



Recommandations des participants à l'École d'été 2012 sur l'étude comparative internationale des politiques rurales pour la future Politique nationale de la ruralité du Québec (PNR3)

Rapport présenté au
Ministère des Affaires municipales, des Régions
et de l'Occupation du territoire (MAMROT)

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INTRODUCTION

L'École d'été sur l'étude comparative internationale des politiques rurales (International Comparative Rural Policy Studies (ICRPS) a eu lieu au Québec du 21 juin au 6 juillet 2012. Elle poursuit la même formule académique que les écoles d'été précédentes qui se sont tenues au Canada (Ontario et Manitoba), en Europe (Écosse, Belgique, Catalogne, Espagne et Norvège) et aux États-Unis (Missouri et Oregon). Durant l'école d'été, nous combinons les connaissances académiques à l'expérience des professionnels provenant de différentes sphères publiques. Après quelques jours passés à Montréal, plus précisément à l'Université Concordia, nous nous sommes rendus dans la ville de Québec afin de rencontrer les décideurs publics impliqués dans le développement de la Politique rurale du Québec. Au cours de la semaine suivante, nous nous sommes rendus à l'Université du Québec à Rimouski, dans la région du Bas Saint-Laurent, où nous avons été accueillis par la Chaire de recherche du Canada en développement rural ainsi que par un réseau associé de chercheurs en développement régional.

À propos du programme (<http://icrps.org>)

L'École d'été sur l'étude comparative internationale des politiques rurales a rassemblé un groupe multidisciplinaire de participants internationaux formé de professeurs, d'étudiants ainsi que de professionnels. Le programme s'est intéressé aux multiples facettes de la Politique rurale, de l'étape de sa conception à l'analyse de ses impacts dans les communautés rurales québécoises. Le programme ICRPS est unique en son genre, car il permet aux étudiants d'examiner et de comparer le rôle des politiques gouvernementales dans différentes cultures, systèmes politiques et contextes administratifs en Europe et en Amérique du Nord. Conçu pour des étudiants diplômés et des professionnels en début de carrière, le programme ICRPS consolide les capacités d'analyse et de comparaison des politiques internationales, nationales, régionales et locales. Il offre également la possibilité d'étudier la nature et les conséquences des nouvelles formes de gouvernance en milieu rural. Le consortium ICRPS, qui comprend un noyau de 11 universités au Canada, en Europe, au Mexique et aux États-Unis, a développé un programme avancé afin de comprendre et d'analyser les politiques qui concernent le monde rural. Cette école ainsi que des projets de recherche originaux et des cours de formation à distance en ligne forment les éléments clés du programme du consortium.

École d'été 2012 au Québec : un aperçu

Selon une étude de l'OCDE, le gouvernement du Québec a mis en place l'une des plus impressionnantes politiques rurales au monde. L'École d'été donnera l'occasion aux participants d'en apprendre davantage sur la mise en œuvre de cette politique en 2001, sur ses transformations depuis son lancement ainsi que sur ses répercussions sur les régions et les collectivités rurales. L'expérience du Groupe de recherche en développement régional de l'Est du Québec (GRIDEQ) sera complétée par le travail d'une équipe canadienne de recherche procédant actuellement à une analyse comparative des nouvelles politiques de développement régional à Terre-Neuve, en Ontario, en Colombie-Britannique et au Québec depuis 2010. Durant leur séjour, les étudiants ont travaillé en groupe pour faire l'analyse des politiques. Ils ont présenté leurs travaux et ont rencontré des professionnels et fait plusieurs visites sur le territoire québécois afin de formuler des recommandations adressées aux décideurs. Le présent

rapport fait justement état de ces recommandations, issues des travaux de cette École d'été, concernant la future version de la Politique nationale de la ruralité (PNR) du Québec.

À propos de ce rapport sur la PNR3

Le présent rapport rend compte, en trois grandes sections, de la démarche d'analyse de la PNR par les participants à cette École d'été sur l'étude comparative internationale des politiques rurales. Premièrement, on y retrouve les recommandations pour la PNR3 à venir, telles qu'on a pu les dégager des rapports thématiques des groupes de travail étudiants sur le développement régional, les inégalités sociales, l'alimentation, l'énergie et l'environnement. Deuxièmement, il présente un compte-rendu d'un groupe de discussion sur cette question de la future politique rurale du Québec, discussion tenue à la toute fin de l'École d'été. Enfin, un certain nombre de professeurs nous ont remis leurs commentaires écrits relativement à cette future version de la PNR, commentaires que nous avons reproduits et annotés dans la dernière partie.

