



SUMMER SCHOOL 2012

Québec, Canada

Governing Sustainable Rural Futures



Final Report



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The ICRPS Consortium

For more information see: <http://www.icrps.org/>

ICRPS 2012 Universities and Centres

- Bologna University, Italy
- Brandon University, Canada
- Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Norway (NILF)
- Oregon State University, USA
- Pennsylvania State University, USA
- Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain
- Université du Québec à Rimouski, Canada
- University of Guelph, Canada
- University of Highlands and Islands, UK
- University of Life Sciences, Norway (UMB)
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Introduction

The ICRPS Consortium and the Summer Institute

The 2012 ICRPS Summer Institute was held from June 21 to July 6, 2012 under the framework of “Governing for Sustainable Rural Futures”. June 22 to 24 was spent in Montréal, QC, examining the role of urban and corporate agents in the future of rural areas. We then went to Québec City, the seat of the provincial government, to meet with the architects of Québec’s rural policy – recently highlighted in the OECD’s Rural Policy Review (OECD, 2010). On June 28th we continued to Rimouski, a regional centre about 300 km downstream on the south shore of the Fleuve St Laurent. We spent six days in this region (Bas St-Laurent) – visiting local communities and enterprises, meeting with local officials, and conducting seminars regarding the local impacts of provincial and national policies.

The ICRPS Program focused on policy options that are likely to facilitate sustainable rural futures. We considered four types of stakeholders affecting those policies in order to recognize the wide range of actors involved in the governance process: the private sector, the state, the third sector (civil society), and family or cultural groups. We examined the ways in which these types of stakeholders contribute to policies relating to five issues: regional development, inequality, energy, food, and the natural environment.

The analysis was guided by the five following

questions.

- What are the major challenges for sustainable futures in rural and remote places?
- What are the principal agents governing those futures?
- How are these agents acting to meet the challenges (if they are)?
- Which options are most likely to enhance sustainable futures?
- What policies facilitate the emergence of these options?

Students and faculty were organized into six groups relating to the five issues (we formed two groups to examine regional development issues in order to keep the number of participants per group at a reasonable level). Each group was asked to consider the four types of governing agents relating to five important issues as illustrated in the Table 1. They were encouraged to ask the five questions above for each cell of the table – and to do so while considering the different answers related to three contextual locations: urban, rural areas adjacent to rural, and rural or remote regions.

The **private sector** included large corporations as well as small businesses – in a wide range of sectors. In rural Canada, for example, the shift from primary to tertiary sector businesses has been particularly important. **State** agents operate at multiple levels – from international, federal, provincial, regional, to local levels. **Third sector**

		Governing Agents			
		Private Sector	State	3rd Sector	Family/Culture
Issues	Regional development				
	Inequality				
	Energy				
	Food				
	Natural Environment				

agents include large (sometimes multinational) organizations such as the Red Cross or Greenpeace to very small, local groups, clubs, and other types of voluntary organizations. In Canada, their importance has increased as the state institutions have withdrawn their services from rural areas. Finally, the groups considered the role of **family networks, gangs, cults, and cultural groups**. These can be distinguished from the other three agents by the importance of identity and loyalty (and sometimes kinship) for their operation. The special characteristics and dynamics of these agents is often overlooked in discussions of governance, but the importance of Aboriginal peoples, kinship groups, and faith-based networks requires that we explicitly recognize them as governing agents that are distinct from the others.

We selected five specific issues that reflect the range of challenges facing both rural and urban places. The challenge of **regional development**, economic, social, and cultural, pervades all policy questions. For some rural places, this means managing the challenges of boom and bust cycles: mitigating the negative effects of the booms and surviving the busts. For others it may mean finding new goods and services to trade when traditional sources of revenue collapse – or controlling the sprawl of new residents with different views and lifestyles in places where populations are growing. Social and economic **inequality** has been steadily growing in many Canadian regions over the last 50 years – between the rich and the poor, rural and urban, serviced and underserved. History teaches us that such inequality creates conditions for social and political insecurity and conflict – justifying close attention to the policies and programs exacerbating it at federal, provincial, regional, and municipal levels. **Energy** production, storage, and distribution are undergoing major changes at the moment as we face the impacts of our reliance on fossil fuels over the past century. Rural places and policies are particularly implicated in these changes since they are primary locations for both sources of energy and sinks for the related pollution. The production and distribution of **food** is fundamental to our sustainability yet our food systems are facing major challenges at both global and local levels. This issue requires us to learn about how those systems are organized as well as their implications for the use of land, water, and most of the other natural resources. Food production and distribution are also closely connected to the last issue identified. The **natural environment** is implicated

in all of these issues. It is the basis for our food, the source of energy production, and (in Canada at least) a significant foundation for our wealth. It also provides the context in which we play. We must, therefore, consider how it is affected by all our policies and programs

The five questions initially posed were addressed with respect to each cell in the grid above. Food production for the state, for example, is likely to be about a manageable balance of trade, avoiding contamination, or regulating labour – within departments of agriculture or health – while to a family or cultural group it may be more about producing daily meals, preserving cultural traditions, or seeking a healthy diet. The challenges, therefore are different, the strategies and actions are different, and the prospects for sustainable futures are different. Each group was asked to explore the nature and implications of these differences – and the interdependencies among them.



Québec 2012 Background

Canada and Québec are strategic locations in which to consider these issues. As a trading nation we have been particularly vulnerable to external influences on our society and economy. Many of those influences – and our responses to them – have undermined our sustainability and diminished our ability to self-govern our future. Even within this general context, our provincial structures have created conditions that reflect a diversity of responses – from top-down regional organization to bottom-up activism and collaboration. This diversity of governance approaches provides an excellent opportunity to compare the relative advantages and disadvantages of each for local community sustainability.

Québec is particularly important in this regard. It is the only province, for example, with a rural policy – structured around regionally-defined

state agencies, issue-focused 3rd sector groups, and legally-protected language and cultural rights. It is also a province that is well researched and accessible, thereby providing us with a rich source of experiences for comparative analysis.

In 2014, the Québec government is scheduled to review its rural policy (la Politique nationale de la ruralité du Québec) (NPR). This policy was instituted in 2007 with a mandate up to 2014. Since the Québec government has already begun the evaluation of the policy, it made sense for them to request input from the international students and faculty in the ICRPS program. We were in an excellent position to provide such comments since the school was particularly focused on the policy and at the same time was engaging in a direct way with the people, organizations, and businesses implicated in that policy.

For this reason, we requested that each of the working groups include comments particularly directed to the Québec rural policy and its upcoming evaluation. As one can see from the material below, these comments include assessments of the policy's impacts, comments on its strengths and weaknesses, and recommendations for future revisions.

The Field Trips

Meeting policy-makers and visiting the places affected by those policies has always been an essential element of the ICRPS program. ICRPS2012 is no different. The program was constructed with three types of regions in mind: urban regions where the primary populations and corporations driving Canadian rural policy are located; our provincial capital, where the architects of Québec policy debate and decide the general frameworks and resource allocations relating to rural development; and the rural regions themselves, where the policies unfold, are negotiated, and sometimes resisted.

We spent three days in Montréal, the dominant metropolis in Québec. With a population of 3.8 million (and growing) in a province of just under 8 million, Montréal dominates the economic and social structure of Québec – including those of its rural and remote regions. At the same time, those non-urban regions are essential to the livelihood of those in the cities. The natural resources upon which the Canadian economy is based are largely located in rural areas, the food, air, and water of urban centres depends on a vibrant rural economy, the processing of urban pollution and waste is a rural function, and



the rejuvenation of the urban population is partially accomplished with the aid of the rivers, streams, woods, and communities in rural places. The dynamics of this rural-urban interdependence are complex, however, so it behooves us to explore them as they are reflected in the policies of corporations and the perspectives of urban people. For this reason, our program included visits with corporate representatives from both the private and third sectors. We were also able to experience rural-urban interdependence first hand with a self-constructed meal at the local farmer's market and an historical treasure hunt through Old Montréal.

From Montréal we travelled to Québec City with stops in two communities (see Annex 2). The first, St-Damase, was a small agricultural community in the shadow of Montréal –experiencing the effects of its large urban neighbour in both positive and negative ways. The second, Victoriaville, was more remote (about 2 hours from Montréal) and provided us with a unique example of the opportunities for local governments and volunteers to improve the sustainability of their communities. We stayed for three days in Québec City, meeting with the architects of the Québec rural policy and exploring this World Heritage site with a rural lens.

The balance of our time was spent in and around the more remote city of Rimouski: about 300 km downstream from Québec City. On the way there, we visited the regional centre of La Pocatière,

the home of the international aviation giant Bombardier, where we were introduced to the pro-active way in which the local government and business leaders have built a centre of innovation on the basis of a well-educated and well-connected population.

Our sojourn in Rimouski gave us an opportunity to visit a wide range of rural places and initiatives, from wind farms and tourist attractions to craft and manufacturing enterprises. In the process we were able to visit communities with promising futures and those which were struggling with declining populations, disappearing markets, or both. These experiences gave us plenty of stimulation to discuss with the local leaders, practitioners, agents, and citizens we met along the way.

The following material illustrates the richness of these experiences. It has meant that while we considered the general issues of the framework, we were challenged by the practical realities of local conditions and actions. It also meant that the international experiences of our students and faculty could be compared in concrete ways with the events and initiatives of those in rural Québec. The reflections and recommendations that follow, therefore, are more than abstract considerations of good policy –they are informed reactions to the actual conditions and activities of rural people, policy-makers, practitioners, and organizations.





Summary of Recommendations for Québec's Rural Policy Review

These summaries are drawn from the six groups designated by the ICRPS2012 program. Each group was composed of students and faculty from a variety of national and international locations. The bases for these recommendations can be found in the “Group Reports” section below. Duplicate recommendations from different groups have been removed.

Regional Development I

- Universities should have a presence in rural MRCs.
- Establish a rural heritage tourism initiative in Québec.
- Maintain funding at the MRC level to facilitate linking between institutions and organisations.
- Maintain a focus on the social aspects of regional development.
- Consider how to give rural agents and local actors more freedom to collaborate with local CLDs where necessary, particularly in municipalities with high levels of unemployment.
- Continue the provision of additional funding to MRCs with municipalities classified as “devitalised” – including additional attention from rural agents.
- Find ways to recognize and support specific marginalized groups – such as the unemployed, women, ethnic minorities, or people with disabilities – in all communities, including additional training to rural agents to deal with these groups.
- Consider urban-rural linkages in regional development and policy creation.
- Develop programs for physician-support personnel in rural areas (e.g. nurse practitioners, Community Emergency Medical Technicians).
- Include economic development as an important component of rural development.
- Develop programs for inter-MRC collaboration including support and rewards.
- Develop specific policies and programs to attract and retain young entrepreneurs.
- Build collaboration between rural and urban businesses and business-people.
- Support “welcoming community” initiatives in rural places to attract and retain immigrants.
- Establish a consistent protocol and system for local community review of MRC effectiveness, responsiveness, and transparency.
- Facilitate longer-term ‘evolving’ plans for development (e.g. 10 years)
- Engage private sector stakeholders as part of the governance structure.
- Promote an ‘inspired identity’ program to recognize the history, culture, and contributions of rural and remote communities.
- Integrate feasibility, compatibility, and evaluation into all project assessments (including qualitative components).
- Integrate citizens in program evaluation and budgeting decisions.

Regional Development II

- Support innovations in transportation options for citizens with limited mobility.
- Increase the use of new technologies for the delivery of health care to rural and remote areas (e.g. telephone triage, pagers, text messaging alerts, tele-medicine),

Inequality

- Rural Québec should open up to the use of English language as a second language as it

is used in Montréal while promoting local culture education and integration programs.

- Create legislation to redirect new migrants into rural areas.
- Ensure income parity among workers both in rural and urban areas.
- Encourage the private sector to set up companies in rural areas.
- Adhere to fair-trade policies to create leverage with pricing.
- Provide incentives to attract willing First Nations people to rural Québec instead of living in remote areas.
- Construct additional apartment rentals or convert unoccupied units into rentals in rural areas as populations move into the area for employment.
- Establish programs to help lower-income individuals and families, the elderly, and the disabled to weatherize and repair their homes (e.g. Community Help and Improvement Program in Centre County, Pennsylvania).
- Include funding specifically for the improvement of health systems and access in rural areas (e.g. expand Telehealth).
- Expand educational access for rural people through programs that bridge private and public education institutions; use third sector institutions to facilitate access to educational opportunities; and extend college and university facilities and programs.

Energy

- The contradiction of a top-down energy policy approach and a bottom-up rural policy approach should be reviewed and revised to reduce negative externalities and take advantage of opportunities for rural areas.
- Stricter collaborative efforts and minimum standards should be adopted to protect rural communities from subterfuge relating to environmental and land rent initiatives.
- Rural ownership of energy development should be promoted – along with technical and capacity-building initiatives for rural communities and people.
- Increase the number and range of comparisons with other rural communities who have moved towards similar energy developments in Québec. Examples can be found in Ontario and Northern Europe which include models where local people control the process and benefit from participation in the economic opportunities.

Food

- The important role played by the Rural Agents should be evaluated and revised – particularly to improve farmer-community relations.
- Increase natural and food-based education among children and related families as well as additional economic opportunities for farmers. This approach can help reduce the urban-rural divide, when education farm projects involve schools located in urban areas.
- Incorporate the ‘slow food’ movement into rural development by placing an emphasis on appreciating local food, slowing down to enjoy it, and respecting production processes that are healthy and sustainable to the environment. This movement also emphasizes the cultivation of local leaders and provides an international network of other like-minded individuals.
- Provide assistance to projects connected to the agri-food production and the development of small-scale food business, in order to enhance a multifunctional approach and to market special products from the area.
- Integrate food in a more holistic fashion with policies and programs that promote sustainability, best practices, and lifelong learning.
- Expand opportunities for food programs supporting diversity of farm types, terroir, and the greater use of local products.

Environment

- Human resources and knowledge management should not only focus on economic growth but also on environmental impacts.
- The wind power strategy has the potential to make the Gaspé Peninsula a world leader in wind power and this should be embedded in the local economy.
- Include local communities in the planning and benefits from the projects.
- The Rural Policy should include the holistic integration of water management policies like the Water Policy of 2002 and the Government Sustainable Development Strategy 2008-2013.
- Encourage multifunctional approaches to land use.
- Extend the time period of individual agricultural projects from the current 3 years.
- Encourage collective agriculture-based projects.
- Incorporate humans within the policy objectives, measurements, and partnership

strategies.

- Use Rural Development Officers to increase connectivity among rural communities and MRCs.
- Increase the number of rural agents and improve their training with regards to environmental issues so that they may better

serve their community's best interests

- Replace Agenda 21 with the sustainability strategies of the Ministry of Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks.





Proposals Emerging from the Student Focus Group

On the final day of the ICRPS Summer School we organized a focus group for the participants so they could identify important considerations for a future version of the Québec Rural Policy (NPR). The discussion lasted for two hours. Many diverse recommendations emerged, reflecting the participants' understandings of the current policy and how they had seen this reflected in practice throughout the summer school. In some instances, these proposals identify group work insights that were deemed important enough to be included in the final list of recommendations.

It should be noted that the list provided here reflects the editors' interpretation and understanding taken from the oral discussion of the ICRPS participants. In certain instances, we have added explanatory information so that the particular recommendation can be better understood within the Québec context.

The NPR should maintain its network of rural agents devoted to community capacity-building, social capital-building, and mobilization — with the aim to improve social cohesion and strengthen rural communities.

The students and faculty were generally impressed with the strong presence of a network of rural agents in the local communities (as well as the financial support provided for this program). Some of the participants were given the opportunity to meet a few agents for a discussion of their work and challenges. The participants were reminded of the mission of the rural agents, which is integral to their role in the community: to contribute to capacity-building in the development of rural areas. This role involves promoting endogenous development and focusing on the resources and strengths of the community. One of the strengths which was identified in the individual group recommendations is promoting 'social capital', which several theories on local development consider necessary to ensure sustainable local development. However, this should be considered in conjunction with the promotion of other forms of capital such as human, financial, or natural.

Given the importance and value of the rural agents to local communities in Québec, the ICRPS participants felt that this should be maintained in future versions of the rural policy. However, there are also improvements which can be made to this system, in terms of the compensation which the rural agents receive for their services. At present, the low pay provided to rural agents means that they are unlikely to remain in their positions for an extended period of time. In fact, most agents, once they have received a sufficient amount of experience, apply for higher paying jobs in other development industries. A higher salary for rural agents would create greater stability for the position. Stability is particularly important for this role since it takes considerable time for agents to familiarize themselves with the local conditions, social and political dynamics, and personnel. The importance of this fact is reinforced by participants in the 2012 Université rurales québécoise and the OECD (cf. Raphael Trapasso in the Russian meetings).

The NPR should provide methods and incentives to make local action more efficient and to support community empowerment.

Several ICRPS participants suggested that the criteria for allocating funds by local officials significantly limited effective rural development strategies and projects. MRC officials are required to collect a limited range of financial data and evaluate them with respect to fiscal criteria only – with few indicators for the impacts on local social or environmental development. They suggested that local mandates for evaluation should include a wider range of social and environmental criteria – including qualitative indicators. The identification and elaboration of these indicators should be done in collaboration with local people. This would expand the attention of local officials and require them to evaluate their funding allocation with regards to rural development and vitality.

Specific initiatives which could be implemented based on this recommendation are:

- Build local confidence to participate in development.
- Develop a wider range of performance indicators for the allocation of NPR funds – with the collaboration of local people.
- Put in place a wise allocation of available resources.
- Offer training for citizens to empower them to establish better processes for community collaboration.
- Facilitate better communication not only within the community but also with external stakeholders.

The NPR should improve its process of implementation in order to maximize the impact it has in rural communities.

This observation builds on the previous recommendation but should be addressed separately since it presents a new series of proposals to:

- Improve policy implementation (through efficient allocation, evaluation of impacts, etc.);
- Improve coordination with others departments, including MAPAQ, and other laws, such as LAU (Loi sur l'aménagement et l'urbanisme);
- Improve links with the Canadian federal government and other provinces to create new opportunities for regional development (through tourism, for example); and
- Create better communication by sharing and publicizing success stories in rural communities.

characterized by the sectorization of decisions and budgets. It may be obvious to suggest that there needs to be strong links among the Canadian federal government and other provinces; however, in practice this is far more complex, since certain areas fall under the specific competencies of either the provinces or the federal government, with each jurisdiction being very aware and protective of their sphere of action. With regards to rurality, certain provinces, such as Québec, have taken initiative and leadership with respect to positive rural development. At one point, the federal government suggested an intention to play a leadership role in this area with the establishment of the Rural Secretariat within the Ministry of Agriculture and Agri-Food, but recently with the partial closing of this agency, the federal government has begun to pull away from this field of action.

Based on this list of proposals, the participants were able to point to several important areas which they felt were lacking for policy implementation. The first of these was that there needs to be greater efficiency when it came to funding allocation in connection with rural development and that this should be monitored at a local level.

However, it is the second point which seems to be the most relevant for identifying the gaps present in the current NPR. It calls into question the extent and capacity of consultation which occurs within and between different factions of the government,

It is important to note that the time and resource limitations of the summer school become clear through this exercise since the students may not have the time to develop a full understanding of all the complex areas within Québec rural policy. For example, many of their comments implied that an assessment of local impacts of the NPR had not yet been performed, which is not the case. Furthermore, while there are opportunities for a greater diffusion of some of the local success stories which have emerged in rural development (as they suggested), the students did not seem to be aware of some of the ones which already existed,

such as 'les Journées de la ruralité' sponsored by MAMROT. Despite certain gaps in knowledge, the students were still able to make very valuable

comments on the state of the NPR and offer pertinent suggestions to how it could be improved in future versions.

The NPR should consider new means to insure a better complementarity between urban and rural communities

Rural-urban complementarity is a universal reality even though it may become visible in different ways within each country. The students of the summer school recognized that in the Québec case, the vast rural areas, which are largely seen as 'resource regions', depend on North American urban markets for the sale of products, such as

wood or energy. However, the real issue is the lack of knowledge in the urban population of how their well-being and prosperity depends on the affordable access to many 'rural' resources. The students were in agreement that Québec should play particular attention to this issue through public education programs which focus on the reality of rural-urban complementarity and dependence.

The NPR should put in place a program designed specifically for marginalized and remote communities

This recommendation from the students was particularly surprising when we take into account that the NPR asked the MRCs to pay special attention to these 'devitalised' communities and a government program to aid these areas was put in place. This recommendation comes primarily from the fact that after 14 days of field trips and presentations, the participants perceived that in certain MRCs the allocation of funding and resources to devitalised communities did not appear evident even when considering the actions that had been discussed and implemented.

Their proposal draws on the students' interpretation of the effectiveness of the MRC system within the

NPR, which they questioned on several different occasions throughout the summer school program. While some commended the autonomy of MRCs for the management of the Rural Pact, others questioned the relatively strong discretionary power of the local government with regards to decisions on the allocation of funds which are at their disposal from the Québec government. It can be concluded that the students are suggesting that in the future version of the NPR there needs to be a return to the provisions of a heightened sensitivity of the Rural Pact towards devitalized communities in each MRC. This should be visible through the significant allocation of resources to these communities.

The NPR should develop 'buy local' strategies

It became clear throughout the summer school that the students in this program are part of a younger generation who are very aware of and sensitive towards environmental issues. Therefore, it was natural for them to put a focus on 'short food supply chains' and on the 'local food' phenomenon. This is comparable to the history of the forest industry where a piece of wood cut in a forest near Rimouski would be sent to a lumber yard several kilometres outside of town and then a sorting centre near Montréal only to be returned to the local suppliers. The result is a high cost of transportation (not only financially but also in greenhouse gas emissions) which is reflected in

the final product. A similar process could also be described with regards to dairy products.

Local production initiatives are illustrated by a rural laboratory for the development of biomass forestry with respect to the heating of public buildings in Matapédia. Until now, the NPR has not directly referred to local buying but has done so indirectly through the support of local producers ('terrior products'). If we agree with this general principal, such initiatives should be reflected in an institutional framework rather than as dictates to consumers. The sovereignty of consumers is recognized as an important principle in our society.

The NPR should favor immigration into rural areas, particularly with regard to international students

Since the participants spent a few days in Montréal (at Concordia University), they were able to experience first-hand the multicultural character of this city which is tied to the strong presence of international immigrants. They were then able to compare this with, what they identified as, the ethnic homogeneity of rural Québec – and they

also recognized the potential opportunities that exist in these areas for immigrants. After spending a full week in the small town of Rimouski, they perceived that the integration of the immigrants into this area was going relatively well and this became most clear to them in the case of international students who came to study on the UQAR campus in Rimouski.

The NPR should establish a ‘Rural Policy Evidence Hub’

The participants included in their proposals an idea presented by faculty member Tom Johnson from the University of Missouri, which is based on observations of practices within European countries. This consists of providing a continual monitoring process that relies on collecting the most objective data and evidence possible to examine the effects and impacts of the NPR. In this regard, the participants found it very useful and interesting to look into the development index of each municipality.

The participants also felt it would be valuable to collect data which could be shared with citizens through an easily accessible website. Citizens would then be able to gain an understanding of the situation of the rural world in general and successful developments which have taken place in other rural communities. For their part, the

government and its specialists could issue certain frameworks that help to interpret this data and relate them to potential adjustments which can be made in future rural policies.

The question of producing a rigorous evaluation of the impacts of public policies has become a fixture in public administration, and Québec is no exception to this pattern. Given the short time frame of the summer school, the participants were not fully aware of the efforts that have been made in Québec. One example is the vitality index for rural communities which has been developed and will soon be linked to a larger economically focused development index. This vitality index is already being used to provide public assistance where allocation amounts vary according to the level of deprivation within municipalities. The originality of this implementation was recognized by many of the participants.







Summaries of Faculty Commentaries – by Bruno Jean

(See Appendix 2 for Full Commentaries)

ICRPS is conceived as a training program which complements the graduate studies of rural policy students and professionals. However, there are a number of faculty members who attend each year from affiliated universities and countries. The faculty members are highly involved in the discussions of rural policy of the host country and region – and they participate fully in the comparisons from their own countries. Immediately after the ICRPS Summer School, a call was made to the participating professors for their individual comments and reflections on future rural policy development within our province. Eight faculty members responded to this request and sent written reports which touched on either their general understanding of Québec's rurality or on specific elements within this which reflect their own particular research interests, such as food or energy issues.

Overall, the faculty members were more cautious than the students with regard to suggested changes. Some even excluded themselves from this exercise – arguing that they did not feel they were qualified to comment on our rural policy or define possible courses of action for the future version of the NPR, since they only had 14 days in rural Québec. The reports that were submitted are provided here, along with a brief summary of the context through which the professor made their proposals. The reports proved to be valuable contributions on the path towards developing a future rural policy in Québec.

John Bryden and Karen Refsgaard (NILF, Norway)

John Bryden and Karen Refsgaard recall in their report that the NPR is similar to the European model of rural policy. Its LEADER program, for example, is focused on strengthening the capacities of local development actors. As they point out, Québec has turned its back on Ottawa and the Canadian government. This is understandable when one considers the continued disengagement of Canada from the rural sector – as reflected in the partial closing of the Rural Secretariat which had been established for barely a decade.

They also point out that the federal government has made significant expenditures in rural areas through sectoral ministries (agriculture, natural resources, social affairs, etc.) and that the Québec government does not have many opportunities to influence the choices which are made in this regard. Worse still, they conclude that local governments have limited



financial resources and little capacity to make decisions which would have a significant influence on their future course of action. According to Bryden and Refsgaard, the strengthening of the development capacities of stakeholders in the rural communities relies not only on their involvement and management of small projects (often with

a limited scope such as those provided by the NPR) but with increased decision-making ability and greater financial resources – not only to deliver regular services but also to make strategic investments in future local development.

In this regard, the professors do not have a great deal of confidence in the MRC which is considered to be severely anti-democratic. In general, the

members, including the prefect, are not directly elected by the citizens. However, the authors argue for the decentralization of power towards the local and supralocal level (therefore, towards the MRCs), in particular in the fields of health and social affairs. They invite us to consider the case of Norway through its rural policy while noting that Québec, on the path towards decentralization, is advanced compared to the wider Canadian context.

Allison Davis-White Eyes and Philipp Kneis (Oregon State University)

The goals of the report by the faculty from Oregon State University relate to uncovering the urban representations of rurality. These representations are typically based on public opinion and, therefore, influence the vision of rurality of the public authorities who formulate rural policies. Davis-White Eyes and Kneis point out how these perspectives are connected to the most common and negative definitions of rurality – as being that which is not urban or, more precisely, what is not yet urban.

They also describe how these urban representations of rurality are contradictory in that they are simultaneously viewed through conservation and production perspectives. The former views rural as natural sites which should be protected, while the latter sees them as a source of goods (wood, energy, food, etc.) and services (mainly recreation and tourism) for the use of urban populations. They conclude that the main representation of rurality remains that of a territory of natural resources whose value is assessed by how it meets the needs of the urban population. Little thought is given to how the related activities impact the quality of life of the rural population.



These researchers suggest that the NPR is based on the commitment of rural actors themselves and their concern for a sustainable rural development. This is considered to be an excellent approach and one that they hope is implemented in future policies. This could be enhanced by facilitating the creation of more local cooperatives and research partnerships among universities, their research centres, and the rural agents. Davis-White Eyes and Kneis add that an important reality of rural life is the need for local volunteers to take on a number of community services tasks and the NPR would greatly benefit from better compensating and valuing this network of volunteers.

Tom Johnson (University of Missouri)

Johnson is interested in the development and evaluation of public policy that is based on empirical data measuring the impact or effects of a policy through objective and conclusive information. It is based on this that he proposes a completely transparent database, taking the form of a 'hub', which combines various data sources and is open to multiple users who can control the analyses based on their own needs.

Johnson suggests that the NPR is already advanced in its evaluation process because it relies on a



development index that tracks changes in the community conditions. This index is used to assess what can be attributed to policy or instead to certain uncontrollable factors and incidents.

The use of these types of objective data should be increased to create a better evaluation system for rural policy that does not rest on the representation and subjective opinions of politicians but on objective information and situations that apply directly to specific rural-related policies.

Reacting to Johnson's comments, our colleague John Bryden points out that governments will often identify which types of data will support the

Francesca Regoli (University of Bologna)

Our colleague from the University of Bologna noted that the current version of the NPR has a focus on food with its support program for local products. She suggested that this should continue to expand in a future version of rural policy. She also identified some rural laboratories which deal, more or less directly, with the questions of food and of the need to reconnect urban and rural populations over the realities of agriculture and food issues. This represents her particular research interests within rural studies in Italy.

