

Differences in Population Growth:
A Case Study of Two Eastern Ontario Rural Municipalities

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Abstract

Rural municipalities in Ontario, as well as across the rest of Canada, the United States and Europe, have faced many challenges over the last few decades, in particular the challenges that have been created by changes in population. This paper will look in depth at two such rural municipalities located in Eastern Ontario, of which one has increased significantly in population since 1991 and the other has not. Population statistics for each will be analyzed and related to the physical landscape, local economy and local governments of each municipality to propose some reasons why these differences in population may have occurred. The aim of this paper is to bring attention to the needs and challenges of rural municipalities in a time when much emphasis is being placed on the needs of urban municipalities, neglecting their smaller, rural counterparts. Population changes were chosen as a focus because the population size of an area affects a local government in many ways, including the size of the tax base, the amount of infrastructure needed, and the number of services provided which may change as the population changes.

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1. Introduction

In the area of municipal research, in particular that of Canadian municipalities, the last decade has seen a large emphasis placed on urban areas and the country's largest cities. The Conference Board of Canada's recent report on what must change in order for Canadian cities to become successful in the global arena emphasizes this current trend in local government research. The report states that "[c]itizens and leaders alike must recognize that big cities are intrinsically different from smaller cities and towns in both their economic potential and their greater needs" (Brender, Cappe and Golden 2007: 14). While not debating that big cities are indeed intrinsically different, especially from rural towns, there is an issue with stating that big cities have greater needs than any other place people may live in this country. Rural areas do not deserve to be overlooked, especially when public funds should be just that, public, and used for the good of all citizens, regardless of where they may live. Rural areas have needs as well, in terms of being able to afford increasing infrastructure costs, the services citizens want, and the need to balance budgets each year. For these reasons, it is important to have research focused on the needs of rural communities and the successes that have been accomplished in creating sustainable communities, so that this portion of the population, while it might not be large, is not forgotten. In the last few decades there has also been a trend of individuals moving out of urban areas into the surrounding rural countryside. These new residents of rural municipalities bring different perspectives to rural communities as well as different desires, such as an increased number, and better delivery of services. So while growing populations are viewed as a positive occurrence, because they add to the property tax base thereby increasing the income rural municipalities gather, there is also the slightly negative aspect of now having to do more within the community, many times without the resources to do so.

There are some academicians who are truly interested in this topic and continue to advance the knowledge in this area of rural studies, including rural governance. However, there are not many Canadian researchers to be found in the academic literature, which makes any type of Canadian

rural research important. This particular research report will focus on population changes and possible reasons why they have occurred and why they differ, in two rural municipalities located in Eastern Ontario. By comparing and contrasting various aspects of community life, as well as the use of population statistics, some general conclusions will be made regarding these differences, as will be explained further in the next section of this paper.

2. Explanation of Research

The decision to compare two Eastern Ontario municipalities was made because this is an area of the province which is familiar to the writer. The thirteen lower-tier municipalities of Hastings County were examined in terms of population changes for the time period of 1991 to 2006. Population statistics, taken from census data, were used to compare the municipalities to each other. Two municipalities were chosen of the thirteen to compare and complete a case study. These municipalities were the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon. They were chosen for several reasons: the Township of Stirling-Rawdon experienced one of the lowest population growth rates over fifteen years while the Municipality of Centre Hastings experienced one of the highest; the two municipalities are located beside each other and are roughly the same geographic size; and, both have similar histories in terms of industry and the current situations they are facing. These observations led to the creation of the primary research question this paper will attempt to answer: *Why has the Municipality of Centre Hastings increased in population while the Township of Stirling-Rawdon has not?* As well, a secondary question arose as to whether the respective local governments of these municipalities were playing an active role in causing these differences. The rest of this paper will be spent addressing these two research questions.

A lot of this research will focus on population statistics gathered by Statistics Canada through census data on the two municipalities in question. Other information was gathered from the two municipalities' websites as well as by visiting the municipal offices to obtain other data, such as zoning maps, tax rate information, and strategic planning documents. All of these types of information will be analyzed and explained in more detail below.

3. Theoretical Background

When reviewing the theoretical literature concerning rural populations and rural governance, it became evident that the majority is written in the American and British contexts. However, there are several key Canadian writers such as David Douglas and Michael Troughton whose work can be used to frame the research issues this paper will be addressing. The rest of the literature also helps clarify concepts and ideas that are common to most rural areas. Within this literature review there will be a focus on four themes: the notion of rurality and the rural idyll, rural in-migration and counterurbanisation, the rural economy, and implications for rural local governments.

It is important to begin any discussion with definitions of key terms to ensure that the following dialogue is understood. These definitions will generally be found whenever a new topic is introduced within this paper. Trying to define the term 'rural' can be difficult as it often depends on the type of research being conducted or the context in which the term is being used. There is much debate over what should be incorporated into the term 'rural' with various definitions including such concepts as people, amount of space, particular places, and certain lifestyles (Ilbery 1998). Some definitions use population to distinguish between rural and urban areas, but even so these can differ from populations as small as 2 000 to populations as large as 20 000. Population density is also sometimes used, with densities below a certain number of people per square kilometre indicating a rural area. Location, communities in remote areas, and economic functions (such as being agriculturally based or relying on forestry) are also used to distinguish rural areas and communities (Douglas and Chadwick 2001). A social definition of rural often includes the notion of the rural idyll which is what individuals perceive when they think of rural areas and the countryside. Little and Austin describe the rural idyll in terms of the following as quoted in Ilbery:

“Rural life is associated with an uncomplicated, innocent, more genuine society in which traditional values persist and lives are more real. Pastimes, friendships, family relations and even employment are seen as somehow more honest and

authentic, unencumbered with the false and insincere trappings of city life or with their associated dubious values” (Ilbery 1998: 3)

The notion of a rural idyll facilitates the idea that there is only one type of rural, that all rural communities are identical. However, this is not the case and the notion of the rural idyll can mask inequalities and important differences as most rural communities differ in many ways: economically, socially, demographically, and politically just to name a few (Reed and Lobley 2005).

The idea of what rurality involves appears to be constantly evolving. There appears to have been a consensus reached within the rural literature that a ‘new countryside’ has now appeared. In the Canadian rural landscape, the new countryside has come about from rural restructuring that has resulted in the loss of a large number of farms throughout the country, an increase in large industrial farms that are taking over the previously prominent family-owned farming operations, as well as the ever increasing suburban sprawl. The countryside is now viewed as the prime place for expansion and investment opportunities, a new frontier for urban interests. The Canadian countryside is much different than that of Britain or the rest of Europe because of its history as well as its different ideals and values, and it would appear that Canada can learn much from some European sustainable environment models which incorporate both production as well as preservation of the countryside (Troughton 2003). In Ontario, the rural landscape changed greatly between the two World Wars with a shift to a more industrial than agricultural basis. Along with this, there is evidence that “[r]ural Ontario has long served as a provisioner to urban Ontario. In addition to agricultural produce, rural Ontario has and continues to provide urban Ontario with a place of refuge and recreation” (Gibson 1998: 82).

Part of the change in rural areas has occurred due to the change in population, both in terms of size and demographics. Rural populations have been unstable over the last century, slowly decreasing in size until the 1950s and 1960s and then slowly gaining in population again through the 1970s and on (Johnson 2003; Lewis 1998; Phillips 1998). Part of this trend of increasing

populations in rural areas has been called counterurbanisation. This is the trend of urban areas decreasing in population after a long period of steadily increasing while the rural areas around these urban areas face increasing populations. However, it is important to note that counterurbanisation and rural in-migration are not synonymous terms. Like defining the term rural, counterurbanisation does not have one specific definition and it can be difficult to determine when and if it is occurring in any particular place. One academic notes that “migration into rural areas is seen as a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for counterurbanisation” (Champion 1998: 30) meaning that migration is just one part of the explanation of counterurbanisation. Some of the reasons individuals may decide to move from an urban area to a rural one include the often lower housing prices, as well as the want to escape the negative externalities that come along with living in an urban area: a higher crime rate, lower air quality, and high population density (Walker 2003).

Along with population changes within rural areas, either positive or negative, comes the need to undergo rural development. Most rural areas find it difficult to raise the funds necessary to provide the services citizens call for and it is through rural development and a focus on local economic development that small rural communities can again flourish. Rural development has become a large issue throughout Europe and many governments at all levels have begun to pay attention to the issues that rural areas face and have found funds to help create local development programs in rural communities. A good definition of rural development was developed by Moseley and can be found in his book *Rural Development: Principles and Practice*: Rural development is “a sustained and sustainable process of economic, social, cultural and environmental change designed to enhance the long-term well-being of the whole community” (2003: 4). It is important that efforts to improve the economic development of rural communities occur at the local level as all rural areas and communities are very diverse. For example, some have many natural resources while others depend highly on tourism, and so the same program is not going to be successful in each community. As well, many of the problems or issues facing

rural communities need to be addressed through partnerships with various community organizations, citizens, and the local government and so programs and policies need to be tailored to each individual community. The natural and local resources of each community need to be identified and given attention so that rural communities are not relying on importing unnecessary resources (Moseley 2003). Many of the economic problems of rural communities stem from the decline of agricultural practices which were once the driving economic force. Agriculture and related industries no longer provide the majority of jobs in a rural community, especially with the increase in large industrial farms that utilize more technology and machinery than people (Troughton 2003; Winter and Lobley 2005). Within rural and small towns in Canada, the majority of jobs are now found within the wholesale and retail trade industries (Bollman, Beshiri and de Champlain 2003) and across the world rural economies have been transformed by the change in the types of individuals now living in them. With an influx of middle to higher class individuals in rural areas there has also been an influx of wealth and power which has helped transform rural economies into more service-oriented centres (Ilbery 1998; Phillips 1998).

With all of the changes that have occurred in the rural areas of North America and Europe, researchers have begun to assert the need for a new type of rural governance that will allow rural local governments to better deal with the issues and changes that are occurring. A simple definition of governance is “the relationships between the formal institutions of government and civil society” (Tindal and Tindal 2004: 258). This call for rural *governance* rather than just rural *government* includes the need to build new partnerships between local governments and various private, non-profit, and other public organizations as well as with community groups and local citizens. Governance can include new types of approaches to issues and problems, such as becoming more entrepreneurial and dynamic, as well as the enabling of successful citizen participation and the inclusion of all stakeholders in the decisions made for the community or area (Corcoran 2003; Little 2003; Winter and Lobley 2005). A new type of rural governance may help local governments deal more effectively with numerous concerns including economic,

social, cultural, environmental, and political ones, in which local governments play a crucial role. Costs of various services, high unemployment rates, land use planning, and the need to solve problems at the local level all fit into these concerns and, while every rural local government may not face each and every one, these are often daily concerns for many (Moseley 2003).

This very basic overview of the literature concerning rural populations will provide a backdrop for the rest of this paper in which two rural municipalities in Eastern Ontario, Canada will be examined. The literature review has helped to shape and guide this research while allowing for conclusions to be made regarding differences in population growth and the effect the local governments may have had in these trends.

4. Background Information on Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon, Ontario, Canada

The Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon are two rural municipalities located in Hastings County in Eastern Ontario. The two municipalities are located next to each other in the bottom third of Hastings County, north of the city of Belleville and the city of Quinte West (see Appendix A), with Stirling-Rawdon located on the west side of Centre Hastings. Both municipalities underwent amalgamations in 1998 when the rural townships each amalgamated with a small village: the former Huntingdon Township amalgamated with the Village of Madoc located at the north end of Huntingdon and became the Municipality of Centre Hastings; and, Rawdon Township amalgamated with the Village of Stirling, located at the south end of Rawdon, to become the Township of Stirling-Rawdon.