Nous avons ajouté quatre annexes. L'Annexe 1 identifie les participants étudiants et professeurs qui ont participé à cette École d'été et qui montre un fort contingent en provenance des universités américaines mais aussi de plusieurs universités européennes. L'Annexe 2 reproduit le dépliant en anglais qui a permis de faire la promotion de cette École d'été sur Internet et dans différents réseaux académiques. L'Annexe 3 reproduit en intégralité, dans leur format original, les rapports des cinq groupes de travail mis en place dans cette École d'été. Finalement, l'Annexe 4 reproduit le programme détaillé de cette École d'été.

Cette École d'été sur l'étude comparative internationale des politiques rurales n'aurait pas été possible sans la contribution de plusieurs intervenants québécois des organisations de développement local ou rural, des gouvernements de différents paliers et des entreprises privées. Nous les remercions vivement ici pour leur investissement dans cette formation de la relève scientifique.

Nous remercions également les étudiants suivants de l'Université Concordia et de l'UQAR qui ont assuré un formidable support organisationnel et logistique : Luc Bisson, Samantha Soles, , Anais Detolle, Lesley Lambo, Lindsay Wiginton, Matthew Brett, Craig Mackie et Tara Dourian. Un merci aussi à Johanne Bérubé et Luc Gobeil de l'UQAR pour leur aide dans la préparation du présent rapport.

Nous avions fait le pari de profiter de la tenue au Québec de cette École d'été sur les politiques rurales pour interroger ses participants au sujet des éléments à prendre en compte dans une nouvelle version de la PNR. Nous rendons compte ici de ce regard étranger sur la politique rurale québécoise, mais un regard informé. Nous pensons que l'exercice a été probant en offrant de la matière à réflexion. Mais ce n'est pas à nous d'en juger mais plutôt à vous, acteurs et intervenants engagés dans le processus de renouvellement de cette politique.

Bonne lecture.

Bruno JEAN et Bill REIMER

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PARTIE 1 : LA FUTURE POLITIQUE NATIONALE DE LA RURALITÉ (PNR3); SUGGESTIONS ET RECOMMANDATIONS DES ÉTUDIANTS DE L'ÉCOLE D'ÉTÉ 2012 SUR L'ÉTUDE COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONALE DES POLITIQUES RURALES

Durant cette École d'été, les étudiants ont été répartis dans cinq groupes de travail ayant chacun une thématique particulière à explorer. On retrouvait deux groupes sur le développement régional et un sur chacun des sujets suivants : inégalités sociales, alimentation et énergie. Un professeur accompagnait chaque groupe. La session s'est terminée par une présentation orale et la remise d'un texte écrit. Nous avons demandé aux étudiants, dans la mesure du possible, de relever des commentaires ou des recommandations pour la future Politique rurale (PNR3) du point de vue de la problématique spécifique de leur groupe.

Dans la présente section, nous présentons les commentaires et les recommandations que nous avons extraits de ces rapports de travail, qui sont aussi d'un intérêt certain dans leur ensemble. C'est pourquoi on trouvera les rapports au complet dans une annexe.

Les recommandations du groupe de travail 1 sur le développement régional

Les participants de ce groupe de travail sur le développement régional sont d'avis que le capital social est un préalable essentiel pour assurer le développement local et régional, et que les politiques de développement rural doivent miser sur ce vecteur de développement, comme ils ont tenté de le montrer dans leur rapport par différents exemples en provenance d'autres pays. Aussi, ils reconnaissent que la Politique nationale de la ruralité est intéressante, car elle mise justement sur le capital social, qu'elle se donne aussi comme objectif d'accroître et de mobiliser. Les recommandations proposées pour la future version de la PNR se regroupent en cinq thèmes : 1) une meilleure accessibilité à l'éducation supérieure pour les zones rurales, 2) le développement de projets touristiques basés sur les attraits historiques locaux, 3) le maintien du financement des Pactes ruraux par le biais des MRC pour faciliter les liens entre les organisations locales, 4) la mise en place de mesures plus nombreuses pour les localités dévitalisées et les groupes marginaux, 5) la prise en compte des liens urbains-ruraux dans le développement régional et l'élaboration des politiques.

Accroître la présence des universités dans les MRC rurales

Cette présence passe par des activités de formation permanente dans les communautés, qui vont encourager l'innovation et l'engagement citoyen. De plus, ces formations universitaires offertes aux ruraux auront un effet positif sur le capital social. Par ailleurs, sur le plan du financement de ces activités, cela devrait être du ressort du gouvernement du Québec et non des localités et des MRC.

