF)

These transcripts indicate how informants felt that expansion and growth was an inescapable part of the future. Informants suggested that progress was a socially necessary and desirable condition. Even though they were personally not enamoured with what it represented.

SH: I wanted to ask you about fruit farms. Do you see fruit farms as being at all important?

Jennifer: I think it is but I think it has declined noticeably. Cause we used to every Mother's Day, we'd take his mother for a drive to see the blossoms, and slowly but surely you have to search out for the drive, before you could drive the whole number 8 highway and it would be just gorgeous. And now, it's not very many.

SH: Yeah.

Jennifer: And it's sad.

SH: Yeah.

Jennifer: I know you've got to progress and everything else, but some things I think they're worth saving.

Rick: You've got enough land back over the mountain. Go that way if you want.

Leave the peninsula alone.

Jennifer: Well it's, (pause) I mean I hate to see good farmland being destroyed by buildings.

(Jennifer, 68, NF & Rick 68, NF)

All of the informants interviewed expressed unhappiness with change due to the erosion of the agricultural landscape and the increase in population. With regard to technological change, some informants emphasized positive aspects. For example, they generally appreciated technological innovations like improved indoor plumbing and farm equipment. In the process of expressing anger or frustration with urbanization, informants would often juxtapose these emotions with positive inferences. One man describes changes in the following way:

SH: For you having lived here for quite a few years, does it, when you see things, like dramatic changes how does it affect you?

Stephen: It's hard to say but I know we can't always keep the past in exactly the same way. We do have to have progress. But there has to be a lot of thought gone into the development of it to preserve it as much as we can. And I felt that with these high rise apartments, in the location there are in, took away quite a bit of the original. It is disappointing.

SH: What if someone says the original was no good and the new stuff was better, what do you say to that?

Stephen: I realize that apartments always bring in more money. That is one of the biggest factors in determining what will be left and what will be replaced. And we don't have much control over it.

SH: Why do you think you don't have control over it?

Stephen: You have to be practical. I realize that everything has to be paid for and it really is a money matter. We have all progressed. I certainly don't live the same as my parents or grandparents and I wouldn't want to go back to it, to live that way. And that is progress, so we don't want to see our governments functioning the way they did 50 years ago. Things have to change and you have to accept some of it. There are more facilities and populations are larger. The population keeps growing but we expect that some facets would be interesting to keep as I have already mentioned. Industry plays a big factor too. As industry expands, there is more modern techniques it requires more space so we do have to give up some of the former buildings and property. It just means that you have to get city planners that have to take into consideration the locations of these places.

(Stephen, 70, NF)

Progress when defined as moving forward, advancement or enrichment

is a positive notion. However, a purely positive connotation was not evident in informants' usage. To informants, progress appeared to be a formidable force, one that was impossible to resist. Ambivalence was strongly connected to progress. Informants implied that they accepted change. Nonetheless, they often connected these conditions to the disappearance of farm lands. In an effort to displace their negative perspectives of development, informants often introduced some positive opinions about broader societal changes. The evident contradiction likely displays informants' desires to portray themselves as constructive rather than purely cynical. Informants may have had a personal need to move forward without fixating on their pasts or denying a future that they could not prevent. Such desires were derived from the normative belief that they were providing the preferable response since the past has shown them that some events cannot be resisted, notably those that are politically motivated. Holding onto aspects of the past and resisting change was considered to be futile behaviour. Instead, it was believed to be better to acknowledge the existence and benefits of progress.

Adaptation to Change

Previous research indicates that some individuals do embrace or actively promote change and growth in communities. These people may have held weaker, more marginalized positions in society and may see change as an opportunity for financial or personal improvement (Krannich and Greider, 1990:

68; Ogburn, 1964: 48). For these people, the past may be something that they simply want to get away from (Ogburn 1964: 61). They may also be more adaptable or they may have other sources of attachment outside of the region. A fruit farmer provides insight into these feelings.

SH: If you start driving toward Stoney Creek what comes into your mind when you see the changes?

Edward: I guess really, the big changes are the houses and you think that there is more people living here. In some ways it is kind of nice, I know a lot of people would think I am awful for saying that. It is kind of nice to think that people are moving to our area because they like it. At one time, I guess when I was little, the goal was to move to Toronto. Who would want to live in the country. You want to go to the city. Where now, it is kind of nice to know that city people are moving to the country. I think when I sort of was young, if you wore blue jeans everyone knew you were a farmer. Where now it is cool to wear blue jeans and it is cool to wear a straw hat, only farmers wore baseball type caps where now everybody wears them. And it is kind of nice to think that people are accepting your way of life and actually enjoy it. Even though at the same time they are spoiling it for us (laugh), but driving through the peninsula there is a lot of good, there are certainly more houses but there are a lot of old homes that have been restored, more money has come into the area, there is probably more animals than we used to. Like there are people who have horses and things as hobbies. It is kind of nice to see a nice fence with a couple horses out front.
(Edward, 49, CF)

At one stage in the conversation, this man attempted to focus on the beneficial aspects of a growing population. He indicated that for some, change can entail an increased legitimization of a way of life and economic improvement for the area. Nonetheless, he tempered these beliefs with an awareness that this was not always the case in the statement that "...at the same time they are spoiling it for us."

Although informants did not like or agree with the kinds of development that were taking place, they were highly aware of the necessity to adapt to these circumstances. This is likely a reflection of having lived through a period of social and regional transformations. Many of the changes that informants have

witnessed have occurred over time so that they have already resisted, innovated and finally adapted to them. In the process, they have learned that acts directed at protecting the places important to them are often ineffective. The memories and experiences of the past have led to a set of expectations about the future and these have provided informants with a way of dealing with social change. For some informants, necessity and hardships in the past have enabled them to accept their present circumstances. For others, aspects of the past were idealized which may have made the process of adaptation more difficult (Fried, 1963: 166-167). Even so, the necessity to adapt has not allowed informants to collectively resist what they cannot alter.

Selling Out

There is stress experienced in living in an environment that does not easily allow necessary activities to be performed (Saegert, 1976: 220). When personal spaces or places are violated people respond in a defensive manner. They may defend themselves in a number of ways. They may display territorial signs such as barriers. As the threat increases, they may shrink their boundaries and display territorial behaviour toward areas that are more defensible. Lastly, if they realize that some places or spaces are indefensible, then they may renounce attachment or claim to these areas, leaving them or refusing to defend them (Brower, 1980:190-191).

The numerous economic, political and social pressures that have

interfered and altered farmers' pattern of life have led many farmers to sell their property. It was found that farmers often sell for several reasons. They may sell out of necessity due to financial failure. They may sell some of their property in order for their business to remain fiscally viable and to prevent losing everything. Farmers who decide to sell may also be acknowledging that they can no longer continue living and working in a difficult situation. For these individuals it may actually be liberating for them to finally leave.

Financial Failure

Each year in Canada, about four thousand families have no choice but to leave the farming business (Pugh, 1992: 32). As an area becomes developed, farmers who continue farming encounter numerous difficulties trying to remain in business. Where the number of farmers in an area decreases, the remaining farmers tend to feel that they are simply waiting to go out of business. With these impediments, farmers have little incentive to make capital investments or manage decisions with a long-term perspective. A self-fulfilling prophecy occurs when these actions contribute to farmers' economic failure (Krueger, 1978: 188; Lisansky, 1986: 365). A forced decision to sell can be an extremely hard one. After a long period of difficulties, a woman describes her feelings when she had to sell her property.

SH: Are you still farming it now?

Sharon: No.

SH: Who is?

Sharon: A neighbour is.

SH: What do you think about all the farmland disappearing?

Sharon: I think it's. Up here on (Road) there are four or five farms that have sold to developers. It's sad.

(later in the interview)

SH: So the developer owns this property?

Sharon: Yes. He does actually.

SH: How do you feel about it?

Sharon: It was difficult to take (pause) (sigh). It was devastating actually.

SH: But financially you had to do it?

Sharon: Yeah, the 80's were very bad and I came to the point where I just had to sell.

SH: Does the developer own this house?

Sharon: Yes, actually he does.

SH: Do you know when the developer is going to start developing?

Sharon: No, I don't. They would have to make some changes with the roads here first probably.

SH: Would you have to leave this house?

Sharon: I hope not. As long as there is space around here I want to stay. I like it here.

(Sharon, 63, PF)

This woman reveals that she still cannot leave her property either physically or emotionally. The loss of her farm had been a terrible ordeal. The decision to go out of farming is a process in which guilt or sadness may be experienced, particularly if the farm has been in the family for a long period of time (Fitchen, 1991: 20-21). Selling under these conditions causes farmers to lose their occupation, their homes and part of their identities.