Both municipalities have similar histories which have had a large impact on the two areas today. The townships of Rawdon and Huntingdon appear on maps of Upper Canada dating back to the year 1800. These rural areas were settled mainly by the United Empire Loyalists fleeing the American Revolution and their descendants, as well as Scottish, Irish and British immigrants taking advantage of the free land in the area that was being offered by the British government. A majority of these settlers were farmers and so agriculture and related services were the main industries in these areas. The Village of Madoc was incorporated in 1877 and was originally called McKenzie Mills since it was built around several mills and an iron works. It became a busy village with a population of approximately 1 000 when gold quartz was discovered in 1866 and fluorite and talc were also being mined in the area. Marble was also found in large quantities and is still being quarried to this day. The Village of Stirling was settled around the water source of Rawdon Creek, which runs through the centre of the village, and was incorporated in 1858. Most of the early industries in the area were tied to agriculture due to the surrounding farmland, and there was also a mill located in the village. Today, most of the early industries related to agriculture and mining have disappeared, and both municipalities, Stirling in particular, are now

mainly bedroom communities for those commuting to work in the larger urban areas of Belleville and Quinte West (Municipality of Centre Hastings a; Zandbergen 2005).

Both municipalities are very small in terms of their elected representatives and the local government administration. The Municipality of Centre Hastings' elected representatives at the local level include the reeve, deputy reeve, and three councillors who work on a part-time basis. Three of the representatives live in the rural area of the municipality and two are from the village of Madoc (the reeve and deputy reeve). The municipal offices are located in the small hamlet of Ivanhoe, unlike the Stirling-Rawdon offices which are located within the village of Stirling. Stirling-Rawdon's council is composed of a mayor, deputy mayor, and three councillors who also work part-time as elected representatives. Of these five representatives, two live within the village and the others live in the surrounding rural areas (Municipality of Centre Hastings b; Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005a). The mayor of Stirling-Rawdon and the reeve of Centre Hastings also represent the municipalities at the upper-tier level of government by sitting on the council for Hastings County.

According to the 2006 Canadian census data, the population of the Municipality of Centre Hastings was 4 386 and the population of the Township of Stirling-Rawdon was 4 906 (Statistics Canada 2007a; Statistics Canada 2007b). Although Stirling-Rawdon has a larger population, Centre Hastings has continually increased in its population since 1991 (as can be seen in Table 1). This is a total increase of approximately nineteen percent while Stirling-Rawdon has had only a very little increase, approximately one and a half percent over the same time period. Considering that these two municipalities are geographically beside each other and have similar histories, it is interesting to note the large difference in population growth. The objective of this paper is to put forth some possible reasons for this difference as the issue of population growth, or non-growth, is an important one for rural municipalities. This can be especially true for those who have very stable or decreasing populations since it can affect a number of things, in particular the size of the tax base and the ability to provide the types and levels of services desired.

Table 1: Population Changes in Stirling-Rawdon and Centre Hastings, 1991-2006

Population Changes 1991-2006		
Census Year	Stirling-Rawdon	Centre Hastings
1991	4835	3655
1996	4905	4103
2001	4887	4226
2006	4906	4386
Total Pop. Change	1.5 %	19.1%

Adapted from Statistics Canada (1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 1997d; 2002a; 2002b; 2007a; 2007b).

5. Population Changes over the Years

When looking more closely at the population demographics in Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon between 1991 and 2006, there are several different characteristics that can be examined including age, mobility of the population, and population density.

5.1 Age Distinctions

Statistics Canada census data includes a breakdown of a municipality's (also known as a census subdivision) population into age ranges, allowing for analysis between two municipalities as well as the opportunity to make some conclusions within each based on the largest age groups. When this data is examined over a fifteen year period, population changes within each group can also be determined. The breakdown of these age groups in Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon are found in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Population Divided into Age Categories

Stirling-Rawdon Population Statistics 1991-2006				
Age Ranges	1991	1996	2001	2006
0-14	1160	1085	980	865
15-24	605	610	615	650
25-54	1975	2080	2100	1965
55-74	775	805	820	1010
75+	310	325	360	390
Centre Hastings Population Statistics 1991-2006				
Age Ranges	1991	1996	2001	2006
0-14	800	890	835	770
15-24	505	495	455	485
25-54	1540	1765	1780	1765
55-74	640	720	895	1085
75+	175	230	270	280

Adapted from Statistics Canada (1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 1997d; 2002a; 2002b; 2007a; 2007b).

These numbers will be analyzed first within each municipality between each census year, and then overall trends will be identified between the two municipalities. The population changes

that occurred within each age range between census years for each municipality can be found in Table 3.

Table 3: Population Changes within Age Categories

Population Changes in Centre Hastings (%)				
Age Range	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006	1991-2006
0-14	11.5	-6.2	-7.8	-3.8
15-24	-2.0	-8.1	6.6	-4.0
25-54	14.6	0.8	-0.8	14.6
55-74	12.5	24.3	21.2	69.5
75+	31.4	17.4	3.7	60.0
Population Changes in Stirling-Rawdon (%)				
Age Range	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006	1991-2006
0-14	-6.5	-9.7	-11.7	-25.4
15-24	0.8	0.8	5.7	7.4
25-54	5.3	0.9	-6.4	-0.5
55-74	3.9	1.9	23.2	30.3
75+	4.8	10.8	18.3	25.8

Adapted from Statistics Canada (1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 1997d; 2002a; 2002b; 2007a; 2007b).

The 1991 and 1996 censuses allow for comparisons to be made within the village and the rural areas as amalgamation had not yet occurred. This is useful for this study as it is possible to determine where population increases or decreases were occurring within the now amalgamated municipalities. In the above table the data for the once separate municipalities have been added together to determine the changes in the overall municipalities that now exist. Please see Appendix B for the numbers of individuals per age category divided into the rural and village portion of each municipality. Within the period 1991 to 1996, any population growth that did occur in the municipality that is now Stirling-Rawdon occurred in the rural area of Rawdon Township. During this time period, the age category of 75 and above increased 260%, with all the other age categories increasing at least 62% in the rural area. It should be kept in mind that these numbers are very small, so with a 62% increase in the 0 to 14 age group in Rawdon Township, it is an increase of 415 individuals. When there are small numbers an increase of this many individuals is a large change in the composition of the population, especially when they occur in every age category. The Village of Stirling during this period experienced mostly

decreases in population in every category except the 15 to 24 and 25 to 54 categories. These experienced growths of 10% and 8% respectively (Statistics Canada 1997c; Statistics Canada 1997d).

The Village of Madoc and Huntingdon Township did not experience the same trends as the Village of Stirling and Rawdon Township between 1991 and 1996. The Village of Madoc decreased slightly in the 15 to 24 (5%) and 55 to 74 (2%) age categories, however it also experienced a 43% increase in the age category of 75 and above. In contrast, the highest increase the Village of Stirling experienced in the same time period was 10% in the 15 to 24 age group. The Township of Huntingdon experienced positive growth between 1991 and 1996, although not to the same extent as Rawdon Township. Every category experienced growth except the 15 to 24 age group which did not experience an increase or decrease in population. Besides this category, the largest increase was found in the 55 to 74 age group which experienced an increase of 24%. Within the Municipality of Centre Hastings, the largest growth increases occurred in the rural township, except for the category of 75 years and older where there was a much larger increase in the village, 43% compared to 14% in the township. Overall, the Village of Madoc and Huntingdon Township combined had a much higher growth rate than the Village of Stirling and Rawdon Township did in the period of 1991 to 1996, even though the growth increases in Rawdon Township were much larger than any of those found within the Village of Madoc or Huntingdon Township (Statistics Canada 1997a; Statistics Canada 1997b).

The period of 1996 to 2001 is a little harder to analyze since amalgamation occurred in the middle of this period in 1998. However, the data is still divided into age groups and so it is possible to determine which demographics of the population were increasing or decreasing for both municipalities, even if it cannot be determined whether it was in the rural or village area. For the most part, both Stirling-Rawdon and Centre Hastings faced slower growth rates in this time period than the previous one. Overall, Stirling-Rawdon experienced an approximate 0.37% decrease in population growth while Centre Hastings experienced close to a 3% increase in

growth. Stirling-Rawdon decreased in population in only one age category, 0 to 14, by 10%. However, even if there is only one category that saw a decreasing population, the other categories saw very little increases as seen in Table 3. Centre Hastings experienced small decreases in the two youngest age categories but also experienced close to double the growth of the previous period in the 55 to 74 age category (24%) while also increasing in the 75 and older category (17.4%) (Statistics Canada 2002a; Statistics Canada 2002b).

The newest data concerning the age segments of the population was released from the 2006 census in mid-July 2007. Between 2001 and 2006, in Stirling-Rawdon the youngest age segment (0 to 14 years) continued to decrease and also had the largest decrease of all the age categories at 11.7%. The largest increase in population was seen within the 55 to 74 age category with an increase of 23.2% since 2001. This is a significantly higher increase than was seen at any other point in this category. The oldest segment of the population also increased slightly. The largest segment of the population in 2006 was the 25 to 54 age category with 1 965 individuals which is a slight decrease from 2 100 in 2001. This decrease is the first within this age category which had previously been increasing since 1991. The second largest segment of the population of Stirling-Rawdon in 2006 was the 55 to 74 age category with 1 010 individuals. These two largest categories make up over half (60.6%) of the population and indicates the trend that is being seen all over the country of an aging population. The number of individuals who are aged 75 or older currently make up the smallest portion of the population, but this will change quickly over the next couple of decades (Statistics Canada 2007b).

The same type of trends that were found in Stirling-Rawdon between 2001 and 2006 can also be seen in Centre Hastings. The youngest segment, 0 to 14 years of age, decreased once again during this period to the lowest during the fifteen years this study is examining. The 25 to 54 age category remained fairly stable while still making up the majority of the population with 1 765 individuals. The largest increase was found in the same category as that of Stirling-Rawdon, the 55 to 74 years, which saw a 21.2% increase. This is the second largest segment of the population,

and together the top two largest segments make up 65% of Centre Hastings' population. Again, like Stirling-Rawdon, the oldest age segment is also continuing to slowly increase (Statistics Canada 2007a).

When all of the population data in the different age categories is looked at over the entire time period for which it is available, 1991 to 2006, it is evident that the Municipality of Centre Hastings experienced more population growth than did the Township of Stirling-Rawdon. Both faced a decrease in population in two categories, although not to the same extent or in the same ones. Stirling-Rawdon experienced a 25.4% decrease in the 0 to 14 age category and Centre Hastings experienced a 4.0% decrease in the 15 to 24 category. The largest increase experienced by Stirling-Rawdon was 30.3% in the 55 to 74 age category. Centre Hastings' largest increases were found in the 55 to 74 and 75 and over categories which were 69.5% and 60.0% increases, respectively. This data allows one to see that, while Centre Hastings has had the largest growth in population, it is an aging population, with the highest growth occurring in the oldest segments of the population. Although the population of Stirling-Rawdon has also seen an increase in the oldest segments, very little growth has occurred in any other segment and a significant decrease has been seen in the number of babies and young children in the municipality.

5.2 Mobility and Migration

Another important aspect of changing population demographics in any area, but particularly in rural municipalities, is the mobility and migration trends. This is important in rural areas where small populations are easily affected by the mobility of its residents, especially if there is a decreasing population trend or the opposite, rapidly increasing growth. Where residents are moving from is important information for local governments to acquire as it can help them to determine a plan for attracting new residents to the area or signify the need to determine what residents want in order for them to stay in the municipality. Statistics Canada gathers data with every census relating to citizens' places of residence five years and one year previous to the

census date. While these statistics are based on a twenty percent sample data, they can give an idea of the mobility and migration trends for a municipality over the years.

As with the population data surrounding different age segments of the population, amalgamation occurred between the census of 1996 and the census of 2001. The beneficial aspect of this is that prior to 2001 it can be determined whether individuals were moving more often into the rural or village areas, allowing for analysis of why this may occur. The 2001 census data is no longer divided into the rural and village areas of the municipalities and so it is only possible to determine to which municipality individuals decided to locate. Before relating in detail the data associated with Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon, some definitions of terms will be helpful. Statistics are available for both five years and one year previous to the census date. Census questions asked a sample of the population if they lived at the same residence five years previous to the census date, for 1996 this means that month and day in 1991. For the one year mobility numbers, the census asked whether individuals lived at the same residence one year prior to the 1996 census date. If the respondent did not live at the same address, it was determined whether they lived in another province (interprovincial migrant), in another census subdivision but within the same province (intraprovincial migrant), within the same census subdivision but at a different address (non-migrant mover), or outside of the country (external migrant) (Statistics Canada 2003).