Soutenir des initiatives de mise en valeur d'un site historique rural

De nos jours, le tourisme est un moteur de développement rural et il faut multiplier les initiatives, mais pas n'importe lesquelles. Il faut se concentrer sur celles qui se basent sur la mise en valeur d'un site historique ayant un intérêt du point de vue architectural ou culturel. L'avantage de ce genre de site touristique est qu'il est moins sensible aux modes et reste toujours intéressant pour les visiteurs.

On souligne que les agents ruraux pourraient s'impliquer dans ce dossier pour faire une certaine coordination entre les initiatives, par exemple, pour éviter la répétition trop fréquente d'un même projet, comme la restauration d'une « école de rang » ou d'une vieille grange.

Maintenir le financement des Pactes ruraux par le biais des MRC pour faciliter les liens entre les organisations locales

La MRC est apparue aux membres du groupe 1 sur le développement régional comme une entité pertinente, comme une «région fonctionnelle» alors appropriée aux fins de la PNR. On note le lien logique entre la MRC et le CLD qui travaille à l'échelle de ce territoire, tout comme les SADC. Par ailleurs, les étudiants de ce groupe considèrent que les agents ruraux, particulièrement dans le cas des municipalités où le chômage est élevé, devraient avoir davantage de moyens et de liberté d'action pour lancer des projets. Ils pensent même qu'il devrait y avoir une provision, dans la PNR, qui permettrait d'aider des individus à créer leur propre emploi, au niveau de la micro-entreprise par exemple. Actuellement, ces étudiants sont d'avis que la PNR mise trop sur le travail volontaire ou le bénévolat. Ils soutiennent que les agents ruraux sont limités dans leur capacité d'agir, car ils ne seraient pas autorisés à devenir des leaders se retrouvant à la tête des projets de développement local.

La mise à disposition, au niveau des MRC, de fonds supplémentaires destinés aux municipalités catégorisées de «dévitalisées» est également appropriée à leur avis. Toutefois, le groupe de travail note que dans certaines MRC, les communautés ne se voient pas toujours attribuer de fonds supplémentaires. Étant donné que les communautés dévitalisées sont souvent caractérisées par un niveau très bas de capital social, il est suggéré que ces collectivités reçoivent plus d'attention de la part des agents ruraux afin d'encourager la mise en œuvre d'une planification locale et la rédaction de projets afin qu'elles puissent tirer parti des possibilités financières offertes par la Politique nationale de la ruralité.

En outre, nous notons qu'il n'existe pas, dans la Politique, de reconnaissance explicite de certains groupes marginalisés - notamment les chômeurs, les femmes, les minorités ethniques ou les personnes handicapées – même s'ils sont présents dans les communautés dévitalisées ou non dévitalisées. Une plus grande attention portée à ces groupes dans les versions futures de la politique est justifiée. En particulier, la formation des agents ruraux pourrait être élargie afin d'améliorer leur capacité à atteindre et à travailler avec ces groupes.

Prendre en compte les liens urbains-ruraux dans le développement régional et l'élaboration des politiques

Les liens ruraux-urbains ont occupé une bonne place dans le programme de l'École d'été, notamment les liens entre un centre urbain régional et les communautés rurales plus ou moins éloignées d'un tel centre, mais avec lequel elles sont liées pour ce qui est de l'emploi et des services. Ces liens sont vitaux tant pour les petites communautés rurales que pour ces villes. Les participants n'ont pas perçu que la PNR prenait en compte le type de municipalité dans son mode d'intervention, et ils souhaitent que dans une future version de la Politique, on les prenne davantage en considération. Ainsi, les moyens dont disposeraient les MRC seraient différents selon qu'on aurait affaire à une MRC totalement rurale, ou encore à une MRC rurale-urbaine qui comprendrait une ville-centre ayant plus de 10 000 habitants et exerçant donc des effets polarisants plus grands.

Les membres du groupe de travail 1 sur le développement régional concluent en affirmant que la PNR est une politique rurale innovatrice et très intéressante à plusieurs points de vue. Aussi, ils sont d'avis qu'elle doit être renouvelée dans l'avenir, car elle est importante pour maintenir la vitalité des communautés rurales, qui contribuent à leur tour à la vitalité des sociétés québécoise et canadienne. Comme on vient de le voir plus haut, les participants ont proposé des modifications à cette politique pour qu'elle prenne mieux en compte les opportunités nouvelles qui émergent dans ces milieux ruraux et qui vont assurer le développement régional.