Her report emphasizes the role of basic education as well as continuing education and training to ensure the success of development projects in the food and agriculture sectors. This is particularly important since the area requires a growing amount of technical knowledge. As a result, she notes that even the best local development projects can stumble because of a lack of training of the developers in the necessary technical skills — including the management of both material and human resources.

Finally, she focuses on the work of rural agents. She encourages them to take greater action with respect to the training of local actors. She suggests this can include developing

Judith Stallmann (University of Missouri)

Judith Stallmann reminds us of the important links which exist among energy, energy production, and rural development. Rural citizens are both producers and consumers of energy, since hydro-electricity energy originates from rural areas. She makes the economic case throughout her report that electricity should be sold based on the actual cost of production — including environmental externalities.

political choices which they have already made without taking into account what is the most objective data available. On a different point, Bryden questions the important role that the MRC plays in the implementation of the NPR, given the low number of elected officials. Based on this, we would assume that Bryden is unaware of the fact that certain prefects are, in fact, elected and the number is rising, albeit slowly.



relationships among the rural agents and the community for which they work. It is crucial to establish an effective synergy between the agent and the community for their work to produce any tangible results. This synergy depends on the agent's ability to share knowledge of development strategies with local actors. Regoli reminds us that there are a number of very interesting tools have been put in place by the NPR and it is now time for the rural agents to put these tools to use in a way which will maximize the benefits for the development of rural communities.



Stallmann argues that Québec does not sell electricity at a high enough cost which, in turn, encourages the wasting of this resource. This means we must spend a considerable amount on fossil fuels – money which is sent outside of the country. This argument encompasses an important debate. Many economists do not share this point of view but argue instead that lower energy costs create a powerful economic incentive, which we see in Québec with regards to industries related to the production of aluminum.

Since prices remain the same regardless of the location of the consumer of hydro-electricity, Stallmann suggests that we should introduce the cost of transport within the final price, which would make rural areas appear more attractive for industries. While this is probably true in theory, in practice, it is important to take into account the

Bruce Weber, Oregon State University

Bruce Weber considers a framework by Eric Neumayer that explore the relationship between income, health, and education inequalities and economic and environmental sustainability. Neumayer proposes that there is a vicious circle between the two where increasing inequality leads to greater unsustainability and unsustainable economic and social practices lead to greater inequality. Weber then reflects on the implications this perspective might have for rural places and the development of policy within the NPR.

Neumayer takes a broad perspective on both inequality and sustainability. The former includes education, health, and incomes, for example while the latter includes multiple forms of capital: natural, person-created, human, and social. He also distinguished weak sustainability (where natural and other forms of capital are substitutable) from strong sustainability (where depletion of one cannot be offset by investments in another). These provide the elements for a series of propositions supporting his general claim regarding the vicious circle. Inequality leads to unsustainability, he argues: within a country or region as well as across countries or regions. Similarly, unsustainability leads to greater inequality within and across the same entities.

Based on this framework, Weber argues that the NPR should include new investments in health, education, and income as part of its attempt to

other factors of localisation which would influence such a decision. Maintaining constant prices can also create a more balanced and equal development over different territories which is consistent with an approach of solidarity in territorial development.

Stallmann also mentions the negative effects on the environment and rural populations which come from building and running hydro-electricity facilities. This argument is very weak, however, since hydro-electricity creates very few greenhouse gas emissions when compared with the production of other forms of energy. It makes an important contribution, therefore, toward environmental conservation. In addition, the large dams are installed in areas which are sparsely or non-populated which cause low impacts on rural communities.



address the sustainability of Québec rural regions. If inequality and unsustainability are locked in this vicious circle, then focusing on one alone is not sufficient to deal with either of them. A policy where improving the distribution of health, education, and income goes hand-in-hand with enhancement of the rural capitals is one which holds the greatest promise for breaking this cycle.

Reference

Neumayer, Eric, Sustainability and Inequality in Human Development, United Nations Development Programme Human Development Reports, Research Paper 2011/04, November 2011



Group Reports

Regional Development 1

Social Capital: Networking for Stronger Rural Communities: A reflection on the Politique Nationale de la Ruralité (2007-2014)

Summary: The perspective of the students in this first regional development group is that social capital is an essential priority for local and regional development and that rural development policy should be in line with this focus. The group compares their own theory with the existing National Policy on Rurality (NPR), recognizing that it also identifies social capital as a significant factor in development and affirms the need to strengthen and mobilize this component. As a result, the group made specific recommendations which are strategies to improve a rural area's social capital through encouraging innovations in citizen engagement. This would not only improve the opportunities for residents but also attract outsiders to the community. These types of advancements should not only be seen as beneficial to local development but will also work towards maintaining the vitality and unique identities of rural communities.



Students: Marie Anselm, Fobete, Dingha, Lauren Edens, Jonathan Pinkerton, and Lindsay Wiginton
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Introduction

Over the past two decades, experiences of globalization and economic restructuring have increased the importance of regions in development processes. The globalization process, in tandem with technological advances in transport, is fostering significant levels of human and labour mobility and the emergence of unprecedented levels of related inter-social complexities. These factors are fueling societal transformations with regards to regional and rural development, but rural fusion has lagged in many regions. Now, owing to a strong desire for community social capital from the perspective of community members and its recognition as a development tool, many governments are experimenting with new policies directed towards building regional social networks to support capacity building.

In this report we seek to explore the matter of social capital and its potential linkages to regional development policies in Québec, particularly the National Rural Policy (NPR), through several case studies. Specifically, the role that social capital plays in advancing regional development and regional development policy is explored. In Québec, regional development has been a major government priority at all levels as federal responsibility has been decentralized to respond to regional needs and to foster community involvement towards economic revitalization. The paper addresses the question: How does social capital influence regional development?

Background

Regional Development

A "region", certainly for the purpose of regional development discussions, implies a group of joined

entities which function together. Of course, there are many dimensions of “functioning together” – from supporting the same hockey team, to attending the same church, to participating in the same labour market, to reading the same newspaper.

A region is important because for many years we have been living in a context of “globalization and localization” (Wade and Pulver, 1991). Specifically, many market decisions have moved to the global level - such as multi-national enterprises and decisions by international agencies - while many decisions affecting the quality of life have moved to local jurisdictions - such as the quality of schooling, the quality of water and neighbourhood safety concerns. Consequently, sub-provincial decisions and the governance mechanisms to make and implement these decisions have become more important.

Nevertheless, though regional development is a broad term, according to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report it can be used to reduce regional disparities. In the past, regional development policies focused on achieving large-scale infrastructural development and attracting investments. However, this approach can often fail and has not been able to help lagging regions catch up despite the allocation of public funds. The result is under-used economic potentials and weak social cohesion plan. Nonetheless, the new approaches to regional development include such key features such as:

- a strategic development strategy that covers a wide range of direct and indirect factors that affect the performance of local firms;
- a focus on endogenous assets, and less on exogenous investments and transfers;
- an emphasis on opportunity rather than on disadvantage;
- a collective and negotiated approach to governance involving national, regional and local government plus other stakeholders, with the central government taking a less dominant role.

McCall (2010) argued that 21st Century regional development is focused as much on people as on drivers of regional development. In other words, people with their knowledge and how they use that knowledge, is a key focus for research in regional development. New theories of regional development have focused on human and social

capital, innovation, and the spatial dynamics of demographic change as key tools in understanding how small peripheral communities respond to the pressures from a global economy: competition and the need to construct advantage in regional economies.

Social Capital

Lyons (2000) describes social capital as shaping regional development patterns. Social capital has been identified as a critical component in revitalizing rural areas, in part because it is both a tool and an asset that regions can use to foster development. Social capital is considered to be “the social networks and their associated norms that facilitate various types of collective action” (Reimer et al., 2008:4). In the case of regions, which may include large geographic territories and/or diverse populations with a broad range of interests, the establishment of strong networks that foster collective action can be critical in bonding, bridging, and linking localities and interests.

Within the context of social capital, bonding refers to similar groups with similar demographic characteristics connecting to one another while bridging describes connections made between dissimilar groups (Blakely and Ivory, 2006). The linking of social capital occurs when networks of trust are established between social groups and actors. It is the creation of strong networks, and their ability to support collective action, that makes social capital a powerful element of the regional development process.

Reimer et al., (2008) also emphasize social capital as a tool that can be used to organize resources and assets in order to achieve a common outcome within a community. Social capital can function as an asset to facilitate information flow, support individual social credibility, and reinforce identity and recognition. In doing so, Aldridge et al., (2002) are of the view that social capital facilitates higher levels of growth, more efficient labour markets, and improves the effectiveness of government institutions. Rural areas in particular stand to benefit from the development of social capital since it may serve as a buffer against rural decline. The government of Québec has recognized the importance of social capital in rural areas as evidenced by the creation of the NPR.

Why Does Social Capital Matter for Regional Development in Québec?

The current structure of the NPR affects and relates to social capital in a number of ways, both at the bonding and linking levels. Linking social capital is affected by the funding structure of the NPR. Through the rural pacts, funds are provided to the MRCs who then distribute the funds to municipalities, groups, and individuals at the local level. This structure thus encourages collaboration among municipalities groups as well as communication between different government levels in order to identify rural development needs and create work plans. In fact, groups are encouraged to collaborate because more funding is available when multiple applicants support a single project.

Local bonding social capital is also affected by the NPR, particularly through the use of the rural agents. Through the NPR, one or more rural agents are established at each MRC. Their role is to “animate, mobilise and provide technical support to rural community initiatives as well as to the partnership work of the MRCs. They also support local community developers and First Nations to achieve their projects.” In other words, rural agents are directly implicated in the building and maintaining of local networks of various scales.

By advocating a “bottom-to-top” approach, facilitating the management of development by local communities, relying on local institutions and organisations, considering the development of human resources, and fostering a participatory approach, the NPR has already recognized the key role of local social capital (both bonding and bridging; inter- and intra-municipal) in facilitating regional development.

Discussions with rural policy-makers and practitioners in Québec confirmed this notion. Based on her work in the implementation of the NPR, a member of Solidarité rurale du Québec outlined that the two key factors that predict a community’s success in development are “leadership” and “embeddedness.” By “leadership,” she was referring to the presence of leaders who not only have good ideas but who listen to their fellow citizens and help to facilitate the growth of local networks. By “embeddedness,” she explained that citizens need to have a sense

of the greater good of their community and have feelings of belonging and of pride. Of course, the availability of resources matters too, but in order to capitalise on resources, these other forms of capital need to be present.

Similarly, an economic development agent in La Pocatière identified local support of strategic planning, good ideas, and local confidence as the conditions for small community economic development. He also underlined the important relationships between regional centres and the surrounding communities in terms of the sharing of services and the attraction of newcomers.

Finally, a rural development agent from an MRC in the Bas-Saint-Laurent reflected on the importance of local social capital in the success of the NPR. The agent expressed the fact that many of the people he works with in his municipalities are volunteers, many of them unemployed. Their capacity to carry out projects with scale is limited. Meanwhile, the rural agent is not allowed to lead projects, making any NPR-funded work extremely dependent on social capital. He also reflected on linking social capital, describing how longstanding rifts among municipalities prevent them from collaborating, even when it is in their interest.

In the case studies that follow, we will describe rural development policies in other places that also affect or rely on social capital in varying ways. The studies will illustrate different possible approaches which will inform the recommendations on the NPR provided subsequently.

Methods

Information for this report was gathered primarily through a series of presentations from, and meetings with, rural policy-makers and practitioners across Québec as part of the ICRPS summer school in June and July of 2012. This information has been supplemented with academic material and a review of relevant policies, as well as the knowledge and experience of the authors.

Case Studies

The University of Missouri Extension Program (USA)

The University of Missouri was established in 1839 as the first university west of the Mississippi River in the United States (University of Missouri [UM], 2012). As a land-grant institution, the University is mandated to provide the state of Missouri with

an extension service. This includes knowledge transfer to Missouri citizens plus building capacity for citizens to participate in democratic processes. Federal funding is provided via a formula calculation, based on the number of small farmers in the state. If matching in-kind dollars are contributed by the state; most individual counties have also contributed funding for their county offices (UM Extension, 2012; West Virginia University [WVU] Extension Service, 2012). The Extension Program has an office in almost every Missouri county, and there are an additional eight regional-level offices to assist the county-level extension services and for coordination purposes. Finally, there are elected Extension Councils for each county and eight Regional Extension Councils where elected individuals serve no more than two, two-year consecutive terms (UM Extension, 2012). These councils provide feedback regarding overall management decisions of the county-level extension vis-à-vis locally elected persons.

Although these offices are part of the University of Missouri System, budget negotiations with the state are separate from the University's core budget funding negotiations. Though the core budget appropriations have proven highly variable due to political and general economic pressures, the Extension budget has remained relatively stable (UM Extension, 2012). This is attributed to the popularity of the services provided by Extension among the state's citizens. In spite of moves to drastically cut Extension services and allocated funds by state legislators, this has consistently proven to be an unsavory political move and is usually abandoned fairly early in a given legislative session. Previous budget cuts have typically been absorbed at the local level. Thus, an effort to save Extension services in the past can largely be attributed to a significant level of community capital rallied around a common political will.

The University of Missouri Extension provides many services and hosts a great variety of community organizations. Services include: youth 4-H boys' and girls' clubs; soil testing services; water quality testing; pest information/gardening advice; continuing education on veterinarian medicine, nursing and firefighting; focus groups; and business and workforce development. Importantly, extension services also directly encourage social capital growth in a community through a specific curriculum aimed at leadership development administered by a trained member

of the community (UM Extension, 2012). Topics covered include consensus building and conflict resolution. One downside is that this curriculum has to be purchased by the community and therefore may be under-utilized. Perhaps most significant, is the role that Extension plays in disseminating university research to the community at large. Not only does the university provide continuing education for rural citizens through gaining a showcase for its research, but it creates linkages that generate advocates for the university, simply because rural Missourians may see themselves as stakeholders in the success of the university. Additionally, Extension provides both a physical and digital space for community and regional collaboration to occur. Because the funding/governing system contains linkages between the federal, state, county, and municipality levels, the most successful counties in utilizing and maintaining their extension offices are those with high levels of community bonding. The wide range of focus groups facilitated by Extension, encourage cooperation among local persons and coordination of community goals dictated by shared interests.

Thus, the very nature of Extension encourages education, individual empowerment, and inter- and intra-community involvement. In the Québec context, a system such as this would provide a way for UQAR or any other Québec university to have a permanent presence beyond their regions based on the goal of providing local services.

Heritage Area Development in Pennsylvania (USA)

In many respects, Québec has embraced its rich cultural heritage and preserved a wealth of historic resources. Québec has 22 "tourist regions," each of which presents a unique facet of the Province from a geographical, historical and cultural perspective. Additionally, Québec has several "country routes" which traverse its rural areas and travel along the Saint Lawrence River. Highway signage identifies these routes which showcase some of the Province's cultural and natural resources (Official Tourist Site of the Government of Québec, 2012).

Old Québec and Miguasha National Park are the two World Heritage sites in Québec designated by L'Organisation des Nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture (UNESCO). Moreover, Québec boasts an excellent collection of national, provincial historic districts, such as arrondissements historiques, monuments historiques, and sites du patrimoine. The Cultural

Property Act, R.S.Q., c. B-4, provides for the protection of Québec's heritage by granting power to the Québec government, the Minister of Culture, Communications and the Status of Women and local officials. The Répertoire du patrimoine culturel du Québec is a directory of the heritage resources protected under the Cultural Property Act (Cultural Property Act, 2012).

Information provided during the ICRPS Summer Institute suggests that significant funding and support exists for tourism and heritage related initiatives. For example, a visit to Jardins de Métis indicated that a specific historic preservation project will receive financial support for up to 86% of a project budget from the provincial government (Director of the Jardins de Métis, 2012, personal communication). In a broad sense, Québec appears to have acknowledged that provincial support for heritage tourism can spur private investment, physical improvements, employment, and the local hospitality industry. Moreover, "in Québec le patrimoine is a term common in popular usage and central in national discourse". It refers to "national culture" as property (Handler, 1985, p.194).

Despite Québec's strong national culture, support for tourism, and significant efforts to preserve and promote its history, an additional opportunity to support cultural heritage exists. Specifically, Québec should use a heritage development strategy to create greater collaboration, enhance social capital and implement rural development policies. A heritage development strategy may be especially relevant in rural Québec where some communities are sparsely populated and economically depressed. Heritage Areas, as organized and implemented in the American context, could be an important rural development policy option in Québec. A study of rural tourism development in Canada, by MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003), found that culture and community-based partnerships in rural areas are valuable resources to include in a framework for tourism as a development tool.

The heritage area movement is a powerful approach to engaging citizens and build regional coalitions around the benefits of heritage development. A heritage area is a concept and a place. Physically, heritage areas are regions with concentrations of important historic, cultural, natural, and recreational resources—places known for their unique culture and identity. As a concept, a heritage area combines resource conservation,

education, and economic development. In partnership with landowners, local governments, and state and federal agencies, communities across the United States have developed heritage areas with the goal of creating more livable and economically vital regions. "Heritage areas often come into being because a particular region with a strong and distinctive history has experienced some kind of loss — of an industry, a resource base, population, or sense of well-being" (Stokes, Watson, & Mastran, 1997).

One of the compelling reasons to consider establishing a heritage area program in Québec relates to the community benefits of such an undertaking. Heritage Areas can be used as a basis to build social capital, increase community pride, enhance sense of place, improve quality of life, and stimulate other development initiatives. Additionally, collaboration benefits can be realized in terms of building common understanding and purpose, building partnerships, encouraging communication, and promoting regional and cooperative approaches.

A specific approach in the United States which could potentially be replicated in Québec is the Pennsylvania's Heritage Areas Program (PHAP). Established in 1989, Pennsylvania's heritage areas are known nationwide for their innovation. With a network of 12 state-designated heritage areas (see Figure 1) operating across the Commonwealth, PHAP provides an important framework for innovation in a regional context. PHAP works toward the revitalization of communities, promoting heritage tourism, and preserving natural resources. Administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources (DCNR), state-designated heritage areas annually receive technical assistance and funding to carry out their projects and programs.



Figure 1 - Pennsylvania Heritage Areas Program

PHAP is coordinated with a group of representatives from various state agencies, known as the Inter-Agency Task Force. The Task Force works together to review heritage area feasibility studies, management action plans and requests for grants. To obtain State Heritage Area designation, a region is required to complete a feasibility study and have the study report approved by DCNR and the Inter-Agency Task Force. Once approved, a Management Action Plan must be prepared and accepted in order to achieve designation. State Heritage Areas are formally designated by the Governor of Pennsylvania after the planning process is successfully completed. Designation enables the region to compete for Special Purpose Study projects, Implementation Projects, and Management funds, as recommended in the Management Action Plan. PHAP grants provide up to 75% funding of the total eligible project costs. Matching funds must be cash and include private funds. Public funding sources may include federal and/or local sources (Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, 2012).

In considering the transferability and adaptability of Pennsylvania's Heritage Areas model, it may be instructive to consider the long term development of Québec's rural areas. In heritage areas, goals are "achieved on a regional basis and through a combination of means and an alliance of interests" — through interests and goals which complement and bolster one another (Stokes et al., 1997, p.294). Heritage Areas have the ability to attract new people and new ideas to rural Québec. By promoting and developing rural resources such as natural areas, heritage sites, and cultural events, Québec could enhance and elevate the attractiveness of its rural areas, stimulate new enterprises, and attract new people to visit, relocate, or otherwise engage with Québec's rural regions. Cultural and natural resources in Québec's rural areas can be leveraged using Pennsylvania's Heritage Area Program as a model to develop a unique strategy for enhancing social capital and supporting regional development in Québec.

Ireland's Area-Based Partnerships

The Area-Based Partnerships, established in 1991 in Ireland, provide an interesting case study to compare to the Québec National Rural Policy because of the way they bring together diverse actors at the local level. Like the National Rural Policy, the partnerships operate on the principles

of consultation participation, and inclusion and explicitly aim to generate social networks among actors (Ninacs, 2003; Turok, 2001). There are some important differences, too, between the partnerships and the National Rural Policy that provide an interesting basis of comparison.

The Area-Based Partnerships were created within the framework of the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (a national initiative) with the explicit goal of creating local solutions to the issues of unemployment and social exclusion (Ninacs, 2003). Unlike the National Rural Policy, the partnerships target areas with high unemployment and poverty (Turok, 2001). In this sense, the partnerships may be likened to the "devitalized communities" aspect of the National Rural Policy whereby communities with that score low on socio-economic indicators are allotted extra funding.

The Area-Based Partnerships operate primarily through the formation of administrative councils at the local level that bring together members from community organisations, social partners (unions, farmers and businesses), government agencies, and elected representatives. These councils are autonomous organisations that have typically five to ten full-time staff (Turok, 2001). They are responsible for creating multi-year development plans through consultation with members of the public that outline the common vision and actions that will be taken to address the needs of disadvantaged groups. Programs and projects emanating from the plans are eligible for funding, which comes from both the Ireland national government and the European Union for the partnerships. Criteria for funding were deliberately made very flexible to encourage innovation and creative thinking when addressing unemployment and poverty. Projects undertaken by partnership councils have included enterprise creation and support, capacity-building projects for marginalised groups, after-school homework programs, and infrastructure investment such as the restoration of daycare facilities or public spaces (Turok, 2001).

In Ireland, this bottom-up, capacity-building approach to local development represents a clear shift in thinking, since most services and decisions had previously been highly centralised and local governments had few tools or resources to address issues such as poverty (Ninacs, 2003). Like the National Rural Policy, the partnerships explicitly attempt to build social capital at the local level

by providing funding incentives for local actors to work together, thereby facilitating knowledge transfer and resource-sharing among these groups. Some key differences between Ireland's partnerships approach and the Québec National Rural Policy are highlighted in Table 1.

First, since the partnerships have an explicit goal of addressing unemployment, economic development initiatives such as funding for business start-ups and employment assistance are eligible for funding, and tend to dominate the projects. Indeed, the program supported 17,000 business start-ups from 1991 to 1999 (Turok, 2001). This stands in contrast to the Québec National Rural Policy, which promotes more socially-oriented projects. Economic development actions are perhaps more important in the Ireland context, however, since they do not have other local programs such as the CLDs, the Société d'aide au développement des collectivités (SADC) (a federal program that provides loans for small businesses) and other forms of support that are available in Québec and Canada. On the other hand, this is a reminder that employment is a key component to enabling the production of social capital among individuals and groups at the local level and cannot be overlooked.

In Ireland, a new, independent organisation called the Area Development Management Organisation (ADM) was created to manage

and distribute the funds available through the partnership program. This stands in contrast to the NPR, where the MRCs are mandated to manage the funding. Given its independence, the ADM has allowed for the allocation of funding to be relatively de-politicised to a degree not attained in Québec. However, Ireland also loses out on the opportunity to build social capital among levels of government. In Québec, the MRCs' role in funding allocation forces them to communicate more with municipalities, thereby facilitating inter-institutional networks.

Another difference is that, although the Irish partnership councils operate on the basis of public consultation, they do not aim to engage local community members directly. In this sense, they are more similar to Québec's Tables de Concertation than to the NPR, the latter of which entrusts individual community members to carry out projects on a volunteer basis. Irish partnership councils typically employ five to ten full-time staff (Turok, 2001) whereas in Québec, one rural agent is typically responsible for an entire MRC. Québec's reliance on volunteers provides more opportunity for individual action, but also presents more of a dependence on unpaid work, which is not always sustainable.

The Ireland partnership model may be considered more program-oriented, in comparison to the NPR

Comparing policies	Ireland Area-Based Partnerships	Québec National Rural Policy
Inclusion of economic development and employment initiatives	Yes	No – CLDs and SADC
Body responsible for the management of funds	Independent, national organisation (ADM)	Regional government (MRCs)
Involvement of the public	Consultation	Directly carry out projects
Paid staff	5-10 full-time	1-2 full-time (rural agents)
Planning process	Multi-year plans	Work plans for individual projects
Inclusion of marginalised groups	People-targeted	Community-targeted
Upward policy input from local actors	Enshrined in policy	Not an explicit goal

Table 1 – Comparing the Ireland Area-Based Partnerships to the Québec National Rural Policy

which is more project-oriented. This is because of the planning process: partnership councils generate multi-year plans, whereas local actors in Québec get NPR funding through the submission of work-plans for specific, targeted projects. There are pros and cons to both of these approaches.

It is interesting also to compare the approaches to addressing the needs of marginalised groups. In Ireland, where the European notion of “social exclusion” is dominant, the policy dictates that marginalised groups (the long-term unemployed, lone-parent families, and people with disabilities) should be directly targeted with programming. The NPR, on the other hand, allocates more funding to communities that have been statistically designated as “devitalised,” but does not address individuals within all communities who face disadvantage.

A final difference to note is that, in addition to local action, the Ireland partnership program has the explicit aim of establishing upward policy input. That is, through the involvement of government members and elected representatives in the partnership councils, there is an expectation that lessons learned at the local level will be funnelled back up to national policymakers. While this has not always been the case, some national programs have been created or expanded in response to local feedback (Turok, 2001).

A number of interesting considerations stem from the comparison of the Québec NPR and the Ireland Area-Based Partnerships. First, we see that networks both among institutions and between institutions and community organisations are critical to the facilitation of regional development. In Ireland, these networks are built through the dialogue and action of the partnership councils. In Québec, these networks are developed more indirectly: by managing and disseminating the funds, MRCs are required to communicate with lower levels of government, individuals, and organisations within their region. Moreover, constituent municipalities are given incentives to work together since there is more funding available for joint projects. Keeping the funding at the MRC may thus be an important component of the Québec NPR. On the other hand, removing the CLDs from the management of the local funds weakens the link between local social capital and economic development, which the Ireland case has demonstrated is quite important.

We can also surmise that investments must be made in the individual actors carrying out development projects. Québec’s reliance on local volunteers to carry out rural pact projects may not be sustainable. As in Ireland, Québec could consider remunerating more workers at the local level to carry out projects.

Finally, this case study shows that decentralised development programs are a key opportunity to generate bottom-up policy influence. As in Ireland, we think that the NPR should explicitly aim to generate upward policy input by harnessing the local lessons learned by rural agents and MRCs. This information can be used to inform rural and non-rural policies beyond the NPR itself.

Recommendations for the Québec National Rural Policy

We think that local social capital is essential to regional development. Through the case studies, we have illustrated international examples of ways in which policymakers have attempted to generate and harness social capital for regional development, both within and among communities. We have found that the NPR has many unique and promising elements that are crucial to maintain, support and expand. Indeed, there have been many successes on the ground as a result of this initiative. We summarize below our recommendations and considerations for the Québec NPR in three main themes: education networks, connections to heritage identities, and funding allocations. We also make some broader comments on linkages among communities.

Universities should have a presence in rural MRCs

The case study from the University of Missouri illustrates that Extension programs encourage education, individual empowerment, and inter-/intra-community involvement. A system such as this would provide a way for Québec universities to have a permanent presence beyond the local MRC in which they operate, based on the goal of providing local services. These services provide a much needed platform for innovation, citizen engagement, and needs advocacy in their local area. Higher education linkages to a community provide an excellent means of increasing social capital and multi-level governance collaboration. Funding for these extension services could come from the provincial level to a university administration body, rather than from the MRC or CLD. We think that the Québec NPR currently

lacks a level of support for linkages among services, education, and communities.

Establish a rural heritage tourism initiative in Québec

Lessons learned from the Pennsylvania heritage areas case lead us to suggest that regional development in Québec could be enhanced by establishing a rural heritage tourism initiative. By promoting tourism resources on a region-wide scale, Québec could enhance and elevate the attractiveness of its rural areas, stimulate new enterprises, and attract new people to visit, relocate, or otherwise engage with its rural regions. It would also serve to strengthen local identities and pride among residents – as we know, these are key components to the success of regional development and community cohesion.

A rural heritage tourism initiative could be focused on the long term development needs of rural areas. Specifically, funding could be made available for collectively promoting cultural and historic resources in Québec. The existing twenty-two official tourism regions could broaden their foci to incorporate assets which are not currently highlighted in traditional tourism marketing efforts. This more inclusive approach could be coordinated closely with rural agents in Québec to facilitate communication and collaboration between rural programs and policies.

Maintain funding at the MRC level to facilitate linking among institutions and organisations.

MRCs are closer to the concept of a functional region than are individual municipalities, making them a more appropriate level for regional development than municipalities. The role of MRCs in managing rural pact funds invites, and perhaps forces, the development of social capital between regional and local governments, as well as among local governments. Collaboration is also encouraged by the fact that more funds are available for municipalities that work together. We think that these elements of the NPR are important and should be maintained.

The focus of the NPR on the social aspects of regional development is also appropriate in our view. Québec and the federal government have many other initiatives for the support of local economic development, particularly the CLDs and the SADCs. We would expect that by remaining focused on the non-economic attributes of

development, MRCs can continually develop and maintain their social capital capacity to propose, assess, decide, and implement business initiatives that would be proposed via these other channels.