When looking at the mobility and migration trends for Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon, only the data from the 1996 and 2001 censuses will be analyzed. This is because the 1996 five year data will cover the earliest period that this research is looking at (back to 1991) and the data from the 2006 census is not yet available. This data can be found in graphical form in Appendix C. In the period of 1991 to 1996, the Village of Madoc saw the greatest number of mobile residents with 685 of the 1 350 residents living elsewhere than the village five years previously, which is approximately 50.74% of the population. The population of Madoc did not increase by that percentage between 1991 and 1996; it increased by approximately 4.8% and so it can be

concluded that a large percentage of residents also moved out of the village during this same time period. Of this 50.74%, the majority (57.66%) had previously lived elsewhere in the province of Ontario. The rest had lived within the village but at a different residence and so were labelled non-migrant movers. During this time period, according to the Statistics Canada data, no external or interprovincial migrants moved into the area. When the five year data is compared with the one year data for the Village of Madoc, 18.31% had lived at a different address in May 1995 compared to the census date in May 1996. The number of individuals who had lived elsewhere in the province, intraprovincial migrants, was a much higher percentage in the one year data, at 92.31% and again the rest were non-migrant movers, those who had lived in the village previously but just moved to a different address within the village. It is interesting to note the much larger percentage that had moved into the village from elsewhere in the previous year to the 1996 census compared to the overall percentage for the previous five years.

In the rural area of Centre Hastings, the former Huntingdon Township, approximately 36.65% of the population had been mobile in the five years previous to 1996. Again, the majority had moved to Huntingdon from another part of the province and the second largest segment had moved within the township. Approximately 2.83% were external migrants (25 individuals) and there were also a very small number of individuals that had moved to the township from another province. When mobility trends are examined in the one year previous to the 1996 census, the same trends are visible as in the previous five years with the exception that no external migrants moved into the township. The largest mobile group was from within the province, the second largest were non-migrant movers, and the smallest group (3.33%) had moved into the area from a different province.

In Stirling-Rawdon, the former Rawdon Township experienced less mobility than did the Village of Stirling. Both were lower percentages than those for the Village of Madoc and Huntingdon Township. Within the Village of Stirling, 39.02% of individuals had been mobile in the five years previous to the 1996 census. The majority of these individuals, like those in Centre

Hastings, had moved into the village from another area of the province, and like the Village of Madoc, the percentage was not as high as that found in the rural area, being just over half (56.95%). Again, like the Village of Madoc, the Village of Stirling did not have any external migrants move to the area and so the rest of those who were mobile were those who lived in the village but moved to a different address as well as a small percentage that had moved to the village from another province (3.97%). In analyzing the mobility trends for one year previous to the 1996 census data for the Village of Stirling, it is discovered that, unlike any of the other areas, the trends are the most similar between the five year and one year data. The overall percentage of those mobile in the area was much smaller as is expected since it is data of only one year, but the percentages of each type of group that was mobile is almost the same as those in the five year data. The one year data was made up of 54.72% intraprovincial migrants, 3.77% interprovincial migrants, and 39.62% non-migrant movers. This is compared to the five year data: 56.95% intraprovincial migrants, 3.97% interprovincial migrants, and 37.75% non-migrant movers.

The rural area of Stirling-Rawdon, Rawdon Township, experienced the lowest percentage of mobility in the five years previous to the 1996 census, as well as the one previous year. Unlike the Village of Stirling, Rawdon Township was the area of choice for a small number of external migrants (20 individuals) although none had settled in the area in the one year prior to the census date. Following the trends of the other areas, the largest proportion of those mobile were from within the province, a very small number were from outside the province but within Canada and the rest were those that lived in Rawdon Township but at a different address. In the five previous years, Rawdon Township had the largest number of interprovincial migrants than the other three areas at approximately 5.92%. Again, like the other three areas in this research, the proportions of the different categories in the one year previous to 1996 were very similar to those in the full five years previous with the exception, as noted above, that no external migrants moved into the area (Statistics Canada n.d. e).

The mobility and migration data from the 2001 census is organized differently since amalgamation occurred in 1998 and so it is not possible to spot any trends that may differ in the rural compared to the village areas in either municipality. The first noticeable trend in the five years between the 1996 and 2001 censuses is that the percentages of mobile individuals are much more similar between Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon than was seen in the period between 1991 and 1996. Approximately 37.64% of individuals living in Centre Hastings on the census date in 2001 had lived at a different address on that date in 1996. The approximate percentage in Stirling-Rawdon was 30.10%. The five year data for 2001 is very similar to that of the 1996 census. The majority of mobile individuals moved into the municipalities from other areas of the province (57.91% in Centre Hastings, 55.68% in Stirling-Rawdon) with the next largest segment being non-migrant movers (41.08% in Centre Hastings, 40.29% in Stirling-Rawdon). Stirling-Rawdon had ten external migrants move into the area but Centre Hastings did not gain any external migrants in the 1996 to 2001 period. The small percentages left in both municipalities were interprovincial migrants.

The one year mobility data for both Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon has discrepancies with that of the five year data in that the one year data has more external migrants moving to these areas than what the five year data shows. However, the overall trends for the one year period are similar to that from the information gathered from the 1996 census data. In both Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon the majority of mobile individuals were those who moved to these areas from another area of the province and the next largest segment were those who had lived in the municipalities but moved to a different address. Stirling-Rawdon experienced interprovincial migrants in the one year previous to the 2001 census, however Centre Hastings did not. The one year mobility percentage for Stirling-Rawdon was much smaller than any of the other one year trends in that it was only 7.07%, compared to 12.36% for Centre Hastings for the same year as well as the 1996 one year mobility percentages which were all above ten percent (Statistics Canada n.d. a).

When looking at the 1996 census mobility and migration data overall, there are a few key points to be made. The only area that did not have any interprovincial migrants move into the area was the Village of Madoc. As well, the village did not appear to attract external migrants, as the mobility trends show that only the rural area attracted this group, even though they were in very small numbers. This was true for the Village of Stirling as well. It also appears that one rural area was not more attractive than the other as the percentages of external migrants settling in each was very similar. It is more difficult to make generalizations and conclusions about the 2001 census data as it is no longer divided into the rural and village areas, however the percentage sizes of the various types of migrants and movers is close to those percentages found in the 1996 data. It can be concluded that the mobility trends for these two municipalities did not change drastically in the ten years between 1991 and 2001 and the only differences between the two municipalities appear to be that Centre Hastings, in both the five year and one year data for 1996 and 2001, has had a more mobile population than Stirling-Rawdon. By examining the population density of the two municipalities, it may be possible to determine where these mobile populations are settling.

5.3 Population Densities and Changes

Indications of why individuals may move to a certain area can be found by looking at the population densities within municipalities. Discovering where the highest densities occur can allow for hypotheses to be made as to why people are deciding to locate in a particular area. When densities are examined over a period of time it can become even more evident as to where people are deciding to reside and why. Through Statistics Canada it is possible to gather information below the level of the municipality as a whole and gather the population densities of dissemination areas within the municipality. In this segment of the paper, the population densities of Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon will be examined for the years 2001 and 2006. These are the years for which information is readily available through Statistics Canada.

Unfortunately, the dissemination areas within the two municipalities have changed each of these years, making it difficult to make direct comparisons between the two years. As well, more in-depth information from Statistics Canada on the sizes, both geographical and population wise, are not yet available for the 2006 maps. However, this information will still allow for observations to be made regarding the areas where the population is most dense within these two municipalities. The maps portraying the dissemination areas are found in Appendix D as are the population densities for each dissemination area.

Both the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon are split into fourteen concessions, with the villages separated from these rural concessions. This will be discussed in greater detail below, however, these concessions will allow for comparisons to be made between the two years being examined as well as between the two municipalities. A few notes are necessary before beginning to compare the municipalities. First, the Township of Stirling-Rawdon is slightly larger, with a land area of 280.63 square kilometres compared to Centre Hastings' land area of 222.09 square kilometres. Second, the population of Stirling-Rawdon is also slightly larger for both 2001 and 2006 as was noted in Table 1 above. This being said, in 2001, Centre Hastings had a greater population density of 19.0 individuals per square kilometre than the 17.4 individuals per square kilometre in Stirling-Rawdon. These densities did not change greatly between 2001 and 2006, although the densities within the dissemination areas did (Statistics Canada 2002a; Statistics Canada 2002b; Statistics Canada 2007a; Statistics Canada 2007b).

In 2001, the majority of rural Stirling-Rawdon residents lived in the southern six concessions of the municipality. Leaving the village of Stirling aside, which is located on the very south end of the municipality, the population density for the south-east dissemination area was 12.503 individuals per square kilometre, or 714 individuals living within 57.11 square kilometres. This is the greatest population density within the rural area of Stirling-Rawdon. The least populated area of the municipality is the north-east dissemination area that is roughly half the municipality

in width and the length of eight concessions with a population density of 7.278 individuals per square kilometre or 586 residents living within 80.52 square kilometres. The village of Stirling, as to be expected, has much higher population densities. In Centre Hastings, the majority of the rural residents lived in the south end of the municipality within the southernmost five concessions. The population density of this dissemination area was 14.301 individuals per square kilometre or 1 119 individuals within 78.25 square kilometres. With only three dissemination areas in the rural area of Centre Hastings, the second most dense area was the five northernmost concessions with a population density of 12.560 (883 individuals within 70.30 square kilometres). An interesting point about the population numbers of these two municipalities in 2001 is that the greatest population difference occurred within the villages, as there were only sixty-four more residents in the rural area of Stirling-Rawdon than in the rural area of Centre Hastings (Statistics Canada n.d. b; Statistics Canada n.d. f).

As mentioned earlier, the dissemination areas changed between the census of 2001 and the census of 2006, making it difficult to compare any changes that may have occurred in that time period. As well, the size of each dissemination area and the number of people living within them is unknown for 2006. However, this data allows a visual picture of where residents are living in both municipalities.

In Stirling-Rawdon, the rural area was split into five dissemination areas from the three that were present in 2001. With more dissemination areas it becomes clearer as to where the most populated areas are located. As in 2001, the majority of rural residents still lived in the southern seven concessions in 2006. It is difficult to determine which dissemination area is most populated without knowing the land area of each, however the most eastern dissemination area in the southern portion of the municipality, not taking into account the village of Stirling, has the highest population density at 15.309 individuals per square kilometre. In 2006, there was one more dissemination area added in the Village of Stirling, increasing the number to four. Because the Township of Stirling-Rawdon only increased in population by nineteen individuals between

2001 and 2006 according to the 2006 census, if one area of the municipality appears to be denser in terms of population than in 2001 it is likely due to the change in the size of the dissemination areas of possibly because of residents moving out of one area of the municipality to another (Data Resources Library 2007; Statistics Canada n.d. d).

In Centre Hastings, the three dissemination areas within the rural section of the municipality in 2001 were divided into five in 2006. Again, this gives a clearer picture as to which portions of the municipality are more densely populated than others. The issue with trying to compare dissemination areas with each other is that they are not the same size, and without knowing the exact number of individuals or the size of the area, it is hard to determine where more people are living. However, if the 2006 population densities of the dissemination areas are taken at face value, the densest areas of the Municipality of Centre Hastings are the two southernmost concessions with a population density of 16.318 and the north-east corner around the majority of Moira Lake with a population density of 18.308 individuals per square kilometre. The number of dissemination areas did not change within the Village of Madoc between 2001 and 2006 however the size of the areas did. This makes it difficult to determine if the increase in population densities is due to an increase in residents or because of a change in the number of kilometres included within the dissemination areas since Centre Hastings only increased in population by 160 individuals between 2001 and 2006 (Data Resources Library 2007; Statistics Canada n.d. c).

Although the data available on population densities for the dissemination areas in Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon is difficult to analyze and compare, it does give a picture of where residents have settled in each municipality. In Centre Hastings it appears that the most densely populated areas are in the southern portion of the municipality, closest to the large urban centre of Belleville where many commute to work, and around Moira Lake and the Village of Madoc. In Stirling-Rawdon, the most densely populated areas are the southern most portion of the municipality as well, again closest to the urban centres of Belleville and Quinte West. These observations will be expanded upon and added to as the data presented so far is put into context

with more information on the physical, economical, social and governmental elements of the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon.