Les recommandations du groupe de travail 2 sur le développement régional

La Politique nationale de la ruralité essaie de renforcer les capacités des communautés rurales à travailler ensemble pour atteindre des objectifs communs. La recherche sur la démographie rurale comme l'expérience des agents ruraux (entrevue avec Benoît Lorrain-Cayer de la MRC de la Mitis) suggèrent qu'une telle finalité ne peut être atteinte en vase clos d'autant plus que ces milieux font face à un manque d'opportunités économiques et à un exode des cerveaux qui pourraient devenir leurs meilleurs leaders. Une approche plus holistique de la politique rurale est nécessaire pour assurer la promotion d'un développement économique susceptible de stopper les migrations qui minent la capacité d'action des communautés rurales.

Une autre limite de la PNR comme outil de développement régional concerne sa faible capacité à faciliter la coordination à l'échelle régionale. Même si la décision d'offrir des fonds aux MRC a du sens en tant que moyen pour renforcer leur pouvoir de planification, leurs limites géographiques étroites font en sorte que les sommes d'argent sont distribuées sur des portions trop petites de territoire pour avoir des effets positifs, qui seraient plus faciles à générer sur des régions plus vastes. Cela pourrait être corrigé en gardant une partie des fonds régulièrement alloués aux MRC pour des projets plus structurants et qui concerneraient plusieurs MRC adjacentes.

Le fait de ne pas assez orienter les zones rurales vers la mobilisation d'autres sources d'investissement pour promouvoir le développement régional révèle une lacune qui est celle de la faible capacité de diriger les ressources financières disponibles vers des cibles où elles auraient un plus grand effet en étant mieux utilisées. La vulnérabilité des zones les plus marginalisées suggère que c'est là où les ressources devraient être prioritairement dirigées pour promouvoir le développement économique de ces territoires. Comme les fonds sont limités, le gouvernement du Québec devrait examiner la possibilité de les diriger vers ces municipalités dévitalisées d'un côté, et vers les endroits qui ont un bon potentiel de développement de l'autre et qui sont en retard de développement puisqu'elles n'ont pas accès à de tels programmes.

Le groupe de travail 2 s'est aussi intéressé au **rôle de l'entrepreneuriat dans le développement rural**, une dimension du développement qui ne lui a pas semblé prise en compte par la PNR actuelle et qui devrait l'être dans sa prochaine version. Sur cette question de l'entrepreneuriat, le groupe de travail fait deux recommandations. Premièrement, il mentionne la mise en place de politiques et d'activités spécifiques à propos de l'entrepreneuriat des jeunes ruraux et qui misent sur leur engagement dans la communauté. Ces dernières années, plusieurs pays ont tenté de promouvoir l'entrepreneuriat jeunesse avec des politiques génériques. Cette approche n'a pas bien fonctionné. Les études démontrent qu'il faut des politiques et des programmes spécialement construits pour promouvoir l'entrepreneuriat des jeunes, et particulièrement des jeunes en milieu rural. Il faudrait alors créer une stratégie spécifique pour les jeunes des milieux ruraux misant sur trois points fondamentaux : 1) l'engagement; 2) les équipements; 3) l'accompagnement ou le soutien.

L'engagement est une capacité qui s'acquierte au plus bas âge lorsque la personne développe un sentiment d'appartenance à sa communauté et en arrive à penser qu'elle contribue à la qualité de vie de l'ensemble de cette communauté. L'équipement fait référence à la formation, à l'éducation, et notamment au développement d'un esprit d'entreprise par un contact direct avec la culture entrepreneuriale en milieu rural. Cette formation doit faire en sorte que se développe, chez les personnes, la confiance en soi nécessaire pour créer une entreprise, et elle est également requise pour qu'elles perçoivent un éventuel échec non pas comme une punition mais comme un processus d'apprentissage. Le soutien renvoie à toute l'aide dont les jeunes ruraux ont besoin pour transformer leurs idées en vrais projets d'entreprise, pour élaborer et mettre en œuvre le plan d'affaires, pour repérer les réseaux de contacts utiles à leur projet et trouver le capital de risque. Le plus important toutefois est que ces jeunes ruraux devraient être accompagnés par des mentors, des adultes qui les aideraient dans leurs objectifs d'entreprise; ces mentors doivent servir de modèles pour aider les jeunes à devenir des entrepreneurs.

La seconde recommandation concerne le renforcement des liens économiques entre les clusters industriels des grands centres urbains du Québec et ses régions rurales. La PNR devrait contribuer à soutenir la production et l'acheminement des biens et services produits dans les régions rurales vers les grands centres. Il en résulterait une plus grande activité économique

dans les régions rurales, qui produiraient ainsi plus de biens et services dont ces zones urbaines ont besoin.