Financial difficulties are a major cause of many farmers leaving their businesses. Development initiatives often play a role in bringing about financial problems. Since the area is a desirable location for living, informants were aware that it would be very difficult to save farm lands. A man concedes that the best land has always been chosen for community development.

SH: So what do you think of all the development around?

Sam: Well, people have got to have a place to live. But there are places where they could build houses where you really couldn't grow much. There are areas up on top of the escarpment that should never have been cleared. You know there are only three or four inches of soil on top of the limestone. So that. You know you go back to the pioneer times. They chose the best land. In Toronto and all these

little towns where they had a harbour. Because that was transportation, or the river where they could operate their mills. It was generally the best land. Now it has expanded.

SH: Hmm.

Sam: I could remember when the Guelph Line in Burlington or say 427 in Toronto. Well, it was farm land. So it's just a natural progression because of the advantage of those locations where farms were. It is pretty hard to upset that sort of thing. (Sam, 78, CF)

Where farms are located in areas that are designated for development, pressures from municipalities often force them to sell. Recently, after re-zoning occurred for small-scale industrial uses, a farmer in the region was billed \$132,814 for his assessed portion of a \$4 million trunk sewer project near his ten-acre fruit farm. The farmer argued that he was unaware of the re-zoning or trunk sewer plans. After some debate the farmer was given an extension to pay the bill until the year 2005 since the city treasurer observed that, "...the sewer has not opened the area to development at the pace council had hoped (Stoney Creek News, 1997: 34)."

Such decisions show how local governments place a low priority on maintaining farming in areas that have development potential. As a result, farmers in these areas have no alternative but to sell their properties.

Staying Afloat

Selling small parcels of land may prevent farmers from going out of business altogether. A woman compares selling farm property to selling off a child.

SH: Over time has it changed around here. Like are there more people so that this is happening more?

Beatrice: Yes always. Yes every year there is another, another house or another something that comes. It gets more every year.

SH: How do you feel about that?

Beatrice: Well, I mean it's. I wouldn't live in the city. I would probably come up and move to the country too. Most people are very understanding. It's just that every once in a while you get someone who doesn't like their peace and solitude interfered with. So it would be good if we didn't get more neighbours but it is inevitable. So you, it's just like the widening of streets or putting sewers in you know. You may like your quaint little subdivision down town where you never have side walks. You don't have to worry about traffic and then another subdivision goes in beside you and next thing you know you need a traffic light. Well I am sure those people in those quaint little communities would like to keep them the way they are too. Because we have more people, everybody wants their own space, I don't know.

SH: Why is it inevitable? You say that it is inevitable that you are going to get more neighbours. Why?

Beatrice: Why? Because. We have more neighbours. Because as you can't make ends meet, you sell off a little chunk. You sell one of your children and the neighbour then builds. Sell a piece of the land and someone builds on it and I don't think there would be any agricultural land for sale anywhere if everyone was making a great living on it. No one would sell it. That's like stocks no one whatever stock if it was always giving you income. But as soon as that stock doesn't pay, you sell it. You don't care you just sell it.

(Beatrice, 43, CF & Peter, 45, CF)

The pressures of farming have led this woman to believe that the only option for survival was to sell portions of her property.

Deciding to Leave

Some farmers feel entitled to sell their property since selling is less painful than continuing to be subjected to the economic and emotional loss which has become intrinsic to farming in the region. The motivation to sell property may be considered a purely selfish one where the objective is to gain profit. Undeniably the sale of farm property in a prime location can be a highly profitable venture. However, many farmers may only come to this point after many years of enduring the political, economic and social obstacles of farming.

One informant observes the difficulties in having development close to agricultural properties.

SH: So around your property, I haven't looked but has there been any changes in terms of housing or new houses?

Sam: Yes, we are surrounded by it.

SH: Does that influence you at all?

Sam: Yes (laugh) it does.

SH: Can you tell me how.

Sam: Well, now of course they want street lights and side walks and sewers. Of course the farm doesn't need anymore street lights than it did 200 years ago. And we are given a break on our taxes. But then they complain about noises, you know if we work after supper with our spraying machine. And in order to protect some of our crops we have to keep the birds away so our automatic cannons are going off. It sounds like miniature war here. Of course there are regulations about. They give you a fine.

SH: Oh really. So it must dramatically influence you.

Sam: Yes.

SH: Have your taxes gone up because of the street lights and sewers?

Sam: Yes. They want a new public school too. But as I say we get a rebate on our taxes from the provincial government for a portion of our farm. But there again that is changing and next year it will be changed again. Well, they have market value assessment here and it's changing all the time. Now it's going to be actual value.

SH: So does that bring your taxes up or down?

Sam: Well it could go either way. We all know that there is not enough money in circulation that they could put all the things that are expected.

SH: So in a sense you have to help pay for the subdivisions?

Sam: Now that they say well the price of our land has gone up. But.

SH: But do you want to sell?

Sam: That was one of the, they want to preserve this area and in 1971 the government drew lines around all of these little towns to use all the vacant spaces there before you expand again. And that only lasted for about 15 years.

(Sam, 78, CF)

Implicit in the discussion was that municipal regulations were determining farmers' futures. As developments and zoning bylaws are created, there are increased pressures on existing residents to subsidize new sewers and roads through their taxes or alternatively sell their property to speculators.

Regulations which do not allow farmers to sell to developers often entrap them in situations in which there are few options for recourse. Informants observed that governments have allowed development in some areas but not

others, thereby restricting some farmers adjacent to development from leaving the situation. A farmer points out that governments are sending farmers mixed messages by encouraging urban expansion but not helping them to stay in business or allowing them to sell their property.

Edward: So, I'm ... I think communities have to expand but I think we have to start looking at it ahead of time and make it a little more organized. In other words, you can't just sort of put communities out into farm land you have to start saying we are going to go this far and there is going to be a natural barrier some place. And even if whether it's just a tree barrier or something, you can't just park a house next to a peach orchard and say they are both going to be happy. But I don't think you can completely close down development, but I think that if you would take the Niagara Peninsula and take an aerial view, you could organize it a lot better. But even communities are very greedy in that, Beamsville wants to expand because they want to expand their tax base and someone else wants to expand for another reason. So everyone has their reasons for expanding and. But I don't think you can also say, I don't think it's right for the government to come out and say that you can't sell your farm either. That it has to stay as farm. If you can't make a living at it then you should be allowed to do something else with it. Or else the government should buy it up and own it and then rent it out if they want to get into the farming business, then they own it and rent it and see what happens .
(Edward, 49, CF)

Municipal land zoning prevents many farmers from selling their land for non-agricultural purposes. Therefore, they may find it difficult to sell or may not feel it would be profitable. However, where public pressure causes land designation to change zoning to residential or industrial, farmers can sell at a profit. One couple describes the difficulties and alternatives they were facing.

SH: As the years go by, do you think the farm will disappear or will it always be part of your lives?

Nancy: Well, when I first moved out here, there was hardly any houses. It was all farm. Now there are more houses. We are about the only farmers around here now.

SH: Yeah. So it is changing?

Nancy: It is changing.

Daniel: Yeah. Across the road there are seven homes and across just on the other side, there are houses popping up all over the place. And then they have-

Nancy: -and that used to be all farmland-

Daniel: -and right adjacent to the home farm to the west side there is a 30 acre field that is planned for subdivision. So we are getting an encroachment there and-

Nancy: -so then we have had complaints about the spray and the-

Daniel: -but-

Nancy: -and the noise (laugh).

(later in the interview)

SH: But when the development goes in down the road, how do you feel about that? How do you feel about the houses encroaching and that?

Daniel: I look at it in two ways. I don't like it as far as the farm, from the farming perspective because OBVIOUSLY, you are going to have people who come in and won't like what you do. Whether it's spreading manure in the spring or spraying late at night or working the ground. Sometimes you can't help it. You got to do it.

SH: Yeah.

Daniel: You get bad weather or whatever and you got to get the spray on, you know. So I mean, I know you are going to run into problems there with neighbours. The other aspect is it's not all too bad. Let them complain to the township. Force the township to enlarge the borders of the hamlet and let it take in my farm and I will let it go as a subdivision.

(later in the interview)

Well, I've had. Like I've been spraying and one of the neighbours over the way there, he. I was spraying with chemicals and one night he came down his lane way and come over with his little boy in his arms. I had my helmet on and everything. He says to me, "Now if you got to wear that what about us? (pause) Right when I am spraying! Now, he was from the city.

SH: What did you say to him?

Daniel: I says well look, I don't, for one thing I am not spraying your place. This is MY orchard.

SH: Yeah.

Daniel: But he says, yeah, but you are putting it in the air and all this sort of stuff, you know. And I says well that's true, because I have an air blast sprayer. But I says I don't intentionally. I use the spray when it's quiet, at night. But he says it all falls as acid rain on my property and all this sort of stuff. So I says what are we going to do? I am agriculture here and you're residential. I have to spray my crops.