6. Analysis of Population Changes within the Contexts of the Two Municipalities

This section of the paper will concentrate mostly on information from the past six years since this was the most readily available data concerning the two municipalities. While this covers roughly only one-third of the time period being studied, and the time for which population growth has slowed considerably, this information will provide an idea of how the two municipalities differ and how these difference may reflect reasons why population changes have occurred in the past.

6.1 The Physical Landscape

When new residents decide to move into an area, the physical landscape may have some influence on where in the area they would like to settle. The zoning bylaws of a municipality can play a large part in where settlement can take place both within an urban and rural area and so it is important to look at the physical landscape alongside municipal zoning maps. While other municipal bylaws may also have an impact on where individuals live within the municipality, when discussing the physical landscape only the zoning bylaws will be considered. As both the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon are lower-tier municipalities they do not have official plans since this is a function of the upper-tier municipality, Hastings County. However, they do still have control over the planning aspects of their communities through the municipality's Comprehensive Zoning Bylaws.

One of the defining physical features of the Municipality of Centre Hastings is the large lake located at the north end of the municipality just south of the village of Madoc. Moira Lake is zoned for limited service residential use in many areas which means that these are areas where there are cottages that are not used year around and do not receive the full services that all other residential areas receive. There are also two large resort areas on the lake as well as a few other small commercial resort zoning areas. The rural area of Centre Hastings is divided into fourteen concessions, roads that are evenly spaced and run from east to west, and numbered from the south

to the north end of the municipality. Concessions one to seven, the south half of the municipality, is where there is land zoned for agricultural use. The definition of agricultural use in Centre Hastings is as follows:

“the use of land, buildings or structures for the purposes of the growing of field crops, flower gardening, market gardening, berry crops, tree crops, nurseries, aviaries, apiaries, or farms for the grazing, breeding, raising, boarding of livestock and poultry, the use of land for woodlands and syrup production or any other similar uses carried on in the [field] of general agriculture, including the sale of such produce, crops or livestock on the same lot” (Municipality of Centre Hastings 2002a: 5).

The majority of the land in Centre Hastings is designated rural rather than agricultural meaning that it is not prime land for agricultural purposes. This does not mean that it is not farmed, however it is easier to develop a piece of land zoned rural than to have land designated agricultural changed to rural residential. Considering the large amount of rural area undeveloped within Centre Hastings, the municipality can easily withstand to increase in population even further if new citizens continue to settle in the rural area. A major highway also runs through the municipality that connects the major urban area of the City of Belleville and the Village of Madoc to the north. This major highway brings a lot of traffic through the municipality and is an important feature of Centre Hastings (Municipality of Centre Hastings 2002b).

The Township of Stirling-Rawdon does not have as large a body of water as Centre Hastings, but it does have a number of small rivers and streams, including the largest, Crowe River, in the far north-west corner of the municipality. Like Centre Hastings, the rural area of Stirling-Rawdon, the former Rawdon Township, is divided into fourteen concessions. The south end of the municipality is where the most agriculturally prime land is located. The zoning for prime agriculture land is called permanent agriculture and land that is not zoned residential, commercial, industrial, or environmentally protected or sensitive, is zoned marginal agriculture. The west side of the municipality also has more permanent agriculture zoned land than the east side of the municipality and overall there is more prime agriculture land than in Centre Hastings. Again, like Centre Hastings, there is a lot of land in the rural area of Stirling-Rawdon for new

citizens to settle, and the placement of little hamlets throughout the municipality may help draw individuals into the rural area. Another important feature of the physical landscape, of both Stirling-Rawdon and Centre Hastings, is the presence of the recreational Trans Canada Trail that passes through both municipalities (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2003).

While it is likely that Centre Hastings attracts many tourists due to the resorts around Moira Lake and the availability of recreational activities related to a body of water, no conclusions will be made immediately as to whether this is why the Municipality of Centre Hastings has grown more quickly in terms of population than the Township of Stirling-Rawdon. It is the physical landscape that plays a large part of what the theoretical literature calls the rural idyll, and is often what attracts new residents to a rural area. The openness, as well as recreational activities associated with the physical landscape, may be an important aspect of why Centre Hastings has increased in population in the past fifteen years but is unlikely to be the major cause. A few more aspects of both municipalities will be examined before any final conclusions will be made.

6.2 The Rural Economies of Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon

Local economic development is very important for rural communities and is the difference between a thriving and a dying community. David Douglas is a strong proponent of strengthening local economic development in rural areas so that these communities become sustainable and are effective in dealing with issues such as globalization, a more mobile population, and the increasing number of big-box stores (Douglas and Chadwick 2001). Like many Ontario rural municipalities, the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon are facing struggles and challenges within their local economies. However, they are also taking some steps towards creating the beginning of sustainable local economies, as will be mentioned below.

6.2.1 Background

The Municipality of Centre Hastings, which as of the 2006 census had a population of 4 386, has an average family income of \$50 097 and an unemployment rate of 5.3%. According to the 2001 population census information, approximately one quarter of the population aged twenty and over (25.64%) have not received their secondary education certificate, 18.91% have received a non-university education certificate or diploma, and only 7.53% of the population over the age of twenty have obtained a university degree (Ontario Economic Development 2006a). A large portion of the population is skilled in some type of trade; however, when looking at the zoning of the municipality, and at lists of the commercial businesses and industries present in the municipality, it is clear that most of the population must commute elsewhere for employment.

The main commercial district of Centre Hastings is located in the centre of the Village of Madoc. A large number of the commercial sites are located on the main street, Durham, as well as Russell Street, which is one street west of Durham. These two streets correspond to the major highway that runs through the municipality, Highway #62, which enters the Village of Madoc and becomes Durham Street and then takes a quick turn to the west on St. Lawrence Street, which is the major crossroad in the village, and continues northward on Russell Street. Besides lining these streets, there are a few small commercial lots located a few blocks away from the downtown area, as well as a commercial lot located in the rural area where there is a restaurant located beside Moira Lake, as well as a convenience store located in the small hamlet of Ivanhoe. The other important zoning information concerning the local economy is that of industrial areas within the municipality. Overall, there are twenty-seven lots (of different sizes) zoned for general industrial use within the village as well as one large restrictive industrial use area. These are located at the west and south ends of the village (Municipality of Centre Hastings 2002b). Before discussing the types of industry and commercial businesses that are available in Centre Hastings, a brief overview of the layout of the Township of Stirling-Rawdon will first be discussed.

The Township of Stirling-Rawdon, as of 2001, had an average family income of \$54 190, which is slightly higher than that of Centre Hastings. However, the unemployment rate for Stirling-Rawdon is slightly higher than that of Centre Hastings at 6.4%. Stirling-Rawdon also has a slightly higher percentage of individuals over the age of twenty who have received a certificate or diploma that was not a university degree (20.50%), a slightly lower percentage of individuals who had not completed high school (21.38%), as well as a lower percentage of individuals who have obtained a university degree (5.12%) (Ontario Economic Development 2006b). Although Stirling-Rawdon's percentages differ slightly than those of Centre Hastings, overall they are very similar and show that both municipalities have the same makeup in terms of the skills that the population holds.

The Township of Stirling-Rawdon's commercial district is very much like that of the Municipality of Centre Hastings. The bulk of the commercial businesses are located in the downtown area along the three major roads that intersect in the downtown of the village of Stirling. Like Madoc, there are a few commercial areas scattered elsewhere in the village, but these are very few. Elsewhere in the municipality, there are a few commercially zoned areas in the small hamlets of Springbrook, Harold, and Wellman as well as a very small number of rural commercial zones scattered in the very rural areas of the municipality. Stirling-Rawdon's zoning bylaws also distinguish between urban commercial and business commercial. The business commercial area is grouped together at the far west side of the village and is made up of businesses that are a little larger, and slightly industrial, such as a lumber yard. There are less industrial zoned areas in the Village of Stirling than was found in the Village of Madoc. There are only five areas zoned as urban industrial in the entire village and they are located in all four corners of the village. There is one small rural industrial area found on the zoning maps and several small patches where mineral extraction is occurring, but there are no large areas that could be compared to the restrictive industrial zones found in the rural area of Centre Hastings (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2003).

6.2.2 Comfort Country and the Main Street Revitalization Initiative

Both Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon have organizations within the village communities that are in place to help with economic development of that particular community. Centre Hastings has a Chamber of Commerce located in Madoc, and Stirling-Rawdon has a Business Improvement Association in the village of Stirling. Both municipalities are also involved in a local economic development program called Comfort Country. Comfort Country is a cooperative strategy between the villages of Madoc, Marmora, Tweed and Stirling, and the respective municipalities in which these small communities are located as well as Madoc Township which surrounds the village of Madoc to the north. This strategy is focused on attracting tourists and new residents to these areas by highlighting the attractive features of these areas. This marketing ploy uses urban residents' vision of the countryside, the rural idyll, to create a tourist attraction. "In Comfort Country you have antique and knick knack shops instead of big box stores and there are bed & breakfasts accommodations and country inns instead of high rise hotels. If you really need a getaway from the big city life you need a Comfort Country vacation. Slip back into time where a sense of community has a literal meaning" (Comfort Country b). This is very much the definition of the rural idyll, where life is apparently slower, more laid back, and everyone in a small community knows everyone else. Comfort Country is taking advantage of this ideal and is trying to create this type of atmosphere within these communities.

Besides having a website where potential visitors can find upcoming events, tourist attractions such as conservation areas and resort locations or accommodations, Comfort Country also involves a Main Street Revitalization Initiative in each of the four communities. This entire project is part of a pilot project by the Rural Development Division of the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs which helped to organize these initiatives in 2005 including gathering research on the economic and social situations of each community as well as providing some funding. A Project Coordinator is also present to help the communities as this project progresses through each stage. Committees were created within each community to help guide

the process of revitalizing the downtown areas and to decide on what was needed for each area. In Madoc (Centre Hastings) this committee is called the Madoc & District Main Street Management Team which consists of various business owners, local politicians at the municipal level, residents and other community organization representatives. In Stirling, it is the Stirling Community in Action Committee that has been created with the same mix of participants as that found in the Madoc Team. At the beginning of the process, public meetings were held to gather ideas on what the downtown areas of the villages required to encourage further development of businesses as well as encourage consumers to shop locally. The actions and decisions made fall into four types of activities: the physical aspect of the downtown core, attraction and retention of businesses and consumers, marketing and promoting of the downtown area, and engaging the community and various organizations to help collaborate with the project (Redden 2006a; Redden 2006b).

Madoc's Phase I report identifies recommendations and priorities for the Main Street project and also compiles an action plan of these priorities. Of the forty-three recommendations made, eight were identified as priorities. Under "Organization Recommendations" the priority identified was to ensure funding over the long-term in order to keep employed the Project Coordinator. Three priorities, the development of a communication plan to promote the village better, the start of a Youth Advisory Council, and the creation of more festivals and events for downtown, fell under "Marketing Recommendations." Of the eight "Design Recommendations" the priority identified was to increase the landscaping of the downtown streets, including adding planters and cleaning up vacant lots. The last set of recommendations, "Economic Development Recommendations" had six points, four of which were declared priorities: the development of a diversification strategy including the identification of niche markets, increasing awareness of the need to differentiate local businesses from big box stores, the creation of a Business Ambassador Program, and encouraging the community to buy locally (Redden 2006a). Unfortunately, the action plan that correlates with these recommendations and priorities does not have a timeline,

making it difficult to determine if any of these priorities have been acted upon. The most visible accomplishments have been those relating to the physical design of the downtown area of Madoc. The local secondary school has been instrumental in helping with this part of the Main Street project by creating planters, trash bins, and frames for murals in the Renovation and Revitalization Focus Program available in the school. As well, banners and murals have been mounted in the area of the Vendor's Market depicting the theme of the "Richness of Madoc" (Sherman 2007b: 31).