Le groupe de travail 2 s'est aussi intéressé à la question du **rôle de l'immigration dans le développement régional**. L'immigration est souvent vue comme un facteur positif de développement local et régional avec les idées et les initiatives qu'apportent les migrants. Les membres de ce groupe de travail ont aussi noté que l'immigration en région s'avère une grande préoccupation pour le gouvernement du Québec, et de nombreuses initiatives sont prises dans plusieurs régions pour attirer et retenir les migrants internationaux. Les recommandations du groupe de travail, tout en étant pertinentes, ne s'adressent pas nécessairement à la PNR. La première concerne la mise en place d'une structure régionale de partenariat pour l'immigration, incluant tous les niveaux de gouvernement, du local au fédéral, et des organismes de la société civile pour soutenir les initiatives d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants. La seconde recommandation, qui pourrait être incluse dans la PNR3, serait un programme de « communauté accueillante » (*welcoming community*), soit un programme de certification de certaines collectivités rurales désirant mettre en place des mesures aptes à faciliter l'intégration des migrants.

Le groupe de travail 2 sur le développement régional s'est aussi intéressé à la question du renforcement des capacités de développement des communautés rurales (notre traduction du concept d'*empowerment*) et qui implique les capacités suivantes : établir une vision et des actions à long terme, de la formation, de la confiance, du leadership et un accès aux capitaux. De telles communautés ont aussi de solides relations avec leur MRC, leur CLD, et les autres réseaux de développement de leur région. Il en résulte normalement une croissance démographique et des investissements en capital. Par contre, les municipalités dévitalisées vivent une situation de démobilisation, une absence de motivation, un manque de leadership, une décroissance démographique, un manque d'espoir dans l'avenir et un engagement insuffisant des partenaires (gouvernements, secteur privé, organisations sans but lucratif). La MRC s'intéresse aux services de base destinés à la population, mais un véritable développement durable ascendant va venir d'un effort collectif de la population locale. Cependant, comme les politiques gouvernementales nationales ont misé davantage sur les droits individuels que sur les droits collectifs, cela a érodé les droits des communautés, et on a ainsi assisté à une érosion des bases mêmes de la structure de gouvernance inscrites au sein des communautés locales.

Le groupe 2 a formulé les recommandations suivantes pour favoriser le renforcement des capacités des communautés rurales :

- Impliquer les parties prenantes du secteur privé (entreprise privée ou exploitation agricole, par exemple) comme élément de la structure de gouvernance locale. Les personnes qui occupent ces postes dans la structure de gouvernance ont un réel potentiel d'être les leaders communautaires et régionaux.

- Valoriser l'identité rurale de la part des diverses composantes du gouvernement du Québec. Cela ne veut pas dire que les communautés rurales recevront de l'argent pour faire leur autopromotion. Il s'agit plutôt d'une campagne de reconnaissance de l'histoire, de la culture et de la contribution des communautés rurales et éloignées au développement de l'ensemble du Québec.
- Mettre en œuvre un programme régional *d'empowerment rural*.
- Rétablir un équilibre entre les droits collectifs et les droits individuels.
- Améliorer la transparence et l'imputabilité de tous les niveaux de la structure de gouvernance gouvernementale.

Sous le thème « **communication et coordination** », les **membres du groupe 2 se sont intéressés aux liens entre les municipalités et leur MRC**, et cela est fort pertinent dans le cas de la PNR, car les ressources qu'elle met à la disposition des communautés rurales sont en fait gérées par les MRC; la capacité d'attirer une partie de ces ressources repose sur une dynamique de prise de décision en fonction de certains critères que déterminent les élus d'une MRC. Dans cette dynamique, le rôle des agents ruraux, leur capacité de bien travailler avec les leaders locaux est en quelque sorte déterminante dans l'impact que pourra avoir une localité dans la capture des fonds de la PNR, en plus du dynamisme propre des élus locaux. Comme la MRC est centrale dans la mise en œuvre de la PNR, le groupe de travail 2 s'est questionné sur la structure de gouvernance la plus appropriée de la MRC, tenant compte de sa mission dans la livraison de la PNR. Ce questionnement a d'ailleurs été alimenté par la lecture du rapport de l'OCDE sur cette politique rurale.