SH: So how did he react?

Daniel: Well, he called the township with a lot of things you know. Causing trouble.

SH: Really eh?

Daniel: And the smell and sometimes in the spring because we use chicken manure and that type of stuff on our crops and the smell when you are moving it.

SH: Hmm. So it makes you wonder, why did they move here?

Daniel: That's what I say, with this development going in here.

SH: Yeah.

Daniel: I think I started to say that. It is going to do one of two things. It won't be that bad, probably heard me say that. The only reason it wouldn't be all that bad is uh, I will get enough complainers to the township that they'll let me sell my land.

SH: Hmm.

Daniel: They'll get tired of the complaining. I won't have to do it. Now that's a dirty approach, but anyway.

(Nancy, 51, CF & Daniel, 54, CF)

The previous excerpt provides an example of how farmers rationalize eventually selling their land. Housing developments often lead to complaints about agricultural activities that subsequently lead to municipal regulations that

further hinder farming. Even where farmers win such disputes, they are still faced with unhappy neighbours and legal costs (Lisansky, 1986: 366). The farmer's experience of past problems with neighbours was informing his future by allowing him to anticipate that further problems would lead to selling his property. Rather than being passive, he was actively allowing negative circumstances to evoke a final positive outcome in which neighbour's complaints would lead to land re-zoning and ultimately, a sale for profit.

Not all of farmers interviewed felt that selling their property had been or would be difficult. For these individuals selling was rationalized as being the only practical alternative for financial survival which was preferable to continued decline and aggravation. Anticipating future development, another farmer suggests that he would be happy to sell rather than try to continue living in a difficult atmosphere.

SH: So would you sell your property to developers?

Roger: How soon are you coming?

SH: (laugh) So you would?

Roger: Sure.

SH: And if that happened and there was houses all around you would that bother you or would you like it or?

Roger: Well I wouldn't like it if I was left in the middle. Because in the fifties, and the sixties, the then township allowed development along the side roads and we have got quite a bunch of houses up around here now and I wouldn't want to see any more. Because it's charming. The stuff just grows. Do you want to help yourself? Might be theft if you go into a bank with a gun. But it's not theft if you go went in a fruit orchard. And even the courts won't do anything about it.

SH: So have you had a lot of that over the years?

Roger: No. No. Because I have a very bad reputation.

SH: (laugh) So they are scared?

Roger: I undoubtedly have had some. Small percentage, but not. But I wouldn't want to see 50 townhouses across the road here, or next door or something like that. If it goes, it's all going to go.

(Roger, 67, CF)

A farmer who has already sold his property rationalizes his choice when he indicates that selling was preferable to continuing in an unprofitable venture.

SH: Would you like to see any farms preserved? And what do you think about the future of farming?

Bert: Well I don't think that it is too good for this particular area because in this area right here, it is all gone. It is all developed. But if they can preserve some down on the Niagara on the Lake, Vineland area, I think it would be nice to do it. But everybody wants to preserve it at the farmers' expense. See, what is the sense of saving something forever if you are not making any money at it.

SH: Yeah.

Bert: See either, there is always people trying to tell the farmer what to do with his land. And they are the people that don't have anything invested that say it's nice to see a farm, a vineyard or an orchard.

SH: So they have no idea of what it's really like?

Bert: Not really.

SH: Yeah. What do you think about the changes around here?

Bert: Well it's completely a city here now. It's hard to visualize from where we started but it comes slow, you know it keeps changing and it's moving farther out into the country.

SH: Yeah.

Bert: You take down at Winona now, there is hardly any farms left there.

SH: So what are your feelings about that?

Bert: Well to be honest with you. This area in around Stoney Creek wasn't that good of fruit farming land for say for peaches. There was a lot of, there was some good soil, some poor soil, but not near as good as down around Vineland, Niagara-on-the-Lake.

SH: So do you think the change is okay with you?

Bert: Well it's okay with by me, because it's progress. It's the same with the people that drive by the vineyard, I used to have. To me it's nothing like it was when I had it, but people still drive by and it still looks half decent but in my eyes it isn't because I know.

(Bert, 79, PF)

Many informants who farmed were experiencing a growing sense of detachment toward their land and the farming occupation. If a place cannot continue to be meaningful then people may learn to discontinue their relationship to it (Feldman, 1996: 442-443; Marris, 1986). Further, when expectations of stability decrease and the desire to maintain or enhance a once valued location diminishes, then a sense of detachment or alienation arises (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983: 237). Moving away from the uncertainty of farming may be considered more satisfying than remaining.

The experience of directing a great deal of effort, energy and resources to their environment and occupation has led to stress (Saegert, 1976: 222) and for many, a desire to withdraw from the experience. Stress and the consequent withdrawal from farming can be due to negatively perceived changes and it can also be a product of change in people, themselves. Specifically, throughout the life-stages the desire for relocation may transform depending upon the aspirations and the cultural norms expected in these stages (Feldman, 1996; Hummon, 1990: 73). Indeed, evidence suggested that older farmers tended to have less desire to retain their property than younger farmers.

The majority of informants who presently farmed expressed a desire to accommodate to changes. They did not like many of the pressures and contradictions that they were experiencing but they attempted to reflect on the beneficial aspects of living and farming in the area. Some of these informants, namely the older ones, anticipated resisting these negative circumstances in the future by selling their property for a profit. Informants, who had farmed in the past, tended to rationalize their choices for leaving their agricultural properties. They believed that if they had continued to farm they would have experienced further hardship and despair. In comparison, informants who have not farmed or lived on a farm expressed sad, acceptance over the disappearance of agricultural lands. Since these informants had not experienced the difficulties of farming, they presented a more idealized understanding of farming and wished for its continuation. When asked about change and its influences, they mainly

focussed on the larger and less friendly population in their responses. In contrast, informants who farmed currently or in the past, generally discussed concerns related to the impacts of growth upon agricultural lands.

When a community undergoes physical and social change people respond in some manner. Some individuals may identify with the past before the change and may not experience change as positive or beneficial. On the other hand, some individuals may accept, embrace or actively promote change in the community. Individuals may also experience a range of emotions, from acceptance to regret and they may experience these at different times and under different circumstances. Whatever the case, reactions to change are complex. Clearly, where the dominant group in an area is changing, there will be inevitable friction over new ways of behaving. These difficulties are part of the development of a new order (Merry, 1987: 64). At some level in order to survive, people must be willing to revise their beliefs and experiences to be able to adapt to their changing world (Marris, 1986). When places transform, the people connected to them must reformulate their affinity to and continuity with these places and correspondingly, alter their behaviours and social relations. If the political and social context can be supportive of change, it can greatly reduce the negative impacts of growth (Merry, 1987: 66). In the area investigated, social policy has been limited in helping residents adapt to the experience of urbanization.

This chapter has discussed the attitudes that informants have toward urbanization and the disappearance of fruit farms. Residents have been shown to have anticipated the demise of fruit farming in the region both in the present and in the past (Niagara Escarpment Study, 1968: 6-7). Their beliefs have been largely developed through experiences of government dealings and development projects such as, the Queen Elizabeth Way. Informants were shown to express a sense of loss and pain over these circumstances. They anticipated a future in which development activities would continue and expand. In response they have developed coping mechanisms which have resulted in an attitude of acceptance over what they could not change. They believed that the forces against farming outweighed any initiatives for its continuation.

Summary and Recommendations

Fruit farming in the Niagara Fruit Belt has been subject to numerous economic and social stresses over the course of many years. This dissertation has shown how important farming and rural landscapes have been in formulating informants' definitions of the world and of themselves. The pressures of urbanization have influenced informants' beliefs about the spaces in which they live and their ability to control their surroundings. The rural landscape is vanishing and is being replaced by extensive transportation routes, urban developments and industrial sites. As these changes occur, informants' attachments to places are altering and a part of their identities is being lost.

This dissertation provides both substantive and theoretical contributions to current work in the fields of sociology, demography and agricultural and rural/urban planning issues. On a substantive level, the primary research offers evidence of the lives and experiences of people affected by agricultural land loss and a changing social and physical demography through their own voices. Other sources of information on the Niagara Fruit Belt generally do not present evidence of this nature but rather focus on geographical facts and statistics. The research findings contribute to work on sociology and rural/urban planning in that they demonstrate that people can formulate how their community evolves through their definitions of the current situation, their interpretations of the past and an anticipation of what the future likely holds. Further, the findings show

how the introduction of newcomers to a community can create social disruption and tensions when existing residents and newcomers are not provided with an awareness of the cultural norms and behaviours of one another.