The Stirling Community in Action Committee had very similar recommendations and priorities as that of the Madoc Team including the need for funding for the Project Coordinator, greater promotion of the community, the creation of a Youth Advisory Council, organizing downtown festivals, and creating a Business Ambassador Program. Those that differed included developing activities that will promote the creation of ties between the various community members involved in the initiative, a presentation of the revitalization strategy to village residents to get their feedback and ask for their participation, and the implementation of several new designs at particular focal points in the community. Unlike the Madoc Main Street Team which had four of its six economic development recommendations as priorities, the Stirling Community in Action Committee, which also had six economic development recommendations, only chose one of these as a priority, that of trying to recruit new businesses to the area through the Business Ambassador Program (Redden 2006b). Again, like Madoc, there are no timelines set for Stirling's Action Plan. As well, there have been no further reports made on the progress of any of the communities involved in the Main Street Revitalization Initiative besides these Phase I reports which were published in early 2006. However, this does not mean that either one of these committees is not working towards improving the downtown of each respective community. In May 2007, the Stirling Community in Action Committee put on a Service Excellence workshop for local businesses in which local business owners and employees attended to learn and share ideas about providing excellent customer service. The workshop also emphasized the importance

of building loyalty with customers and creating a positive atmosphere that will attract consumers. An added bonus of attending this workshop was that the Ontario Tourism Education Corporation would give a formal Service Excellence Organization designation to any business whose management and sixty percent of front-line staff attended ("CIA Raises Service Standards" 2007: 46).

Before the Phase I reports were written, a market analysis of each community was completed using various resources from Statistics Canada, the Ontario provincial government and Ryerson University. This analysis studied the local economy as well as the mix of businesses present in each community and the characteristics of the trade area surrounding the villages in which most consumers would likely be found. The business mix analysis for both communities was very similar. Centre Hastings has more businesses, 155, than Stirling-Rawdon, 117, as identified in the business directories for both municipalities; however, the downtown area of the villages have close to the same number with Madoc having 41 businesses located in the Main Street area and Stirling with 47. Although these numbers are similar, Stirling's businesses account for forty percent of all businesses in Stirling-Rawdon. Madoc has room for easier expansion than Stirling as Madoc has five vacant lots in the downtown area compared to one in Stirling. However, both communities have more businesses than would be expected of communities their size and location relative to a larger urban centre, in this case the City of Belleville. Both Stirling and Madoc are mainly commercial centres as both are underrepresented in terms of food and entertainment businesses. Stirling is also made up of mostly comparison purchase businesses, meaning businesses for which consumers compare brands and prices at different locations before deciding on a purchase. Examples of these types of businesses include hair dressers and hardware stores. Madoc's strengths in terms of its local economy include the number of real estate agents located in the area, as well as the number of health services located in the downtown core. These are two of Stirling's weaknesses and may be part of the reason people decide to reside near or in the Village of Madoc, especially since there are more types of health services

available (eleven versus eight in Stirling) (Main Street Revitalization Initiative 2005a; Main Street Revitalization Initiative 2005b). Another area where Stirling-Rawdon is significantly weaker than Madoc and Centre Hastings is in local accommodations. There are two motels listed in Madoc's business directory as well as four bed and breakfast listings. Stirling also has four bed and breakfast listings but no motels. There are also many more campgrounds located in Centre Hastings (five) compared to Stirling-Rawdon (one) although this is due in part to the large lake located in the Municipality of Centre Hastings. One area in which Madoc could use more businesses is the apparel and accessory market as the business mix analysis shows only one business falling into this category (Comfort Country a) and this is often the category that can draw consumers into the downtown core.

After this quick skim through the local economies of both Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon, it is apparent that both are very similar and that reasons for differences in population growth do not stem largely from this area. Where Centre Hastings does fare better than Stirling-Rawdon, although it is impossible to tell within this research whether it relates to population growth, is in having more restrictive industrial zones, a larger number of health services, and prioritizing more economic development recommendations. As a final note concerning the Comfort Country marketing brand, \$26 000 of new funding was made available July 16, 2007 to help the four communities involved continue to work on their main streets and recruit new businesses and residents to these areas (Municipality of Centre Hastings f). Due to this new influx of funding, more changes are likely to be seen within an economic context in the next little while. However, when considering population growth in the past, it may become clearer as to why the differences have occurred by examining the local governments and their services and policies concerning their municipalities.

6.3 Local Government Services and Interaction with the Community

The largest population growth occurred in the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon during the period of 1991 to 1996, prior to amalgamation, and so information on the services offered by each separate municipality during this period could not be acquired. Growth, however, has continued particularly in Centre Hastings and so more recent information on the local government services offered in both municipalities is still relevant. Since amalgamation occurred in 1998, the Municipality of Centre Hastings has experienced 6.8% population growth, and although the Township of Stirling-Rawdon had experienced no growth overall between 1996 and 2006, it has slowly started increasing in population (0.4%) since 2001.

6.3.1 Services

When Huntingdon Township and the Village of Madoc amalgamated, one of the main reasons for doing so was to increase and improve the services offered in both areas. With a large increase in the number of individuals who had previously lived in an urban area moving into Centre Hastings, came an increase in the calls for better services to be provided, such as garbage and recycling pickup and road maintenance. The amalgamated council of Centre Hastings decided to put an emphasis on these services and ensure their provision to residents (Parks 2007). Until August 2007, garbage and recycling pickup in the rural and village areas was free of additional charges not incorporated into the tax rate and there was no limit as to the amount that could be placed on the curb. A meeting on June 27, 2007 of the Landfill Committee for the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the bordering municipality, Madoc Township, concluded that drastic changes needed to be made to ensure landfill capacity. It was decided that a limit of two bags per household and the use of clear garbage bags would be implemented as of August 1, 2007 (Sherman 2007a: 1). As for roads, the Municipality of Centre Hastings has a Municipal Road Plan that lays out the order of roads that are to be resurfaced with blacktop. As this is an expensive process it takes a long time to complete, but as funding becomes available the municipality resurfaces as many roads as possible. Slowly reducing the number of gravel roads

also helps to reduce the amount of money spent in terms of winter maintenance, grading and dust control (Municipality of Centre Hastings c).

In comparison, the Township of Stirling-Rawdon does not have a Municipal Roads Plan made available to the public like the Municipality of Centre Hastings. Not much is mentioned in terms of road maintenance or upgrades within committee meeting minutes for the township; instead, a much larger service issue at the moment is that of garbage collection. This has been a contentious issue now for a number of years because of the wish of the municipality to implement it in the rural area of the township. Unlike Centre Hastings, Stirling-Rawdon is split into two wards, with the former Rawdon Township making up ward one, and the former Village of Stirling serving as ward two. Garbage has been collected for years in the village using bag tags (currently set at one dollar a tag) as a way of charging for pickup. The rural area has never had garbage or recycling pickup but the issue of creating it has arose twice since 2004. On January 6 2004, the Stirling-Rawdon Environmental Committee decided to prepare a tender for garbage and recycling pickup in the rural ward. In the February 16, 2004 Council meeting, a motion was carried that saw the municipality place a notice in the local newspaper asking residents if they agreed to the implementation of this new service in the rural ward. At the same meeting it was decided that the lowest quote for service providers would be accepted subject to the outcome of the opinion poll (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005b). This issue does not reappear until early 2007, and although there is no documentation, it can be assumed that the local opinion poll stated that rural residents were not in favour of receiving this new service as it was not implemented. The next time recycling and garbage pickup in the rural ward is mentioned in a committee or council meeting is February 6, 2007. At this point in time, the Environmental Committee had received a list of options for ways garbage pickup service could be carried out as well as some proposed quotes from the company currently providing service in the village ward. At the following meeting in April, a motion was carried for recycling and garbage pickup in the rural ward to begin July 1, 2007 (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005b). This decision was not popular with

some rural residents, with the more vocal expressing their dislike of this decision in letters to the editor of the local newspaper, wondering why there was no public consultation on the issue considering the public opinion poll that was conducted in 2004. While these opinions do not necessarily reflect the majority, it does show how even nine years after amalgamation there are still conflicts between the once separate entities. It may also be that it is long-term residents of the rural area that do not feel there is a need for change, regardless of the fact that the landfill site is quickly reaching capacity and diversion of waste is needed if it is to stay open for any further length of time.

Unfortunately, garbage pickup is not the only service with which the Township of Stirling-Rawdon is currently facing problems, and has been for some time. Considering the similarities between Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon, the lack of population growth in Stirling-Rawdon must be occurring for a particular reason. This reason is likely the building freeze that has been in place within the Village of Stirling for a number of years. This freeze has occurred because of the lack of capacity in the sewage and waste water system in place in the village. Although the publicly available minutes of council and committee meetings only date back to 2004, the community strategic plan that was created in 2005 mentions this freeze and how it has been in place for “some time” although it is unclear for how long (Wood 2005). Because of this freeze, the Village has not expanded beyond the severance of a small number of lots within the village ward between 2004 and 2007. Seven low density residential lots were allowed and it was recommended that the land title be given to the developer in a September 2006 Planning Advisory Committee meeting (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005b) but beyond this there has been no large increase in the amount of housing within the village. As Stirling-Rawdon has searched for a way to increase the sewage capacity, growth has been stalled, severely affecting the growth rate of the entire township. In 2006 and 2007 a decision was made to expand a portion of the lagoon system allowing for a temporary ability to increase the capacity of the waste management system. This work will be beginning shortly as approval from all involved parties

has been gathered. However, a long-term solution is also needed before Stirling-Rawdon can really begin to think about allowing the village to expand. It is the township's hope that they will be able to set up a wetland system that will allow the lagoons to continuously discharge the effluent by running it through a series of wetland cells. As this is a large project and would involve a large increase in the capacity of the wastewater system, the Ministry of the Environment has requested a pilot study be completed before they grant final approval to the project. This project began in 2006 and will likely continue until 2011 and so it may still be some time before any new development occurs in the Village of Stirling (Primeau 2007: 5). One developer in particular is already planning for the time when expansion is able to begin. In an April 10, 2007 Planning Advisory Committee meeting, a representative from Jewell Engineering presented plans to the committee for a proposed subdivision within the village limits. This subdivision would be completed in four phases and consist of mostly single family dwellings as well as some townhouses and condos. In all, eighty-seven units would be created, with twenty-four being built in the first phase. The representative noted that all of the studies required, such as an environmental assessment and traffic study report, had been completed and the next step is to obtain draft plan approval at the upper-tier municipality level. The developer was asking for commitment from the Township of Stirling-Rawdon for sewer and water hook-up for the first phase of the project. The committee granted their approval in principle; however this approval is subject to the completion of the lagoon expansion and the availability of sewer allocations (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005b). So while there are developers standing by, ready to build, it is likely to be at least five years before the developments can be completed.

6.3.2 Community Planning

The local government in Stirling-Rawdon has faced difficult challenges in dealing with landfill and sewage capacity issues, which many municipalities face. To help with these challenges and others, Stirling-Rawdon has created a Community Strategic Plan to help guide the decisions made in regards to the township and to help create an overall vision of what is desired

for the near future. The plan, created in 2005, is an example of how the local government is actively trying to increase the visibility of their municipality and retain, as well as attract, residents to the area. It is also an indication that the municipality has realized its weaknesses and is aware of what is required to improve them. Stirling-Rawdon has recognized the need to improve the sewage, water and landfill capacity in order to increase in population and has also recognized that a much greater emphasis needs to be placed on helping the local economy by recruiting new businesses and helping existing ones stay in business. This also includes finding a special niche that Stirling-Rawdon can fill that no other surrounding area does and planning for expanding the downtown areas to include more businesses and attractions so that consumers, visitors and residents do not have to travel to the larger urban areas for certain products (Wood 2005). Although having a strategic plan can be considered an asset, it is only one if it is used and continuously updated to reflect the current situation of the municipality. Hopefully Stirling-Rawdon's Community Strategic Plan will act as a guide for the next few years in helping the municipality achieve their goals. In the future it will be interesting to note whether this plan served the community well, especially in comparison to the Municipality of Centre Hastings which has not undergone the process of creating a strategic plan and does not appear to be considering the creation of one either.