Le groupe de travail a fait les recommandations suivantes en ce qui concerne les questions de gouvernance :

- Renforcer les occasions de communication entre les communautés locales et tous les autres niveaux de gouvernement. La communication avec la MRC peut rester relativement simple tant que les autres canaux de communication sont renforcés.
- Mettre en place un protocole géré localement et cohérent d'évaluation de l'efficacité de la MRC, ainsi que de sa réactivité et de sa transparence.
- Augmenter les possibilités, pour les communautés locales, de communiquer et de se coordonner horizontalement au sein de leur région et entre les régions, grâce à l'accès au financement public dans le cadre de mesures de rendement. Mettre en place un système de récompense pour les communautés qui construisent et qui mettent en place des réseaux pour mieux travailler ensemble à leur développement.
- Promouvoir la solidité de la gouvernance du développement régional pour générer des investissements plus significatifs. Bon nombre de programmes régionaux de gouvernance

semblent fonctionner à court terme sur la base d'un projet, plutôt que sur le long terme. Chaque projet doit inclure une section décrivant la contribution attendue de ce projet sur un horizon à long terme, soit au moins dix ans.

Finalement, le groupe de travail 2 s'est intéressé à la **question de la distribution des ressources financières aux MRC** et à la manière dont celles-ci doivent en rendre compte au gouvernement du Québec, soit la reddition de comptes. Il a examiné les procédures mises en place (les dépenses autorisées en vertu de la PNR, par exemple) et leur fonctionnement effectif. Après avoir étudié comment se compose la dotation de chaque MRC en fonction des critères de dévitalisation, il a également étudié les divers mécanismes de contrôle des dépenses aux différents niveaux.

Chaque MRC doit, dans la mise en œuvre de son Pacte rural, évaluer les projets et produire un rapport de reddition de comptes, une fois l'an, à la fois au ministère et à la population. Ce rapport doit inclure des indicateurs relatifs au nombre de bénévoles impliqués dans les organismes de développement local, à l'élaboration d'une stratégie de développement (s'il y a lieu), au nombre de projets subventionnés par le Pacte rural (et le pourcentage de financement pour chaque projet), à l'emploi généré, et enfin contenir d'autres données statistiques.

Malheureusement, cette évaluation comporte peu d'éléments concernant la façon dont le budget devrait être distribué, car il semble que l'évaluation n'a que deux objectifs: 1) assembler des statistiques sur le développement local et les organisations impliquées au niveau local, et 2) vérifier si tous les montants d'argent ont été dépensés et s'ils l'ont été dans les projets annoncés et acceptés. Alors que le Pacte rural doit comprendre un processus de reddition de comptes au gouvernement et à la population, le groupe de travail 2 n'a pas eu de preuve que ces critères d'évaluation étaient toujours mis en œuvre.

Évaluation et recommandations

La grandeur de l'enveloppe budgétaire d'un Pacte rural ne prend en compte que la taille des communautés rurales et leur niveau de dévitalisation. Il serait possible d'améliorer ce système de distribution des ressources financières avec la prise en compte d'autres facteurs lors du calcul de l'allocation des fonds, en particulier quant à la probabilité qu'un projet contribue significativement à l'atteinte des objectifs de la PNR. Cette approche exige une évaluation préalable de la faisabilité financière du projet, la mesure de ses objectifs et une évaluation subséquente de sa capacité à les atteindre et à faire progresser les priorités de la PNR.

Cette révision du programme, cependant, doit être faite avec le sentiment que la MRC et les administrations municipales doivent demeurer les lieux où les propositions et les décisions sur le financement des projets sont réalisées. Une évaluation qualitative de l'impact des projets doit être faite pour affiner les futures procédures de distribution budgétaire et la future Politique de développement rural. À la lumière de cette priorité, les évaluations de projets par les citoyens

semblent également à la fois nécessaires et réalistes. Il y aurait donc lieu d'impliquer les citoyens, par la démocratie directe, qui pourraient alors se prononcer sur la meilleure façon de dépenser les budgets disponibles ainsi que sur les types de projets les plus appropriés. Les citoyens sont aussi en mesure de déterminer les moyens d'améliorer leur bien-être ; ce faisant, cela les impliquerait davantage non seulement au niveau de la politique locale, mais aussi au niveau du renforcement de leur sentiment d'appartenance à la communauté.

Les décideurs politiques québécois devraient être félicités pour la mise en œuvre des approches ascendantes qui permettent aux communautés et aux MRC d'instaurer des programmes de développement. Par ailleurs, ils doivent aussi reconnaître que les nombreux défis auxquels font face les communautés rurales font en sorte qu'ils doivent accepter de s'impliquer dans une planification avec les populations locales pour assurer un meilleur avenir à ces communautés.

Le groupe de travail sur les inégalités

Le groupe de travail a pris en considération un certain nombre de situations où on peut se poser la question des inégalités sociales, comme dans les cas de l'immigration, de la démographie rurale en lien avec l'accès au marché du travail et de l'accès à l'éducation et aux services de santé.