However, as seen in the Ireland Area-Based Partnerships program and other case studies, employment and economic viability are fundamental components for the growth of local social capital. As such, future versions of the NPR should consider how to give rural agents and local actors more freedom to collaborate with local CLDs where necessary, particularly in municipalities with high levels of unemployment. Another interesting way to address unemployment would be to consider allowing rural pact funds to be used to hire local individuals to carry out projects, since the current approach relies a great deal on volunteer work and rural agents cannot be project leads.

Devitalised communities and marginalised groups

The provision of additional funding to MRCs with municipalities classified as “devitalised” is also appropriate in our view. However, we note that within the MRCs, such communities are not always directly awarded the additional funds. Given that devitalised communities are often characterised by lower levels of social capital, we suggest that these places may be in need of more attention from the rural agents in order to encourage planning, proposal writing and project implementation so that they can capitalise on the financial opportunities afforded by the NPR. Moreover, we note that there is no explicit recognition in the NPR of particular marginalised groups – such as the unemployed, women, ethnic minorities, or people with disabilities – whether they are present in devitalised or non-devitalised communities. Greater attention to such groups in future versions of the policy is warranted. In particular, the training of rural agents could be expanded to improve their ability to reach out to and work with such groups.

Consider urban-rural linkages in regional development and policy creation

Within each of the recommendations we have made, a broader theme of linkages among communities is present. In particular, the links between regional centres and their surrounding peripheral communities has been a theme throughout the ICRPS Summer Institute. We know that the links and flows among these different types of regional communities – migration,

service provision, employment and tourism, for example – are crucial to the survival of both centres and peripheries, but we note that the NPR does not make any distinctions among types of municipalities. Indeed, many MRCs are characterised by the presence of one or two regional centres and surrounding smaller communities. A greater consideration for the links and flows among these types of municipalities, and the tendency of regional centres to dominate regional development initiatives, is warranted.

Conclusion

In Québec, regional development has been a major government priority at all levels. In this paper, we have explored the relationships between social capital and regional development, showing that

local networks among institutions, organisations, and individuals are key ingredients for success. Through three case studies – the University of Missouri Extension Program, Heritage Areas in Pennsylvania, and Ireland's Area-Based Partnerships program – we have provided examples of other approaches to regional development and social capital generation. We have concluded that Québec's NPR is innovative and strong in many ways and should be maintained into the future, given the continued importance of rural communities in the health of Canadian and Québécois society. Yet we have also contended that there are several opportunities for modification and expansion of the policy to improve its efficacy in promoting regional development.

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Regional Development 2

Regional Development Policy in Rural Québec: Perspectives on Public Health, Population, Entrepreneurship, Immigration, Governance, and Budgeting

Summary: The students in the second group with a focus on regional development looked into specific areas where local and rural areas could become more empowered through their own community development. Such a process would require ensuring that those who are an important part of the community's future, such as local youth and immigrants, become engaged and aware of the possibilities which are available to them in these rural areas. Based on this perspective, the group focused on the MRC system in Québec to determine its effectiveness in identifying the particular issues present in rural development and how it allocates available funds. Furthermore, the group recognized when evaluating the MRC that it is also necessary to look at the goals of rural agents in the communities themselves and whether they are able to successfully work together with local leaders to acquire the necessary funds from their MRC for development projects. Based on their analysis of these issues, the group put forth a list of specific recommendations.



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I. Introduction

Regional development can be seen as the management of economic, social or cultural boom and bust cycles, with an eye toward mitigating the negative effects of the booms and surviving the busts. In rural areas, communities have often established economically homogenous economies. In Québec, for example, rural areas have historically been based on a resource economy around timber harvesting, fishing, or agriculture. Lack of economic diversity, especially within a region, exposes rural areas to boom and bust cycles that affect every aspect of the community, including housing, health care access, income, and demographic sustainability. While some small villages do not have the scale of economic demand required to sustain basic businesses and

public services, most regions do contain sufficient demand. The challenges of identifying demand, organizing resources, and attracting a sustainable community partner, however, remain daunting. Acting in solidarity requires common demand and purpose, a task made more difficult when villages may or may not reflect a single, regional identity.

Regional development represents an important link for development priorities between local level organization and higher level government in Québec. Rural areas, in particular, can benefit from regional level organization and activity because the consolidation of resources (e.g. effort, funding, land, labour, capital) can enable a collection of small communities that would otherwise not be able to attract development alone to act collectively and attract development and services.

To illustrate and further illuminate both the need for regional collaboration and the challenges rural areas face in promoting regional development, the authors of this paper will look first at problems and potential solutions regarding two obstacles to regional development: lack of healthcare access and population decline. The following two sections will examine ways to promote entrepreneurship and immigration, two potential drivers of development in rural Québec. Treatment of those issues is followed by analysis of how regional governance in Québec could enhance development prospects, as well as a more in-depth look at the budgeting of its National Rural Policy (NPR). These topics are not meant to form a comprehensive analysis of all the challenges to regional development in rural Québec, but rather, represent the viewpoints and expertise of the paper's individual authors. Together, the sections below aim to provide a perspective on the various, inter-related issues faced by rural communities, and to highlight potential improvements to the NPR.

II. Access to Healthcare

Healthy citizens and adequate access to healthcare services are vital for the sustainability of a rural economy, its economic growth, and development. Although healthcare services are available for the citizens of Canada for little or no cost, there are still some difficulties in obtaining needed services in various rural communities in Québec. Limitations in access to healthcare services have the potential to result in additional healthcare costs and an increase in the severity of medical conditions due to inadequate treatment options and access to care. Barriers to healthcare access include limitations of transportation, long patient wait times for medical services, and a shortage of rural healthcare providers (Roarke 2012). Since the citizens of rural Québec face obstacles and challenges in accessing healthcare which are not found in the urban and metropolitan areas of Québec, a unique approach for adopting policies to address these concerns should be considered.

Transportation Issues

A study in the Journal of Trauma Injury, Infection, and Critical Care (2010), indicates that 77.5% of Canadians reside within one-hour proximity (road travel) of emergency medical centers; however there are still a number of citizens (22.5%) who reside more than one hour away from immediate

medical care. In addition, those rural residents without an automobile, or who cannot drive for various reasons, do not have the same access to healthcare opportunities as those residing in urban communities. In the United States, various rural and urban municipalities have introduced programs, for enrolled participants who may be isolated, or have barriers in transportation access. These programs are funded through various means including municipality budgets and through other non-profit organizations (NCTD 2012).

Policy Recommendations

Citizens who have limited access to personal automobiles and other means of transportation face barriers to health care services. Ride share programs which offer funding and incentives for community volunteers who coordinate necessary travel for individuals in very rural areas, is one alternative which should be considered for MRC funding. By providing rural communities with better transportation options and more availability to healthcare access, Québec has the potential to improve the health of those in very rural communities. This would also reduce healthcare costs associated with prolonged lapses in healthcare due to transportation-related issues.

Wait Times

Another issue regarding access to healthcare is the loss of productivity and personal time associated with waiting for healthcare services. Obtaining healthcare services can be a lengthy process for clients in general, but it can present special hardships for those located in very rural areas (Esmail 2010). Though various requirements for triage are mandated by the law and governed by Canada Health, citizens who are from areas in which travel is lengthy or difficult, could face additional barriers in accessing care, due to potential loss of income and productivity (Esmail 2010). Data indicates that in 2010 there was an estimated \$213,521 loss of productivity for patients who spent time waiting for needed specialty healthcare services in Québec, including oncology, cardiac care, gynecology, etc. (Esmail 2010).

Addressing these areas is critical because some patients could forego healthcare due to a fear of loss of income associated with extended waiting periods at healthcare facilities. Exploring innovative methods for preventing long waits in public health centers and medical offices is imperative in eliminating barriers to accessing

healthcare for the citizens of Québec.

Policy Recommendations

MRC policies requiring physician's offices to offer electronic methods of triage to patients are one alternative for addressing the issue of losses in productivity, and for addressing certain aspects of time management related to accessing healthcare. In non-emergency situations, using pagers within a specified radius, or using text messaging alerts sent to an individual's phone would allow patients to conduct other business while awaiting medical care. There are no current studies available on the successes of the pager/text messaging systems; however according to the communications company USA Mobility, health care makes up approximately 40% of its business (USA Mobility 2012). In addition, increased broad-band internet could also help those in rural areas of Québec to better manage time by allowing them to check in for physician appointments from other locations. This type of patient triage would help with time-management issues associated with seeking medical care.

Shortage of Rural Health Care Providers

There are several identified reasons physicians are scarce in rural or remote areas, according to the Canadian Medical Association Journal (2012). Those reasons include, among other factors, less than favorable or non-modern facilities, limited technical resources, heavier workloads, professional isolation, and quality of life (2012). In 2004, data indicated that approximately 1,308 family physicians were needed to equalize the family physician–population ratio between rural and urban areas of Canada (Roarke 2012).

Policy Recommendations

Physician recruitment efforts in Québec and through-out Canada have increased during recent years, however, there is still a shortage of available physicians in Québec (Roarke 2012). Data also suggest that physician retention rates are a concern in rural areas (Roarke 2012). In the United States other options for healthcare services are available through the use of alternative medical providers (HRSA 2006). Utilizing nurse practitioners in rural areas is one solution to the physician shortage. Rural regional policies which include incentives directed toward attracting these professionals to rural communities could result in better and more-timely access to healthcare. Additionally, regional policies which include training options

for local individuals as Community Emergency Medical Technicians could address the shortage of health care providers and offer future employment opportunities for those who successfully complete (EMT) training (HRSA 2006).

III. Population Decline

One cause of the health access challenges faced by rural Québec residents is the lack of population densities necessary to support doctors and hospitals. Although a diversity of services and economic opportunities are needed to promote regional development, lack of services and employment often cause people to leave rural areas, further undermining development possibilities. Twenty-three percent of Québec's consolidated census subdivisions lost more than 5% of their population between 1996 and 2011, producing local concerns about the associated loss of grocery stores, schools, and other key services (Cayer 2012; Tremblay 2012). These concerns are supported by research showing that population decline undermines the viability of businesses and government services in rural areas, thereby reducing economic opportunities, availability of key services, social capital, and quality of life in rural communities (Kilkenny 2008; Lyson 2002).

Research on rural population change, particularly in the United States, suggests that the rural communities best positioned to avoid population decline are those that are either located close to urban centers (Johnson and Cromartie, 2006; McGranahan and Beale, 2002) or are rich in natural amenities, such as mountains, lakes and rivers, or pleasant climates (McGranahan, 1999; McGranahan and Beale, 2002). Communities in outlying areas with few natural attractions, however, face significant risk of population decline, particularly if they are facing high unemployment rates symptomatic of declines extractive industries (Millward, 2005). Population losses are often most acute among young people, particularly those who are well-educated, meaning that communities who hope to reverse population decline must create opportunities for high-skilled young people to work in their communities, and to induce those who have left to return when they are ready to raise families.

Role of Public, Private and Civil Society Organizations

Although it is tempting to focus only on the role of government and business in preventing population

decline, perhaps the most important response has been that of rural people. In places like d'Espirit-Sainte, for example, they have repeatedly come together to preserve their towns, schools and social institutions. Most of Québec's rural communities have persevered despite economic restructuring and attempted closure by the government. The power of citizen mobilization and their third sector organizations are major reasons for their perseverance. Québec's policy specifically seeks to ensure the survival of those communities.

Despite the determination of local citizens, business sector decisions remain critical in creating jobs and providing services to support local populations. These actors are driven largely by economic conditions, but proactive government policy and community action are also crucial in creating the infrastructure and conditions necessary to attract and maintain businesses in a community. The community of St. Damase, for example, raised funding from local industry to build a large water treatment facility, allowing an existing a local food processor to build a larger plant rather than relocating (Bisson, 2012). The decreasing employment and viability in manufacturing, extractive industries, and small-town retail businesses, however, means that communities are competing for a limited number of business opportunities, and therefore must be creative in developing new opportunities that are unique to their area.

A number of examples exist of rural areas in Québec that have remained vibrant due to their ability to attract well-paying jobs. La Pocatière in the Bas St. Laurent region, for example, built itself from a small manufacturing town into a global research center, attracting a highly educated workforce to perform research in a number of industries, and diversifying their economy to weather potential job losses (Gendron, 2012). Similarly, the Gaspésie region has lowered high unemployment rates and stemmed long-term population decline through the promotion of tourism and wind energy (Fortin, 2012).

Although the examples above are encouraging, they do not represent strategies that will be viable in all communities. La Pocatière, for example, benefited from multiple institutions of higher learning and the resultant presence of a highly educated workforce. Questions remain about whether wind energy in Gaspésie will create

enough long-term jobs to make a difference in regional development. Not every community can or should acquire a food processing plant like St. Damase. Such success stories, however, underline the way that rural areas can use community assets to promote diverse and resilient economies.

Policy Recommendations

The NPR seeks to develop the capacity of rural communities to work together to achieve community goals. Both existing research on rural population change and the experience of rural agents (Caille, 2012), however, suggest that such issues cannot be addressed in isolation, since the lack of economic opportunity and outmigration drain communities of skilled individuals and potential leaders. A more holistic rural policy would promote economic development as a means to prevent the outmigration that robs rural communities of their capacity for action.

Another major drawback in the NPR's ability to promote regional development is that it does not facilitate coordination at the regional level. While the decision to give funding to individual MRCs is intended to empower them to plan for their own futures, their relatively small geographic scope means that funds are distributed for just portions of regions. This could be remedied by coordinating funds among adjacent MRCs for larger projects.

The lack of focus on getting rural areas to use complementary assets to promote regional development speaks to the NPR's larger shortcoming in failing to target funds to where they can most effectively be used. The vulnerability of remote areas without natural attractions suggests that more funding may be necessary to promote development in such areas. Given existing limitations on funding, the Québec government should consider whether investments should be concentrated in particular areas, targeting either those that are particularly devitalized, or places that have potential for development, but would lag behind without additional programs.

IV. Entrepreneurship and Regional Development

One hope for creating opportunities, enhancing existing services, and retaining population in rural areas is the promotion of new local enterprises. Business start-up, or entrepreneurship, is a fundamental component of economic growth,

productivity, the generation of employment, innovation, and socio-economic development (European Commission, 2004; United Nations, 2005; Meccheri and Pelloni, 2006; Fritsch and Mueller, 2008; Audretsch et al., 2012). This entrepreneurial influence in the territories occurs at different scales, including countries, regions, rural and urban areas, etc.

The social and economic contribution of business start-ups is potentially greater in rural settings than in urban areas (Lafuente et al., 2007; OECD, 2009). According to Bryden and Hart (2005), entrepreneurial activity in rural areas helps to diversify the economic network. Diversification avoids dependence on mono-production and builds a greater range of services. Entrepreneurship is a good way to generate opportunities for professional development, build social and economic networks, and maintain rural population by attracting new residents to rural communities (Bryden and Hart, 2005; Akgün et al., 2010). This study sees entrepreneurship as a key tool for regional development, especially in rural areas.

Québec is one of the territories in the world where there is more clarity linking entrepreneurship to regional development (OECD, 2010). Thus, rural Québec displays higher rates of entrepreneurial activity than urban areas. Many innovative companies are also located in rural areas. For instance, the rural region of La Pocatière has developed a local innovation system focused on farming and agricultural-science, and technological and industrial areas such as physical technologies and the transport equipment industry (Doloreux et al., 2007). The success of Bombardier as a rural region leader with international importance is a success story with lessons for other rural regions.

How do we explain the success of rural entrepreneurship in Québec? An important factor, in addition to the entrepreneurial tradition of the society, is the organization, policy, and support (financial, mentoring, networking, etc.) that the institutions offer for entrepreneurial activity. The mix between the private sector, state and the third sector (civil society) has been a catalyst for high levels of entrepreneurial activities in rural areas. This is reflected in the many government and non-government institutions that support of entrepreneurial activity in Québec. Examples include the Community Futures Programme (CFP), Community Futures Development

Corporations (CFDCs), SADC (or Société d'aide au développement des collectivités), CLD (Conseil Local de Développement), and MRCs (municipalités régionales de comté), among others.

On the other hand, there are still major challenges ahead concerning entrepreneurship, socio-economic development, and the sustainable futures of Québec territories. A main challenge is the renewal of the entrepreneurial population as they age in rural Québec. For small towns and areas with low population density, there is a need to attract young people and immigrants to create new businesses, services, and job opportunities. Another important challenge is the economic diversification of rural areas, which must not depend solely on natural resources if they want to remain viable in the knowledge economy. This makes human capital and innovative projects in rural territories even more crucial in coming years.

Policy Recommendations

Two recommendations can be drawn from the information above. First, specific policies and activities about entrepreneurship must be generated to attract young people to rural areas and engage youth in these communities. In recent years, many countries have tried to promote entrepreneurship in young people through generic policies. This approach has failed. Studies have demonstrated the need for specifically designed policies and programs that promote entrepreneurship among young individuals, and particularly with rural youth (Xheneti, 2006). According to Schroeder et al. (2010), there is a need to create a strategy in rural places for young individuals that focus on three fundamental points: 1) commitment, 2) equipment and 3) support. Commitment means that from a very early age young people are involved in, are responsible for, and lead real processes to foster the socio-economic development of the communities they live in. More generally, from the time they are young, people must feel part of the community and believe that their contributions are essential for improving quality of life. Equipment refers to greater investments in education, both in terms of business attitudes and aptitudes among young rural people. The objective is to create a culture that motivates youth to have the self-confidence required to create a business, and for them to identify failure not as a punishment but as part of the learning process. Support refers to everything young rural individuals need to realize their ideas, transforming them into business opportunities,

forming business plans, implementing them, and providing facilities for them to access networks of contacts and venture capital. Perhaps most important, however, are adult mentors to teach and help achieve business objectives. They can serve as role models to encourage young individuals to be entrepreneurs (Schroeder et al., 2010).

The second recommendation is to foster more and better economic relationships among the business clusters of the urban centers of the province and rural areas of Québec. For instance, Montréal and Rimouski's economies are based on a strong set of specialized sectors (OECD, 2004). A national policy could help to organize the supply and distribution of basic materials or services required by the clusters in the cities with companies located in rural areas. This would require creating new businesses in rural areas which can provide the products and services that urban clusters need.

V. Immigration and Regional Development

An often-overlooked way that rural communities gain an infusion of fresh skills and ideas is through attracting foreign immigrants. Due to economic globalization, there has been an increase in the immigration to developed countries, and particularly to Canada. Most of immigrants to Canada end up in major cities. Carter, Morrish, and Amoyaw (2008) note that four provinces (Ontario, Québec, British Columbia, and Alberta) are the destination of approximately 95% of new arrivals, with Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal attracting over 75% of them. This means that this important supplement to the economic and social fabric of Canada's communities and regions, is an asset that could be better utilized by rural areas.

Wrage (1981) points out that immigration processes and the traits of the immigrants are important for the economic development of poorer areas. With an effective spatial policy, economic growth in the poorer provinces could be fostered, reducing regional disparities. Regionalization programs in Canada have, to some extent, been successful in promoting rural immigration especially through (1) the Provincial/territorial Nominee Program (PNP) and (2) Francophone and Temporary Foreign Worker initiatives. Such policies regarding immigration to Canada are driven by three goals:

- A desire to improve the economic outcomes of entering immigrants, given the deterioration

since the 1980s,

- An attempt to better respond to short-term regional labour market shortages often associated with commodity booms, and
- A desire to shift immigration away from the three largest cities to other regions of the country that are seeking more economic immigrants (Picot and Sweetman, 2011).

These goals respond to the need for human capital that is associated with the knowledge economy, and the promotion of regional economic growth, especially in rural and small towns.

Based on the interactive discussions with participants and presenters in summer school, it is noted that 85% of immigrants in Québec live in the Greater Montréal area. This has led to a disproportionate distribution of economic growth. The Ministère de l'Immigration et Communautés culturelles du Québec is working in partnership with the Conférences régionale des élu(e)s, with respect to government guidelines for regional development. There are immigration directorates in place to make sure that the goals for regional development are realized. These directorates include: Montérégie ; Estrie; Mauricie; Saguenay; Trois-Rivières; among others.

In Québec, the president of Solidarité rurale du Québec in 2005 emphasized the importance of building up regional immigration regionalization policies according to the will of the community (Allen and Troestler, 2007). Regionalization of immigration in Québec is one of the five priorities of the Québec government, with grassroots initiatives started to attract immigrants and help them settle and integrate. A good example in regionalizing immigration is the Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean region where the municipalities signed a regional agreement to attract immigrants and help them settle and integrate in these communities (Allen and Troestler, 2007).

One model for a successful rural immigration program is Manitoba, which has been referred to as the leading player in terms of putting innovative and complete regionalization strategy in place (Nolin, McCallum and Zehtab-Martin, 2009; Denton, 2004). According to Nolin, et al. (2008), Manitoba is reported to be at the forefront of provincial involvement in immigration and the first province to extend its federal-provincial agreement on immigration indefinitely. Unlike Québec, Manitoba has an exceptionally good program in

place to attract immigrants into rural communities. The Provincial Nominee Program has led to an increase of migrants in rural areas and small towns, with a particular increase in areas such as Brandon, Steinbach, Mordern, Portage La Prairie, and Winkler (Manitoba Government, 2008). Manitoba therefore serves as an example in an effective regional development strategy in the country.

Even an area with a successful program to bring immigrants to rural areas, however, must have the social infrastructure, employment opportunities, and housing to retain them. In most cases, when immigrants move from rural or small towns, they seek adequate, inclusive social support. This means that areas receiving immigrants must create a ‘welcoming community’ where integration of immigrants is a two-way process, where the communities create more development arenas to accommodate the needs of the newcomers while they adjust to the new environment in which they choose to settle. If such social support is lacking and communities lack the resources or assets to help in the integration of newcomers, even places that manage to attract immigrants will suffer subsequent out-migration.

Policy Recommendations:

There is need for regional partnerships, local engagement, and collaboration among the federal, provincial, territorial governments and the third sector to provide the required support services to attract and retain immigrants. Partnerships can also be within and among communities, with local businesses, non-profit organizations, networks, local people, and immigrants.

As noted, several strategies have been adopted to reduce regional disparities on both the federal and the provincial levels. There is a need for government intervention on a community level to establish and facilitate the idea of welcoming communities so as to attract and retain immigrants in the regions where they are needed most. However, when a policy is adopted, in the case of immigrants, it should be clear and consistent with effective communication and coordination among respective community leaders and groups to help these newcomers adjust in their new environment.

VI. Regional Governance

Successful regional governance is a critical element for effective regional development because it can

make many unique contributions toward sustaining rural communities, particularly by bringing various levels of government and non-government actors together to work on the issues mentioned above. Regional governance can attract and manage large, regional investments in private, public, or mixed sectors. The broad inclusion of stakeholders in governance offers the widest range of opportunities to advocate for, and represent, all regional residents by empowering local communities. Regions can foster and market the local identities of the region as a collection of unique and valuable places, improving the options for development — such as tourism. Yet, challenges for regional governance in rural areas are equally numerous. Successful governance requires communication and coordination among the stakeholders. Density and distance to density exacerbate the difficulties of achieving these two objectives. The engagement and sustaining of community support and interest in regional development can be particularly difficult in devitalized, depopulating, or deteriorating communities. Given the conflicting land use pressures in some rural areas, balancing community and individual rights has been difficult without sufficient input from residents. Some communities are suffering development stagnation or decline because communication and coordination among stakeholders is lacking.

This section will address two themes that relate to many of the challenges and opportunities outlined above: communication and coordination, and local community empowerment. Although there are numerous important stakeholders in the governance network, the primary focus here will be at the MRC and local levels. The government structure above the MRC (as shown in government flow charts) is a relatively internalized structure with inherent self-assessment and response. Below the MRC, local communities vary widely in their governance organization, capability, and effectiveness. Therefore, the nature of, and relationships among the MRC and local communities are critical for regional development success.

Communication and Coordination

Based on conversations with residents in local communities in Eastern Québec, local leaders understand that their main point of contact for government services is the MRC (i.e. agent and board). In fact, the MRC is the single point of contact between the higher levels of government and local communities. As the critical connection

for both, the MRC can serve as a common, and powerful, point of communication and coordination for both higher levels of government and the local communities. Yet, this strength is also a significant vulnerability. Based on Figure 3.2 in the OECD Rural Policy Review, the MRC agent and office represents THE critical link in communication between the local level and the higher government entities. Such a single and narrow link inherently excludes some rural areas. This is particularly true if the MRC agent lacks support among local communities, local leadership or consensus is lacking, or the community disagrees with MRC or government policies. Access and assistance for regional development funding depend on a community's ability to be organized and recognized by the MRC, private sector, or other governance stakeholders. In addition, local communities and individuals are not leveraging the commonalities among themselves to gain support (e.g. financial, political, policy) through coordination and communication. Rather, they are reflective of a vertical government structure that diminishes participation, collective action, self-support, and solidarity. Government agencies, such as the MRC, promote the fragmentation of these regions by acting both as a 'middleman' between local communities and governments, and between local communities themselves. Although the MRC represents a vital link between the higher levels of government and the local communities, this 'single point of contact' exposes a problem in the governance structure.

Policy Recommendations

- Strengthen communication opportunities between local communities and all other levels of government. Communication with the MRC can remain primary as long as other communication channels are strengthened.
- Establish a consistent protocol and system for local community review of MRC effectiveness, responsiveness, and transparency.
- Increase the opportunities and expectations of local communities to communicate and coordinate horizontally within regions and across regions, by means of funding access and performance measures. Provide a reward system for communities that build wider local coalitions among themselves.
- Promote the strength of regional development governance to leverage large, long-term assets. Many of the regional governance programs seem to be operating on a short-term

project-to-project basis, rather than longer term 'evolving' plans for development. Every project ought to include a section describing the expected contribution of this project toward a 10-year goal.

Empowered Local Communities

Empowered communities discussed at ICRPS share some common qualities: strategic vision (long-term), short-term action, community outreach, confidence, leadership, and access to capital/assets. Such local communities also have strong working relationships with their MRC, CLD, and other regional development network. As a result, outcomes such as stabilization or increases in the resident population, increased local revenue, and increased private capital investments are apparent. By contrast, some communities (particularly devitalized) are not empowered due to low motivation, lack of leadership, demographic composition, lack of hope, or insufficient engagement with other stakeholders (i.e. government, private sector, or non-profit organizations). The MRC agenda addresses the basic community needs, but the 'bottom up' sustainable development will only come through action by a collective effort from both local communities and residents. Ironically, an elder resident of Esprit-Saint noted that the government has done a fine job of improving the rights of individuals, but has simultaneously eroded the rights and (by extension) responsibilities of communities. One consequence has been erosion of the foundation of the governance structure embodied in the local community.

Policy Recommendations

- Engage private sector stakeholders (e.g. business or agriculture) more as part of the governance structure. People in these positions have strong potential to be community and regional leaders.
- Promote 'inspired identity' among constituencies of Québec's government. This does not mean rural communities will receive money to promote themselves. Rather, this is a 'thank you' campaign recognizing the valuable history, culture, and contributions of rural and remote communities to rural and remote communities, and Québec as a whole.
- Implement a rural regional empowerment program.
- Re-establish a balance between community and individual rights.

- Improve transparency and accountability in the entire governance structure.

VII. Budget Distribution in the Québec National Rural Policy

Serious attempts to improve the performance of all levels of government for regional development require knowledge and analysis of where funds come from, how they are distributed, and how programs are evaluated. Although Québec has a number of programs aimed at supporting regional development, this section takes an in depth look at one such program: the NPR.

Who Receives Funding?

Each year, there is a budget dedicated exclusively to the NPR. That budget is directly distributed from the Québec National Government to the MRCs (and other specified municipalities) who have signed the rural pacts and are granted oversight in the NPR. The MRCs receive a total of \$213 million from 2007 until 2014 to develop the projects required by their municipalities. In 2007, 91 contracts were signed between the government and various MRCs that either contained no municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants or that had municipalities with of more than 10,000 inhabitants but had more than 50% of their population living in rural areas.

Criteria for Budget Distribution

The budget distribution consists of a fixed amount for each municipality in the program, as well as amounts for the MRCs rural population, and the population living in devitalized rural municipalities. Places are characterized as devitalized based on a socioeconomic index that includes education, unemployment, demographics, income, and other factors.