6.3.3 Property Tax Rates

One last area where local governments may have some effect in whether new individuals move to a municipality is in the residential tax rate, and for those wishing to start or relocate a business, the commercial tax rate. To be clear, the tax rates that will be mentioned in this paper are the total rates for each type (residential or commercial) which includes the county, education, municipal, and area rating portions of the rate. These numbers will be used because the division of the overall rate into these different categories is not available in the information received from the Municipality of Centre Hastings. The rates for each year and each municipality are found in Table 4 and Table 5. The first major difference between the tax rates of the Township of Stirling-

Rawdon and the Municipality of Centre Hastings is that Stirling-Rawdon has separate rates for the rural area (ward one) and the village (ward two). This is unlike Centre Hastings which is not separated into wards. When analyzing the residential tax rates for the two municipalities over the period 2002 to 2007, the only years for which this information was available, a few trends are visible. First, within Stirling-Rawdon, the residential tax rate has always been higher in the village than in the rural area. However, the gap between the two has slowly been shrinking each year. In 2002, the total residential rate for the village was 1.7907 compared to 1.6851 in the former township of Rawdon, a difference of 0.1056. In 2007, the village rate was 1.5888 compared to 1.5155 in the rural area, a difference of 0.0733. Within Centre Hastings, a visible fact is that the residential tax rate did not change for the first three years in this data set, but remained constant at 1.5828 whereas the rates for both wards in Stirling-Rawdon did change.

Table 4: Residential Tax Rates for Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon

Residential Tax Rate			
Year	Centre Hastings	Stirling-Rawdon	
		<i>Ward One</i>	<i>Ward Two</i>
2002	1.5828	1.6851	1.7907
2003	1.5828	1.6011	1.7048
2004	1.5828	1.6213	1.7178
2005	1.6712	1.6372	1.7265
2006	1.5567	1.4674	1.5496
2007	1.6112	1.5155	1.5888

Source: Municipality of Centre Hastings e; Township of Stirling-Rawdon n.d.

From 2002 up to and including 2005, ward two of Stirling-Rawdon had the highest residential rates. In 2006 and 2007 the highest rates belonged to Centre Hastings. As well, in 2006 the rates for all three areas were the lowest they had been in all six years and this was a significant decrease as the rates in Stirling-Rawdon were 10.4% and 10.3% lower for ward one and ward two than the previous year, and 6.9% lower in Centre Hastings than in the previous year. There had

also been a decrease in rates for Stirling-Rawdon in 2003 with approximately a 5% decrease in both wards occurring while Centre Hastings remained stable.

Table 5: Commercial Tax Rates for Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon

Commercial Tax Rates			
Year	Centre Hastings	Stirling-Rawdon	
		<i>Ward One</i>	<i>Ward Two</i>
2002	2.7225	2.8350	2.9511
2003	2.6919	2.7120	2.8261
2004	2.6996	2.7419	2.8480
2005	2.7968	2.7595	2.8576
2006	2.6029	2.5046	2.5950
2007	2.6628	2.5576	2.6381

Source: Municipality of Centre Hastings e; Township of Stirling-Rawdon n.d.

The commercial tax rates for Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon follow the very same trends as those found in the residential tax rates with the exception that the rates for Centre Hastings did not remain stable from 2002 until 2004 like that of the residential rates. In all three areas, decreases in the rates were experienced both in 2003 and 2006 with the more significant decrease found in 2006 while every other year the rates slowly increased. Again, until 2006, businesses in ward two of Stirling-Rawdon were paying the highest amount of property tax and then in 2006 and 2007 Centre Hastings' commercial rates are slightly more. For example, in 2006 a commercial property assessed at \$125 000 would have paid \$9.88 more in Centre Hastings than a business assessed the same in the Village of Stirling, and in 2007 this would be \$30.87 more than in the Village of Stirling.

For those individuals concerned about the amount of property tax they would be paying when looking for a new home, Centre Hastings would have been more appealing because of the lower residential rates until 2004. The lowest rates are then found in the rural area of Stirling-Rawdon. The same is true for someone looking to start or relocate a business into one of these two municipalities. Because the data available on tax rates is only available between 2002 and 2007,

the census data gathered on the population flux in these two municipalities is hard to compare however the steady, low rates in the early portion of the Centre Hastings tax data would be more enticing than that of the much higher rates found in Stirling-Rawdon, potentially having some effect on the population growth that occurred in Centre Hastings between 2001 and 2006.

To reiterate the conclusions made within this section on the local governments of both municipalities, it is clear that Centre Hastings is welcoming growth and prepared to provide the services that are sought when newcomers, especially those moving from a more urban area, decide to reside in the area. While Stirling-Rawdon is unable to grow in the village region of the municipality due to service capacity issues, services in the rural areas are just beginning to be provided, resulting in a change that some do not find welcome. However, it is likely that Stirling-Rawdon will begin to see a greater increase in population over the next ten years or so as the capacity issues are addressed and new subdivisions are built within the village. Also a possible aid to Stirling-Rawdon is the existence of a Community Strategic Plan that may help keep the municipality on track in terms of what it would like to accomplish over the next few years.

6.4 Social and Cultural Aspects of Life in Two Rural Municipalities

While many people may be attracted to move to a certain area because of the price of homes, employment opportunities or the local services provided, the social and cultural aspects of a particular area may also have some influence and so deserves a quick survey.

The similarities between Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon are very evident in this area, with both municipalities and the communities located within them offering similar social activities and cultural experiences. Both areas have a variety of religious organizations present, however these are mainly Christian in nature, reflecting the majority of the residents of both municipalities. In terms of community organizations that citizens can join, the largest in Stirling-Rawdon include a Lions Club, a Rotary Club and the Business Improvement Association. Centre Hastings has a Kiwanis Club and a Chamber of Commerce. There may be other, smaller

organizations as well that are not advertised as widely as those mentioned above. There are also a variety of festivals and events that occur throughout the year in each municipality. In Centre Hastings, there is an Annual Regatta on Moira Lake, the Madoc Skatepark Festival and Competition, the Madoc Fair, as well as a variety of activities each weekend at the Madoc Market. In Stirling-Rawdon, there is an annual Groundhog Fest, Festival of the Arts, Agricultural Fair and PumpkinFest. Besides these yearly events in Stirling-Rawdon, there is also the Stirling Festival Theatre which puts on shows year round and attracts visitors from all over. The Hastings County Agricultural Museum is also located in Stirling and provides a great educational as well as interesting experience for visitors and residents alike (Municipality of Centre Hastings f; Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005d).

Both municipalities offer a variety of recreational activities for the youth and children of each municipality. These include hockey, soccer, baseball, figure skating and dance. One of the main attractions in the Village of Madoc is the 12 700 square foot skatepark designed by Spectrum Skatepark Creations. In 2004 a Trillium Foundation grant of \$75 000 was given to Centre Hastings to build an outdoor skatepark, with the final cost of the park coming in at \$362 000 (Community Futures 2004). This park has attracted visitors from across Ontario, with bus groups coming to Madoc for the park alone. Not only is there a skatepark for those with the skill necessary to use it, there is also a bunny park for beginners as well as a playground containing a mega tower, infinity climber, Tornado Spin, Multi-Pondo (stand-up teeter-totter), and a series of swings for younger children. The park is supervised between May and the Thanksgiving weekend, has a canteen, and is not only for skateboarders but also can be used with BMX bikes and inline skates. Equipment can also be rented at the canteen (Municipality of Centre Hastings d). Another Trillium grant was also recently given to the skatepark in order to provide a summer day camp during 2007 for individuals between the ages of five and twelve (Ontario Trillium Foundation 2007). The Village of Stirling has also recently built a skatepark, completed in November of 2006. It is a smaller park than that of Madoc and is not incorporated with a

playground for younger children or a canteen but it still provides an excellent place for the youth of the community to enjoy themselves (Township of Stirling-Rawdon 2005c).

Again, the social and recreational opportunities available within these two municipalities are very similar and are unlikely to be a major cause in attracting new residents, although both have strong features that attract tourists to the area.

7. Conclusions

It is clear that the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon are similar in many of the aspects that were examined in this paper. This was expected considering the location and historical backgrounds of both municipalities. The purpose of this paper was to determine possible reasons as to why Centre Hastings had increased in population substantially more in the last fifteen years (2001 to 2006) than Stirling-Rawdon. One of the main reasons is clearly due to the building ban that has been in place within the Village of Stirling because of the inability to expand the lagoon system used as the wastewater and sewage system. As this problem has very recently acquired a solution, it is possible that the Village of Stirling, and therefore the Township of Stirling-Rawdon, will see a greater increase in population over the next decade. Another possible reason why individuals moving to this area of Ontario choose to settle in the Centre Hastings is that, since amalgamation at least, Centre Hastings has concentrated on providing services such as garbage and recycling pickup in the rural area of the municipality, as well as ensuring that roads are maintained and upgraded as the local government has the funds to do so. With the data available, it is apparent that Centre Hastings has had lower tax rates in the past for both commercial and residential properties which may convince some homeowners to settle in Centre Hastings rather than Stirling-Rawdon. Other smaller characteristics of the Municipality of Centre Hastings that may be more attractive is the lower unemployment rate as well as the physical geography of the land, such as Moira Lake which attracts many visitors as well as residents who prefer to live close to a body of water. The presence of a major highway may also provide easy access to the larger urban area where many commute to work.

Many of these possible reasons for the greater increase in population assume that mobile individuals will research an area before moving into a particular municipality. This may not be true, and so it may be that a price of a dwelling and its geographical location is what is attracting people to Centre Hastings. Due to the size of this particular study, it was impossible to look in greater depth at some of these options however it would be an important aspect to study in a

larger research capacity. It is also difficult to make definite conclusions due to the division in data caused by amalgamation. Most data concerning the local governments and their services were not available prior to amalgamation and so, even though a larger increase in population was seen in the time period prior to amalgamation, there is little data to determine why this was so. It is known however, that the largest increase did occur in the former Huntingdon Township. There may have been external factors involved such as a good real estate market and economy where more people could afford to move during that period however this was outside the scope of this research project but should be kept in mind for any further research. Regardless, it is clear that local governments in these two municipalities have had an influence on the changes in population within their respective municipalities through their provision of services as well as the tax rates set for each municipality.

Both the Municipality of Centre Hastings and the Township of Stirling-Rawdon will likely continue to face issues relating to growth, or non-growth, in the future. The lack of industry in both municipalities is worrisome since there are no large companies to employ residents. This will have to be an area both work hard in to try to attract new industries to the area. In Stirling-Rawdon the question arises as to whether the lagoon system be expanded enough to allow for more development within the village and whether the funds will be available to do so. Also surrounding the issue of funding is the continuation of funding from the federal and provincial provinces that has allowed for the local economic initiatives in both Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon to begin. If this funding is discontinued it is not clear that the local governments will be able to sustain local economic development on their own.

Population changes in small rural municipalities can have many consequences for rural local governments, and has been shown through this case study, not all rural municipalities are alike as they face different problems and deal with those problems through different approaches. It is important to remember that positive population growth is not necessarily positive in all aspects, especially for rural governments finding it difficult to provide for an increase in growth.