Sur l'immigration et les menaces que cela pourrait constituer pour l'identité francophone, les participants sont plutôt d'avis qu'une ouverture à l'anglais comme langue seconde serait une bonne chose pour les milieux ruraux, car à ce moment-là, les migrants seraient plus confortables dans de tels milieux (un peu comme à Montréal) et pourraient graduellement apprendre le français, au lieu de les fuir en faveur de régions anglophones du pays. Cela pourrait aussi créer de nouvelles opportunités pour les jeunes ruraux francophones du Québec, qui pourraient aller étudier et travailler dans d'autres régions et ramener des idées nouvelles dans leur région d'origine. Au même moment toutefois, il faut s'assurer que ces régions rurales francophones gardent bien vivante leur culture. Cela peut se faire avec l'éducation et une approche intégratrice à cette culture effectuée auprès des nouveaux arrivants. Le maintien des traditions donne de la vie aux petits villages, préserve leur identité et leur personnalité unique, et cela constitue une source de connaissance qui bénéficie à toute la société.

Le Québec doit alors mettre en place une législation qui encourage la redirection des migrants dans les zones rurales, à l'exemple du Manitoba qui aurait réussi, par des politiques publiques appropriées, un tel mouvement migratoire.

Une autre dimension des politiques publiques concerne la parité de revenus entre les travailleurs urbains et les travailleurs ruraux. Ces derniers, malgré un emploi souvent saisonnier, devraient avoir les mêmes avantages en termes de rémunération et d'avantages sociaux. Cela serait aussi une bonne chose pour les employeurs, car cela leur assurerait un accès plus facile aux travailleurs, que ce soit en milieu rural ou urbain.

Il faut aussi que les politiques publiques encouragent le lancement d'entreprises privées dans le monde rural. Ces entreprises pourraient agir dans la transformation des ressources premières, comme les ressources agricoles disponibles un peu partout dans le Québec rural, en leur ajoutant de la valeur. Des incitatifs devraient être offerts, comme des congés de taxes, pour encourager la localisation de telles entreprises en milieu rural.

On devrait aussi développer des politiques de commerce équitable pour créer un effet de levier en assurant de meilleurs prix aux producteurs ruraux. Il ne faut pas oublier que plusieurs produits agroalimentaires sont à bas prix à cause du travail illégal ou « au noir », ou encore à cause des faibles conditions salariales offertes aux travailleurs.

Le groupe de travail pense aussi qu'il faudrait une politique incitative pour attirer certains membres des populations autochtones dans le Québec rural. La Politique rurale devrait encourager les membres des Premières Nations à venir s'installer dans ces milieux. Ils pourraient ainsi avoir la chance de participer à des activités économiques productrices de valeur et de revenus. Il importe de mobiliser utilement ces personnes qui sont des ressources humaines pouvant alors mettre leurs talents à profit.

Sur la question de l'habitation, le groupe n'a pas fait de recommandation spécifique à inclure dans une future PNR, mais il en a toutefois fait **sur la question de l'éducation**.

Tout d'abord, les écoles privées et les collèges pourraient créer des partenariats avec les communautés rurales afin de mieux intégrer les besoins et les opportunités des zones rurales dans leur programme et leur mission. Deuxièmement, le secteur privé pourrait nouer des relations avec les écoles pour recruter des étudiants dans des milieux ruraux. L'exemple de La Pocatière montre qu'il existe un potentiel pour l'intégration de l'économie du savoir dans les zones rurales grâce à la coopération entre les établissements d'enseignement et le secteur privé.

Comme Yancy Vaillant a souligné dans sa présentation, il y a trois objectifs principaux à la réduction des disparités du marché du travail dans la transition vers une économie fondée sur la connaissance:

- i. Mieux intégrer les jeunes dans l'économie régionale
- ii. Attirer les talents de l'extérieur, et
- iii. Mieux intégrer les femmes dans le secteur privé

Actuellement au Québec, la Politique nationale de la ruralité se concentre sur le maintien des écoles de village dans les zones rurales, puisqu'il est reconnu que ce sont des centres d'identité communautaire et de services importants pour les résidents.