This budget, with some restrictions, must be invested in the following uses:

- Salaries, wages, and benefits for employees and trainees
- Capital expenditures for goods such as land, buildings, equipment, machinery, rolling stock, for incorporation fees, and similar expenses
- Acquisition of technology, software packages, patents and other similar expenses
- The needs of working capital calculated for the first year of operation
- Other costs incurred during the development and implementation of projects (Pacte Rurale

2007)

Budget Distribution and Control

The funding above is dispensed to meet the following strategic goals:

- To promote the renewal and the integration of population
- Favor the valorization of human, cultural and physical resources of the territory
- Ensure the durability of rural communities

Maintain a balance among the quality of life, framework of life, environment, and economic activities (Pacte Rurale 2007). Every rural MRC with a rural pact must, once a year, evaluate the projects and produce an accountability report to both the Ministry and to the population. This report must include indicators related to the number of volunteers in organizations of local development, whether or not there is a development strategy, the number of projects subsidized with the rural pact (and the percentage of funding for each project), employment generated, and other statistical data.

Unfortunately, this evaluation contains little evidence as to how the budget should be distributed, since it seems that the evaluation has only two goals: 1) assembling statistics on local development and the organizations involved at local level, and 2) checking to see if the full amount of the money has been spent on the appropriate projects. The Rural Pact states that a characteristic that to be achieved is a process of accountability to government and to the people, but there is no evidence of evaluation on these criteria.

Evaluation and Recommendations

NPR funding, as shown above, takes into account only rurality, population, and devitalization. Potential improvements to the distribution system include taking other factors into account when distributing funds, particularly how likely a project is to advance the goals above. This approach would require prior evaluation of the feasibility and compatibility of planned projects, quantification of a project's goals, and a post-evaluation regarding the success of the project in meeting its goals and advancing the priorities of the NPR.

This program supervision, however, must be done with the conviction that the MRC and the municipal levels must be the places where the proposals and decisions on project funding are made. A qualitative evaluation of the impact of

the projects must be done to refine the targets in future budget distributions and rural development policies. In light of this priority, citizen evaluations of projects also seem both necessary and realistic. Involving citizens, through direct democracy, in choosing the best way to expend the budgets they have, which kind of projects are most suitable, and how to improve their welfare should, in the end, involve them more not only in policy but also in the sense of belonging to the community.

VIII. Conclusions

The sections above provide no easy answers for Québec's quest to create more resilient, sustainable economies and communities in rural areas. Instead, they show that the challenges to rural development are diverse and widespread. Difficulties in accessing health care in rural areas call for improved transportation systems, better use of technology to manage wait and travel times, and improved programs to recruit physicians to practice in rural areas. Stemming the declines in population that exacerbate such a lack of services, requires creative thinking and regional collaboration to ensure that economic opportunities exist for those who wish to live in rural areas.

Two possible remedies to these difficulties are entrepreneurship, which can leverage local talents and assets to improve both services and economic opportunities, and immigration, which can infuse

devalitized areas with additional people and skills. Though both entrepreneurship and immigration represent opportunities that many rural areas have not fully utilized, they also require concerted efforts on the part of government and civil society to provide the education and support necessary to cultivate entrepreneurship, and to provide the services, opportunities, and welcome needed to attract and retain immigrants. Because there is little evidence whether current policy is effective at promoting rural development, the current efforts could also be improved by instituting measures to study the impact of various programs for purposes of better directing future projects.

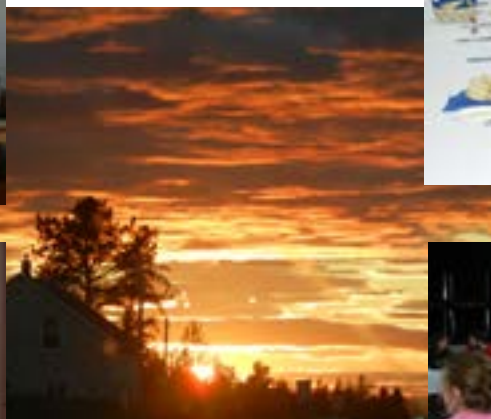
Diverse though the problems and solutions are, a common theme is the need for collaboration across sectors and jurisdictions. As noted in Section V, these regional problems require improved regional governance and enhanced cooperation among various levels of government, the private sector, community organizations, and, perhaps most importantly, other communities and MRCs. Québec's policy-makers should be commended for focusing on bottom-up approaches that empower communities and MRCs to initiate and implement development programs, but they must also recognize that many challenges faced by rural communities require communities to plan together to complement each other's assets to create a brighter future.

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Inequality

Summary: The Inequality group considered a number of situations where social inequality and rural development issues converge. This includes those related to rural demography such as access to the labour force, educational institutions, and health care providers as well as how this access may apply to local people or recent immigrants. An interesting dynamic which is unique to Québec within Canadian rural societies is the dominance of the French language and how this may impede the ability of rural areas to attract dynamic immigrant populations. The group recognized that communities should be aware of this particular issue while always maintaining the importance of preserving and upholding their own culture with respect to language and traditions. Therefore, when making recommendation the group attempted to offer solutions to negotiating this hurdle to rural development in Québec.



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I Inequality observed through identity fostered by language and migration trends in Québec

Introduction

Inequality is one of the biggest issues that societies have been dealing with for hundreds of years. From ancient cultures to modern societies, the gap between rich and poor, male and female, young and old, has always been with us. Although it may increase and decrease, we have never been able to eradicate it completely.

In this paper we will be looking into reducing inequality as a way to ensure a strong sustainable future (Neumayer, 2011) for rural areas of Québec. Equality in society is a necessary factor for sustainable development just as sustainable development is needed to ensure equality for present and future generations. We will identify some of the barriers to equality and propose actions for their elimination.

There are several issues that are relevant to inequality, including Québec's cultural and social background, services, and infrastructure. The all have implications for issues such as identity, immigration, demography, labour market, housing, health, and education. Each of these issues will be considered from both rural and urban perspectives. Comparisons will be made where applicable.

Identity and Immigration

Québec's history as a French colony makes it a unique province in Canada. Arriving into the province for the first time, one notices this cultural heritage that is highly visible in comparison to most countries. Car license plates, for example, remind the newcomer that Quebecers remember their past ("je me souviens"), that they are very proud of it, and are not willing to lose it. Québec is a country within a country that needs to keep its own personality and identity to survive. This pride is what drives the Québec government to protect the French language and culture at considerable cost. A big part of the threat is the surrounding area that is predominantly English.

Most Canadians speak English so Québec's governments have had to protect the language with more and more laws. This situation is comparable to Catalonia, in Spain, which has had to fight to keep Catalan as the main language of the region (keeping in mind that French is a strong language, spoken in several countries, unlike Catalan).

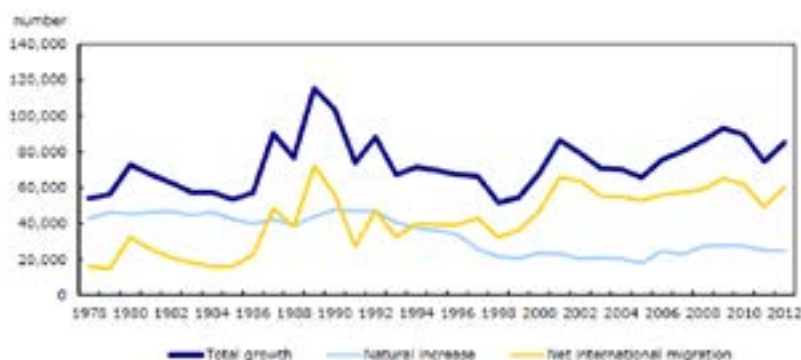
Needs of immigration

The demographic history and French language protection policies have meant that the rural population in Québec has little or no knowledge of English. This has led to two different inequality dynamics in rural Québec. On the one hand, the rural population faces barriers living elsewhere in the country. They are even unlikely to move to Montréal since the city is bilingual and there is

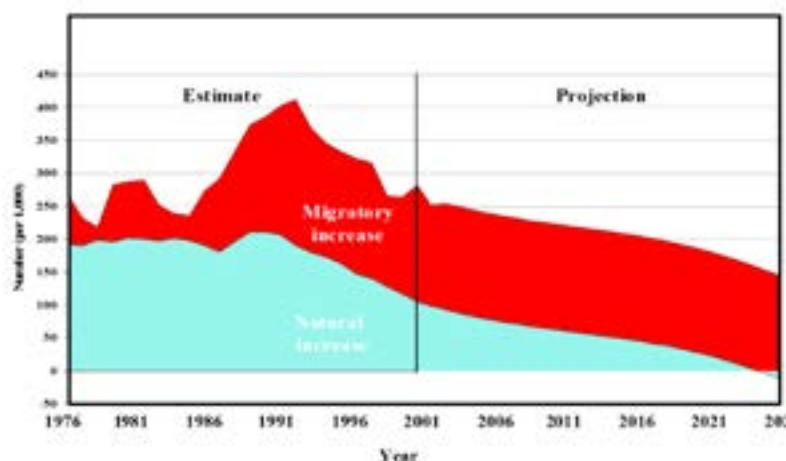
little room for exclusive French speakers. It may be that rural Québécois can move to live in France or another francophone country, but leaving one's country is much harder than migrating within it.

The second inequality is dynamic and related to the fact that in many countries, population growth is through immigration. This is easily observable in Canada where the population growth is more and more dependent on migration while the natural increase declines (Graphs 1 and. 2).

Net international migration accounted for more than two-thirds (71%) of the country's population growth in the first quarter of 2012. At the same time, Québec has had a negative net migration index with the rest of the country – making it even more dependent on international immigration.



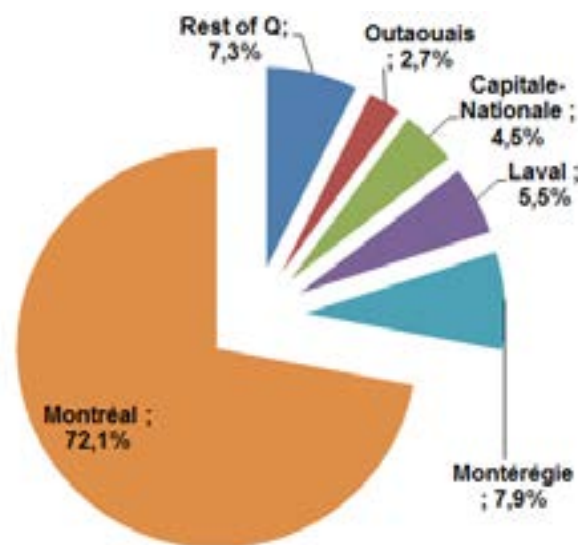
Graph 1: Canada's population growth 1978-2012 / Source: Statistics Canada



Graph 2: Canada's population growth and forecast 1976-2020 / Source: Bruno Jean

Québec has a very good program to attract new immigration. Since much of the province is monolingual in French, especially the rural areas, many of these new migrants will chose to move to other areas of the country. English is seen as the common international trade language and has been chosen by many to be their international language. This pattern is reflected in the data relating to the distribution of migration in Québec (graph. 3). From the total migration in the region, we can clearly distinguish a big difference between rural (10 % migration) and urban (90 % migration). The latter figure includes Montréal and its surroundings (Montréal and Laval) and Québec City. This difference has to be reduced if Québec is to keep more population in rural areas. The promotion of migration outside the city is important to ensure the sustainability of those areas.

It is also easily observed that the metropolitan area of Montréal represents 85.5% of the total migration in Québec, while other urban areas such as Québec City has just 4.5% of the migration. A possible answer to this difference is to be found on the language used in the hosting areas.

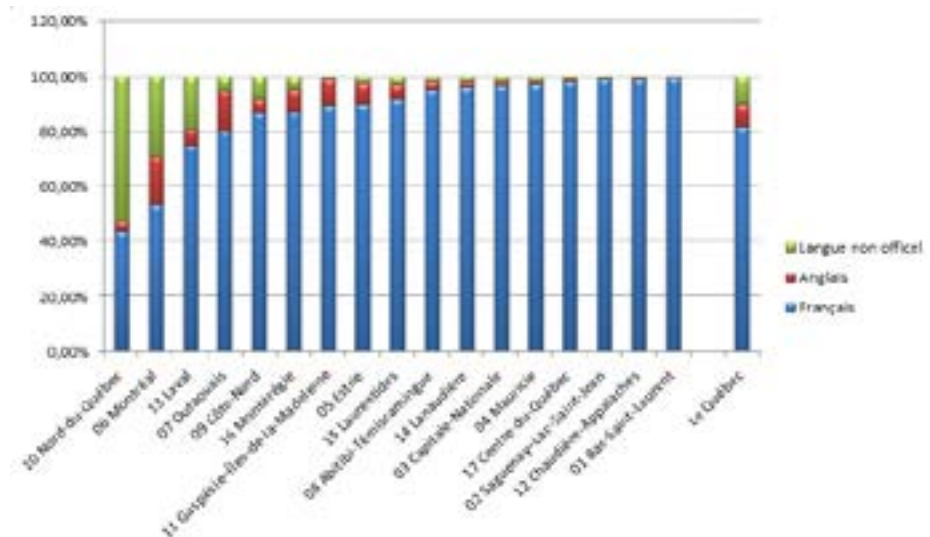


Graph 3: Immigrant distribution in Québec / Source: «Banque de données des statistiques officielles sur le Québec» Immigration 2007-11

In graph 4 we observe regions relation to the mother tongue of their inhabitants. There is a clear relationship between the areas with more English speakers and migratory flows. Of course this relationship is not unique and does not make it the only reason why immigrants choose to go close to urban centres. Other reasons may be that they try to get closer to other immigrants from their

home country or that there are more urban job opportunities.

By checking the countries of origin of immigrants in Canada and Québec (Table 1), we can observe another pattern: in Québec most of the immigration comes from francophone countries. They are typically attracted to regions that welcome their language. The rest of Canada receives immigrants with a wider range of languages.



Graph 4: Population with only one mother tongue, administrative regions of Québec 2007 / Source: «Banque de données des statistiques officielles sur le Québec»

	Canada	2005-2009	Stat. Canada		Québec	2007-2011	Québec
	Country	n	%		Country	n	%
1	China	171.313	13,70%	1	Maroc	21.655	8,80%
2	India	155.381	12,43%	2	Algérie	20.664	8,40%
3	Philippines	109.182	8,73%	3	France	18.223	7,40%
4	Pakistan	51.613	4,13%	4	Chine	16.053	6,50%
5	United States	43.017	3,44%	5	Haïti	13.868	5,60%
6	United Kingdom	34.681	2,77%	6	Colombie	11.681	4,80%
7	Iran	33.983	2,72%	7	Liban	8.733	3,60%
8	South Korea	31.061	2,48%	8	Philippines	6.405	2,60%
9	Colombia	28.509	2,28%	9	Iran	6.055	2,50%
10	Sri Lanka	22.882	1,83%	10	Mexique	5.588	2,30%
11	Algeria	21.402	1,71%	11	Cameroun	5.276	2,10%
12	France	20.877	1,67%	12	Roumanie	5.230	2,10%
13	Morocco	20.089	1,61%	13	Moldavie	5.100	2,10%

Table 1: Immigrant origins Canada-Québec / Source: Statistics Canada and Banque de données des statistiques officielles sur le Québec

Policy Suggestions

We suggest that rural Québec open up to the use of English as a second language as it is used in Montréal. This would increase the comfort of immigrants while they learn French, instead of moving to other parts of the country. This will also create new opportunities for young people from rural areas since it will increase their options for education and training in other countries or regions of Canada. Even if they go back to their homeland it will be with a view that is likely to facilitate regional development.

At the same time it is very important that this openness includes initiatives that promote the regional culture. This can be ensured through education and the encouragement of newcomers to integrate in the local society. The traditions of small villages are what gives them their unique identity and is a rich source of knowledge for all the society.

II. Rural-Urban Comparisons: Inequality in Rural Demography, Labour Markets, and First Nations Peoples

Understanding inequality

Inequality could be defined as a stage of imbalance. It means a situation where one part of a system is in a better or worse condition than the other part and it is manifested in the distribution of resources across the whole spectrum of a society (www.eapn.eu). Although the subject of inequality is very broad, this essay will explore the concept of inequality with respect to demography, the labour market, and first nation communities.

Demography

It is generally observed that rural Canada and rural Québec have been losing population to urban cities. This is used to explain the pattern of age disparity in urban and rural regions (Statistics Canada 2006). The population is aging more quickly in rural areas than urban ones and urban centres attract new immigrants in higher numbers than rural regions and small towns (Statistics Canada 2006).

This phenomenon creates a gap in the sustainability of small towns and rural areas, especially for the succession of jobs and entrepreneurs (Ryan, 2008). For example the city of Montréal, with a land area of 4,258.31 km² has a population of 3,908,700 people while the remaining land area of Québec (1,365,128 km²) has a population of 3,994,301 people (Statistics Canada, Census 2011). This disparity in population distribution has affected the growth of small towns and rural areas.

Although rural Québec tends to have very positive population growth compared to other provinces, most of the growth is in places that are close to larger urban centres (Bollman, 2012). More remote rural places in Québec like Esprit Saint face a declining population.

A more positive example of rural population growth can be seen with the success of Manitoba in redirecting the immigrant population to small towns and rural areas outside Winnipeg (www.gov.mb.ca). Manitoba has included in their Provincial Nominee Program, a regulation that all new immigrants must be ready to settle in places outside Winnipeg. This has pushed populations into places like Altona, Steinbach, and Brandon and created significant population changes in small rural places (Bucklashuk & Sormova 2009).

As observed in the publication *Our Diverse City* (2007) Bollman et al, wrote that employment opportunities, social support, language, amenities, and ethnocultural influences have continued to influence the attraction of immigrants into small towns and rural areas. Manitoba has some private sector companies opening operations in small towns and rural areas. An example is Maple Leaf Foods, an agricultural value-added company employing people from abroad. The convergence of such diverse populations has seen the growth of ethnocultural groups and language support services which have eventually increased the diversity and population in Brandon and Steinbach (Bucklashuk & Sormova 2009).

Labour markets

Disparities in working conditions are associated with seasonal and part time jobs (Block & Edward 2011). Kaur notes that “Poor work conditions in Québec threaten migrants - As per the information revealed by Québec commission for workplace health and safety, migrant farm workers in this Canadian province are exposed to pesticides and heat” (Kaur 2011). She argues that employers in Québec should endeavour to pay the same wage for their entire work force – regardless of their citizenship status. This, she claims, could further enhance the relationship between seasonal workers and their employers by enabling seasonal labour to enjoy better working conditions.

First Nations Peoples

The statutory rights of First Nations Peoples in Canada has been very confusing. For example, in some locations they have their own territorial areas known as reserves – with their own laws and policing (www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com).

This is a cause for concern since many publications affirm the dire conditions on many reserves. Many of them have no functional facilities and services like water, housing, and electricity and laws are often broken at will without justice been served on the perpetrators (Robson, 2008; Salvas, 2011). This has raised issues of injustice been propagated by one first nation group on another as well as general injustice and social exclusion from the wider Canadian society.

The fact that Québec includes many reserves within its land area should encourage the government to attract some of the first nations people to wider

society by creating incentives to pull them out of the reserve and encourage them to be better integrated in to the wider rural society. This is especially important, since first nations peoples tend to have a growing population that could benefit the shortage in labour that is normally experienced by other parts of rural Québec.

Possible Policy Suggestions

Legislation to redirect the migrant population: The province should create legislation to redirect new migrant into rural areas, as it is done in Manitoba. This will create a steady flow of people to rural areas and increase the population needed for development activities. It would also attract both public and private investment into rural areas.

Ensure income parity among workers both in rural and urban areas: Both seasonal migrant and Canadian labour should have income parity and access to the same benefits – in rural and urban areas. This would create trust among employees and employers alike and build a steady flow of labour into rural areas since they will earn equal benefits regardless of location.

Encourage the private sector to set up companies in rural areas: Private sector entrepreneurs should be encouraged to move to rural locations. This could be done by adding value to the vast amount of agricultural produce in rural places in Québec through tax rebates or other kinds of incentive programs.

Adhering to fair-trade policy to create leverage with pricing: The sources of imported goods should be identified for consumers and the context of production should be clarified. This would help give to consumers the option to avoid products involving illegal activities and unfair treatment of workers.

Provide incentives to attract willing First Nation communities to rural Québec instead of living in remote areas: An enabling environment should be provided within the rural policy to encourage first nation populations to participate in main-stream activities: especially recognising their growing population as a huge human resource.

III. General Overview

According to the Canadian Encyclopedia on Housing and Housing Policy, one of the greatest

issues of inequality is access to safe and affordable housing. The construction of housing in Canada is on the decline, especially the construction of apartment units available for rent. This not only makes mobility a greater challenge but there is a significant impact via the traditional ‘trickle down effect’ or ‘housing ladder’: cyclic models that demonstrate the different levels of housing to which different populations and socio-economic classes have access (www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com).

There are many reasons for the interruption of the housing ladder’s cyclic and constant motion. Since the baby boom generation is increasingly unable to vacate their single-family homes into something more accommodating, younger generations are either forced to continue renting an apartment unit or take out loans for very large homes that are neither affordable nor modest. As this cyclic system continues to get ‘backed up’, more and more people are unable to find houses that are affordable to them since the housing availability and stock becomes increasingly unbalanced (www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com).

Housing Inequalities in Rural Areas

In order for rural areas to thrive and be sustainable, they need to not only attract residents to their area but retain them as well. In many cases, groups of people travel to rural areas for employment but when that employment runs out or leaves the selected rural area, the employees leave and the foundation of the local economy crumbles. In order to maintain a sufficiently large ‘pull’ factor and incentive to keep people in an area long-term, there also needs to be a strong rental housing market so that people moving to the area can start on the first ‘rung’ and work their way up the housing ladder.

In Québec, one of the general concerns regarding the sustainability of rural areas is that more and more people are moving into the larger cities. This results in the loss of human capital and creates an unbalanced, weak economic system, and a huge stock of unoccupied housing.

Similar issues occur in many rural areas within the United States. According to the United States Department of Agriculture 2000 report, low-income and minority populations are those who rely heavily on rental units. The United States mirrors the Canadian situation with a significant decrease in the construction of rental units – leaving low-

income and minority populations at the mercy of the fluctuating housing market and unstable public housing programs (www.usda.gov).

Since access to safe, affordable housing is becoming a greater challenge for many people, both the public and 3rd sector groups have demonstrated the ability to alleviate some of these concerns. Encouraging these sectors will also address the issues of housing inequality within rural areas. In both Canada and the United States there have been programs developed in the public and 3rd sectors to resolve some of these concerns.

At the public level, Canada and the United States have very similar programs, especially for low-income individuals and adults. In Canada, primarily Québec, the following programs exist:

- Low Rental Housing Program: a public, subsidized program that assists low-income individuals and families by enabling them to only be responsible for paying 25% of their total, gross income towards housing and heating costs. Individuals and families may be responsible for paying other utilities such as electricity depending on their lease.
- The Shelter Allowance Program: provides assistance up to \$80 per month for people aged 54 years or older to help offset housing costs.
- The Emergency Repair Program: designed to help people living in rural areas make urgent repairs on their home that would, if not corrected, present a serious threat to their health and safety (www.habitation.gouv.qc.ca).

In the United States (focusing on Pennsylvania programs and policy) the following exists:

- Housing Choice Vouchers (Section 8), Shelter Plus Care and Government Housing Projects: These projects assist very low-income families, the elderly, and disabled people by providing a housing subsidy so that decent, safe, and sanitary housing can be obtained – whether it be an apartment, townhouse, or single-family home rental. Individuals and families who are eligible for this program are required to pay 30% of their total, gross income towards their housing expenses (www.hud.gov).
- Weatherization Assistance Program (State-Run Program): This program helps make homes more energy efficient by repairing windows, cracks in the foundation, and/or heating systems that are either broken or not functioning at their full potential. It not only

makes the home more energy efficient but keeps utility bills low (www.newpa.com).

While these public programs are essential and advantageous to some, the eligibility criteria can be extreme or designed to only focus on those living within poverty. With that said there are still many people who do not technically live ‘in poverty’ but are unable to meet their basic needs for numerous reasons that are clearly out of their control. In both Canada and the United States, it seems clear that the 3rd sector can be depended on for trying to fill these program gaps.

Examples of 3rd sector-developed and administered programs to help meet housing needs are the co-housing programs that are becoming increasingly popular in both countries. The implementation from the 3rd sector for these types of programs is relatively simple and straightforward. In most cases, the 3rd sector acts as a middleman to help match up ‘home providers’ and ‘home seekers’ to live in the same house in order to maintain the house as one unit and reduce overall housing costs for all parties involved.

Policy Recommendations

As the economy and housing markets continue to fluctuate it is difficult to know when some of these housing inequalities will be resolved. Our suggestion regarding housing is two-fold. First, there either needs to be the construction of additional apartment rentals or the conversion of unoccupied units into rentals in rural areas as populations are pulled into the area for employment. Second, programs to help lower-income individuals and families, the elderly, and the disabled to weatherize and repair their homes is essential for the productivity of the housing market and the general appeal of the community.

One program that has just recently been developed in Centre County, Pennsylvania, United States is the *Community Help and Improvement Program* (CHIP) run by a private, non-profit agency. This program not only includes the administration of the private non-profit organization, but it integrates energetic and highly talented community volunteers who are willing and able to make home repairs. Homeowners who are looking to sell their home but may be unable to make repairs to sell the house (because they either cannot afford it, are disabled or elderly) can request assistance from CHIP volunteers. As payment, a pre-determined

percentage of the sale price is then donated to the private, non-profit agency that will then re-invest the money to make moderate home repairs to low-income homeowners. While this is only one example of the many programs that are available in the United States and could be available in Québec and Canada, it makes the point that if an increase of funding can be distributed to the 3rd sector, a large service gap can be addressed and specialized populations can be served.

IV. Inequalities in Health

An important topic to address when talking about inequalities between rural and urban populations is the issue of health services. Policies that address health services for people in rural areas currently fall under the jurisdiction of Santé et Services Sociaux. As the NPR exists today, it provides funds for innovation that can be used for projects related to health but it does not focus on health disparities between rural and urban areas. A rural policy that does not take a comprehensive approach to sustainability will miss the opportunity to improve other sectors, like health, that could have an impact on economic sustainability. Health is important to address in the economic context because a person's health is vital to their ability to work and contribute to the sustainability of a society.

There are many barriers to rural populations maintaining optimal health. These barriers become apparent in the statistical disparities between rural and urban populations. For example, "a lower proportion of Canadians in small town regions (non-metro adjacent), rural regions and northern regions rated their health as "excellent", compared to the national average" (Mitura & Bollman, 2003, p.1). In addition, "health risk factors that are more prevalent in the non-metropolitan region population included being overweight (i.e. higher body mass index) and smoking" (Mitura & Bollman, 2003, p.1). Mental health is an aspect of overall health that is sometimes overlooked but it should also be addressed because disparities are also present between rural and urban populations. Men in Canada, and particularly young aboriginal men, are at the greatest risk of suicide of all populations in Canada (Martinez et al., 2004, p.50). "The northern regions of Canada also have significantly higher than average share of the population with a probability of suffering a major depressive episode" (Mitura & Bollman, 2003, p.3).

Rural populations experience these health disparities for many reasons. One of the most obvious is access to services being impeded by things like the distance one must travel to receive services, lack of transportation, and the low numbers of physicians and specialists in their area. In fact, in 1993 rural and remote areas had half as many physicians per 1000 people as urban areas (Ng et al.1999, p.3). There are currently incentive programs to try to address this shortage of physicians but the problem persists. There are also programs in some rural communities that provide transportation to patients but these programs have yet to address the problems associated with patients that need long term or follow-up care. For example, patients seeking mental health services might need to see a counselor on a weekly basis but may not have access to one that frequently. Or a patient that has procedure may need to have a follow-up with a doctor that wouldn't warrant a long ride to the hospital. Cases like this illustrate an unmet need in the approach to rural health care.

One proposed solution to this issue is Telehealth. It is a technological approach to health care that would allow for follow up treatment and long term counseling. Doctors and patients communicate via computer rather than face to face. Telehealth is increasingly being used for psychological services in Canada and the United States and it could be useful for any number of applications that require the interaction of people over long distances. In the United States, the American Psychological Association, is encouraging and training psychologists to use Telepsychology or Telemental health to reach patients that they otherwise would not be able to see (Novotney, 2011). Telemedicine is also being used in Ontario and over 32,000 telemedicine consultations were conducted in 2007 (Canadian Mental Health Association, 2009).

Telemedicine does have its limitations and its critics. The program takes significant training time, Internet access, and special equipment to operate effectively. It can cost between \$245,000 and \$305,000 to establish a Telehealth outlet in a community (Pong, 2002,10). In addition to the cost, there is still a lack of understanding and acceptance of Telemedicine. The college of physicians does not currently support the Sante San Fil program, for example, because it does not allow for physical examination of the patient (Montréal Economic Institute, 2010, 3). Another large problem is that provincial governments have

not set reimbursement values for these services and thus they are not covered by public insurance. Up until now, coverage has been approved on a case-by-case basis (Health Canada, 2001).