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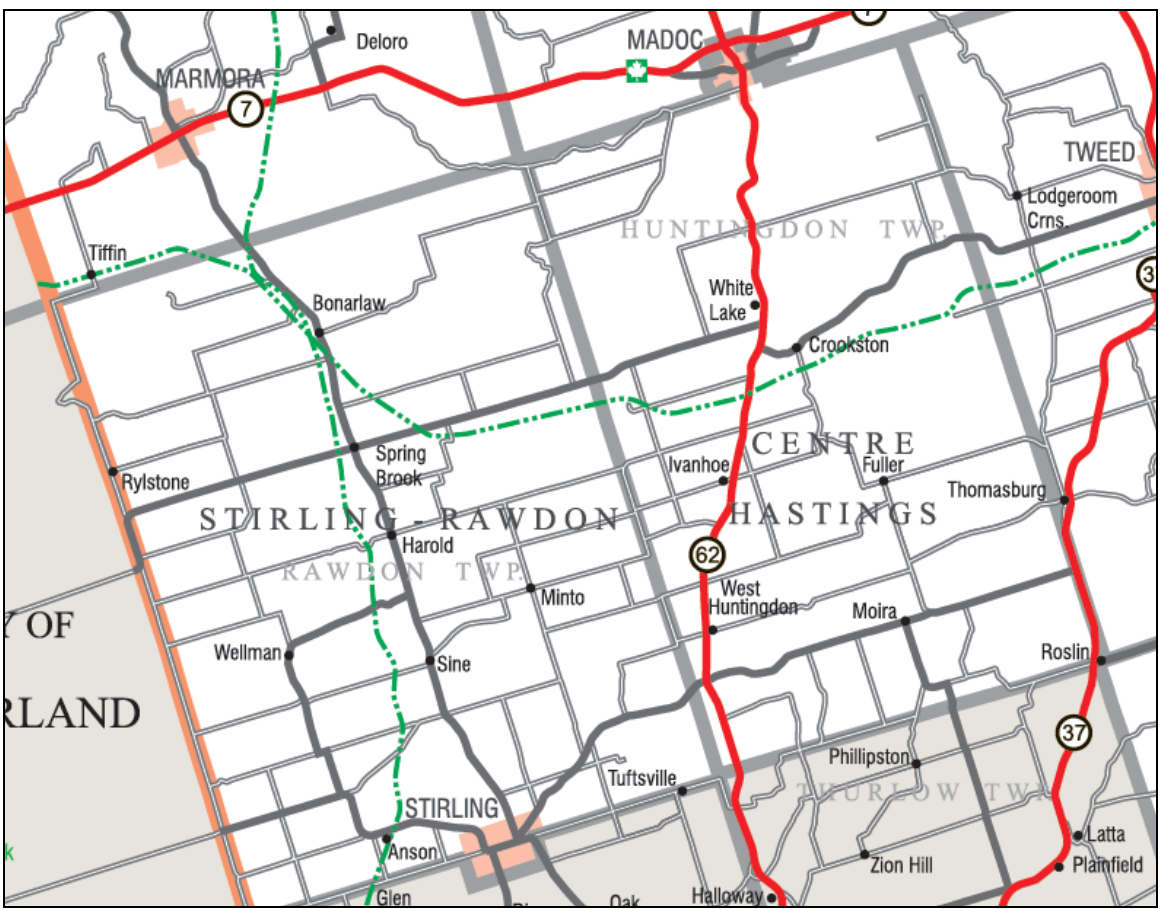
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Appendix A: Map of Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon



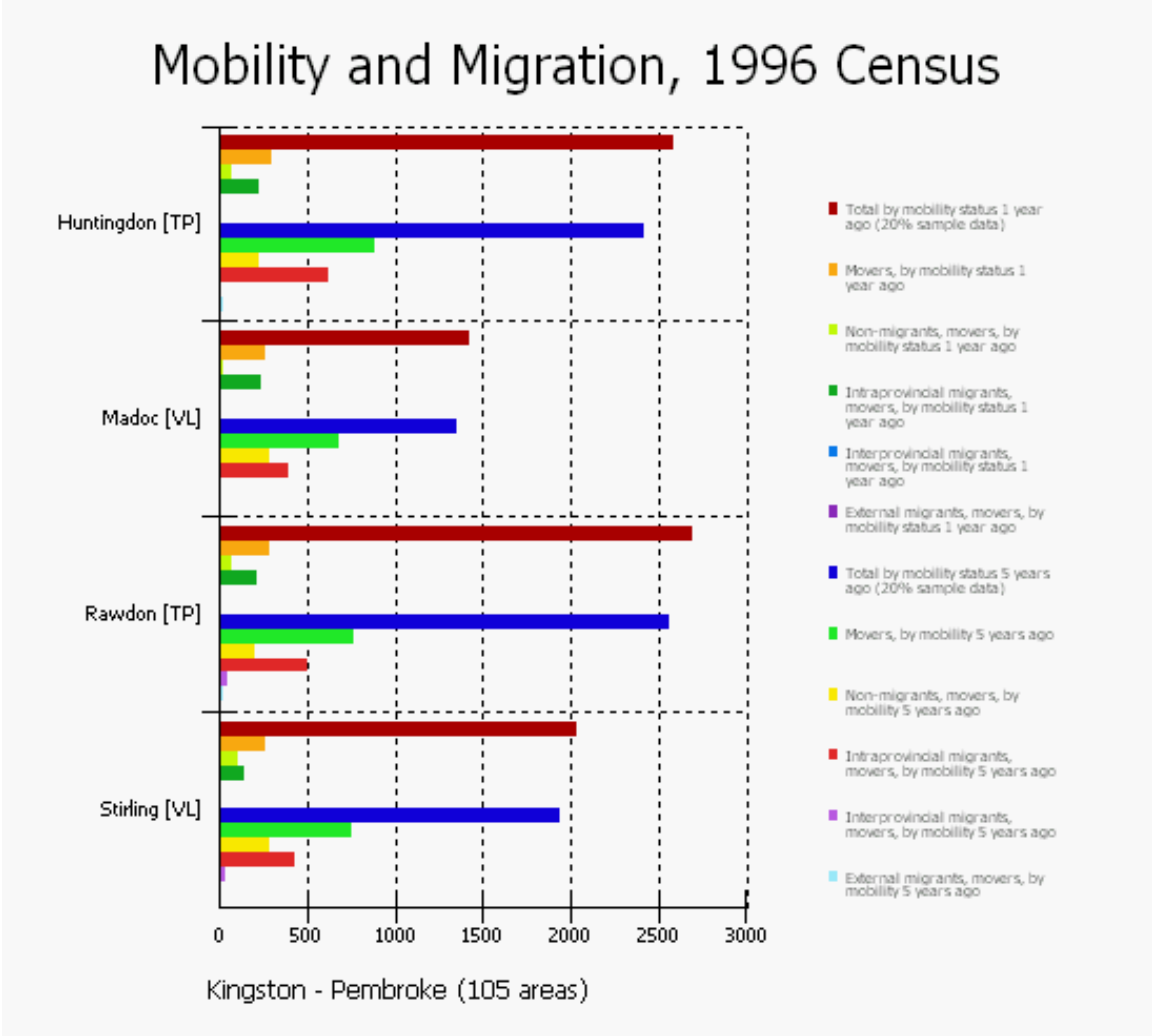
Source: Hastings County.

Appendix B: Population of Rural and Village Areas Divided by Age

Population Numbers Divided into Rural and Village Categories 1991 & 1996				
	<i>Huntingdon Township</i>		<i>Village of Madoc</i>	
Age Category	1991	1996	1991	1996
0-14	510	580	290	310
15-24	315	315	190	180
25-54	1015	1225	525	540
55-74	355	440	285	280
75+	70	80	105	150
	<i>Rawdon Township</i>		<i>Village of Stirling</i>	
	1991	1996	1991	1996
0-14	670	1085	490	475
15-24	360	610	245	270
25-54	1150	2080	825	890
55-74	425	805	350	330
75+	90	325	220	205

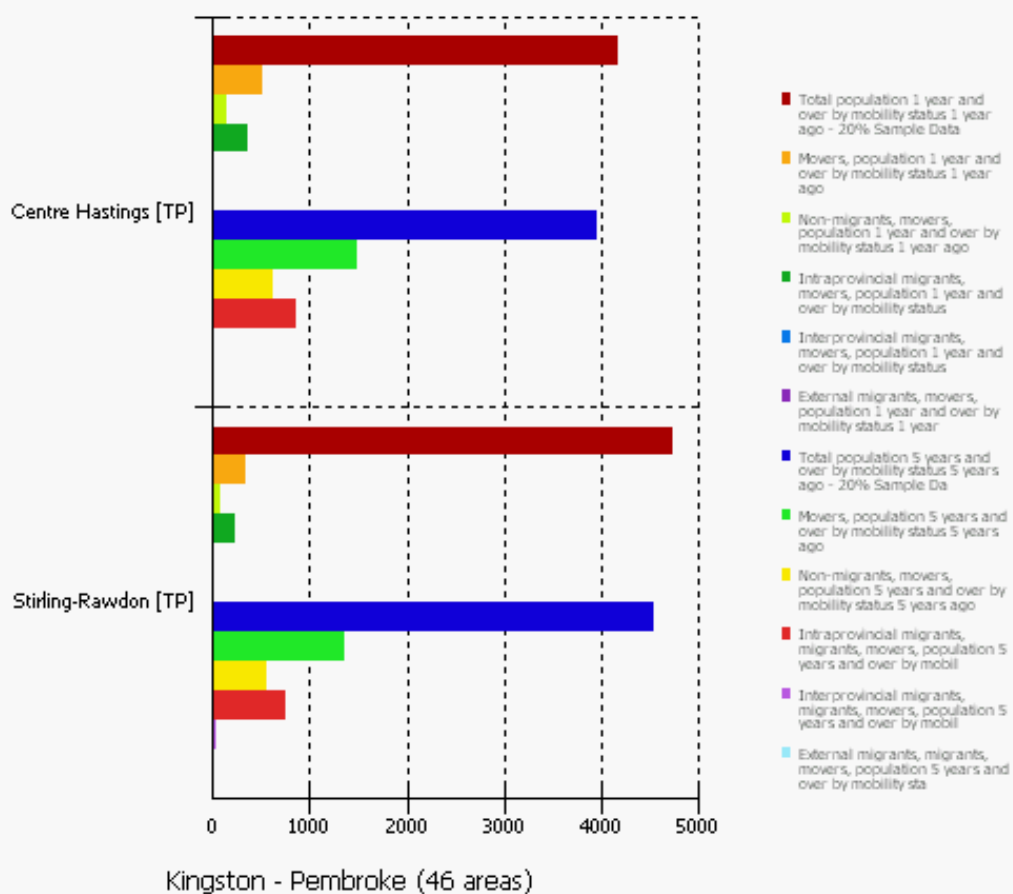
Source: Statistics Canada 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d.

Appendix C: Mobility and Migration Diagrams, 1996 and 2001



Source: Statistics Canada n.d. e.