On a theoretical level, this study contributes to sociological theories on identity by discussing “place” as being a significant factor in the formulation of identity, life-history, common culture and social order. In the field of Sociology, settings are acknowledged to be important for interaction however, “place” is not usually regarded as part of identity. Grounded theory and life history approaches facilitated the documentation of informants’ experiences of place and an understanding of the influence of political and social interference.

A triangulation approach, whereby several forms of research were combined, enabled a broad examination of interpretations of events and places over time. In particular, in-depth interviews provided a first-hand account of the experience of living in the region and how it has transformed. Archival materials rendered an understanding of the area and provided historical information on the Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW). Census data offered a demographic overview of the people, the region and farming.

The evidence suggests that informants have been systematically undermined in their efforts to maintain their agricultural occupations and/or their rural/small town surroundings. Over half a century has passed since the QEW was developed, yet this highway continues to affect both the land and the people. As a space apart from the community, it marks the landscape and is

symbolic of the negative influences on farming and the rural landscape. A history of the QEW's development highlighted how the conditions and circumstances related to its creation have influenced informants' beliefs about development in the area. Past events have informed their vision of the future. In this future, it is believed that farms and the farming way of life will continue to disappear. Poor urban planning has had a destructive effect on the environment and the non-consultative manner in which it has occurred has framed informants' notions of the past and their ability to continue their previous ways of life and culture in the future.

Places such as farm lands, homes, the QEW and other landmarks were demonstrated to play an integral role in how informants view themselves and the region. Informants had strong emotional attachments to their surroundings. Places activate memories and provide mental maps of events. Places such as the QEW, urban developments and farm lands, construct interaction, movement and beliefs about the self and others, and about what can and cannot be controlled or changed. In sum, they are an essential part of the identity of these people.

The difficulties encountered by informants due to increasing development and a growing population were examined. Farm lands and many places that have had historical or personal significance have been invaded, changed or forever altered. It was argued that informants did not feel they were empowered to prevent the disappearance of the culture and identity of farming and its

landscapes. Clearly, this was a legitimate response given the impediments and harassment that these people have experienced. As well, informants' experiences of hardships and obstacles through their lives have taught them that acceptance of these situations was the most pragmatic reaction. Informants were coping with the changes that they had encountered with various emotions of anger, sadness and ambivalence. They did not like what was happening but they believed it to be inevitable and thus, must be accepted and to some extent approved.

Many farmers were faced with the choice of selling their land partially or completely. While some farmers considered this a difficult choice, others felt that this was the most positive recourse available in an otherwise untenable situation. Political, economic and social obstructions to farming have perpetuated the belief that there is little future in the business and this belief was creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Older, long-term residents will be outnumbered by new residents and youth who have little or no memory of the past. As a result, not only will farm lands disappear but the values and understandings of the past will also disappear, leaving few memories of the once strong fruit farming culture and its surroundings.

The people presented in this dissertation have had their personal and public boundaries invaded and defiled. They face the disappearance of fruit farming and their community. In the past, farmers were prominent leaders in the community however, when the QEW development moved forward their influence

on the polices and destiny of the region dramatically changed. The building of the QEW marked the beginning of the demise of farmers' sense of control and voice over their futures. Over the years, much of farming and development policies have not valued the needs or wishes of these long-term residents. Furthermore, newcomers have often not had the insight or consideration to treat long-term residents' personal spaces with respect.

This dissertation has provided some insight into informants' experiences of change in a portion of the Niagara Fruit Belt. Continuity is important in people's lives. Informants are losing a sense of continuity as the places they love disappear. It is becoming more and more difficult for fruit farmers to pass on their farms to their children. As well, informants' grandchildren may never know the friendly, small town atmosphere and many of the places that once characterized the region. Fruit farmers and longtime residents felt that their problems and losses were overlooked and disregarded by politicians and Canadian society. Sadly, they appear to be absolutely correct in their assumptions.

While the situation appears to be very bleak for remaining farmers and prime fruit lands, there is some political pressure and incentive to save an important agricultural area in the face of numerous obstacles. Two programs provide examples of some impetus for maintaining fruit farms in the area: the Easement program and the Offshore Migrant Worker program.

Agricultural Easements

The Niagara Tender Fruit Lands Program, announced in May 1994 by the Minister of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs, Elmer Buchanan,³⁸ was developed to preserve fruit lands through agricultural easements. The program, administered by the Agricultural Research Institute of Ontario Act, enabled landowners of fruit acreages to sign a restrictive covenant agreement where they would agree to prevent the property from being used for purposes which could prevent its future use for tender fruit production. Compensation was to be provided as an incentive to property owners who agreed to enter into a restrictive covenant. The agreement would have bound subsequent owners of the property from using the land in a manner that would be contrary to the covenant. However, it did not prevent the owner from selling or leasing the land. The agreement stipulated that property owners would receive 50 percent of their payment initially and the remaining amount in equal installments over five years. A budget of \$20 million was provided for ten years of which the province would have contributed \$18.75 million and the Regional Niagara Municipality would have provided \$1.25 million. Certain eligibility requirements for the program existed. First, the property had to be in the Niagara Regional Municipality and within Good Tender Fruit Areas as designated in the Regional Policy Plan. Other restrictions on location also influenced priority for selection into the Program. For example, the property must have been planted as of June 30,

³⁸Elmer Buchanan was a Minister in the Ontario provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) government which governed from 1990 to 1995.

1994 and have a minimum of five acres of tender fruit orchards and generate a minimum of \$15,000 in gross farm income from tender fruit production annually. A point system was utilized to establish how much money the landowner would receive. Forty percent was based upon the parcel's agricultural value and 60 percent was based upon the threat of converting the land to non-agricultural purposes (Agricultural Easement Committee, 1995; Conservation Easement Committee, 1992; The Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1998). The program's ultimate aim was to allow the preservation of tender fruit lands for future generations. In 1995, the first candidates had been accepted and approved for the program and were awaiting payment. Prior to receiving their first cheques, a provincial election was called which resulted in a change of government. Unfortunately, the new Conservative government immediately decided to cancel the program before payment was issued.³⁹ As a result, an innovative method of preserving fruit lands was lost.

Offshore Migrant Workers

In the last several decades, there has been a lack of workers available for seasonal employment on fruit farms. A number of factors may have been involved: a decrease in available family members who may work without pay; an aging Canadian population with declining numbers of new entrants to the labour force; a lack of new technology replacing demands for labour; and competing

³⁹Conversation with Drew Semple- Senior Planner, Policy Amendment Review, Regional Niagara Municipality (May 13, 1999).

requirements for labour in sectors offering higher pay (Lucyk, 1988: 5). As a result of the shortfalls in available Canadian farm labour, the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program was developed to bring in temporary workers from other countries. The Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program began in 1966 with Jamaican workers. It was expanded in 1967 to include Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Finally in 1976, seven islands of the Eastern Caribbean were included and an eighth island began participating in 1982 (Human Resources Development Canada, 1996(b): 4). During its early years, the program was directed at bringing in workers from the Caribbean region to Canada for seasonal agricultural employment. In 1968, there was a total of 1,258 workers from the Caribbean entering Canada with the program. In 1974, workers from Mexico also began participating in the program. Since the program began, an increasing number of workers have entered Canada overall. In 1995, there was a total of 11,393 offshore workers entering Canada under the program. Of these workers, 4,886 were from Mexico, 4,607 were from Jamaica, 872 were from Trinidad and Tobago, 630 were from Barbados and 398 were from the Eastern Caribbean (Human Resources Development Canada, 1996(a): 1-table I). (Table 25)

Both Caribbean and Mexican workers largely work in the province of Ontario. However, there are Caribbean workers who go to work in Nova Scotia and Quebec and Mexican workers who go to work in Manitoba, Alberta and Quebec (Human Resources Development Canada, 1996(b): 4).

Offshore migrant workers fill Canadian job vacancies in various kinds of agricultural related work. There were 1876 job vacancies filled in fruit farming in 1995 (Human Resources Development Canada, 1996(a): 2-table IV) and 262 employers participated in the program (Human Resources Development Canada, 1996(a): 3-table VI). (Table 26).

The work conditions of migrant seasonal agricultural workers have specific guidelines outlined in contracts between the government of Canada and the governments of the workers' countries. The agreement specifies the scope and period of employment, lodging and meals, payment of wages, deductions of wages, insurance for occupation and non-occupational injury and disease, maintenance of work records and statement of earnings, travel and reception arrangements, obligations of the employer, obligations of the worker, premature repatriation, and financial undertakings. More specifically, the legal contract entails a minimum period of employment. Employers must agree to provide adequate living accommodation to workers without charge. They must pay the going set rate for agricultural workers in the province, provide insurance and comply with laws that provide payment for compensation to workers for employment related injuries or disease. The employer must also pay the cost of a return flight for the worker. The worker, however, defrays the cost by paying the employer through payroll deduction. The worker also has wage deductions for program administrative costs, costs for meals and other employer deductions (Human Resources Development Canada, 1996(c): 1-4).