Setting up Telemedicine services in rural places would take a significant investment of time, money, and effort but the long-term benefits could make it worthwhile. Telehealth has been implemented in Québec but mostly on a small scale and in remote regions. These pilot programs have seen some success. With time, the use of Telemedicine for long-term treatment could prove to be an important tool in the fight against health disparities. The new rural policy for Québec should include funding specifically for the improvement of health systems and access in rural areas.

V. Overcoming Educational Inequalities While Sustaining Rural Communities

It is easy to understand why inequality in education is a barrier to sustainable communities. Education is the primary way people become trained for the labour market, develop skills and knowledge, and climb the socioeconomic ladder. Education fosters innovation and greater understanding among people. However, inequalities in education occur between rural and urban places, between men and women, and between different races and ethnicities. These inequalities of people in the education system have all played a part in the continuation of marginalized groups and places in our societies.

Education is widely recognized as a key element of development. Attaining education equality is an ideal that we commonly understand as important, and fits in with the “new rural paradigm” discussed by Yancey Vaillant and John Devlin. However, scholars have documented how education can have detrimental effects on rural places (Corbett 2007, Carr and Kefalas 2009). Corbett (2007) argues that, particularly with regard to rural people and places, “schooling is the quintessential institution of disembedding” insofar as schooling is “concerned with severing the attachments of individuals to particular places and making young people adaptable, flexible and mobile” in the context of a globalized economy. How do we reconcile these two observations, and what might be the appropriate role of rural agents and rural policy?

There are two main ways the private sector could be involved in working toward both attaining

better educational opportunities and sustainability in rural communities. First, private schools and colleges could create partnerships with local rural communities to better incorporate the needs and potential of rural areas into their curriculum and mission. Second, private industry could form relationships with schools to recruit students to rural places. The example of La Pocatière shows that there is potential for integrating the knowledge economy in rural areas through cooperation among education centers and private industry.

The public sector has great potential to integrate educational opportunities and rural sustainability. In the U.S. context, colleges and universities have varying levels of responsibility to communities. Perhaps the most ubiquitous, although diminishing, examples are the land grant universities located in all 50 states. They were conceived of as a way to transfer information to the people living in the state. This system has been vital to maintaining a connection between education and place.

Carr and Kefalas (2009) suggest that community colleges might be key sites for developing human capital among those that plan to stay in rural places. Similar to Corbett, one of their main findings from their ethnographic research in a small Iowa town is that more resources and energy are put into helping the best students who ultimately leave the community. Carr and Kefalas argue that resources should be more evenly distributed so that the students more likely to stay in the community have access to better education and training. Perhaps this is a viable option for those who would like to stay in rural communities but don't have access to available jobs without further education or training. This might be especially fruitful if expectations for increases in telecommuting are realized.

McDonough et al. (2010) call for four-year institutions to have a greater role – particularly in rural communities where the norm tends to be two-year programs. They argue that universities have the ability to be more relevant to rural life. Although they do not disentangle the conflicting realities of the rural and global economy, they provide a theoretical basis for what might become a beneficial relationship between higher education and communities.

Third sector intermediaries among people, communities, and formal institutions of education could be highly beneficial to increasing educational

opportunities and sustainability for rural communities. These might be particularly helpful for targeted populations. For example, rural areas contain more gender inequality in education than do urban or mid-size areas in Québec (Tamambang et al., 2011) and women in rural areas in Canada are less likely to participate in the labour force than are men and urban women (Curto and Rothwell, 2003). As Yancy Vaillant pointed out in his presentation, the “three main targets for closing labour-market mismatches in the transition towards a knowledge-driven economy are:

- Better integrate young people in the regional economy;
- Attract talent from outside; and
- Better integrate women in the private sector”

Education is implicated in all three of these targets. Increases in human capital are necessary to expand the knowledge economy in rural places, but resources need to be invested specifically in place-based educational efforts if rural communities are to retain and attract human capital.

A real-life example of this is the DOVE workshop in Banwen, Wales. DOVE started as an effort to educate women in the small mining village after the mines were all closed in the 1980s. This effort to train women to enter the labour force has since expanded to include courses for both women and men as well as a daycare center, miners’ library, café, and community garden.

These types of private, public, and 3rd sector efforts likely already exist in Québec. However, they may not specifically address the education and human capital retention needs of rural communities. Currently, the NPR focuses on maintaining village schools in rural areas since it is recognized that these are centers of community identity and important services for residents. The

document reads:

“The maintenance and vitality of rural schools continues to arouse complex debate concerning the nature of the mission fulfilled by public education, the quality of schooling offered, and equal educational opportunities throughout the territory. Additional effort is required to enhance the initiatives under way in order to ensure the maintenance and vitality of rural elementary and secondary schools. At the same time, we must guarantee the quality of services that students receive by offering a learning environment that is attractive to and stimulating for teachers, and better recognize the school’s place in the community.” (p. 39)

Expanding on this important connection between communities and schools, the NPR could be generalized as a path toward cooperation among rural community leaders and educational leaders in the various sectors. Specifically, the rural policy could be used as a guideline for ways to integrate education and human capital resource retention.

The alleviation of inequalities in educational access, resources, and behaviors is crucial for rural people and communities. In terms of social justice, rural people deserve the same opportunities as urban people, and projects to increase educational attainment through access and resources are a first step. In terms of sustainability for rural communities, a second step must be taken in order to find ways to retain and attract educated people. If only the first step is accomplished, individual inequality might be reduced, but place-based inequalities will be exacerbated. Educational segregation will be drawn on the boundaries of rural and urban spaces, and rural places will continue to become devitalized.



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Energy

Rural energy development and prospects – comparative and analytical view on Québec's Rural Policy and Energy Strategy

Summary: Energy development within local and rural communities has remained an important issue – not only within the NPR but also in the Energy Strategy presented by the Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune (MRNF). This Energy Strategy favours the development of hydroelectricity through projects that maximize the benefits to rural areas while simultaneously reinforcing community support and spirit. However, the energy group also identified an issue which inhibited rural areas from effectively benefitting from energy development within Québec. They felt there is a basic tension between the centralized 'top-down' approach of the Energy Strategy which is exclusively directed and managed by a government-owned corporation (Hydro-Québec) and the NPR which aims to promote ownership and collaboration through a 'bottom-up' approach. When rural actors and communities attempt to implement their own approach in the energy sector, they face the administrative framework of a monopolized energy policy and regulations which are designed to stifle local development. The recommendations the group made for overcoming this issue and supporting rural development through energy policy are listed below.



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Introduction

In the exercise to examine sustainable energy issues in relation to rural policies, three points need to be considered. First, is the fact that Hydro-Québec, the crown-owned company, relies on low-cost large hydroelectric dams to provide most of its electricity. Then, there is the fact that 97% of the company's installed capacity is non-carbon based, a major advantage when considering the recent trends taken by the electricity market

towards renewable energies, carbon markets, and reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Finally, since the nationalization of energy resources in 1963, the province also provides uniform access at low prices across its territory, even in rural and remote areas.

With those points in mind, it can be observed that the current energy strategies adopted in 2006 at Hydro-Québec and the Ministère des Ressources naturelles et Faune (MRNF) plan on improving energy efficiency and increasing

the complementarities of wind energy and hydroelectricity production. This generating capacity will be acquired through large hydro dams and large-scale wind parks. At the same time, the NPR adopted in 2007 is due for renewal and the Ministère des Affaires municipales, des Régions et des Territoires (MAMROT) published in 2011 a working group report on renewable energies as development opportunities for rural areas.

Since rural and energy policies refer to common goals and objectives, and both are due for renewal soon, our report addresses two specific questions in order to contribute to both policies: How and on what basis, can rural and remote communities be included into a national base energy development policy? How can a decentralized rural policy promote the sustainable development of renewable energies by local communities?

In order to respond to those questions, this report has been divided into four sections. First, the similarities, visions and challenges included in the NPR and the Energy Strategy are examined in order to identify opportunities for the next policies. Then, the consequences of the current large scale, high development energy policies are examined. In a third section, the opportunities created by the recent joining of the government of Québec to the Western Climate Initiative (WCI) are looked into on a rural and community basis. In a fourth section, we examine the difficulties of implementing wind energy in rural areas using a top-down approach, enabling us to look into the objectives of community engagement and public participation as well as the issues of ownership of natural resources and wealth creation. It is hoped that this paper will provide insights on the different perspectives surrounding rural energy development and deployment that will fuel the next versions of the Energy Strategy and the Rural policy.

The Québec National Policy on Rurality (NPR) and Energy Strategy

Energy development in rural or local communities has been stated as an important issue of development by both the NPR and the MRNF Energy Strategy. The latter promotes large-scale hydroelectric development and energy efficiency. Its orientation is mainly economic through the export of surplus energy capacity. It also proposes to maximize local and regional benefits, enhance community support (MRNF, 2006: v), and ensure

local and regional stakeholders involvement in a project – the latest being identified as the main challenge facing energy development in the province (MRNF, 2006: 5). To do so, the government plans to:

- 1) consolidate the regional benefits of the structured development of wind energy in the Gaspésie and Îles-de-la-Madeleine regions, and Matane MRC¹ following the two first Hydro-Québec calls for bids (MRNF, 2006: 30);
- 2) launch a 500 MW call for bids aiming at communities and first nations wind projects (MRNF, 2006:32);
- 3) install combined wind/diesel generation in isolated regions that are off the grid (MRNF, 2006: 34); and
- 4) reserve 50 MW and smaller projects for development by and for local communities (MRNF, 2006: 18).

At the same time, the NPR identifies the potential to produce new energy sources in rural areas as an avenue of importance in the next years (MAMROT, 2006: 35). It proposes to strengthen a bottom-up approach for rural communities while encouraging accountability and public participation. Creating collective benefits and wealth from development that “occurs in the local community without outside intervention” (MAMROT, 2006: 26) and encouraging the emergence of local commitment and common solutions by citizens (MAMROT, 2006: 27) are central objectives of the rural pacts that each community might adopt after consultation with the population.

The general purpose of the NPR is to ensure the development of rural communities and the dynamic occupation of the territory by relying on their diversity and specific traits and initiative of rural areas. The policy adopts the RCM as the core territory from the standpoint of intervention, belonging, and decision-making (MAMROT, 2006: 8). It is specifically stated that the government encourages, in both the NPR and other government orientations and policies, “the development by the municipalities and the RCMs of their territories’ wind and hydroelectric power potential” (MAMROT, 2006: 2). Environmental resources such as energy, therefore, bring potential to the rural initiatives that might be undertaken (MAMROT, 2006: 16).

¹ The government adopted a series of decrees to favour a 60% Québec content in all wind sector investments to maximize economic benefits in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine region and the Matane regional county municipality.

In order to explore energy use in the rural areas, a working group was created by the NPR following the adoption of the second rural policy. The report of this group, published in 2011, points out that local communities need to define their energy potential before the private sector actually acquires claims and rights (MAMROT, 2011: 25). It also points to the fact that communities must be able to define a desired common future that is not deprived by external conditions, stating that communities must therefore take initiatives in the energy sector instead of being passive (MAMROT, 2011: 25). The group recommends four types of actions to improve the situation (MAMROT, 2011: 51):

- 1) To inform citizens and local actors regarding the local and regional potential for energy production in the territory by providing statistics, creating pilot-projects and demonstration sites;
- 2) To provide financial and technical help to increase the implementation of community-based energy projects in rural areas with research and development, expertise centers, and supporting start-up projects;
- 3) To give access to local energy resources mainly by improving the actual national policies and bylaws and insuring access to local resources on crown-owned land; and
- 4) To give access to markets by adjusting regulation, tariffs, programs and help measures to improve the profitability of community-based projects.

If on paper both the MRNF and the MAMROT approaches toward rural and regional energy development seem to be complementary, they rely on very different administrative ideologies. Where the NPR is a bottom-up endogenous approach to empowering local and rural communities to decide and implement common goals and initiatives through energy production, the Energy Strategy is a top-down exogenous orientation aiming at promoting large-scale production guided by economic principles in order to export energy and foster profits. Even though the Energy Strategy proposes to encourage regional energy development, the conditions under which this is possible, mainly by an agreement on purchase price of the electricity, are dictated by Hydro-Québec “before the project is presented to the Government” (MRNF:2006: x). The government, mainly through the MRNF and Hydro-Québec, still holds most of the power for deciding how this local, rural, and

regional development will be done, as shown by the adoption of the decrees to promote regional benefits in the first two wind energy calls for bids.

This view has been underlined by the working group on energy production in rural areas appointed by the MAMROT in line with its second NPR. Among the constraints to energy implementation at the local level, the group emphasizes the fact that large-scale production and export markets are not accessible to rural communities. Even though the NPR, the Ministry’s Energy Strategy, and Hydro-Québec’s strategic plan have stated that community energy projects should be favored, the actual capacities of municipalities to take initiatives, or even be part of such projects are limited by a lack of financial and human resources. Small, often devitalized communities lack the tools, resources, and expertise to develop energy generation projects, especially under the large-scale deployment model prioritized by Hydro-Québec. The Working group states that access for communities to both public and private funding might be limited because of Hydro-Québec’s criteria, but also because financial support programs tend to quickly appear and disappear, causing the proposals to become short of funds in the midst of a lengthy application process. They also identify the lack or absence of political will, dynamism, and vision inside ministries and governmental agencies on many intersectoral issues such as energy security, GES emissions, and renewable energy source implementation.

The NPR is due to be renewed in 2014, and the Energy Strategy in 2015. A recent strategy was adopted in April 2012 to ensure the occupancy and vitality of territories (OVT) by emphasizing efforts on decentralization and coherent and swift governmental action and interventions in ministries and agencies. The renewal of the two policies provides interesting opportunities to bridge the gap between the top-down and bottom-up approaches and the exogenous/endogenous development orientations. The law creates a government round table on territorial affairs as one of those ventures. Assistant deputy ministers would sit together to promote concerted actions and ensure the coherence of their actions for the OVT. The following case studies explore some of the different venues that could or shouldn’t be undertaken.

Hydroelectricity and the Bonneville Power Administration

The MRNF's 2006 Energy strategy had two main objectives: to emphasize the rapid development of hydroelectric power generation and the deployment of a target of 10% of wind capacity by 2015. This is viewed as the continuation of an environmentally friendly, low-emissions source of economic growth. Any amount produced in excess of Québec's energy needs will be exported. This will, therefore, provide revenues for the province since more than 75% of the profits are paid in royalties to its sole owner, the government.

To analyze potential ramifications of this large scale development objective, this section analyzes a similar large scale, state-run hydropower development in the United States' northwest. The Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) serves the states of Washington and Oregon, northern Idaho, and Western Montana. Québec and the BPA service area have approximately analogous energy profiles, a similar rural-urban divide, and economies which have benefited extensively from hydroelectric development. A key difference between the regions is the level of energy production diversification (the BPA incorporates more in its energy planning) and the level at which negative externalities are incorporated. Accordingly, the BPA's hydroelectric infrastructure is increasingly viewed as outdated, environmentally unsustainable, and unproductive. This brief comparative case study examines the positive and negative effects of intensive hydroelectric energy development by first comparing the situations in Québec and the Pacific Northwestern United States and then discussing the impacts of hydro development in both areas.

In Québec, the state-run organization Hydro-Québec (HQ) is charged with the management of electrical production, transport, and distribution of energy in the province² with only a few producers operating small electrical plants. HQ is the result of two rounds of nationalization (1944 and 1963) and reflects the early orientation of Québécois energy policy towards hydroelectric development. The

²Hydro-Québec acquires roughly 20% (7585 MW) of its total installed capacity through private contracts with, for instance, Churchill Falls (Labrador) (5428 MW), twelve private wind farms (919 MW), three small hydro plants (23 MW) and various long term contracts (1215 MW) (Hydro-Québec, 2011). On the distributed grid, a few small producers, mostly locally-owned and run such as Hydro-Sherbrooke, have retained the rights to distribute after the 1963 nationalization.

organization manages 36,971 MW (196.8 TWh) of electrical production, of which 97% comes from hydroelectric resources (Hydro-Québec, 2011: 2). It distributes this electricity through a centralized grid with 33,630 km of transmission lines under the brand TransEnergie. It intends to add 4,000 MW of electricity by 2015 through large-scale (more than 50MW) hydro projects. Additionally, it maintains a policy objective of 10% energy production from wind energy in the same timeframe (MNR, 2006). HQ has a policy and legal requirement to provide energy to all residents and agricultural users of Québec at a single price regardless of geographic location, which is currently \$0.0532/kwh for the first 30 kwh a day (<http://www.hydroQuébec.com/residential/tarif-residentiel.html>). This is the lowest price throughout Canada and most of the world. Pricing for business use is also very low, with the largest industries receiving a preferential rate of \$0.0295/kwh (<http://www.hydroQuébec.com/residential/tarif-affaires.html>).

In the Pacific Northwestern United States, the BPA was created in order to manage large scale electrical development following the Great Depression in the United States. It manages and is responsible for provision of electricity to all public utility districts in the region, which it provides at cost (<http://www.nwcouncil.org/history/BPAHistory.asp>). It manages 26,640 annual MW (233.4 TWh) of electrical generation sources throughout Oregon, Washington, Northern Idaho, and Western Montana and distributes the electricity through 24,140 km of transmission lines (http://www.bpa.gov/corporate/about_BPA/Facts/FactDocs/BPA_Facts_2011.pdf). BPA is a federal organization under the oversight of the federal Department of Energy. However, it is self-sustaining based on the delivery of services to its customers. It undertook a major development program in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s to meet rapidly growing demand for its cheap, relatively clean energy. This program incorporated hydroelectric sources and nuclear power from several reactors (<http://www.nwcouncil.org/history/BPAHistory.asp>). This expansion program was designed to enable additional distribution across its service area and to enable export of electricity when possible.

This expansion program drew a great deal of attention to the BPA, specifically related to environmental effects of its policies. Following the collapse of the nuclear industry in the 1980s, the

BPA cancelled two of its three nuclear projects, while operating one more. Additionally at that time, the 1973 Endangered Species Act (ESA) and 1977 Clean Water Act (CWA) introduced new constraints on dam operations (http://ucowr.org/updates/126/126_A7.pdf). The acts forced BPA to incorporate environmental compensation into their operations through its Fish and Wildlife program. This program has distributed over \$12 billion since its creation in 1978 (http://www.bpa.gov/corporate/about_BPA/Facts/FactDocs/BPA_Facts_2011.pdf). Additionally, dams throughout Washington and Oregon have been decommissioned and in many cases either breached or disassembled (Kibler et al., 2011) because the environmental costs far outweigh the economic benefits and in some cases because of legal action. There is some evidence supporting this strategy for river restoration (Kibler et al., 2011), but more research is necessary regarding the economic impacts.

In the context of this report, impacts are classified into two types: economic and environmental. It is a brief summary of these issues, learned from both Québec and the PNW experiences. Cheap electricity is crucial to many industrial activities in Québec, including aluminum smelting, forestry, and processing of goods. These are key contributors to Québec's rural economy and employment. This same effect was observed in the BPA service region. However, increasing electricity rates may have led to a decrease in resource post-processing in the BPA service region (<http://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov/GovernorLocke/speeches/speech-view.asp?SpeechSeq=273>, http://www.bpa.gov/Power/PL/AluminumStudy/Al_Econ_Study.pdf, <http://www.nwcouncil.org/news/2006/08/DSIreport.pdf>). Additionally, cheap electricity helps keep business fixed costs lower and allows for companies to make larger profits or keep prices lower for consumers. However, industrial over-utilization of resources could allow them to exploit rural areas for additional rents, without the benefits accruing to those areas.

In addition, extremely low prices provide a major incentive for electricity export. Demand for clean energy in the Northeastern United States and nearby Canadian provinces means that the opportunity cost of not exporting electricity is extremely high (New York electricity rates averaged 4.5 times more than Québec's rates). These rents, if handled properly, could function as a subsidy that keeps energy prices down domestically

in Québec. Additionally, 75% of HQ's profits are returned to the Québec government as revenue. The impact of an energy export oriented economy cannot be compared with the BPA due to BPA's role in a federal energy distribution system. Such a system does not allow for "exports," but instead focuses on load balancing with other western energy producing regions, like California (http://www.bpa.gov/power/pg/fcrps_brochure_17x11.pdf). More research is needed to fully characterize these risks.

Environmental impacts of dams include direct impacts on the river and wildlife and indirect impacts provided by cheap electricity through limited incentives for conservation programs. The argument in the United States is primarily focused on recreational and environmental impacts, but in the rural or remote Québec context, the environmental impacts may include widespread social and economic impacts. Many rural groups and aboriginal groups rely on fishing for their livelihood, which dams significantly effect. The use of "run-of-river" dams, which do not rely on reservoirs have been especially criticized for their effect on fish passage (http://ucowr.org/updates/126/126_A7.pdf). Forty-one of Québec's 60 hydroelectric dams are run-of-river dams, suggesting a negative environmental and social externality that is not being incorporated into the existing price of electricity but that unequally affects rural and remote people. The US helped to incorporate these externalities through both the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act, which led to increased restrictions on hydroelectric development and potentially drove up prices for electricity access.

Overall, this study notes the externalities associated with hydroelectric development from the rural perspective. The energy policy of Québec is heavily focused on building an electricity exporting economy with their vast reserves of hydroelectricity. The environmental and economic effects of this choice include major risks and unaccounted for costs, especially for vulnerable rural people. Meanwhile, many opportunities present themselves as opportunities for renewable energies in rural areas, such as carbon markets, but also for extensive exogenous development of non-renewables, such as the exploitation of oil and shale gas deposits, as we will see in the next section.

Policy alternatives in the carbon economy and opportunities for rural development

At present, the province of Québec is not a major player in the production of hydrocarbon energy resources. The province's comparative advantage in exploiting hydro and, more recently, wind power has likely drawn emphasis away from carbon fuel prospecting, but recent developments across the regulatory, technology, and exploration nexus suggest that Québec could become a flashpoint in the global discourse at the intersection of carbon energy extraction and carbon emissions. This section aims to undertake a modest scoping of the issues in Québec surrounding three major initiatives, namely the province's entry into the Western Climate Initiative (WCI), pending exploitation of the Old Harry oil and gas deposit in the Gulf of St. Laurent, and pressure to authorize hydraulic fracking activity in the province's agrarian heartland of southern Québec. In each case a brief comparison will be made to another jurisdiction before linking the issue back to the major theme of our paper: that of relative cost and opportunity profiles accruing to the stakeholders in the development of these resource frameworks.

Québec and the Western Climate Initiative (WCI)

In December of 2011 Québec enacted legislation that formally commits the province to participate in the California-led WCI, confirming what had been expected ever since Québec joined the protocol in 2008. Québec thus becomes the first province in Canada to implement the framework, starting with capping of emissions on the province's largest polluters and development of an auction and carbon offset credit market compatible with the California system by fall of 2012. In doing so, the province demonstrates its commitment to addressing climate change linked to greenhouse gas emissions and participating in the development of a regional market aimed at pricing this pollution and ultimately reducing its contribution to climate change. While faith in the efficiency of markets in this regard is contestable (Böhm & Dabhi, 2009; Beddington, 2011), this discourse is beyond the scope of this paper. Our focus will be on offset market protocols and the opportunity for rural communities to participate therein. In doing so, a brief comparative analysis of Québec's proposed protocols and those of Alberta will be undertaken.

Québec will phase in the cap regulation starting in May 2012. Starting on January 1, 2013 some 75 operators, primarily in the industrial and electricity sectors, whose annual GHG emissions equal or exceed the annual threshold of 25 kt CO₂e (25 thousand tons of carbon dioxide equivalent), will be subject to the system. Starting on January 1, 2015 (when the second compliance period begins), the operators of businesses that distribute fuel in Québec or import fuel for their own consumption (e.g. all types of gasoline, diesel, propane, natural gas, and fuel oil), whose annual GHG emissions due to its combustion reach or exceed the annual threshold of 25 kt CO₂e, will also be subject to the system. (Gazette Officielle du Québec, 2012, Vol. 144, No. 23A:1).

This cohort of large emitters will thus be required to either reduce emissions, purchase emission credits from government at auction or purchase offset credits from accredited vendors. This market represents an opportunity for rural development that should be explored, with the added function of creating redistribution from rich industrial sectors to less affluent rural economies. However, the broader offset market is subject to a variety of conditions, both regulatory and market driven, which in large part determine how rural communities can take advantage of this emerging market (Carlson et al., 2009). In the case of Québec, there is no specific policy in place to promote, encourage, or empower rural communities to participate in this market.

In Alberta, the government took the view that 'no-till' agriculture, as practiced by an increasingly high percentage of Alberta grain and cash crop producers, constituted an emergent carbon emission reduction technology because it reduced the degree to which soil carbon was released due to cultivation. As such, practicing farmers became accredited as offset vendors (Karbene, 2011; Government of Alberta, 2012). Technical and scientific arguments aside, this policy set in place a system that would represent a net transfer from industrial emitters such as the oil sands refineries to rural agricultural regions. While this has proven to be politically popular in the province because of the benefits accrued to rural voters, the Alberta no-till credit system is not likely to ever be compliant with the WCI and as such qualify in California or Québec markets. A higher likelihood would see the Alberta system expand into Saskatchewan and Manitoba where political and agricultural

conditions are more congruent.

In Québec, the draft regulations concerning carbon offset products released on June 8, 2012 suggests a limited range of offset products will qualify for the market in the early stages. The draft regulation also sets the conditions for the issue of offset credits, and includes protocols for three types of projects eligible for the issue of offset credits: CH₄ destruction as part of projects to cover manure storage facilities, the capture of gas from certain landfill sites, and the destruction of certain ozone depleting substances contained in insulating foam recovered from appliances (Gazette Officielle du Québec, 2012). This limited rollout of offset products could be a factor for political, regulatory, or market impediments. However, it would seem as though a whole range of carbon mitigation strategies from agriculture, to biochar and biomass, afforestation and reforestation, green energy, transit, and other measures did not get significant consideration for offset compliance. From a policy perspective, the Québec government might want to explore more of these offset products that could support green innovation, sustainable development, and wealth redistribution to rural communities if in fact these remain policy priorities.

Oil and Gas Exploration in Québec

On the other side of the climate change equation, recent developments suggest that Québec is poised to begin exploitation of shale gas deposits in the agriculturally rich south west regions of the province as well as the equally contentious Old Harry deposit in the Gulf of St. Laurent. While these resources, if extracted, could create jobs in the regions as well as royalties for governments, opposition from local communities, environmental groups, and others over the risks associated with extraction means that it may still be sometime before the government is willing to lift restrictions currently in place prohibiting these developments.

In the case of the Old Harry offshore oil and gas deposit it appears as though the Newfoundland government, whose territory straddles Old Harry to the east of the maritime border, is preparing to approve the licensee Corridor Drilling to proceed with a test well. Should this go forward Québec would stand to lose out on production royalties associated with extraction of the shared deposit (which instead would be accrued by Newfoundland) while remaining equally exposed

to all the risks and uncertainties associated with drilling. Of course, it is not just coastal communities that hang in the balance of this risky venture but also the rich biological heritage of the Gulf, one of Canada's most bio-diverse ecosystems. According to recent findings from the Council of Canadians and St. Lawrence Coalition (<http://www.coalitionsaintlaurent.ca>):

“Like Gulf of Mexico oil deposits, Old Harry is surrounded by fisheries rich areas near the shores of Québec, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The question, when it comes to offshore drilling, is not whether there will be a spill, but when, and how much devastation it will wreak. The Gulf of St. Lawrence also includes a number of popular tourism destinations – jobs and livelihoods that are at stake if drilling moves ahead.” (Harden-Donahue, 2012).

In comparison, one need not travel far to find a comparable case to the risks being weighed in the Gulf of St. Laurent, since the April 2010 British Petroleum (BP) oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico is still fresh in the minds of almost everyone. A breakdown of the costs associated with BP's Gulf of Mexico spill, which resulted in 4.1 million barrels being released into the marine environment, is beyond the scope of this paper. Furthermore, how oil and gas development is valorized in our current socio-economic climate, the debate about alternatives in light of climate change, and the full cost accounting of such developments are also beyond the scope of this paper. Herein the question is about how this resource could affect development in the Gulf of St. Laurent, one of Québec's most iconic rural regions.

The decision to drill and the cost benefit analysis of drilling has clearly been a matter of debate for some time. Whose voices are ultimately heard in these debates and how power sharing in the governance of resource deposits within the region is comprised will ultimately determine the impacts overtime in the Gulf. Our recommendations in this paper cite the need to ensure that community voices are heard and power is shared to prevent the imposition of top-down decision-making in the carbon economy.