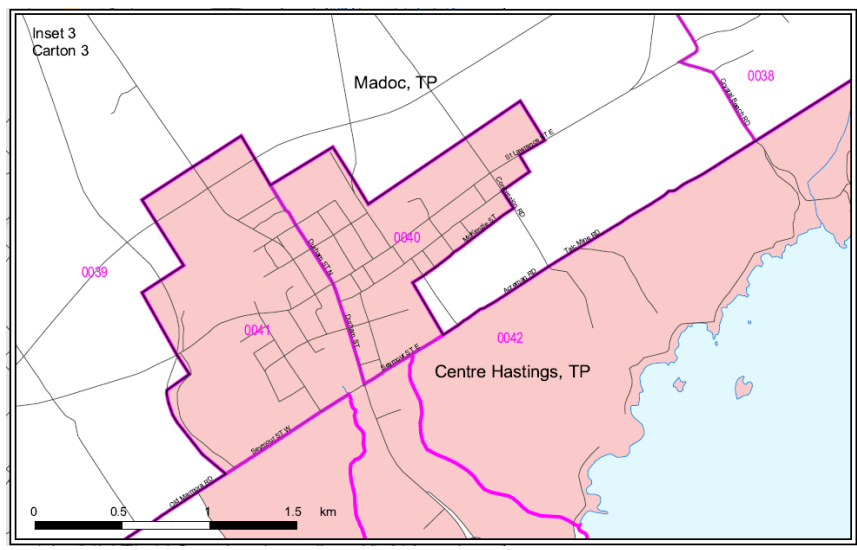
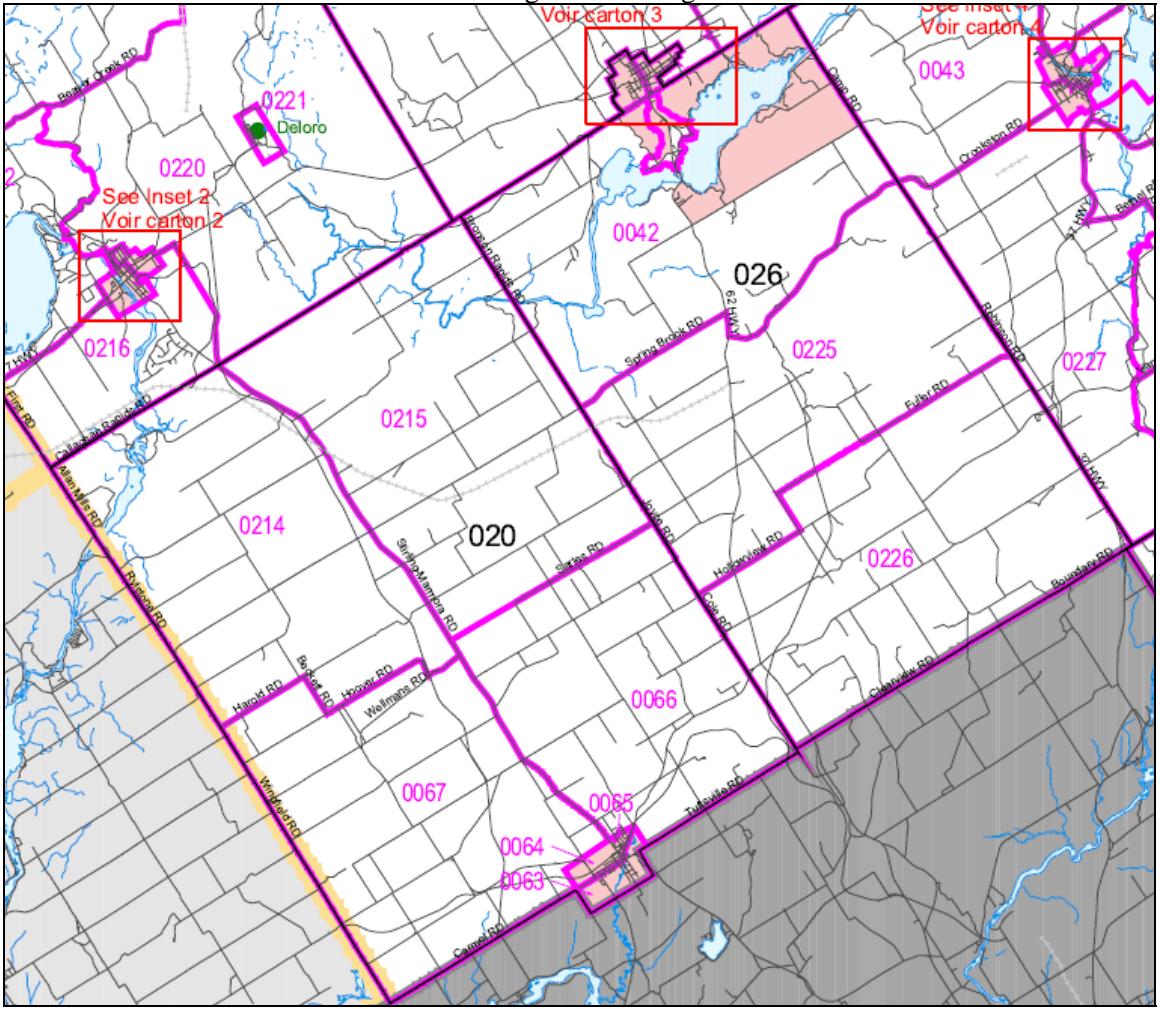
Mobility and Migration, 2001 Census



Source: Statistics Canada n.d. a.

Appendix D: Population Density Maps and Tables

1996 Dissemination Areas for Centre Hastings and Stirling-Rawdon



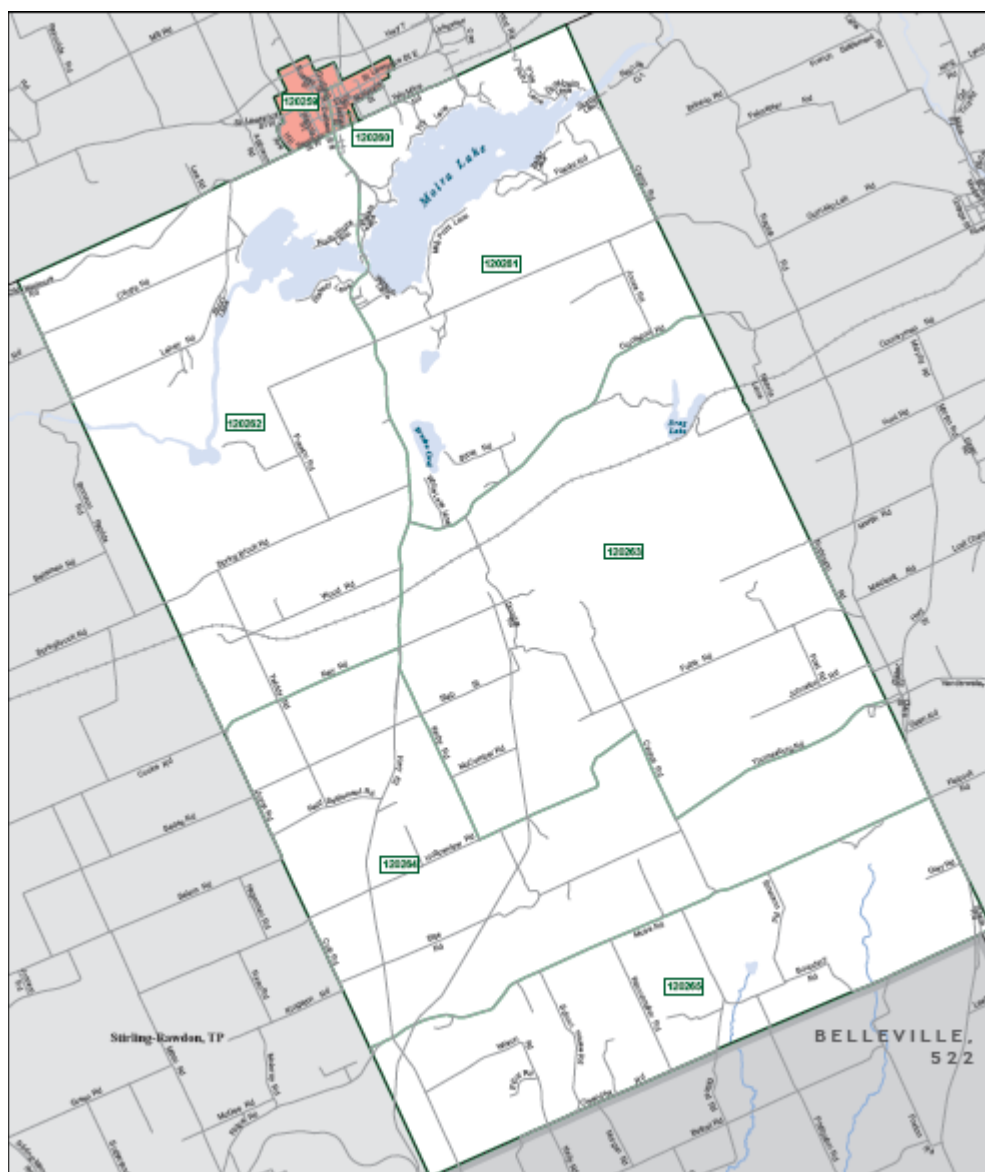
Source: Statistics Canada n.d. f.

2001 Population Densities for the Municipality of Centre Hastings			
<i>Dissemination Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Land Area (km²)</i>	<i>Density (indiv/km²)</i>
0040	774	0.9775	791.816
0041	778	3.1653	245.790
0042	883	70.3016	12.560
0225	672	69.3997	9.683
0226	1 119	78.2447	14.301

2001 Population Densities for the Township of Stirling-Rawdon			
<i>Dissemination Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Land Area (km²)</i>	<i>Density (indiv/km²)</i>
0063	1 104	2.2033	501.067
0064	973	1.5269	637.239
0065	72	0.0004	180 000.000
0066	714	57.1069	12.503
0067	729	67.3639	10.822
0214	709	71.9171	9.859
0215	586	80.5154	7.278

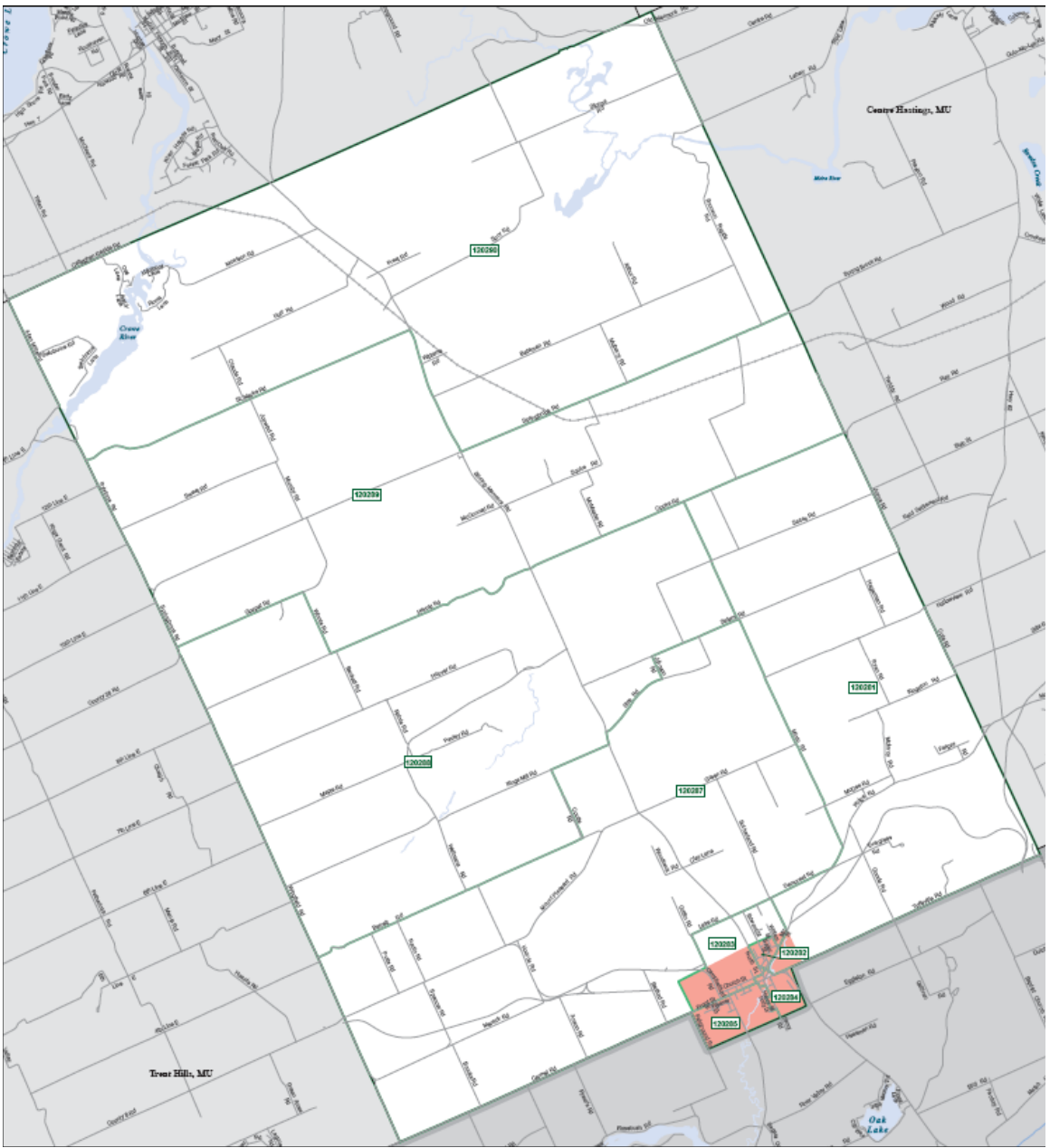
Source: Statistics Canada n.d. b.

Dissemination Areas for Centre Hastings, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada n.d. c.

Dissemination Areas for Stirling-Rawdon, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada n.d. d.

2006 Population Densities for the Municipality of Centre Hastings	
<i>Dissemination Area</i>	<i>Density</i>
0259	434.810
0260	908.750
0261	18.308
0262	12.448
0263	10.479
0264	12.954
0265	16.318

2006 Population Densities for the Township of Stirling-Rawdon	
<i>Dissemination Area</i>	<i>Density</i>
0281	15.309
0282	2 140.000
0283	181.250
0284	878.689
0285	448.872
0287	10.994
0288	9.392
0289	8.947
0290	8.066

Source: Data Resources Library 2007.