Four farm families in the current study utilized the offshore migrant program for their operations. All of these fruit farmers were extremely happy with the program and the people hired to work for them. In fact, they indicated that the program has been extremely important for maintaining their businesses.

SH: So, for you what has that program meant?

Carl: Survival.

SH: It has, eh?

Carl: We would be dead in our tracks. Grapes, maybe. Maybe we could get by with locals on grapes.

Rosemary: So, never complain about anything.

Carl: Well.

Rosemary: No, but I mean as far as the other people just don't show up the next morning. These guys will keep coming out every day.

(Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

SH: Who are these people that you hire?

Sam: Well, we bring people in from the Caribbean.

SH: Oh you do.

Sam: A lot of farmers in Ontario do that. There is about eight thousand people come from the Caribbean and Mexico to help. We have to provide housing for them.

SH: So, altogether how many people from the Caribbean do you hire?

Sam: We have three right now.

(Later in the interview)

SH: So do you think it is good?

Sam: Yes.

SH: It's helpful for you?

Sam: We couldn't farm without it.

SH: Is that right?

Sam: It's good for them too. Because when they go home our Canadian dollar is worth four of theirs. So they send their children onto university or buy more property or so they are promoting this. All those countries. The liaison people are continuing asking how can we improve it. And we choose the people that we want to come so if we get someone that doesn't fit in then, why and they are very heavily screened out. Whether they are healthier and so on. You couldn't ask for better help.

(Sam, 78, CF)

The Program was regarded as being mutually beneficial to farmers and offshore migrants. A survey of offshore workers and farmers in Southwestern Ontario conducted by Cecil and Ebanks (1991 & 1992) found that work in a foreign culture could be difficult for migrant workers. As well, interaction with

these workers may be accompanied with unease for Canadians. Fruit farmers who hired migrant workers were aware of these kinds of problems. However, they emphasized that they personally promoted positive relations with the workers and they felt that they had excellent working relationships with them.

SH: So the migrant workers have been a big help?

Carl: Well, like I say, if it wasn't for the offshore program, whether it be Mexican, Trinidadian, Barbadian, Jamaican whatever, there wouldn't be a fruit industry.

Rosemary: You see we have been fortunate. We only have got eight, we have-

Carl: -Three.

Rosemary : Well three, but six to eight like we have three for a while and then back to six and then to eight guys. But they are like family.

Carl: I think that depends on the grower. We know of people of farmers basically that we are here and we are here. And you don't mix. You are oil and we are water and whether that be some of the southern colonial mythology or whatever.

Everybody has a different way of operating, and our way happens to be that.

Rosemary: They are good to us.

Carl: Yeah.

Rosemary: And we are good to you.

Carl: But we still know our place. Okay. But you can get a little bit more with sugar than you can with vinegar. It doesn't have to be big things.

Rosemary: No, because they don't expect...

Carl: ...Like a beer on a Saturday. You sit around for 15 or 20 minutes and shoot the breeze. Or going out and having a couple of dinners over the year. Stuff like that. Small things. That sort of breaks the ice. But everybody operates differently. (Carl, 47, CF & Rosemary, 42, CF)

SH: Do they adjust to working in Canada?

Beatrice: Oh yeah, yeah. We just had one fellow. He just got his pension. I asked him how long have you been here? He says 21 years.

SH: Wow.

Beatrice: Yeah, 21 years. And he missed a year. The program is 22 years old. So he has been here ever since the beginning. So these fellows sort of become like family. You know. You get to know them. You get to know their families.

(Beatrice, 43, CF & Peter, 45, CF)

Fruit farmers who hired migrant workers found them to be highly dependable and helpful. The following excerpt again emphasizes how appreciative farmers were toward these workers.

SH: What is the difference between the attitudes of the offshore workers? Is there any difference?

Edward: Oh yeah, again I should only speak for the Mexican workers, because we have had them. When they come to Canada to work, their main objective is to please their employer. They want to do a good job. That's number one, is to do a

good job. They want you to say, you did a good job today. They sign a contract, a working contract before they come with their government and our government agree on a contract and the employee signs it and we sign it, which specifies hours of work and conditions and things like that. Other than that they believe that they are being paid for a day's work and they will give you a day's work for it. If they know, if it's a hot day and we don't work extra to get things finished, they realize that and they realize if it rains you can't work and but they are very conscientious and they are hard working. I can't say they are faster or you know, they are used to a hot climate so they pace themselves, but they just believe at the end of the day, you can trust them, if you go away, well you know they are going to work just as hard when you are away as when you are there because they want to make sure that they do a good job. Like they would be disgraced if they thought that they did not do a good job.

SH: Is that right? Disgraced by who?

Edward: They wouldn't be able to look the employer in the eye if they thought they cheated. I am sure there is the odd bad one too but generally speaking they feel it is their duty to do a good job. That's just, how could you not do a good job. You give the best of your ability all the time.

SH: How have they helped you?

Edward: It's a very dependable work force. Mostly, you can depend on them and trust them. As I say, I know ahead of time what they are capable of doing and you know that they are going to get the job done. I know I can go to the market in the morning and not come home and know they are not doing what they are supposed to be doing. Where, my own cousin (laugh), many years ago was picking cherries for me and I phoned home from market to say that I had an order and I needed cherries and they had the message and I came home and found my cousin and a couple others sound asleep over in the cherry orchard. That would never happen with the offshore worker. If he was sick he would tell you so and he wouldn't go to work, but he wouldn't go to work and then not put in a good day.

(Edward, 49, CF)

The Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program has proved to be extremely beneficial to all parties. Farmers receive reliable, reasonably priced labour and in return workers receive excellent wages as compared to what they could have earned in their home country. Since many farmers were unable to obtain dependable and cost-effective labour in Canada, the Program may have been the only avenue for them to continue their operations.

Regional Policy Plans

Local governments have expressed concern about agriculture and offered

some solutions through their Regional Policy Plans. In particular, the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth's Vision 2020, has identified agriculture and the rural economy as an important part of the economy and geography of the region. Vision 2020 acknowledges that the agricultural sector is experiencing tremendous difficulties and provides two goals: "To promote sustainable farming techniques; and to retain agriculture as a viable economic activity in Hamilton-Wentworth (The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1998)."

Activities proposed under Hamilton-Wentworth's Task Force document: Vision 2020 include: reforming property taxes so that only the residential component of the farm would be taxed; viewing farms as vacation opportunities; promoting farms through classroom tours and; encouraging local groceries to buy local produce (The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1998).

The Niagara Regional Policy Plan also identifies a number of objectives for agricultural and rural areas. These include:

To preserve Niagara's agricultural lands...; To advocate and support government policies and programs which promote the agricultural industry; To conserve and enhance the natural resources of the Agricultural and Rural Areas; To provide for a limited amount of non-farm development in designated Hamlets, Villages and Rural Areas; To provide an efficient and orderly pattern of land uses in the Agricultural and rural Areas, which lessens land use conflicts, which requires a minimum of municipal services and conserves natural resources; To protect farmers' right-to-farm by minimizing the potential for conflicts between farm and non-farm uses (The Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1998: 31-32).

The Niagara Region proposes supporting the agricultural industry by such means as:

- the protection of unique and good general agricultural lands;
- tariff and, or, quota protection from imports (a Federal Government responsibility);

- adequate marketing procedures (a responsibility of the industry and the Provincial Government);
- protection from unjustified taxes (a Provincial and local municipal government responsibility);
- financial support to local agricultural groups, such as grants to the Niagara North and South Federations of Agriculture;
- support of farmers seeking approval for loans from lending agencies for additional farm residences in order to eliminate the need for severances; and
- the continuation of the existing Agricultural Sub-Committee to advise the Region on agricultural issues. (This Sub Committee includes representatives from Regional Council and local agricultural and marketing organizations.) (The Regional Municipality of Niagara, 1998: 33).

Both the Hamilton-Wentworth and Niagara Regional Plans appear to be constructive and innovative. Evidence presented in this paper however, suggests that it is too late for many farmers to realize these efforts, as well, policy plans are highly subject to change depending upon the government of the day, the interests of developers, lobby groups or provincial and federal government policies.