In a rather parallel situation on land, Québec continues to study the potential for shale gas extraction in the Bas St. Laurent region where the

debate over hydraulic fracking remains highly contested. Despite ongoing study, consultation, and collaboration at various levels of government, it remains to be seen if, when, and in whose interest these highly problematic deposits are extracted. Farmers and residents of the largely rural region fear that drinking water and agricultural production could be impacted as it clearly has in other jurisdictions. In Arkansas for example, a surge in fracking has resulted in a 100 fold increase in seismic earthquake activity over the last 100 years (Ananda, 2012).

“Additionally, in 2004, the Environmental Protection Agency determined that fracking poses no threat to water supplies and that no further studies were needed. However, at least 65 of the chemicals used in fracking are considered hazardous by the EPA. They have been linked to cancer; liver, kidney, brain, respiratory and skin disorders; birth defects; and other health problems, according to a 2005 report by the Oil and Gas Accountability Project.” (Ananda, 2011)

In Pennsylvania, where fracking has become a growth industry for the rust-belt state, legislators have recently passed legislation that essentially gags doctors from disclosing the proprietary information on fracking solutions that causes sickness to their patients. Such collusion between government and industry is not in the public interest. Herein is an example of putting the corporate interest ahead of the public health interest and should serve as a lesson to jurisdictions like Québec that are in the process of exploring shale gas fracking.

The logic of this chemical-intensive and seismically risky extraction regime is likely to remain contentious with local residents in Québec’s Bas St. Laurent, the province’s richest agricultural region which happens to overlay the shale gas deposits. However, gas exploitation could mean new royalties for the government and of course profits for industry with some short term gains in jobs and economic growth for communities. But while a full cost benefit analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, further research and consultation is no doubt going to be required to define if and in whose interests the gas resources of the region are developed.

Final thoughts at the intersection of rural development, carbon markets and fossil fuels

If and in whose interests fossil fuel extraction is pursued in two of Québec’s most ecologically important regions represent high profile collisions of energy policy and rural development. Indeed, the agricultural and maritime productivity in these two regions would be unparalleled in the province, potentially pitting energy production against food production and other sustainable rural livelihoods. While these developments are playing out in an era of federal politics that prioritizes resource development, Québécois have shown in the past that local interests aren’t necessarily congruent with national priorities. In this instance, Québécois must demand a voice in the consultations that will affect their livelihoods for generations to come.

On the other side of this carbon equation, carbon offset markets might be a sleeping giant in terms of rural transformation and thereby represent a much stronger initiative for rural development strategies in the energy economy. Rather than betting on the highly divisive and environmentally risky course of oil and gas development which will ultimately release more carbon into the atmosphere, a policy turn towards the promotion of well-being and sustainable livelihoods in rural Québec could be driven by support for carbon mitigation and adaption infrastructure: programs, and technology putting the province at the forefront of this emerging market. This approach is also not without uncertainty, however, since Québec’s carbon market will be tied into regional and global markets that require a great deal of political capital to nurture and negotiate. This being said, the actual framing of policies might contribute to include – or restrain – public and local participation into new development opportunities, such as the following example from Ontario will show.

Wind energy development: A case-study from Ontario’s 2009 Green Act

The implementation of renewable energy projects, particularly wind developments, in rural communities in Québec can produce major social, landscape, and economic changes in these areas. For this reason, it is important to ensure that communities are involved throughout the process so they can ensure that residents are not negatively affected by renewable energy projects.

Correspondingly, renewable energy is important for the sustainability of clean energy supplies in Québec while it provides opportunities for economic development in rural communities as well as the province overall through expanded export potential. A balance is important to ensure that both of these ends can be reached and begs the question of how wind development is implemented in rural areas: particularly with regard to the approval process.

The implementation of renewable energy is presently shared in Québec with approvals necessary at both the provincial and local government levels.³ As seen earlier, the initiation and implementation of projects can be described as top-down with Hydro Québec generally taking the lead on projects with few instances of renewable energy projects initiating at the local level in rural areas. At least in the Gaspé area it has been said that communities are generally in favour of wind development. However, the Request for Proposal (RFP) process often prohibits them from initiating projects themselves due to their inability to compete with major corporations ([Fortin & Fournis, 2012](#)). Nevertheless, it has also been stated that some municipalities have not been in favour of wind development and have used tools, such as setbacks, to restrict or effectively prohibit wind development ([Fortin & Fournis, 2012](#)).

An option for policy change would be to shift decision making to the local level in order to provide a more bottom-up system thereby providing communities more authority over approving projects and conducting public consultation exercises. This would presumably allow for decisions that better reflect the interests of the community, their vision, and expectations. For instance, with regard to wind farm projects those communities with wind potential may ask their residents if renewable energy is right for their community and decide at this level.

Nevertheless, bottom-up implementation is not without its consequences. In Ontario local level decisions were often found to conflict with the renewable energy goals of the province resulting in an important shift in implementation towards a highly top-down system. Indeed, the Government of Ontario has established the goal of phasing out coal power production by 2014. In order to do so, they are looking to renewable energy sources

³If projects refer to interprovincial or international exportation and trade, then Federal authorizations will also be required.

as a means to make up the shortfall between the current supply provided by these plants and future demands ([Government of Ontario, 2010](#)). Specifically, Ontario's Long-Term Energy Plan states that "Ontario's target for clean, renewable energy from wind, solar and bioenergy is 10,700 MW by 2018 (excluding hydroelectric)".⁴

However, Ontario has experienced considerable opposition to wind development from communities. Several municipalities, for example, have declined wind development applications ([Ferguson-Martin & Hill, 2011](#); [Shenker, McCallum, Latham, Endacott, & Freek, 2011](#)). This opposition and the ability of municipal governments to decline or restrict wind development clearly conflicts with the Government of Ontario energy goals. As a result, the Government of Ontario passed the Green Energy and Green Economy Act, 2009 and corresponding Renewable Energy Approvals (REA) regulation. This significantly changed the way that renewable energy projects were approved in an attempt to streamline the approval process and avoid apparent NIMBY opposition.

In terms of the municipal role in the approval process, the Renewable Energy Approvals (REA) regulation had two key changes:

- "Rules regarding setback distances from residences where people reside and other sensitive receptors, as well as environmental features, now apply consistently across the province" and ([Government of Ontario, 2010](#))
- "Renewable energy projects are no longer subject to land use planning instruments under the Planning Act (e.g. zoning by-laws and official plans)" ([Government of Ontario, 2010](#)).

These changes removed the primary tools available to municipalities to decline or restrict wind developments. It also relegated municipal governments to the level of consultation rather than decision making for these projects.

While seemingly necessary to meet the renewable energy goals of Ontario these changes have been criticized for being too top-down and restricting the ability of local governments to meet local interests. As well, this change has been criticized since rural areas are forced to accept negative externalities for the benefit of urban electricity markets.

In conclusion, Québec must consider a balance between top-down and bottom-up decision-

⁴Ontario currently has 34,079 MW of installed generation (IESO, 2012).

making in the approvals process for renewable energy in order to reflect both provincial goals and municipal interests. This is a particularly important consideration due to the goal of 4,000 MW of wind energy by 2015 as emphasized in the Energy Strategy. While Québec does not seem to have met the same opposition to wind development that Ontario has, this may change as wind developments increase in pace. Therefore consideration should be paid to meeting provincial goals along with community interests if opposition does arise.

Ownership

In reviewing Québec's energy policies, there is a disparate and even philosophical gap regarding how energy should be produced, distributed, and managed. The NPR has a policy towards bottom-up support and ownership, and MRNF policy is oriented toward a top-down approach. Meanwhile, the province, and even the federal government, is advocating for policies of sustainability, especially at the local level. These policies also mention the need for efficiency, conservation, and renewables.

However, for rural Québec, energy is an extremely complex issue. As it stands, energy is cheap and comes mainly from hydro-electric power. In essence, the energy that a majority of Québécois receives is deemed cheap, clean, and well organized by Hydro-Québec. These factors do not drive the general population to seek alternative ways of becoming sustainable and achieving ownership of energy supply or demand. While the overall energy policy framework is divergent with regard to how it is to be accomplished and to what end, there is evidence that collaborative networks and energy planning could provide a way to achieve energy sustainability and ownership.

Now, we come to the question of how rural Québec can attain ownership of its energy needs, which is no small task. Ownership is an important factor when considering energy policies because these policies often have a major effect on the residents where production occurs (Warren & McFadyen, 2010). There are many potential benefits for rural communities to invest and diversify their energy needs if ownership is properly accomplished. In the long run, ownership gives a community a sense of dominion over its assets. In doing so, they can create jobs, participate in conservation (i.e. reduce greenhouse gas emissions and waste), become

more self-reliant (i.e. sustainable), and capture rents and profits. Also, the process of attaining ownership fits well within Québec's MRC system of administrative governances and its hopes to attain higher levels of collaborative governance.

Therefore, communities intending to expand or alter current energy related activities (use, production, and conservation) will need to properly plan to retain ownership. Simply importing a model that worked in another country (Germany and Sweden often being cited as examples of local community ownership) is not always a good idea, as noted by Aitken (2010b). The notion of "community" might differ from one place to another, as well as the crucial social, political, and cultural differences that enable public involvement, as seen with the example from Ontario. The infrastructure needed for energy production is highly technical and capital intensive (OECD: Linking renewable energy to rural development). This means that a majority of new energy related projects need technical expertise or large capital investments. At the same time, communities that are being exploited for a resource need to find a way to be properly compensated.

But community benefits and compensation are sometimes seen as "bribes": perceived negatively and often insufficient to promote local ownership (Aitken, 2010a; Cowell, Bristow et Munday, 2011). Energy conservation and efficiency practices can also reduce cost. Also, if energy production (for example wind farms or hydro-electrical installations) is to continue, energy policies ought to take into consideration the negative externalities faced by these communities. Finally, for any of these projects to succeed, there needs to be support (i.e. involvement) from the community at large. The concept of social acceptability is used to describe how a local community deals with the implementation of a new infrastructure. Social acceptability, therefore, refers to issues ranging as wide as ownership, benefits, justification of the projects, transparency and decision-making, local environment, and health impacts.

The amount of effort required to cultivate and get local communities to attain such an ownership could be extremely burdensome. However, there are avenues, such as the MRC, which may be able to reduce the burden that any one community would face, while cultivating community level sustainability. A way of planning, managing, and

collaborating energy policy at a local level could be accomplished through a Community Energy Plan. An analysis of these plans was done by Denis and Parker (2010) in 10 communities in Canada. These plans are an attempt to take inventory regarding how energy is attained and used, what other resources are available for energy production, and consider measures for how conservation and efficiency could occur. While not detailing specifically how these communities collected energy use and available resources, they did identify communities receiving technical expertise from outside sources (Denis & Parker 2010). A publication by Canada's Rural Partnership: Rural Team Québec highlighted the use of RETScreen technology, which was developed by Natural Resources Canada to evaluate energy planning (Rural Horizon-Spring 2009: New Growing Forward programs in place). In Vermont, Van Hoesen and Letendre (2010) provided analysis of GIS-based technology that creates energy potential maps to make the best use of the available land and resources, especially for future expansion. Technical expertise from universities and/or grant funding that is allotted to an MRC could assist in creating these plans.

While having the tools and money to implement CEPs is important, social acceptance and the desire to carry the plans out is another matter. The literature on community ownership of energy production suggests that collaborative efforts are enhanced when the entire community is brought into the process of creating a plan and distribution of the benefits. A case study in Australia by Gross (2007) demonstrates the importance of a fairness principle for attaining social acceptance and participation in sustainability plans. For communities, fairness needs to be achieved from two important angles: first, the procedural process of “dealings” among the community (i.e. its leaders, citizens, organizations, all its stakeholders), contracting group, and the governmental entities; and second, the distribution of the goods and assets (Gross, 2007).

This means that community leaders should not take a top-down approach when communicating plans to the rest of its citizens. The information should not be communicated as merely “informing” the community of the plans, for example. The project should not be first introduced as a *fait accompli*. Instead, the leaders should play the role of “consulting” the citizens for their opinions.

The subtle change in tone and orientation of the communication tactics can put people in the frame of mind that they are being encompassed rather than instructed (Gross 2007).

As noted by an OECD report on rural policy in Québec, modulation — the ability for local communities to collaborate policies together rather than individually — has not occurred (OECD: Rural Policy Reviews: Québec, Canada). A possible benefit of organizing a community energy plan at the MRC level could be the creation of collaborative engagement to address energy sustainability from the perspectives of planning in relation to efficiency, conservation, and new production in the form of renewables. Linking communities will have the benefit of combining their individual needs into a consorted plan. The process may in this way increase community engagement. An interesting study could be done to track engagement around sustainable action plans such as the one that Victoriaville has created – including their ability to work with other communities (Vojnovic, 2000).

Buy-ins at the local level tend to create relationships of trust with other communities and institutions (Walker et al. 2010). The current initiative of the Magdalen's Islands to formulate a territorial energy strategy is another example (Municipalité, 2011). This consultation is the final process of an initiative which started after the local refusal of a HQ wind plant implementation project. It has so far included an independent commission on wind development, which agreed in 2007 on the importance of implementing a locally adapted energy strategy (Municipalité, 2007:19), and a 2010 regional and territorial integrated resource management plan. They also commented how this could become a model for remote renewable energy production (CRÉGÎM/CRNT, 2010). This particular plan pointed to the need to obtain decisional power and regional economic results.

For rural communities to attain ownership, there needs to be a will. Cheap, clean, and easy to attain energy that seems infinite does not usually inspire politicking or mass public resistance to current policy frameworks. While these considerations for managing social acceptability, technical and legal expertise, and the distribution of benefits to the rural community are important for rural energy ownership, it is unlikely for them to come into fruition unless the political and policy impediments

around energy are addressed and resolved in future policy plans (i.e. next MRC plan).

Conclusion

Energy policy in the context of rural Québec is complicated by a highly centralized top-down oriented energy policy run by a public enterprise, Hydro-Québec, and a rural policy that intends to create ownership and collaboration through a bottom-up approach. Highlighted in this report is the fact that a public utility company, Hydro-Québec, has a monopoly and extensive control of the way in which policy is created and executed. The current policy field is riddled with complex rules and regulations in which forced collaboration is handled primarily with Hydro-Québec. Therefore, when rural communities attempt to invoke a bottom up approach, they are met by a top-down energy policy regulatory framework, which has stifled any comprehensive development. With this in mind, this essay detailed several comparative studies and highlighted certain issues that should be considered when making energy policy with a rural context.

First of all, having a top-down energy policy approach and a rural policy approach focused in the opposite direction has been ineffective, as can be seen by a lack of rural energy development in Québec. When taking a comparative look at Bonneville Power Administration and Hydro-

Québec, it can be seen that a specific wildlife and environmental act⁵ has led to increased regulation and a possible reduction in negative externalities faced by rural areas. Similar legislation and policy in Québec, with added protection from the negative externalities caused by hydro-damming, could be an interesting consideration for Québec. Furthermore, when it comes to the environment and rural communities seeking rent for negative externalities and use of their land, future energy policies should enforce stricter collaborative efforts and minimum standards so as to protect rural communities from subterfuge.

For rural communities, static bottom-up approaches, such as Ontario's, asks too much by way of the people up front without enough technical and funding support to get anything accomplished. Instead of following their approach, Québec should support a different form of bottom-up approach that promotes ownership. Rural ownership of further energy development needs the aforementioned technical and monetary assistance, as well as provincial policy directly opening up avenues for attaining it. In all, current energy policies need to be adapted for the rural context rather than creating an entirely different policy framework, which, in the end, needs to focus on providing avenues for future ownership.

⁵1973 Endangered Species Act (ESA) and 1977 Clean Water Act (CWA)

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Food

Considering Food in the Québec Rural Policy

According to the Food Group, problems within the food supply and agriculture sector have a profound impact on and connection with rural issues mentioned by other groups. This includes the inequality present in rural areas, education, accessibility to services, and economic development. Based on this perspective, the group argued that food supply and agriculture provide the tools which contribute to a number of important objectives in rural development. To demonstrate this, they focused on: the overarching governance framework within which food and agriculture issues are negotiated, questions surrounding the primary form of agriculture production, value-added agriculture, the roles of rural agents within the food sector, and the contributions of agriculture to rural capacity. The group's discussion of these points were approached specifically within the framework of the NPR in order to identify its strong and weak positions and how it could be improved. Their recommendations are based on this analysis.



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ICRPS Observations of the Food Sector

Food & Agriculture is a large component of rural Quebec and impacts various other rural issues such as inequality, education, accessibility, and economic development. As such, policy instruments that address food and agriculture also address other rural problems. In discussions, our group agreed that food and agriculture could be seen as tools through which a number of other rural development goals can be achieved. For the creation of this analysis, the food group divided the task into themes for which each individual, from their unique backgrounds, had strengths and experience. The themes we have identified include a discussion of the general governance framework in which Food & Agriculture is situated (Anais), issues surrounding primary production, value-added agriculture, the role of rural agents in the food sector, and capacity building through agriculture. These themes were all discussed in relation to the Politique Nationale de la Ruralité in order to understand its strengths, weaknesses, and where opportunities exist to improve this sector and the policy more generally.

Primary Production Opportunities - Rebecca Thacker

Food plays a vital role in the sustainability and vitality of rural policy. Those who produce food

as well as their related activities are not fully integrated into Quebec's Rural Policy. Listed are opportunities to be considered:

General Initiatives would be to:

1. Create a more concentrated and integrative focus between actors;
2. Encourage local innovation and entrepreneurship; and
3. Expand successful programs and create new ones.

Primary Production

1. Restructuring succession procedures would decrease barriers for multi-generation family farms. To streamline succession planning among advisers, banks, and government would allow producers to pass their farms to their children, thus locally retaining the economic activity and production expertise.
2. Provide support for organic farming and certification, terroir, specialty foods, and biodiversity. By disseminating information and providing education, producers can enter new niche markets and remain in them. Italy and France have experienced success in terroir and specialty foods (example: <http://slowfood.com/>).
3. The collection of information from successful producers can be put into a format (book, website, etc.) that is easily accessible to producers. This

will help the producers to learn about successful practices of other producers.

4. There should be a two-fold approach for the creation of a stronger local food supply.

- In order to generate local demand the positive aspects of a local food supply can be made known to the public. This could be done through an awareness campaign that links local food production to local economic vitality.
- In order to generate a local supply, the support and expansion of local activities can be pursued through such initiatives as food hubs (examples: The USA foodhubs: <http://food-hub.org/> and <http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/FoodHubs>), farmer's markets, community and school gardens (examples: <http://edibleschoolyard.org/>), greenhouses, and the placement of local products in larger supermarkets. Flexibility and creativity should be included in the implementation of these activities. For example, school gardens can also be used as an income generator for the school or as the central point for a local food hub).

5. Encourage diversity in the types of producers. Support producers engaging in social enterprises that provide training and opportunities to marginalized groups, such as at-risk youth, developmentally disabled people etc. (example: <http://www.thistlefarms.org/index.php>). Support producers that integrate education, demonstration, tourism, etc. with their production activities. These activities create valuable resources for the local community.

6. Encourage biodiversity in products through the expansion and creation of programs and availability of resources. Provide incentives for producers to expand the types of foods produced and to engage in activities that preserve and increase biodiversity. Assistance with identifying markets for selling products is helpful for producers (example: model **name of sponsoring organization** here Flax Seed program).

7. Provide adaptable policy to producers wanting to start agricultural-related production on their land but face policy-technicality barriers. Producers wanting to engage in agricultural activity that is not on the property may be allowed to do so if they meet the criteria of contributing to the local food supply and economy and the activities are sustainable.

8. Expand programs from the previous rural policy designed to attract new and small producers. The decreasing number of producers may be addressed through programs attracting new and

small producers through assistance with loans and training programs.

Each of the listed opportunities has a multiplier effect in the local, rural economy. Also, each of these opportunities intersects with other sectors. An integrated approach toward policy and implementation can create multi-sector benefits, thus contributing towards a more dynamic form of rurality.

Value-Added Agriculture – Ryan Deska

“Adding value” to primary agricultural commodity products appears to be a good idea in theory, however, as policy makers, what evidence do we have that this is the case? The examination of Québec's value-added agriculture has been an important assignment because there are clear empirical case studies of the successes and challenges facing this sector of the rural economy. Simply defined, value-added agriculture is the process of changing or transforming a product from its original state to a more valuable one (Boland, 2009) and is important for local farmers because it lowers transportation costs and creates heightened competition among buyers (Kilkenny & Gerald, 2001). The development and support of value-added food and agriculture is in practice all over the world at various levels of government, industry and geographic location.

Support from Government

Nationally, the United States Department of Agriculture and Rural Development currently provides \$14 million to help agricultural producers enter into value-added processing and/or marketing activities (USDA, 2012). In the Canadian context, the Community Futures Development Corporation of the Central Okanagan is collaborating with regional government to assist with the development of value-added, artisanal agriculture in the Okanagan Valley, in British Columbia Canada (Community Futures Central Okanagan, 2011). Support for value-added agriculture in Québec takes different forms, such as the provision of processing facilities for smaller farmers and funding for multifunctionality programs, as well as \$12 million specifically allocated to foster the development of specialty products and to diversify the economy of rural communities. Projects include agri-food, forest products, cultural activities, heritage, and arts and crafts (MAMROT, 2006). While it is not necessarily the place of

the rural policy to specifically provide incentives for value-added food and agriculture, it has been acknowledged as an important component. The new rural policy has the opportunity to provide greater guidance as to how the \$12 million may best benefit rural communities (ex: localization of processing and maintaining local ownership).

The Role of the Private Sector and Local Culture

There are a number of different actors involved in value-added agriculture, ranging from large corporations, to cooperatives, to direct farm gate sales. One of the potential benefits of value-added agriculture for a rural economy is a variety of local spinoff effects, however, the economic impacts of an industry or sector on a rural community are very much dependent on the location and ownership structure of a business. This is illustrated by an example from the biofuels industry in Ontario. In OECD countries farm income represents less than 2% of total income and agriculture contributes less than 20% to the state GDP, however, much of this contribution actually occurs in urban communities (Vaillant, 2012).

An economic impact assessment of IGPC Ethanol Inc.'s plant in Aylmer Ontario illustrates the benefits that new renewable fuels plants can bring to rural communities, given a cooperative ownership structure and local siting (Doyletech, 2009). A Cooperative of approximately 900 persons owns the plant in Aylmer, Ontario, with about half being local or regional farmers, and half being from agricultural industries. Local farmers grow the corn that is used as the feedstock. It was found that construction of the farmer-owned plant directly contributed \$275 million in new local spending to the surrounding population.

The net Municipal government benefit, including property tax increases, reduced welfare payments, and indirect spending was approximately \$8 million. The net Provincial government benefit, including PST collections, lower welfare payments, and corporate and personal income taxes was approximately \$44 million. A total of 55 person-years of employment is created each year (Doyletech, 2009). With the case of biofuels, there are also a number of corporate owned facilities that siphon surplus value out of the region and do not create the same regional spinoff benefits. In Québec, however, we still saw the importance of private industry (given a strong relationship with local government) in the food processing sector.

Saint Damase & La Pocatière - Food processing and an innovative regional economy

The development of Saint Damase's food processing sector is not an accident. It was pointed out that a very similar rural community, with at one point in time, equal access to highly fertile soil is now a subdivision. Saint Damase, however, has managed to create an agricultural hub, where land prices are extremely valuable and the local economy is thriving. This difference in evolution between regions suggests a place for policy makers by proactively creating environments that enable similar developments. The example of Saint Damase indicates the value of sharing power between public and private sectors, strong leadership and creative negotiations, social cohesion and community identity, proximity to research and development, academic institutions, and high community education levels. Similarly in La Pocatière, an innovative milieu developed as a result of an investment in education, starting originally through agricultural and eventually evolving into a high technology manufacturing region driven by the success of Bombardier.

Looking at these two models, we see the importance of a community's evolving history for the development of a strong, resilient local economy. The question to be asked is whether or not policy can help create similar developments if so much is built on organic, emergent processes. I believe the role of policy is to create an environment conducive to similar developments, and support local entrepreneurs who want to create something new. This also raises the question of whether or not the NPR should invest in creating the conditions conducive to regional growth or whether it should promote specific projects. In the US, the USDA has acknowledged that rural areas face unique challenges to developing value added agriculture. Several States specifically address problems of access to capital, entrepreneurial expertise, marketing, and legal restrictions with a variety of programs targeting value-added agriculture (Kilkenny & Gerald, 2001).

Diversification of on-farm activities

Diversification of on-farm activities is a contested issue since there is inherent conflict between the preservation of agricultural land and the creation of viable rural livelihoods.

One of the recommendations from the OECD for rural policy is a better-adapted agri-land protection policy since it is currently too weak in urban/metro regions and too strict in rural regions (Vaillant, 2012). A meeting initiated by the food group with a local farmer in Rimouski supported this policy recommendation. This particular farmer runs a social enterprise where he uses agriculture to help marginalized youth learn occupational and life skills. To diversify his income and further support this business, he wanted to build a facility on-site where he could produce smoked salmon, however, he was denied permission since his facility would not be using agricultural products from the farm. One strategic goal of the NPR is to: “maintain a balance between the quality of life, the living environment, the natural environment, and economic activities” (Vaillant, 2012). Given this particular context it seems this rural policy has not fulfilled its goal. However, not everyone can be adequately represented by a singular policy.

Challenges for Policy

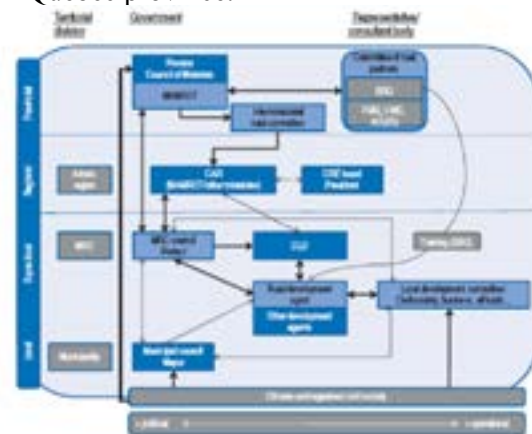
Not all the communities in rural Quebec have equal opportunity for a specific approach to rural development like value-added food and agriculture. One strength of the rural policy is its commentary on multiple aspects of rural economies, recognizing their diversity. An opportunity for this policy is to further strengthen its linkages across Provincial Ministries and across different economic sectors in order to provide a diverse range of opportunities for the diversity of rural areas. One thing we have taken from the experience of ICRPS is that if you have seen one rural region, you have seen one rural region. While similarities exist, it is important to also recognize the great diversity. While opportunities for one rural community may indeed be value-added agriculture, it may be wind energy for another and it may be higher education for another.

Rural Development Agents – Sian Ringrose

The provincial government in Québec finances rural development agents. Their role and responsibilities are to act as a point of contact for communities or individuals to help initiate rural development programmes and integrate policy with other measures. Rural development agents promote and support local communities to develop rural pact projects, they facilitate knowledge transfer and exchange, and provide a monitoring service for the rural pacts projects (OECD 2010).

Figure 1 illustrates the government structures and organisations that interact with the rural agents. While the rural agents are employed by the MRC they interact with other organisations such as the CLD (Local Development Centres) and receive training from the Solidarité Rurale du Québec (SRQ). As such they should be well connected and networked to be able to identify and aid the delivery of social development – one of the four key objectives of the NPR. Rural agents are positioned so that rural development can occur through a bottom-up approach. Ensuring that communities develop initiatives that are needed, valued, and of benefit to the communities within which they reside.

Figure 1. Government structures and organisations in Quebec province.



Source: OECD, based on Government of Quebec, MAMROT (OECD 2010)

Despite being well positioned and networked, the ability of rural agents to aid the creation of social development programmes is limited by a number of factors. During the two week period of the ICRPS school a variety of organisations, agencies, and communities were visited. These have highlighted some gaps or weaknesses that may be affecting the successfulness of rural agents.

A theme that kept recurring throughout the visit, regarding food, was the discussion that the markets where producers could sell their produce were not local. The majority of producers sell to markets based in Montréal. Food is then purchased and re-distributed back out to the rural areas. The result of these non-local markets is that communities have become reliant on urban or metro supermarkets for purchasing their food. Additionally, it was noted anecdotally that there is a perception that local food is more expensive and there is less variety. These factors make it difficult for food producers

to generate local community buy-in and support of local grocery stores. Rural agents therefore, find it difficult to persuade feed producers to diversify and enter the market for human food production. As such, producers wishing to expand their enterprises or entrepreneurs wanting to create new businesses have an immediate barrier to generating a successful business. Moreover, as previously mentioned, other policies such as the agricultural land protection act inhibits business diversification by preventing producers from building other businesses on their agricultural land e.g. development of a smoke-house on agro-forest land (Commission de protection du territoire agricole du Québec 1999). These cultural and physical barriers are such that rural agents may not be able to help overcome given their resources and demands on their time.