Future Research and Policy Options

In his analysis of three Newfoundland Communities, Matthews (1976: 128-135) observes that development policies often value economic growth to the detriment of social structure and culture. It has been found that the inhabitants of the Niagara Fruit Belt have had a similar experience. Development projects have often occurred without an evaluation of their effects on the environment and on residents. While recent policy plans appear to be helpful, pressures from developers are a constant threat. It is arguably true that for every hectare that is converted to development, another two are ruined for agricultural uses

due to the negative effects of conversion (Krueger, 1959). Further, the lobbying power of farmers who want to remain in the business is somewhat weak since they often lack in economic power and their numbers are low in comparison to the size of the general population (Statistics Canada, 1994(a): 224 & Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 154). As well, informants have learned through experience that resisting urbanization and development has generally been futile, while giving into these pressures is often more beneficial.

This study has shown how policy-makers have often overlooked the importance of places for identity and a sense of community in their initiatives. By discussing the impacts of the construction of a highway in the region and housing and industrial developments on long-time residents and farmers, it has indicated the problems in ignoring existing residents' desires for preserving the places that are valuable to them. Development projects in this area have not taken into account the long-term effects on residents, nor have they acknowledged the existence and importance of Canadian history and natural resources. Policy-makers must be aware that urbanization and growth can potentially take away significant Canada landmarks and historical buildings and in the process demoralize the existing residents. These actions can create communities where newcomers are viewed with hostility and where social disruption can occur.

There is no simple solution to preventing the systematic disappearance of prime agricultural lands and the loss of many farming operations. As noted

earlier, the various levels of governments have generally been ineffective in working together to help farmers. Policies related to development and population growth are often challenged by the competing and conflicting interests of governments and their departments. This kind of inconsistency has lead to public mistrust and disillusionment of government processes. While some government initiatives and plans have been helpful, such as the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, farmers' difficulties cannot be solved without complex and multifaceted solutions.

It is recommended that future work focus on establishing an integrated multi-level government approach to saving prime fruit lands. This would entail assembling a list of all programs and policies which affect farmers and farm land in the area. Guidelines could then be established to ensure that all governments and government departments communicate and work together to develop and support beneficial programs and policies and to eliminate those that are detrimental. Helping farmers and saving fruit lands requires an integrated approach for rural land-use planning with all levels of government working together with respect to land-use and resource-use issues (Bryant, 1989: 201).

Rickard (1992: 178) observes that policies to preserve the land in the urban fringe are important, but just as significant are policies to restructure farming to create a sustainable form of agriculture. Informants were well aware of this issue. As one man observed, "You can save the farm land but how do you save the farmer to farm the land? It is a problem (Edward, 49, CF)."

There are several initiatives that should occur to protect farm lands and farming. Objectives outlined in regional policy plans need to be transformed into laws that will be upheld by governments. Amongst the important objectives are protection for farmers against nuisance complaints for standard farming practices and tax rebates for farm operations. As well, agricultural easement agreements should be reinstated. Punishment for theft and vandalism on farms should be strictly enforced. Repaying the farmer through fines or community service may provide some disincentive for this kind of behaviour. Finally, the places, traditions, culture and history that characterize the region should be valued and an understanding of them should be perpetuated. This kind of knowledge could be transmitted through curriculum and learning programs at district schools and historical sites. Historical societies and Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committees (LACAC) could play a useful role in this effort.

It is highly probable that the Hamilton-Wentworth Municipality⁴⁰ will have few farms left in the near future due to its rapidly expanding urban boundaries. For the farms that do remain in this municipality and in the rest of the Niagara Fruit Belt, diversification appears to be a key adaptive strategy. Urban growth may bring problems for farmers, but it can also bring new markets which may enable farmers to sell their produce and use their land in new and resourceful ways. Municipal planning regulations therefore, need to be open to innovative ideas concerning diversification on farms particularly in areas that are adjacent

⁴⁰Please note that the region has recently amalgamated so that Hamilton-Wentworth has become the City of Hamilton.

to urban build up (Bryant, 1989: 201; Deslauriers et. al., 1992: 84 & Rickard, 1992: 176-178).

The wine industry and tourism may enable the Niagara area to maintain some of its rural character. Canadian wines have established worldwide recognition. The number of Vinifera grapes planted and produced has increased and is expected to continue to expand (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 1999(a)). As a result, this industry is creating jobs and bringing tourists to the area (Regional Municipality of Niagara, 2000(b): 2). The ways in which tourism, agri-tourism and the wine industry develop and how successful they are in the future will largely determine how the character of the region evolves. Promotion of the Canadian wine industry should be continued and enhanced both within Canada and internationally.

The use of broad based committees to establish policies directed at such issues as land-use, farming or tourism is necessary. The Agri-tourism Committee of St. Catharines, which consists of representatives from The Wine Council of Ontario, Vintners Quality Alliance, Niagara Peninsula Fruit and Vegetable Growers' Association, Ontario Federation of Agriculture, Local and Regional Planning staff, The Niagara Economic and Tourism Corporation, The Ministry of Economic Development, Trade and Tourism, The Niagara Escarpment Commission, St. Catharines City Councillors and a University professor (The Regional Municipality of Niagara, 2000 (b): 5-6) provides one example. Importantly, individuals at the local level, particularly those most

affected by change, must have a voice in policy development. Developmental planning should be a shared process with existing residents. Listening to people that are directly affected by social change is just as important as listening to business interests (Bryant, 1989: 201; Matthews, 1976). Initiatives aimed at including residents in the rural/urban development process will have little impact unless they are accompanied by broad policy changes with an integrated approach and longevity beyond any change in government.

The research examined a small sample of older, long-term residents. Further sociological studies on the Niagara Fruit Belt could address perspectives on the community and change from a broader cross-section of individuals such as youth and recent arrivals. Research of this nature would provide a more encompassing view of how the area and farming are regarded and could potentially assist policy makers in developing approaches to promote the continuation of farming. A comparison of farmers on small farms verses large-scale operations and farms that are diversifying in their operations could also be undertaken to address how each group handles the economic and social issues that influence their businesses. Such an analysis could enable the development of programs which would support each group and take into account their unique differences.

The Niagara Fruit Belt is going to continue to grow and alter. Inevitably many of the places and landscapes that are valued by informants will disappear. Saving some of these fruit lands is still possible through consultative processes.

Attitudinal change concerning fruit production is fundamental. Canadians and their governments have to seriously evaluate whether they can afford the loss of one of the most productive fruit growing lands in the country. Prime fruit growing lands and historical sites are irreplaceable. Once they are lost they can never be regained. People need to learn to appreciate and respect farmers, their land and their produce. Residents need to believe that there is a future for fruit lands and Canadians must realize this valuable resource. Governments need to support farmers and preserve fruit lands through a shared, cohesive plan. Without a fundamental transformation of how this area and its people are viewed, the fruit lands will disappear and a unique resource, a place and a part of Canadian identity will be lost forever. Unfortunately, efforts to protect the Niagara Fruit Belt continue to remain weak and fractured leaving little hope for the long-term.

Tables

Table 1- Population of town/city/municipality from 1981 to 1996

Town, City or Municipality	Population (100% of data)					Popula- tion density per square kilo- metre 1996	Land area in square kilo- metres
	1981	1986	1991	1996	% change between 1981 and 1996		
Hamilton	306,434	306,728	318,499	322,352	5.2%	2,621.0	122.99
Stoney Creek	36,762	43,554	49,968	54,318	47.8%	550.9	98.60
Hamilton- Wentworth Regional Municipality	411,445	423,398	451,665	467,799	13.7%	420.3	1,112.98
Grimsby	15,797	16,956	18,520	19,585	24.0%	287.5	68.12
Lincoln	14,196	14,391	17,149	18,801	32.4%	163.43	163.43
St. Catharines	124,018	123,455	129,300	130,926	5.6%	1,386.5	94.43
Niagara Regional Municipality	368,288	370,132	393,936	403,504	9.6%	218.0	1,850.85
Ontario	8,625,107	9,101,694	10,084,885	10,753,573	24.7%	—	—
Canada	24,343,181	25,309,331	27,296,859	28,846,761	18.5%	—	—

Source: Statistics Canada, 1987: 2-6, 2-11 & 2-12 and Statistics Canada 1997(a): 103-107.

Table 2- Occupation by 1991 Census Data and Number of Informants

Occupation	Total Number of Males and Females from Lincoln, Stoney Creek and Grimsby in occupational groups, 1991	Number of Informants
Managerial, administrative and related occupations	5,890 (12.9%)	4
Teaching and related occupations	1,800 (4.0%)	3
Occupations in medicine and health	2,255 (5.0%)	1
Natural and social sciences, religious, artistic and related occupations	3,105 (6.8%)	0
Clerical and related occupations	8,030 (17.6%)	2
Sales occupations	4,440 (9.8%)	1
Service occupations	4,225 (9.3%)	1
Primary occupations (includes Farmers)	1,515 (3.3%)	17 (farming only)*
Processing occupations	1,615 (3.5%)	1
Machining, product fabricating assembling and repairing occupations	4,990 (11.0%)	0
Construction trades occupations	2,980 (6.5%)	0
Transport equipment operating occupations	1,585 (3.5%)	0
Other occupations	3,090 (6.8%)	2
Total	45,520 (100%)	32

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994(a): 224 and Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 154.