In Europe food is often used as a tool for education, recreation, and regional branding. Producers are supported through numerous funding strands to diversify their businesses and collaborate with other local producers or processors. Currently in Wales, the Welsh Assembly Government funds a supply chain initiative (Farming Connect) to aid primary producers set up local food stores such as charcuteries. These stores use their own produce and collaborate with neighbouring farmers to supply a variety of produce. Other initiatives in Scotland and Norway are Care Farming schemes.⁶ Care Farming is an agricultural farm which is used to promote the mental and physical wellbeing of people through the working of the land. This initiative involves a number of agriculturally based organisations to collaborate, network, and raise awareness of training benefits of Care Farms. To what extent rural agents are aware of, or promote schemes such as this is unclear. However, this is an area that could be developed.

The Farming Connect programme offers mentors to entrepreneurs and business expansion. This is a vital part of the programme to help those who are less familiar with business laws, regulations, and official business planning. This appears to be a similar issue to what the rural agents face with the development and monitoring of past projects. It has been noted that many of the individuals involved in these projects do not have any formal project management skills. Moreover, they are usually either volunteers or have little time to dedicate to project management. Therefore some

⁶Care Farming Scotland – <http://www.carefarmingscotland.org.uk/about-us>

projects that may be very successful in developing rural communities may fail due to the lack of management skills. Since rural agents are not allowed to intervene in the operation of projects, having someone who was paid to help with the management or mentor entrepreneurs would greatly improve the success of development projects. This in turn may impact community confidence since initiatives would be less likely to fail and may encourage further growth and the development of ideas.

Collaboration and linkages with other sectors also seemed to be an area which was lacking. General discussion suggested that cultural differences or family conflicts among municipalities were inhibiting effective collaboration. However, communities could benefit from pooling resources across municipalities. Increasing awareness of local food production and combining skills within the agri-food sector could offer more opportunities on which to grow. While overcoming regional differences is not within the mandate of the rural agents, models such as Scotland's Monitor Farm scheme may provide alternative ways to increase collaboration covertly rather than overtly.

The Monitor Farm scheme⁷ is a program partly funded by the Scottish Government and partly funded by private organisations. It is primarily used to encourage producers to implement research innovations into practice by collaborative decision-making. It consists of a local community group — mainly including farmers, a farm vet, and other agricultural professional and specialists. Key decisions regarding the management of the monitor farm are guided by the group over a three year period. The community group is aided by a local agricultural consultant facilitator and the group decides what to implement, how, and when. This system provides the farmers with the opportunity to see how development initiatives work in practice. The monitor farm also has the security of additional financial support if the new strategy fails to produce a profitable product or incurs unforeseen costs. The rural agent could play the part of the facilitator in a similar scheme for creating a culture of exchange and collective decision-making. This in turn would help to create more loyalty to supporting local food initiatives and aid the breakdown of cultural barriers.

⁷SAC's Monitor Farm Scheme for Beef and Sheep <http://www.sac.ac.uk/consulting/services/i-r/livestock/beefandsheep/monitorfarms/>

Capacity Building Related to Food: Communication, Education and Knowledge Transfer – Karen Henry

The Québec 2007-2014 Policy on Rurality includes several positive policies to promote food and related education. The specific policy strengths are listed below, followed by pragmatic examples for potential future projects and focuses on areas that could be expanded.

Strengths

4.1 A Second Generation of rural pacts: funds for infrastructure:

The new generation of rural pacts will receive an overall budget allocation of \$213million over the seven years of the policy, i.e. \$22 million in 2007-2008, \$26 million in 2008-2009, and \$33 million per year in subsequent years until 2014.

5.1 Rural laboratories to examine and disseminate the results:

An annual budget allocation on the order of \$100,000 for the duration of each laboratory will be attributed to the territories selected in the fields of experimentation proposed. The implementation of the laboratories implies an annual outlay of \$1 million in 2007-2008, \$2 million in 2008-2009 and, subsequently, \$2.5 million per year until 2014.

5.2.2 Multifunctionality in rural areas:

The task force will examine new activities and ties to be promoted among activity sectors such as natural resources, farm and agri-food products, agriculture centred on specialty products, local agriculture, new forestry, non-wood forest products, wildlife activities, energy production, green chemistry, protection of the countryside, farm tourism and new forms of tourism, the links between the environment and development, the complementarity between rural and urban areas, recreational facilities and activities, and heritage and culture.

5.2.7. The maintenance and viability of rural schools:

During the first year, the tasks force will devote itself to taking stock of the traits of teachers working in small rural schools and the problems that school boards encounter to attract, support, and retain staff in these schools. To this end, the school boards, universities, and municipal economic and community partners will work together.

6.2.1 Measures to report Reflection and Action:

A communications plan devoted to the contents of the new policy will be implemented so that all of the RCMs and rural communities affected receive and transmit this information. In this way, the government is seeking to foster active participation by elected representatives, volunteers, and individuals in the development of their communities.

Opportunities

The NPR could incorporate a holistic integration of food through policies and programs that promote sustainability, best practices, and lifelong learning. Each of the following case examples focuses on the importance of food and incorporating it into a cradle-to-grave system of education. Beginning with young children, they can visit farms and begin to appreciate where their food originates or even learn how to grow it themselves. More emphasis could be placed on youth education and can be incorporated through general education, as well as special interest clubs. Finally, educational courses available for adults of all ages could promote new gardening, cooking or business skills that promote a sustainable food system.

1. Slow Food Movement (www.slowfood.com)

Our Mission: Slow Food is an international grassroots membership organization promoting good, clean, and fair food for all.

The Slow Food Movement places an emphasis on appreciating local food and slowing down to enjoy it, as well as respecting a production process that is healthy and sustainable to the environment. The philosophy is that a collective group of people can make an impact through their choices of production and consumption and can make a difference through education and living by their beliefs. There is also an emphasis on cultivating local leaders, as well as being part of an international network of other like-minded individuals.

2. Educational Farms www.fattoriedidattiche.net

Educational farms are working farms with food production as the primary source of income. They focus on education to promote sustainable practices as well as consumer awareness. They demonstrate the role of local farmers and products and promote nutrition by encouraging fruit and vegetable consumption. They are commonly tailored to children and schools, but are also beneficial for all ages. Additionally, they provide a local market and can sell their local products to the visitors touring

their farms.

3. Penn State Extension: <http://extension.psu.edu/>
The agricultural extension system in Pennsylvania is a system that offers pragmatic technical assistance based on research from local experts. The extension agents work directly with the local state university and offer technical assistance related to gardening, crop production, cooking and canning seminars, seasonal pest issues, and solutions for any area where training is needed. Additionally, they have an equally integrated program for youth, through 4-H clubs. These are after-school organizations that promote leadership, life skills, and learning through programs tailored to youth interest and leader's areas of expertise. The clubs are overseen by the extension office and led by local volunteers. Courses range from knitting, to gardening, to poultry production, and

everything in between. There is also a yearly local fair to showcase the projects where the community gathers. It is a big social and educational event that is also used to sell local products or livestock that were produced throughout the year.

4. FFA: Future Farmers of America: www.ffa.org
Mission: The National FFA Organization is dedicated to making a positive difference in the lives of students by developing their potential for premier leadership, personal growth, and career success through agricultural education. The Future Farmers of America is a part of the public education system that focuses on agriculture. Students can choose to focus on agriculture and all of their courses are tailored to agriculture including classroom instruction, work experience and involvement in student organizations.

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Environment

The Natural Environment Report

According to the analysis of the Environment group, the development of wind power within the energy sector of Québec has the potential to turn the Gaspé region into a world leader in this domain. However, the group's focus is primarily on the environmental impacts on this type of development and not only on the economic opportunities which it presents. Using the wind farm example, they argue that the activities of rural agents should be incorporated in order to choose a development plan which is as respectful to the local, natural environment as possible while also ensuring that the wind farms benefit the rural areas economically. Such an approach would permit the region to move forward with other valuable development projects. The group focuses not only on the development of wind farms but also in the management of other important natural resources, in particular, water.



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Wind – rural development and the natural environment

Wind farming in Québec

Québec relies mainly on hydropower as a source of energy, but has recently included wind power in its energy strategy. The objective is mainly to achieve energy self-sufficiency, but it is also to diversify the economy of rural regions heavily dependent upon extraction of natural resources. Québec has an installed capacity of wind farms of 1,057 MW at 12 wind farms. Another 1,592 MW is projected in the 2011-2015 period (Techno Centre Eolien, 2012). The installed capacity is mainly situated at the Gaspé Peninsula, while the planned capacity is located all along the Saint-Laurent River.

Wind farms and the natural environment

Wind power is a renewable resource and a common good. Investing in wind power is an important strategy for becoming less dependent upon non-renewable resources such as oil and gas. In 2008, almost 50 percent of the energy consumed in Québec came from non-renewable resources (Government of Québec, 2011). Wind power thus becomes an important source of energy while at the same time reducing the global carbon foot print. However, there are also some environmental challenges related to wind farms. The main environmental issues regarding wind are visual impacts, noise levels, birds and wildlife, and

land use (Center for energy, 2012). Also, cultural heritage and identity will be affected by large scale development of wind farms.

Cultural heritage and identity in rural areas are often closely interlinked with the natural environment. The size of the turbines in Québec has increased according to the development of new technology, from 75 meters high in Cap-Chat to 130 meters high for the windmills under the current planning (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). The wind turbines are situated along the coastlines and roads and are highly visual in the natural scenery appreciated by tourists and local citizens. The turbines are also considered to be noisy by some, even though new technology tends to mitigate the noise. The cumulative impact of the planned turbines will probably be quite significant because of the number of wind farms situated in a limited geographical area.

In 2006, the first critics and opposition against wind farm projects appeared in Québec (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). Typically for renewable energy sources, the environmental impact is local, the environmental benefit is global, and often the economic benefits are transported out of the local communities where the energy is produced. Opposition and protests against renewable resources such as wind power tends to be at the local level, while at the provincial or national level,

these installations are highly supported. One could use the expression “not in my back yard” (NIMBY) to describe this situation. According to Bryden (2010), the question of ownership is central for the local benefits of renewable energy. The wage costs are often less than 20 percent of the value added and the benefits may be too small to compensate for the negative impacts on the natural environment suffered by local people.

Policies

The interest for wind as a source of energy started in the beginning of 2000 (Fortin and Fournis, 2012) and was a result of strategic networking and pressure from local leaders in the Gaspé Peninsula (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). Thus the wind power in Québec had, from the early beginning, local support. Hydro Québec, being a state owned company, was the first to take wind power into its energy strategy in 2001. Their strategy included the following principles.

- Big wind farms (60-100 wind mills) were preferable in order to be competitive and enjoy economies of scale.
- The farms should be set up within particular geographical regions to create a wind cluster and attract foreign manufacturers of wind turbines.
- Sixty percent of the demand should be local.

The presence of several major wind farms within a delimited territory was expected to create a market that would be attractive to foreign manufacturers of wind power equipment. The size and the weight of the turbines make them extremely costly to transport over long distances (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). Combined with the strategy of local content, this can be seen as a way of mitigating local negative environmental impacts by creating local economic benefits in terms of job growth. The local government has been involved in the process from the beginning at municipal and MRC levels.

Québec's provincial government, and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Fauna developed an energy strategy, launched in 2006 for the period 2006-2015, where wind energy is seen as one of the priorities (Gouvernement de Québec, 2006). The objectives of the strategy were to secure the supply of energy, promote economic growth, and make Québec a leader in sustainable development. However, the strategy also focused on local ownership by giving more input to local and first nation communities. To involve the communities, the strategy gives concessions to first nation

communities and the MRCs to develop 250 MW each. This has, however, not been realized as of today because of high construction costs.

Community involvement today is mostly done in private-public relationships (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). Turbines are not regarded as property, but as buildings, and there is no taxation of wind farms. However, local protests have led to a “voluntary contribution” of \$2,500 per MW, and the wind farm property owners receive on average \$100,000 per year (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). Also, local committees (named “Régie intermunicipal de l'énergie”) have been set up to increase the negotiation power of the local communities.

The National Policy on Rurality (NPR) 2007-2014 and wind/ environment

One of the Strategic Policy Directions of the NPR, is to maintain a balance among the quality of life, the living environment, the natural environment, and economic activities (NPR, 2006). Rural communities are closely linked with their natural environment. Wind and energy are particularly addressed under the headline of “Innovative Solutions” in the NPR. Environmental impact assessment is listed as one of the objectives of the task force on energy.

Wind power could also be seen as indirectly referred to in the policy if we think of it as a source of diversifying incomes, job creation, or sources of renewable energy. However, the possible conflict between the natural environment as a source of biological diversity, cultural heritage, and identity with the installation of an increasing number of wind parks is not addressed.

The NPR is only one of many initiatives that the government of Québec has elaborated in recent years. A few of them are already discussed above. (the Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune and the Ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs also have specific policies addressing wind and the environment). An environmental impact study must be conducted before a public hearing is held for installations of wind farms in public land. For private land, considerations of the wind turbines go under the jurisdiction for buildings (Gouvernement du Québec, 2005).

Wind farming in Norway – A Comparison

In Norway, wind farming is also seen as a strategic

way to use the natural resources for economic development and supply security. The government of Norway launched an energy strategy in 2006. In a white paper regarding the environment in Norway in 2007, the government set a few goals for wind energy (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning, 2012). They pledged to “facilitate the construction of environmentally friendly wind power, and to ensure that this is a result of holistic and long term evaluations” at the “[l]owest possible cost for environment and society”.

Wind power in Norway is almost always set up in remote areas with minimal infrastructure. However, the natural environment is important for recreation and the visual consequences can be numerous. Norway has had a highly lively public debate about these issues. Wind power also has consequences for land use and biological diversity. Infrastructure such as roads contributes to the fragmentation of the natural environment, which can have negative impacts on certain species. In addition, several of the wind parks are planned in heather-dominated regions which are threatened biomes.

Norway has a vertically integrated planning system with three levels of planning: national, regional and municipal. Their national planning system sets out general planning objectives (Pettersen and Söderholm, 2011). Compared with Québec, the Norwegian approach is far more centralized. Investors can only be given concessions according to a central planning plan.

An impact study of all wind power installations with more than 10 MW has to be completed and planned installations of more than 5 MW should be subject to an impact study to evaluate all the consequences regarding the environment, natural resources, and society. Before obtaining a concession, the Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management prepares documents for a hearing. The Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage have the joint responsibility to evaluate potential conflicts of interests among the different stakeholders, the overall environmental goals, and the natural environment. Also the Norwegian Directorate for Reindeer herders and the national defense has to be consulted in many cases.

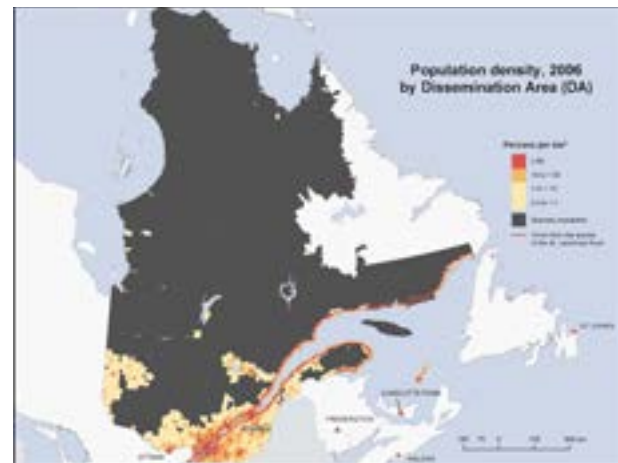
Conclusion/ Policy Advice

The wind power strategy has the potential to make the Gaspé Peninsula a world leader in wind power.

This should be embedded in the local economy. Human resources and knowledge management should not only focus on economic growth, but also on environmental impacts. Environmental training of the rural agents should be considered in order to have an environmentally-friendly development approach to wind parks and other economic projects. It is essential that the local communities benefit from the projects to have community support.

Water as a Natural Resource

This section will address how water issues are considered in Québec and how the current rural policy is addressing them. We will also look at what improvements could be made to the current rural policy. Québec has an estimated 4,500 rivers and 500,000 lakes, which equates to 3% of the world’s freshwater supply. However, Québec has only 0.1% of the world’s population – the majority of which live in the St. Lawrence Plain (Image 1, MDDEP 2012). Major environmental challenges in these regions include land use, water use, and water



related recreational activities.

Orientation 1 focuses on a “shared, comprehensive vision of water resources” as well as coordinating efforts from all major water-related agents. Orientation 2 harkens back to the 1970s – a time before the modern environmental movement. At this time, the St. Lawrence River, a vital source of water for Québec (and Canada) reached dangerous levels of toxicity and pollution. The 2002 Water Policy looks to integrate water management techniques and departments along the St. Lawrence River. Orientation 3 focuses on water quality for both drinking and the protection of aquatic ecosystems. In order to reach this goal, the Québec government has installed modern drinking water monitoring stations and has undergone revisions to previous forest management practices. Orientation 4 addresses the cleanup of agricultural, industrial, and municipal areas. Orientation 5 addresses the relationship between the environment and the tourism industry. With such a large amount of water per person, Québec is seen as a prominent location for most water-related recreo-tourism activities (MDDEP 2012).

In late 2007, the Government Sustainable Development Strategy 2008-2013 was passed. This holistic strategy integrated all government departments and agencies, while requiring participation from the Québec population. Three issues are addressed by this strategy: developing knowledge, the promotion of responsible activities, and commitment to nine major directions. The first direction involves information gathering and education. Direction 2 is the reduction of risks related to health, safety, and the natural environment. Direction 3 focuses on “ecoresponsible production and consumption”. Direction 4 addresses economic efficiency. In accordance with the Québec Rural Policy, Direction 4 addresses the importance of economic growth while continuing to deal with environmental concerns. Direction 5 focuses on the ever-changing demographics of Québec and considers their relevance for further development in the province. Direction 6 focuses on sustainable land use practices. Direction 7 focuses on the ever-important heritage of the Québec and its preservation. Direction 8 attempts to increase community action and social involvement, and Direction 9 aims to reduce or eliminate inequality in the social and economic spheres (GSDS, 2008).

The NPR addresses several environmental challenges throughout rural areas of Québec. Citing the large amounts of water found within the Québec province, the NPR currently sees natural resources like wind, timber, and water as a strong basis for sustainable rural development, but does not mention the need for an integrated approach to water resource management and rural development (MMAR, pg. 12).

Conclusion

It is our recommendation that the NPR take a holistic approach to water management policies like the Water Policy of 2002 and the Government Sustainable Development Strategy 2008-2013. Both policies are to be revised in the near future and could be easily integrated into the sustainable development practices outlined in the NPR.

Land Use and Multifunctionality

Natural endowments are a key ingredient for any vision of an equitable society. The wise harvesting and replenishing of renewable resources is necessary. Québec has an abundance of natural resources. Policy makers’ attention towards understanding ecosystem capabilities (carrying capacity) and ecosystem governance are keys in designing more sustainable natural environment. These concerns must include adequate remuneration while ensuring local participation in program planning and execution. The overuse and careless exploitation of these resources endanger not only the ecological balance but also threaten the sustainability of living standards (Banskota et al, 2000). Community based resource management practices have proven more sustainable than publicly managed ones. The evidence is collected from the irrigation water management (Ostrom, 1993) and community forestry program of Nepal (Varughese, 2001).

Sectorial policies alone (agriculture, forestry, industry, etc.) are not adequate for managing rural development. Rural economies and societies are becoming complex realities that warrant their own

public policy. In Québec this takes the form of economic development via a robust local rural economy. Attention is focused on the efficient utilization of natural resources followed by a bottom-up approach to ensure effective rural-urban links within development. However, we observed contradictions among some sectors such as mining and large-scale water resource management.

The low population density in Québec (4.8/Km²) creates conditions for the potential under-utilization of available land resources. An amicable immigration policy may address this problem to some extent, but immigrants are reluctant to settle in rural localities. Increasing incentives for rural initiatives such as farming and other economic opportunities may help. Resource conservation policies for land, water, wind, and forest that are compatible with economic activities rather than merely protection has the potential for enhancing and revitalizing rural local communities. Replacing the current sector policy with one that is multi-sectoral and decentralized may produce a dilemma in implementation, however.

A visit to Victoriaville, Québec, provided an example of successful economic initiatives through several environmentally friendly development activities such as city waste management, business creation, industrial park development, and “sustainable house construction”. The issues here imply the commitment of considerable public money to subsidize the projects and individual house construction. This approach is in danger of exacerbating the current deficit of the Québec government, however. It will, therefore, be better to work towards finding self-sustaining projects which would lead to the competitive sustainable development of the region. For example, the private sector could be encouraged to adopt socially responsibility approaches. Theobald (2005) argues that conversion of natural and agricultural lands to residential development exceed rates of growth in population size and number of households in industrialized countries. This process has environmental implications (e.g. carbon cycle) in industrialized nations. Land-use and land-management dynamics jointly determine land-cover change and the functioning of ecosystems (Robinson et al, 2010).

An agreement between government and supra-local authorities such as the MRCs can be enhanced with more resources and knowledge. Delegating more

responsibilities to investigate new possibilities, assemble human resources and knowledge, and undertake transfer payments within and between communities could create productive initiatives for natural resource-based rural community development in the Québec context. However, so far the number of project developments and implementations via RCMs do not create significant increases in the transformation of land potential to productive enterprises.

According to the PDAC, the area of protected land in Québec is 6.26% or approximately 9.46 million hectares (2007). The land and fresh water area of Québec is 151,421,800 hectares with the land only area being 136,512,800 hectares. Approximately 92% of land in Québec is Crown or public with the remaining 8% being private. The utilization of crown land either privately or publicly with incentives from the provincial government would add marginal revenue to the local economy. Private-public partnerships in the region seem to be desirable.

The Ministry of Natural Resources, Forests and Parks (MRNFP) prepares and amends public land use plans. We see here a top-down approach in decision-making rather than bottom-up. Land use patterns have been divided into tourism and recreation, commercial and industrial activities, public and community utilities, specific intervention areas, and preservation and protection. The Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Natural Resources consults with other ministries, non-governmental organizations, and aboriginal organizations as part of the evaluation and selection of territories of interest for protected area purposes. This seems to be a long-term strategic vision of the province. The weakness lies in the integration of wildlife conservation areas and should be addressed.

The organizations of urban, peri-urban, and rural agriculture with independent approaches are important to consider. Humanized landscape is desirable for protecting the cultural and aesthetic value of land in urban areas while mechanized farming may be suitable for large scale farming in rural regions. One way to reach an equitable society in an area that is devitalized is to implement multifunctional initiatives. Multifunctionality in agriculture refers to the valorization of all the benefits that agricultural practices provide. The WTO glossary defines multifunctionality as

the non-trade benefits of agriculture. These include environmental protection, landscape preservation, rural employment, and food security. For example, in addition to providing food and plant-derived products for the population, agriculture may also provide jobs for rural people, and contribute to the viability of the area, create a more stable food supply, and provide other desired environmental and rural outputs (OECD, 2007). Cabil (2001) identifies multifunctionalities of agriculture that includes food security, food safety, animal welfare, cultural values, environmental quality, landscape, biodiversity, and rural development.

Exposure to ongoing projects and future planning related to multifunctionality in Québec is necessary for more ecological farming. This benefits society. It encourages place-based resource mobilization and moderate eco-friendly farming systems. Following OECD propositions, the key elements of multifunctionality are the existence of both tangible and intangible services. Our effort should be directed towards minimizing negative externalities. The use of tacit knowledge (resource management, farming skills) along with scientific know-how best integrates the components of sustainability. Farmers in developing countries use botanical pesticides, improved farmyard manure, and IPM (Integrated Pest Management), which eventually leads to a sound environment. Agroforestry programs in many developing countries have proved to be desired models to operate in rural regions. The only precaution should be on farm income stability. The more value it creates and the greater its connections with market centers, the stronger the scope for the multifunctionality of agriculture. Québec is fortunate since it has abundant forests and pasture land, which facilitates integrated farming systems with more livestock. This in turn provides farmyard manure, which can be supportive of organic food production. This will protect the soil health and foster floral and fauna diversity. The present trend of granting individual projects for 3 years does not ensure the feasibility of the system, however. We suggest extending the time periods with more focus on collective projects. This may be a one feasible route of rural wealth creation.

Humans as a Resource in the Rural Policy Context

In the NPR, humans are uniquely described as a territorial resource with communities as

living environments that are closely linked with the natural resources of the land (NPR, p. v-4). The development and mobilization of rural communities depends upon the understanding of sustainability and commitment of individuals within communities. Specifically, the four main national policy directions concerning humans and communities are:

1. The promotion of the renewal and integration of newcomers;
2. The development of a territory's human, cultural, and physical resources;
3. Ensuring the survival of rural communities; and
4. The maintenance of a balance among the quality of life, the living environment, the natural environment and economic activities.

Major Challenges

The NPR states that by the end of 2007, the Committee of Rural Partners (Comité des partenaires de la ruralité) will have indicators developed to measure the results of this rural policy between RCMs (p. 54). One of the challenges is that there are only 136 Rural Development Officers working within the communities and RCMs. A second challenge is the continuation of the top-down approach of policy implementation from the federal to local levels (Friedmann, 1992; Chaisson, 2012). In one telephone-based study of rural communities in Québec, researchers discovered that many local representatives and administrators who acted on behalf of their communities or RCMs sat in multiple positions within the Québec government. This illustrates a potential for social elitism if these actors operate within a top-down administrative approach (Vodden & Carter, 2012; Domhoff, 2010). Third, the policy states that several of the rural communities have adopted Agenda 21 from the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development in June 1992. This measures sustainable development with respect to communities (p. 16). However, Agenda 21 is out-of-date. To better measure the sustainable development of communities in the next NPR, several of the indicators in the current policy should be modified to measure the development of communities with respect to natural resources including the mobilization of individuals, community commitment, rural innovation techniques, the number of municipalities that have a development strategy and structure, and changes in migration in rural municipalities (Politique nationale de la ruralité, p. 54).

Sustainable Policies under other Ministries

The Ministry of Development (2010) uses several indicators that are more strategic in their measurement of human resource development in Québec. These include labour activity rates, job quality, life expectancy, and the distribution of post-secondary education (p. 7). Alternatively, in Québec's Sustainable Development Indicators summary document, the Ministry of Sustainable Development, Environment, and Parks (2010) provides nine strategic directions, each with a set of objectives, to target the sustainable development of natural and human resources: 1) Inform, make aware, educate, innovate; 2) reduce and manage risks to improve health, safety, and the environment; 3) produce and consume responsibly; 4) increase economic efficiency; 5) address demographic changes; 6) practice integrated, sustainable land use and development; 7) preserve and share the collective heritage; 8) promote social involvement; and 9) prevent and reduce social inequality.

The NPR perspective of human involvement in the natural involvement can incorporate the nine strategic directions on sustainable development from the Ministry of Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks in a way that is similar to that of the World Bank's 2010 World Development Report on Development and Climate Change (WDR 2010). The WDR 2010 describes a cyclical relationship where the vulnerability of people is affected by climates and the vulnerability of climates can be affected by people (p. 87). Moreover, the World Bank states that "helping people to help themselves" requires investments of money, ingenuity, and information but will

yield results in climate and socioeconomic scenarios. As a tool, the WDR 2010 combines environmental indicators with social indicators in an index that can be utilized to identify countries that demonstrate the most needs for sustainable action (p. 279). Innovative rural governance is an area of possibility in which rural communities can change to overcome rigidity within government administration (Drabenstott, 2005). In the next rural policy, the indicators for measuring natural resources and community participation can be formed upon the nine directions for sustainable development.

The NPR of 2007-2012 suggests that humans are among the resources of the natural environment. When considering devitalized rural communities, investing in human resources is especially important since humans have an impact on natural resources in their locales. The major challenges to the incorporation of humans as a natural resource within the NPR are that:

1. although humans are recognized as a natural resource, they are not incorporated within the policy objectives, measurements, and partnership strategies;
2. the Rural Development Officers must increase connectivity between rural communities and RCMs;
3. Agenda 21 is outdated and should be replaced with the sustainability strategies of the Ministry of Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks.

A solution to be considered is one that will combine sustainability initiatives based on social and environmental interests of Québec in a way that creates a composite index to identify the needs among RCMs.