*Note: Two of the informants currently worked outside of primary occupations (specifically farming). These informants had worked as farmers previously. Therefore, they were categorized as "Previously Farmed" and were accounted for in the above table as being in an occupation other than farmer. Many informants were presently retired. They were included in the above table as being in their occupation before retirement. One informant, who was a housewife and who had not farmed, was counted under "other occupations".

Table 3- Town/City by the number of people in primary occupations and by the total number of people in occupations in 1991

Town/City	Primary Occupations (includes farmers)	Total Number of People in all Occupations
Lincoln	855 (9.8%)	8,715
Grimsby	300 (3.0%)	9,815
Stoney Creek	360 (1.3%)	26,990
Total	1,515 (3.3%)	45,520

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994(a): 224 and Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 154.

Table 4- Top Provincial Producers of Tree Fruits and Nuts Grown for Sale in 1996.

Province	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non- bearing	Acres
Ontario	3,031	7,175,661	47,064
British Columbia	3,380	6,748,143	25,830
Quebec	1,148	2,597,814	19,664
Nova Scotia	346	1,315,165	8,656

Source: Statistics Canada 1997(d): 18.

Table 5- Selected Tree Fruits Grown for Sale by Top Producing Provinces in 1996.

Province	Apples Total trees & Acres	Pears Total trees & Acres	Plums and Prunes Total trees & Acres	Sweet cherries Total trees & Acres	Sour cherries Total trees & Acres	Peaches Total trees & Acres	Apricot s Total trees & Acres	Grapes Total acres under cultivation and for harvest
Ontario	4,895,479 30,524	412,626 3,305	169,596 1,622	76,175 957	196,498 2,065	1,268,408 7,261	14,447 189	15,725 14,700
British Columbia	5,796,204 18,445	184,214 1,294	47,952 537	192,184 1,702	39,705 375	244,562 1,563	79,124 606	2,415 2,058
Quebec	2,578,472 19,435	7,459 93	10,612 114	X	687 14	X	X	277 165
Nova Scotia	1,258,370 8,067	41,728 378	8,067 111	2,220 35	553 10	3,099 36	41 2	139 109

Source: Statistics Canada 1997(d): 19-25 & 32.

Table 6- Total Tree Fruits in Ontario

Census Year	Area in Acres	Farms Reporting	Average area in acres per farm reporting
1921	180,617	138,761	1
1931	136,961	118,715	1
1941	79,206	13,861	6
1951	80,726	...	...
1956	74,647	...	...
1961	68,728	8,022	9
1966	65,432	5,732	11
1971	62,854	4,884	13
1976	57,719	4,258	14
1981	51,016	3,930	13
1986	52,530	4,063	13
1991	51,007	3,289	16
1996	47,064	3,031	16

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(b): 28-29.

Table 7- Total tree fruits and nuts by municipalities, 1986, 1991 & 1996

Rank for total number of trees	Geographic Identification	Year	Farms Reporting	Total number of trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	1986	1,271	2,392,564	16,982
		1991	916	2,347,118	14,675
		1996	824	2,167,565	13,797
7	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	1986	191	245,239	2,396
		1991	131	267,314	2,035
		1996	127	294,598	1,708

Source: Statistics Canada, 1987: 1-47 & 1-48; Statistics Canada, 1992(a): 58-59; Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 36-37.

Table 8- Apples Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing trees	Area in Acres
4	Niagara Regional Municipality	481	365,648	1,767
8	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	98	233,502	1,140

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 38-39

Table 9- Pears Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing Trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	544	246,661	1,883
2	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	75	38,986	300

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 40-41

Table 10- Plums and Prunes Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing Trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	488	130,622	1,219
3	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	55	6,266	69

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 42-43

Table 11- Sweet Cherries Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing Trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	383	49,941	686
3	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	49	3,606	63

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 44-45

Table 12- Sour Cherries Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing Trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	189	124,182	1,187
5	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	35	4,771	67

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 46-47

Table 13- Peaches Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing Trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	433	1,145,362	6,329
6	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	35	4,405	40

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 48-49

Table 14- Apricots Grown for Sale, Province of Ontario, 1996

Rank for total number of trees in Province	Geographic Identification	Farms Reporting	Total Bearing and Non-Bearing Trees	Area in Acres
1	Niagara Regional Municipality	210	10,263	137
4	Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Municipality	20	274	4

Source: Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 50-51

Table 15- Grapes grown for sale by municipality in Ontario in 1986, 1991 and 1996

Location/ Rank of total acres in province 1986, 1991 &1996	Farms reporting grapes under cultivation			Acres under cultivation			Farms reporting grapes for harvest			Acres for harvest		
	1986	1991	1996	1986	1991	1996	1986	1991	1996	1986	1991	1996
Niagara Regional Municipal- ity 1	909	631	607	20,617	12,365	13,648	792	603	588	18,117	10,985	12,694
Hamilton- Wentworth Regional Municipal- ity 2	96	56	49	1,410	734	842	82	51	48	1,226	677	836

Source: Statistics Canada, 1987: 1-57 & 1-58, Statistics Canada 1992(a): 88-89 and Statistics Canada, 1997(c): 64-65.

Table 16- Town/City by Ethnic Origin in 1991

Town/City	Total Population 1991	British	Canadian	French	Italian	Dutch	German	Other Single origin	Multiple origin
Lincoln	17,149	4,240	1,150	300	330	2,025	1,180	1,145	5,915
Grimsby	18,520	4,515	1,310	420	595	1,520	695	1,970	6,840
Stoney Creek	49,968	11,315	3,115	820	7,670	1,050	1,015	7,835	15,305
Total and percentage	85,637 100%	20,070 23.4%	5,575 6.5%	1,540 1.8%	8,595 10.0%	4,595 5.4%	2,890 3.4%	10,950 12.8%	28,060 32.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994(a): 220 and Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 151.

Table 17- Town/City by Immigrant Population Arrivals

Town/City	Total immigrant population	Before 1961	1961-1970	1971- 1980	1981-1991
Lincoln	2,810	1,640	650	265	260
Grimsby	3,575	1,855	770	670	280
Stoney Creek	12,180	4,715	3,820	2,335	1,315
Total and percentage	18,565 100%	8,210 44.2%	5,240 28.2%	3,270 17.6%	1,855 10.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994(a): 220 and Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 151.

Table 18- Place of birth of Immigrant Population by Town/City for 1991

Place of birth	Lincoln	Grimsby	Stoney Creek	Total and percent
Immigrant Population	2,815	3,570	12,185	18,570 100%
United States of America	180	145	320	645 3.5%
Central and South America	60	30	195	285 1.5%
Caribbean and Bermuda	20	35	140	195 1.1%
United Kingdom	605	1,055	1,860	2,520 13.6%
Other Europe	1,795	2,090	8,605	12,490 67.3%
Africa	25	50	105	180 0.97%
India	15	15	425	455 2.5%
Other Asia	95	135	460	690 3.7%
Oceania and Other	15	25	70	110 0.59%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994(a): 220 and Statistics Canada, 1994(b): 151.

Table 19- Age of Informants by Gender

Age	Men	Women	Total
42-49 years	3	2	5
50-59 years	1	3	4
60-69 years	6	7	13
70-79 years	5	2	7
80 and greater	0	3	3
Total	15	17	32

Table 20- Age of Informants by 1991 Census Data

Age	Number of Informants	91 Census Data of Population of Lincoln, Grimsby and Stoney Creek
less than 45 years	(2) 6.3%	68.2%
45 to 64 years	(13) 40.6 %	20.4%
65 years and older	(17) 53.1 %	11.4%
Total	(32) 100%	100%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1993(a): 95 and Statistics Canada, 1993(b): 136.

Table 21- Residential History

Arrival to the Region	Number of Informants
United Empire Loyalist Descent	8
Two generations or more	11
Born in the Community	5
Not born in the community but lived there for 30 years or more and born in the province	8
Recent arrival (less than 30 years)	0
Total	32

Table 22- Status in Relation to Farming

Farming Status	Number of Informants
Currently Farming (CF)	11
Previously Farmed/Lived on a Farm (PF)	11
Never Farmed (NF)	10
Total	32

Table 23- Informants farming occupational status

Number of current farmers who work part-time elsewhere	Number of informants who have at one time considered their work to be farming
4 out of 11 informants or 36%	19 out of 32 informants or 59%

Table 24- Province of Ontario Agriculture- Selected Expenditures 1981-1996

Expenditures: Average amount per farm reporting	1981 amount & %change 1981 to 1996	1986 amount & % change 1986 to 1996	1991 amount & % change 1991 to 1996	1996 amount
Wages and salaries	9,896 214.8%	14,392 116.4%	23,000 35.4%	31,147
Fuel, oil and lubricants for farm machinery	2,772 27.7%	3,693 -4.2%	3,681 -3.8%	3,540
Fertilizer and lime	4,424 88.1%	5,678 46.6%	6,094 36.5%	8,321
Herbicides, insecticides and fungicides	1,939 190.9%	3,167 78.1%	4,147 36.0%	5,640
Custom work, contract work and machine rental or leasing	1,892 258.5%	2,953 129.7%	4,175 62.4%	6,782

Source: Statistics Canada 1997(b). Table 19. Selected Expenditures, Canada and Provinces, 1976-1996: 182.

Table 25-Worker Arrivals of Caribbean and Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Worker Programs by Country and Year (randomly chosen)

Year	Country					Total Workers
	Jamaica	Trinidad & Tobago	Barbados	Eastern Caribbean	Mexico	
1968 1st year	678	249	331	0	0	1,258
1974	2,954	1,296	1,092	0	195 1st year	5,537
1976	2,863	878	824	310 1st year	580	5,455
1984	2,934	350	549	340	673	4,502
1988	3,870	541	1,008	528	2,592	8,539
1989	5,234	833	1,052	643	4,475	12,237
1995	4,607	872	630	398	4,886	11,393

Source: Human Resources Development Canada, 1996 (a).

Table 26-Seasonal Agricultural Worker Programs Employment Data, 1995

Crop	Job Vacancy Filled in 1995	Employers Participating in 1995
Apiary (honey)	33	9
Apple	1,728	166
Canning	511	13
Fruit	1,876	262
Greenhouse	574	129
Nurseries	331	36
Tobacco	3,977	594
Vegetable	3,074	377
Ginseng	254	50
Total	12,358	1,636

Source: Human Resources Development Canada, 1996 (a)

Appendix A

Map of the Niagara Fruit Belt of Ontario

Appendix B

Interview Guide

Introduction

Purpose of the study and discussion of my personal history in the community
 Introduction and review of the consent form
 Confidentiality and anonymity
 Publication issues
 Study feedback
 Request permission to use the tape recorder

Note: The questions indicated were not asked in any particular order. Some questions were not asked at all where it was found that they were not appropriate for informants. Since the interview was guided by informants' desires to discuss various topics, many new questions were formulated in the process. These questions do not appear below.

General

What is your age?
 What is your occupation or if you are retired what did you do when you worked?
 Where were you born?
 Where did your family come from?
 When did you move here?

Questions for Non-Farming Participants

(Note: Some questions were also asked of farming participants, where appropriate)

1. Why did you join the historical society?
2. Why is it important for you to belong to the historical society?
3. For you, what represents your community?
4. Which aspects about this community are important?
5. Where do you have the most significant memories?
6. Which places in this community would you like to see preserved?
7. If a stranger came into town what would be the things you would show them and be most proud of? What would you be the least proud of?
8. Have you ever lived or worked on a fruit farm? Has any of your family members?
9. Are fruit farms important to how you see the community?
10. Do you see yourself as a city person, small town or country person?

11. Suppose you had a relative who had never come here before and you had to describe what the area was like, what would you say?
12. How many people are there in your family? Do they still live here? If not, why not?
13. Do you think this community is important to all of your family?
14. Would you ever leave this community? What changes would make you leave?
15. How were things different in this community when you were young or when you first came here?
16. What period of time do you feel is the most interesting in the past? Why?
17. What are things about the past that are interesting to you? Why?

Community Change

1. How is the community that you live in changing?
2. Is this affecting you in any way?
3. How do you feel about farmers selling their property to speculators/developers?

Farming (Questions for informants who currently own a farm or have lived on or owned a farm in the past)

1. Who owns, operates and works on the farm?
2. How many acres does this farm have?
3. What kinds of fruit do you produce?
4. What is the most important crop/fruit that is produced on this farm?

Family & Farming History

1. How was this farm obtained, i.e., was it through your family or did you buy it yourself?
2. Previous to you, did your family work on or own a fruit farm?
3. How long has your family been farming?
4. How long have you lived in this community?
5. Where are you and your family originally from?
6. How did you or your family come to live in this community?
7. How long have you lived on this land?
8. What was it like growing up in (town name)?
9. How many years have you farmed?
10. How old are you?
11. When you were younger did you plan on doing this kind of work?
12. How did you learn about what is involved with farming?
13. How many people are in your immediate family?

14. Do any of your family members help out on the farm?
If yes, what do they do?
15. Who was hired to work on the farm in the past?

Job Characteristics

1. What is a typical day for you with this job?
2. What do you spend the most time doing with fruit farming?
3. How do you sell your fruit?
4. Who buys it?
5. Do you have another job outside of fruit farming?
6. How many months in a year do you spend farming?
7. What keeps you motivated to stay farming?
8. Does farming provide you with an adequate income?
9. Why do you work on a farm?
10. Do you belong to any farm organizations?
What are they?
Do you find them useful? How?

Hazards

1. What are the hazards of this job?
2. Have you, your family or your workers ever had any farm related accidents?
3. What kinds of pesticides do you use?
4. What is the purpose of pesticide use?
5. Are there any alternatives to pesticide use?
6. Did you have training for pesticide use?
7. How do you protect yourself?
8. How do you feel about pesticide use?

Workers

1. Other than family members, do you hire anyone to help you?
If so, what are the characteristics of the people that you hire?
2. How do you hire people?
3. What is your experience with hiring people?
4. What experiences have you had with hired help?
5. Are there enough Canadians available to do this work?
6. Have you ever hired offshore migrant workers?
7. What is your experience with the offshore migrant worker program?
8. Are these workers different than Canadian workers?
9. What would you do if this program did not exist?
10. What do you generally pay your workers?

11. To your knowledge, have you had an opportunity to hire welfare recipients or new immigrants?
12. Do you think that these individuals know about the opportunities to work on a fruit farm?
13. In your experience, how do you think Canadians feel about this work?
14. How do you think this work could be promoted in order to get young people to be interested in farming?

Social Change

1. How would you say this kind of farming has changed over the years that you have been doing it?
2. If your family farmed, what has changed since they farmed?
3. Is there any new technology that has changed how you work?
4. Are things becoming easier or more difficult in this job?
5. What do you see happening with fruit farming in the future?
6. Do you think your children would like to work in this business in the future?
7. How is the community that you live in changing?
8. Is this affecting you in any way?
9. Have you ever been tempted to sell your property to speculators/developers?
10. How do you feel about other farmers selling their property to speculators/developers?
11. Has there been any change with fruit farming due to the GATT and Free Trade agreements?

Interview Closure

Do you have any questions?

Would you like to meet again sometime in the future to discuss further ideas that you might have?

Would you like to keep in contact?

Would you like to have copies of the tape made from this interview?

Do you know anyone else that may be interested in being interviewed?

Thank you.

Appendix C

Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to find out about life in the Niagara Peninsula, in the present and in the past. This will involve being asked questions about your experiences of life in your community and of fruit farming. This will include questions which relate to your present day life, your past and your family history.

This consent form provides you with assurance that your identity will be protected. This interview is not intended to exploit you in any way.

Please read over the following carefully and sign at the bottom to indicate that you understand what you have read.

I consent to an interview with Suzanne Hill fully understanding the following:

I understand that this interview will be used for Suzanne Hill's research towards her thesis at Carleton University.

I understand that this interview may be used for publications in the future.

I understand that in order to protect my identity and to respect my privacy, Suzanne Hill will use a pseudonym (a false name) for my name in any reproduction of parts of this interview.

I understand that if I choose to have my name revealed, I will have an opportunity to change that decision up to 3 months after the interview. However, it is up to me to contact Suzanne Hill to tell her of my decision.

I understand that I have a right to end the interview or to not answer all of the questions asked.

I understand that if I want to contact Suzanne Hill to discuss the study at a future date I can.

For historical purposes, interview tapes may be deposited in the National Archives. If Suzanne Hill decides to contribute her research to the Archives, do you want your interview tape deposited in the Archives? Please note that deposits can be closed for a specified number of years.

Check one Yes ____ or No ____

If yes, do you want your interview open for researchers:
After ____ years? or Closed for 75 years ____?

I fully understand what I have read and agreed to.

Signature of the Person Interviewed:

Name:

Address:

Phone Number:

Study Contacts

Researcher:

(My name and phone number was indicated)

Carleton University contact:

(A professor from the department of Sociology/Anthropology was indicated)

The researcher acknowledges that this consent form has been read and understood.

Signature of the Researcher: _____

Date of the Interview:

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