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Annex 1: ICRPS2012 Program

Day	Date	Activity/Location	Accommodation
	Thursday June 21	Arrival in Montréal	Grey Nun's student residence (Concordia U.)
1	Friday June 22	Summer school begins: Seminars and meetings with local corporations and groups	
2	Saturday June 23	Seminars and meetings with local corporations and groups	
3	Sunday June 24	Seminars and meetings with local corporations and groups	
4	Monday June 25	Bus to St-Damase, then Québec City via Victoriaville	Le College Mérici student residences (Québec City)
5	Tuesday June 26	Seminars and meetings in Québec City	
6	Wednesday June 27	Seminars and meetings in Québec City	
7	Thursday June 28	Bus to Rimouski with stop at La Pocatière	Université du Québec à Rimouski student residences (Rimouski)
8	Friday June 29	Rimouski, Parc Nationale Bic	
9	Saturday June 30	Seminars and meetings in Rimouski	
10	Sunday July 1	Rimouski – Canyon & Esprit Saint	
11	Monday July 2	Rimouski - Grand Métis – Wind farms, seminars at Jardins de Métis	
12	Tuesday July 3	Seminars and meetings in Rimouski	
13	Wednesday July 4	Student presentations, Cocktails at Rimouski Hôtel de ville & Pub Saint-Germain	Grey Nun's student residence (Concordia U.)
14	Thursday July 5	Bus to Montréal with stops along the way. Official end of summer school	
15	Friday July 6	Departure	



Annex 2: Faculty Member Comments

John Bryden and Karen Refsgaard, NILF, Norway

We have much enjoyed our 8 days with Faculty and Students at the 2012 Summer Institute organised by our colleagues at Concordia University and UQAR (University of Quebec at Rimousky). We have some reflections on Quebec Rural Policy to offer as a result of the discussions and inputs so far.

Quebec turns its face to Europe, and its back to Ottawa (Canadian Federal Government) when it comes to 'rural policy'. Thus rural policy here looks like LEADER in Europe, a fact which is not at all surprising when one considers the coming and going of LEADER action groups and the Leader Observatory (in which John was involved) in the formative period of the policy. It is aimed mainly at community mobilisation at the MRC administrative level¹, and its total budget is very small, comparable with LEADER which has been around 1% of the budget for the common agricultural policy at EU level. It is what the Finnish Government and Rural Policy Committee term 'narrow rural policy', an extra policy layer on top of all the sectoral policies which spend most public money and together have by far the largest economic, social and environmental impacts on rural regions². 'Broad' rural policy considers all important public sector policies impacting on rural, and argues that it is not sufficient to consider only 'narrow' rural policy. Thus both LEADER and Quebec rural policy fail to consider the other important policies with significant rural impacts, which are managed in another way. These include Natural Resources and Minerals, Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, Social Welfare, Education, Health, Housing, Land ownership and tenure, Land Use (Planning), Energy (and Renewable Energy), Environment, Local Government, Transport, Infrastructure, Regional Development and Innovation, Immigration, and in Canada, Northern Affairs etc (especially the Inuit and Native American issues). In fact, as in many but not all other countries, these policy issues (control over decisions and budgets) are very centralised at the Provincial or Federal levels in Canada, and Quebec, even if it does have a stronger structure of local government than other Provinces, is no exception. In most countries, such policies account for perhaps 90% of public expenditure in rural regions and even if public spending is small the decisions taken and regulations around them are normally crucial for the sustainability of rural communities. Indeed they can motivate and determine the extent and nature of rural disadvantage and rural-urban migration. The extent of centralisation is also reflected in the weakness of local budgets and taxation powers, since nearly all taxes are paid to Provincial level and then reallocated via central and sectoral budgeting and spending processes.

It is understandable in this context that there is a focus on community empowerment, since communities (whether rural or urban) are deeply disempowered by the centralisation of decision making and public budgets. However, although it is necessary and good to encourage and enable an active citizenry, this is not sufficient to empower communities! They must also have sufficient control over decisions and budgets that affect their quality of life and development, including provision of public services.

This seems to us to be a key weakness of the present 'rural policies' in Quebec, and when I asked our speakers from Solidarite Rurale and also the Ministry about the drivers of the rural policy after 2014, they mentioned 'rural services' and 'more devolution' as well as 'agriculture', which reflects the situation we observe.

The critical themes that we are examining in the summer school are all very much affected by the centralisation-decentralisation debate, and the outcomes of that for the next period. It will be impossible to advance the benefits of renewable energy potentials, which seem considerable, without the development of local policies and powers to implement them, as well as changes in Central policies (of the energy ministry and its 'offshoot' Hydro Quebec). It will be impossible to create the platforms needed for local innovation systems of the kind we saw in P without regional, innovation, agricultural (multifunctionality), food and rural policies being coordinated at the same, local, level, preferably in Municipalities or voluntary associations of Municipalities (not top-down and anti-democratic MRCs). It will be impossible to tackle rural disadvantages including the needs of in-migrants and families without

¹MRC = Municipal Regional Councils, comprised of the mayors of several constituent Municipalities, and an administrative layer which is not directly elected.

²In ICRPS we have always used the OECD definition of 'rural regions', which identifies and divides the total area of member states into 'predominately rural', 'predominately urban' and 'intermediate' regions based on population density and proximity to large cities.

devolving social policies including health, education and social welfare to local levels, again preferably the same local level and the same legitimated institutions³ as other things mentioned above. It is localisation or regionalisation of central and sectoral policies that is at the core of the OECDs New Rural Paradigm (NRP).

Some academic critics of the NRP have argued that it has somehow implied that policies of fiscal equalisation⁴ should be abandoned, but this is not so. Many of us involved in the NRP development and writing argued consistently that fiscal equalisation and the related role of elected local governments was even more important for the NRP that is was under centralised and sectoral policy regimes. The policies and subsidies that NRP criticised were those of a 'one size fits all' policy such as agricultural policy and energy policy. This set of arguments is well rehearsed, in a comparative way, in our writing on rural urban 'equivalence' in which we articulate the human/ social rights and social contract arguments for territorial equivalence policies. Typically, in Scandinavia, regional (often called 'districts') policy has clear goals to enable people to live where they choose, and to have roughly equivalent levels of services and opportunities for livelihoods in their communities or readily accessible from them. The main instruments are devolved social policies and budgets on the one hand, and devolved regional and innovation policies on the other.

Quebec is not yet there! But it is nevertheless more 'there' than most other Provinces and States in North America, and to be commended for that in my view. The test will be how much further the policies can be taken for the period after 2014.

³For example, Europeans find it very hard to comprehend the need for a separate 'school board' system, or the obsessions with proliferation of public agencies with different boundaries from each other and from the legitimate, elected, local authorities.

⁴Fiscal equalization means transfer of resources from richer to poorer municipalities or regions in order to enable them to provide equivalent services to citizens. Thus in Norway (like most of Scandinavia and Germany), there are wide differences in (a) local fiscal/ tax capacities (due to differences in wealth and income) and (b) the costs of delivering services (due to geography and settlement patterns), and these two main criteria drive the central government contributions to local budgets.

Dr. Philipp Kneis, Allison Davis-White Eyes, Oregon State University

Discourses of rural development tend to define the rural as that which is not urban, or more specifically, as that which is not yet urban.

The aim of such conceptions is to provide services understood as urban to rural regions. Some of these services had already existed but were scaled back due to financial considerations. This concerns, for instance, post offices or train services in regions understood as remote. Other services have not yet been sufficiently provided, such as high-speed internet or mobile phone access. Further development concerns the economic transformation of areas formerly dominated by agriculture, fishing and forestry.

Such development follows conceptions of economic utility and usefulness, which may in turn increase the urban footprint in rural regions. This creates a misleading narrative that the rural is somehow lacking or backwards and in need of urban interventionist development strategies. The rural – according to the developmentalist paradigm – is not supposed to remain rural, and it has to overcome its backwardness.

This is illustrated by the prevalence of rural population loss: Younger populations leave for urban centers in search of education, work or services, and may only return later in life. Partially, development aims at ameliorating or changing these processes – however, the cost of such initiatives may be coming at the expense of rural regions, specifically the loss of what makes them distinctly rural. Instead, they are modified to fit urban expectations.

Development of rural regions should ideally – as recognized in the Quebec rural policy – take some initiative from the rural population. It appears that this is not always the case. There may be structural reasons explaining such lack, specifically the reliance on volunteer work in rural areas. Input by rural actors could be increased by the following: better compensating local participants in rural development, creating regional cooperatives that are structured and sustained by poly-vocality, and by research partnerships between universities, research institutes, and private businesses that actively engage with local communities in reciprocal research/development outcomes.

A key issue of development is the utilization of rural resources. Energy production is oftentimes conducted in rural regions, yet primarily for the benefit of urban populations. This concerns both fossil

fuels, but increasingly – as can be seen in Québec – energy production that may be regenerative, such as water and wind. All of these ways of producing energy are transforming rural landscapes and are affecting, even displacing rural populations, such as through the erection of hydroelectric dams. Urbanites routinely underestimate the profound changes for rural landscapes, and push for urban needs to be prioritized, given that urban populations are larger than rural populations. Rural regions are frequently seen as merely providing resources for urban consumption.

This consumption can also serve recreational purposes. This concerns the creation of wilderness or park areas – modes of “preservation” that also mean development for financial or other gains – but also the building of housing units in attractive rural settings, a “gentrification” of rural regions where the urban affluent may displace long-time residential use.

Sustained development of rural regions may even work against such recreational uses, as rural areas become increasingly urbanized, or sub-urbanized. This removes regional distinctiveness – which could be marketed for the purposes of tourism – and may counteract other positive economic effects. This kind of rural development is thus characterized by competing narratives of growth and preservation, which specifically concern the development of resources and capital; natural, human, social and cultural; as well as the preservation of the rural as a “natural site” or “repository” for natural resources, recreation, and expressions of cultural patrimony.

Tom Johnson, University of Missouri

A Proposed Evidence-Based Approach to Quebec Rural Policy

It is widely agreed that Quebec has a comprehensive and forward-thinking rural policy. The goals of Quebec’s rural policy include territorial equity, local capacity for governance, and dynamic land occupancy (Organization for Economic Development, 2010). The policy depends on the development of social capital, multilevel governance and place-based support to achieve these goals.

Quebec is developing a development index to monitor progress in reaching its goals. We commend this effort and recommend that this monitoring process be made comprehensive and public. We further recommend that the process be expanded to serve as a policy, program and project evaluation tool. This is commonly referred to as evidence-based policy making (Laurent and Trouvé, 2011). Evidence-based policy making is a growing trend in a number of European countries. The UK has established a rural evidence hub (Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2012) which it hopes will support evidence-based policy making for its rural regions. DEFRA makes the evidence hub available to policy makers and analysts to assess the success of UK policy in rural areas (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2011). At present the hub is not available to the general public but it hopes to make it more easily accessed as it develops.

Evidence-based policy making involves the collection and organization of established knowledge related to a particular topic. Data, including indicators such as Quebec’s development index, are useful for monitoring changes in rural conditions, but a true evidence-base links these changes to causes, including policy changes. Changes in indicators are not enough to conclude that a policy has succeeded or failed. The change must also be explained. Causality requires a theoretical framework which has been empirically tested.

An evidence-based rural policy framework for Quebec would require clear articulation of the policy goals, choice of appropriate indicators, and systems for measuring the consequences of programs and projects on particular communities and regions. In the beginning, the framework might include little more than the policy goals, their associated indicators and historical data on each indicator. An evidence-based policy framework would evolve and grow over time as knowledge was gained from policy research, pilot programs and tests. Eventually a well-organized system of indicators, and proven knowledge would accumulate. Knowledge could come from a variety of places but would be tested and confirmed in the local contexts.

Ideally the evidence base would be an interactive on-line resource and would generate tables and maps at the MRC level. It would be useful but not essential that the user could compare the performance of given MRC’s with a group of peer regions inside or outside Quebec.

The advantages of such a framework would be more cost effective policies and programs, and a sound

basis for screening development projects proposed within these programs. The costs of such a program would soon be offset by program savings. Making the information public would reassure and enlist the support of rural residents increasing the effectiveness of policies.

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Francesca Regoli, University of Bologna

Objective of the report on the Québec National Policy on Rurality (NPR)

To frame the work of the food group we assess: how food issues are analyzed and considered within the NPR; if any food policy is addressed or developed by the document; and which actors and instruments are involved.

Relevance of food issue in the NPR (interdisciplinarity)

The policy document allocates funds for the agri-food sector (\$12 million, for rural products) and aims to provide assistance to projects connected to agri-food production and the development of small-scale food business, in order to enhance a multifunctional approach and to market special products from the area. The agri-food sector, therefore, is considered a relevant one and a set of financial and institutional instruments are foreseen to foster new initiatives.

Observations

To foster the agri-food sector, synergies should be created among different sectors and actors characterizing the rural areas. In particular, to enhance food quality and food availability, the capacity-building process plays an important role. The FAO (2010) identifies the relevance of reinforcing rural people's capability to manage natural resources as a way to reduce the education gap. Knowledge and capacity development increase the opportunities for productivity, but also help to build people's identities and improve the local community's awareness of their role and values. This aspect also encourages them to be involved in social and political life (SIDA, 2000).

A crucial step, therefore, is to foster education. This includes not only through the school system (primary and secondary education) but the training of adults through life-long learning approaches. The rural policy document argues that schools are "at the heart of the rural community" (MAMR, 2006).

Nevertheless education activities should be further enhanced through innovative approaches and building synergies among the educational institutions and local actors – particularly farmers and their associations. They provide several examples of projects which could be enhanced, such as rural laboratories (MAMR, 2006). These include education-focused farms: those which involve schools (primary and high schools) and farms for educational initiatives to raise the awareness and the knowledge of children about natural assets, food quality, and farm production (e.g. the use and quantities of pesticides, chemical fertilizers). This could also include more attention to the connection between production and consumption of food, including issues of quality and the importance of local food.

The initiative "adopt a fruit tree" is an interesting example from North America and Italy. This is an in-class activity that consists of the students learning about fruit seeds, ecology, and the natural life cycle. Each child grows his or her own seed within a pot. The activity then moves to farm households, where the

students go to transplant the fruit tree in the field. Each child is responsible for her or his tree and once the tree comes to bear fruit, the child can go to harvest the fruit products. This allows the creation of a direct link among the child, farm, land, and farmer. It raises the awareness and participation of the children in farm life, and increases the chance that they will be interested in going with their family to take care of their own tree and to harvest fruits during the season. For the farmers, this synergy implies more visitors to the farm and more opportunities to sell their farm products. The program promises an increased natural and food-based education among children and their families and additional economic opportunities for farmers. Furthermore the approach can contribute to reduce the urban-rural divide, when educational farm projects involve schools located in urban areas.

Life-long learning refers as well to training for farmers. Knowledge transfer and exchange of best practices are a fundamental step to improve their awareness of new food-processing techniques, new economic activities, marketing, and branding opportunities. The allocation of public funds could result in inefficient or inappropriate initiatives to develop specialty products if plans and specific strategies are not elaborated according to the territorial characteristics. Therefore, raising farmers' knowledge on when and how to use such funds will make an important contribution to their appropriate use.

The rural agent (rural development officer, MAMR, 2006) has a very important role to play in this process. This would include the creation of synergies among educational institutions, farmers, and local communities by organizing meetings and seminars for best practices transfer, providing information on existing opportunities for rural areas, and developing networks of farmers, food processors, local shops, and local information points to market their areas or create programs to attract visitors.

One challenge to be faced is to strengthen the relationship among rural agents and associations of farmers to ensure that agents are accepted by their local communities and that they know the territory and related communities. According to the bottom-up approach championed by the NPR, if the rural agent is perceived by local community members as an external actor — one who aims to “distribute solutions”, but who lacks of awareness of the territory — there is a risk that they will be relatively ineffective, since they are not able to interact with the community and to translate and to transfer the community's needs to the specific authorities.

Final considerations

A set of instruments has been created for a rural development policy in Québec, but the issue is how to use them properly. An effective synergy between rural agents and the local community is a strategic point, which implies sharing of information and knowledge mobilization. Food can be a useful asset to face this challenge and reduce distances between rural agents and their communities since it represents an important opportunity for organizing rural laboratories to promote and enhance food products. Several best practice experiences exist, which could be analyzed to be adapted to rural Québec circumstances.

For the agri-food sector, good networking implies marketing of the product(s) and the region. This can best be done where the food system as a whole is considered – within its social context. In the framework of the NPR, local governance should be a key part of this strategy, thereby allowing the interaction among local resources (including human capital) and their appropriate use.

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Québec Rural Policy, Energy Policy and Full Cost Accounting

Many policies, in addition to officially stated rural policy, have an impact on rural areas and rural citizens. One such policy is energy policy.

Québec's energy policy has major impacts on rural Québec, which is both an energy user and an energy provider. Given the reliance on hydro power, the majority of energy production takes place in rural areas; thus rural areas are providing a service very important to the rest of Québec. Where energy is produced, its price and how costs are accounted for have major impacts on the province and on rural Québec.

Québec energy prices are among the lowest in North America. (http://www.hydroquebec.com/publications/en/comparison_prices/pdf/comp_2011_en.pdf) Economic efficiency requires that a person or firm pays the full costs of what they receive as benefits (electricity). If they pay less than the full costs, they will use more electricity than is socially optimal.

The full costs of production of energy include the direct costs (those that a firm would show on its books) and the external costs. External costs are not paid by the firm, but they are paid by someone else at some time. An example is the sulfur dioxide emissions from US power plants (US consumers did not pay for this cost) that damaged Canadian lakes and forests (the cost was paid by Canadians). In the case of hydro-energy the costs are often in terms of environmental and ecological damage and some carbon emissions due to organic matter decomposition. These external costs of hydro-energy are more concentrated in the rural areas than the carbon emissions of fossil energy, which increase the rate of global climate change. While the entire province benefits, the majority of the external costs are paid by rural areas. These higher costs may be paid in lower quality of life, fewer jobs available, out-migration, etc.

The lack of full cost accounting makes energy appear cheaper to the consumer than it is and as a result they use more energy than is optimal. One piece of evidence of this is that residential use of energy per capita in Québec is higher than in the rest of Canada. (It is more difficult to compare industrial use because of differences in energy needs by different industries. Those with the highest needs will locate where energy is cheaper.) Maintaining a low price that does not cover full costs results in higher demand, which results in "energy shortages" and the pressure to build new capacity. In Québec new capacity is often hydro with external costs on rural areas where the production is located. These rural areas are subsidizing the rest of the province.

Full cost accounting should be applied to compare costs of different methods of energy production — in the case of Québec, hydro, wind, and nuclear. This comparison would show which method is less costly. The EU has developed the ExternE system to compare these costs. While not perfect, it is a useful tool.

It is my understanding that there is one rate structure for the entire province, despite differences in costs of transmission. This policy may encourage firms to locate in urban rather than in rural areas nearer to where the energy is produced. If costs of transmission were included in the price, the rural areas, which are paying the external costs, might benefit from more economic activity.

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ICRPS Reflections: Notes on linking sustainability and inequality

In a recent UNDP Research Paper entitled *Sustainability and Inequality in Human Development*, Eric Neumayer outlines a framework in which he links inequalities in income, health, and education with “unsustainability” which he defines as inadequate savings and investments in capital (human, social, manufactured) and particularly with degradation of critical forms of natural capital (natural resources that absorb pollution and provide environmental amenities). The basic argument is that “there are many reasons why more inequality would lead to more unsustainability and why more unsustainability would cause more inequality in human development, both within and between countries. In other words, there is likely to exist a vicious circle between inequality and unsustainability, where more of one will cause more of the other, in turn causing more of the former and so on.” (p. 1).

This framework could be useful in thinking about Québec Rural Policy and in framing the contributions of the 2012 ICRPS inequality group’s report to the overall ICRPS report to MAMROT. The reflections in this paper are organized as follows. Neumayer’s arguments about inequality leading to weak and strong unsustainability are summarized (primarily with selected quotations from the paper), first within countries or regions and then across countries or regions. Then his arguments about the impact of unsustainability on inequalities are summarized. The reflections conclude with some observations about how this framework might frame the contributions of the ICRPS Inequality group to the report. The reflections are not well developed yet, and may not ultimately be useful, but I offer them on the chance that they might stimulate someone to develop the framework more fully.

Some definitions

“Inequality in human development is ... inequality in individual educational levels, health standards, and incomes in any given country and in average levels, standards, and incomes between countries.” (p. 2), Equality would mean that everyone had the same level of income, health, and education. Inequality means that the “rich” have a larger share of income, total health, and education than the poor. The greater the share of the rich, the more the inequality.

“The definition of sustainability employed here is based on the so-called capital approach to sustainable development, in which the aim is to make sure that future generations have at least the same value of capital available to allow them attaining at least the same level of utility as the current generation. Scholars typically distinguish four types of capital: natural, man-made, human, and social capital. Natural capital encompasses everything in nature that provides human beings with well-being, from natural resources to environmental amenities and the pollution absorptive capacity of the environment. Man-made or manufactured capital refers to the physical means of production (factories, machineries etc.) and infrastructure. Human capital covers knowledge and skills. Social capital is more tricky to define, but typically refers to things like trust among individuals and trust in the institutions that govern their lives and the quality of these institutions.” (p. 2)

“Weak sustainability (WS) is built on the assumption that natural and other forms of capital are essentially substitutable and that the only thing that matters is the total value of capital stock, which should be at least maintained or ideally added to for the sake of future generations. Hence, weak sustainability is about saving (investing) enough for the sake of future generations. Strong sustainability (SS) rejects the notion of substitutability (of natural capital) and holds that certain forms of natural capital are critical and that their depletion cannot be compensated for by investment into other forms of capital, such as man-made (manufactured) and human capital. Like weak sustainability, it calls for saving (investing) enough for the sake of future generations, but the accumulation of other forms of capital must not come at the expense of deteriorating or depleting critical forms of natural capital.” (pp. 2-3)

Inequality leads to unsustainability

Within a country or region,

Greater inequality in income leads to more built capital (richer people save and invest more than poorer people) but less human capital (as poorer people have less money to invest in education), less social capital (the “social fabric” gets frayed) and less natural capital (the rich consume and pollute more and

resist public policies that protect the environment).

The impact of inequality in incomes and education on critical forms of natural capital (“global climate, biodiversity, forests and wetlands, food and water resources as well as the pollution absorptive capacity of the environment” [p.6]) are more likely to be critical “environmental” goods than fossil fuels and other production inputs for which capital can be substituted. Neumayer notes that “Much more important than the direct effect of inequality on private decision-making, are the indirect effects on the political economy of public decision-making. The most basic of inequalities exists between those who have a say in such decision-making and those who do not.” (pp. 7-8)

“[I]n as much as concentrated economic power also allows a greater influence on political decision-making, greater inequality will also bias political decision-making against environmental protection. Thus, differences in ability-to-pay buy differences in political power to influence decisions.” (p. 10)

Greater inequality in health leads to less manufactured capital (sickness leads to loss of work), less human capital (sick people make less to invest in education) and thus less income, savings, and investment. It will also indirectly lead to less natural capital.

“Less ... healthy individuals will find it more difficult to actively participate in the political process of public decision-making [about natural capital]. Given that environmental pollution is likely to be concentrated where ... unhealthy people live, this implies that victims of pollution will have less say in public policies.” (p.11)

Greater inequality of education leads to less manufactured capital (lower productivity of labor), and thus lower incomes and thus less human capital (less income means less private and public investment in education) and thus lower savings rates and investment. It will also indirectly lead to less natural capital.

“Less educated ... individuals will find it more difficult to actively participate in the political process of public decision-making. Given that environmental pollution is likely to be concentrated where poorly educated ... people live, this implies that victims of pollution will have less say in public policies.” (p.11)

Overall, more inequality in human development leads to more built capital, and less human, social, and natural capital.

Across countries (sub-county regions, core and periphery regions)

Greater inequality of incomes between countries or regions leads to (modestly) less manufactured capital and overall lower savings rates as poor countries struggle to save for the future. It would also lead to less natural capital (through fewer multilateral agreements)

Greater inequality in education leads to less natural capital since poor countries struggle to prioritize education.

Inequality in health leads to less natural capital since poor countries struggle to prioritize and afford health initiatives.

Unsustainability leads to inequality

Within countries,

Low savings rates increase inequality. “Countries that are consistently weakly unsustainable are bound to experience increased within-country inequality in human development in the future. The reason is simple: weak unsustainability [i.e., low savings rates] leads to deteriorating economic conditions in the future and undermines the ability of the government to provide future public goods. Both are likely to hit the least well off much more than the well-to-do. The latter can shield themselves to a greater extent from these consequences with the help of private savings and investments, whereas the former are much more dependent on public income transfers and public investments into education and health.” (p. 14)

Loss of natural capital leads to inequality. “The loss of critical forms of natural capital is likely to increase existing within-country inequality. The well-to-do find it easier to shield themselves from the negative consequences of the loss of critical forms of natural capital by substituting private for public environmental amenities. They also find it easier to adapt to a strongly unsustainable world and, if need

be, to migrate away from areas that are particularly hard hit. The less well off often cannot resort to these options. They are less able to buy private environmental amenities, less able to adapt and are typically exposed to the full force of strong unsustainability, e.g. in the form of contaminated food and water resources, natural disasters, dangerous levels of pollution, etc.” (pp.14-15)

“Unfortunately, even though strong sustainability hits the less well off more than the well-to-do and thus leads to more within-country inequality in human development, policies aimed at achieving strong sustainability need not decrease such inequality and may even increase it.” (p. 15) Policies that support strong sustainability [environmental protection policies] generate higher prices and hence less to spend on public goods, which leads to inequality.

Inequality among individuals makes public decision-making more difficult because people focus on fairness rather than the larger public goals.

Across countries,

“It follows from the fact that negative genuine savings rates are currently concentrated among the less well off countries that weak unsustainability is likely to increase between-country inequality.” (p. 17)

“Strong unsustainability is likely to affect the less well off countries more, thus increasing existing between-country inequality. There are two main reasons for this. First, some of the physical consequences of strong unsustainability will hit the less well off relatively more. [Second] Even if the impact were the same on all countries, the less well off countries have a lower capacity to deal with the impact of strong unsustainability and to adapt to it than the better off countries. (pp. 17-18)

The relationship between unsustainability and inequality is nonlinear. The impact of minor environmental degradation on inequality is likely to be small whereas the impact of major environmental degradation is likely to be large: “mild strong unsustainability is likely to have a minor effect on inequality while more pronounced strong unsustainability will have a strong impact on inequality.”

Public policy implications

Policymakers need to be concerned about the distributional impacts of environmental policies, and seek environmental policy instruments that improve distribution: “policies for achieving strong sustainability may well increase inequality in human development, at least in the short run. In many cases, such conflicts and trade-offs can be avoided by using another instrument (e.g., taxes instead of tradeable permits given away free of charge, which typically create rents for the relatively well off, or auctioning off tradeable permits rather than giving them away free of charge), using multiple instruments (e.g., subsidies for public transport systems or for extending access to renewable energy sources to the relatively less well off), and using other policies to compensate for any regressive effect strong sustainability policies might have (e.g., using revenue from environmental taxes to transfer income to the relatively less well off).” (pp. 18-19)

Observations about how this might be useful in organizing the Inequality group’s contribution to the Québec Rural Policy report

The Neumayer paper could provide a framework for both framing the inequality group’s focus on inequalities in income, education, housing and health care and linking the inequality group’s work with that of the natural resources and regional development groups’ contributions.

Québec Rural Policy seems to be focused on the building of social capital and providing funding through local governments to Québec rural communities and regions, particularly the remote ones that are lagging and “devitalized”. Some of the Québec Rural Pact projects involve new support for human capital development (education), healthcare services and facilities, manufactured capital (e.g. broadband), and protection of natural resources.

While the “bottom-up” philosophy discourages the setting of priorities by the national government, Neumayer’s framework might suggest that the NPR focus on new investments in health, education, and income opportunities. The framework would imply that inequality in the distribution of income, health, housing, and education in rural Québec is related to the devitalization or unsustainability (lack of savings

and investment and degradation of its natural resources) in rural Québec and that policies that improved the distribution of income, housing, education, and health services in rural Québec could lead to a revitalization of rural communities. The resulting higher rural savings and protection of the environment would (in the Neumayer model) tend to reduce income, health and education inequality in rural Québec. This in turn could lead to a closing of the income gap between rural and urban centers in Québec if the financing were constructed in a way that would be redistributed to lower income households and regions.

Reference

Neumayer, Eric, Sustainability and Inequality in Human Development, United Nations Development Programme Human Development Reports, Research Paper 2011/04, November 2011.



Annex 3: Participant Information and Travel Booklet

http://billreimer.net/workshop/research/files/ICRPS2012_TravelBooklet_FinalJune16_colourReduced.pdf (8.25 MB)

Annex 4: ICRPS2012 Detailed Program

[http://billreimer.net/workshop/research/files/ICRPS2012ProgramJuly03\[Full\].pdf](http://billreimer.net/workshop/research/files/ICRPS2012ProgramJuly03[Full].pdf) (7.6 MB)

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...to Italy in 2013