L'actuelle PNR dit ceci à propos de l'école rurale :

Le maintien et la vitalité des écoles en milieu rural continue par ailleurs à susciter des débats complexes concernant la nature de la mission du service public d'éducation, la qualité de l'offre scolaire et l'égalité des chances scolaires sur l'ensemble du territoire. Un effort supplémentaire doit être apporté en vue de bonifier les interventions déjà en cours, de manière à assurer le maintien et la viabilité des écoles primaires et secondaires en milieu rural, tout en garantissant la qualité des services aux élèves, en offrant un milieu pédagogique attrayant et stimulant pour le

personnel enseignant et une meilleure prise en compte de la place de l'école dans sa communauté (p. 39).

En développant ce lien important entre les communautés et les écoles, la Politique nationale de la ruralité pourrait être généralisée comme une voie vers la coopération entre les leaders des communautés rurales et les responsables de l'éducation dans les différents secteurs. Plus précisément, la Politique rurale pourrait être utilisée comme un guide pour intégrer l'éducation et la rétention des ressources humaines.

Le groupe de travail sur l'énergie

Selon ce groupe de travail, le développement de l'énergie dans les collectivités rurales ou locales a été retenu comme un enjeu important à la fois par la Politique nationale de la ruralité et par la Stratégie énergétique du ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune (MRNF). La Stratégie de l'énergie favorise le développement hydroélectrique par des projets à grande échelle et par l'efficacité énergétique. Ses orientations sont principalement d'ordre économique et encouragent notamment l'exportation des surplus d'énergie. Cette stratégie énergétique vise également à maximiser les retombées locales et régionales, à renforcer le soutien communautaire. Pour ce faire, le gouvernement entend 1) consolider les retombées régionales de développement structuré de l'énergie éolienne en Gaspésie, aux Îles-de-la-Madeleine et dans la MRC de Matane à la suite des deux premiers appels d'offre d'Hydro-Québec, 2) lancer un appel d'offres de projets éoliens de 500 MW destinés à des communautés des Premières Nations ; 3) permettre l'installation combinée éolien / diesel dans des régions isolées : 4) assurer une réserve de 50 MW et de petits projets qui seront développés par et pour les collectivités locales (MRNF, 2006: 18).

La PNR, de son côté, perçoit la production de nouvelles sources d'énergie dans les zones rurales comme une avenue importante dans les années à venir (MAMROT, 2006: 35). Le MAMROT souhaite renforcer une approche ascendante pour permettre aux communautés rurales de se développer tout en favorisant la responsabilisation et la participation du public, car cela génère des avantages collectifs, de la richesse, et du développement qui «se produit dans la communauté locale, sans intervention extérieure » (MAMROT, 2006: 26). L'engagement local des citoyens ordinaires (MAMROT, 2006: 27) est au centre du Pacte rural que chaque communauté peut adopter, après consultation de la population.

L'objectif général de cette politique est d'assurer le développement des communautés rurales et l'occupation dynamique du territoire en s'appuyant sur leur diversité, leurs traits spécifiques et la capacité des zones rurales à prendre des initiatives. La Politique adopte la MRC comme territoire de base du point de vue de l'intervention, de l'appartenance et de la prise de décision. Il est clairement indiqué dans la PNR que le gouvernement encourage, à la fois dans la PNR et

dans d'autres orientations gouvernementales, les municipalités et les MRC à développer l'énergie éolienne et le potentiel hydroélectrique que recèle leur territoire.

Le groupe de travail a aussi considéré que les travaux du groupe de travail sur le milieu rural comme producteur d'énergie, mis en place avec la PNR2, a produit une analyse pertinente de la problématique de l'énergie comme facteur déterminant du développement des régions rurales. Il s'est aussi intéressé à d'autres expériences de développement éolien en milieu rural, que ce soit en Ontario ou dans les pays européens nordiques. De ces expériences, il leur a semblé que d'autres modèles de développement éolien, où les populations locales pourraient avoir une meilleure maîtrise et bénéficier d'une plus grande participation aux retombées économiques, étaient possibles.

Dans sa conclusion, le groupe de travail sur l'énergie constate que la politique énergétique, dans le contexte du Québec rural, est compliquée puisqu'elle présente d'une part une approche très centralisée de type *top-down* (du haut vers le bas) et une politique énergétique orientée et gérée par une entreprise publique, Hydro-Québec, et d'autre part une politique rurale qui vise à favoriser l'appropriation et la collaboration par le biais d'une approche ascendante (*bottom-up*). Le rapport du groupe de travail sur l'énergie a mis en évidence qu'une entreprise de service public, Hydro-Québec, détient un monopole sur la production d'électricité et exerce une forte influence sur la manière dont la politique est élaborée et exécutée. Par conséquent, lorsque les communautés rurales tentent d'invoquer une approche ascendante ou de type *bottom-up*, elles font face à un cadre administratif de type *top-down* de la politique énergétique et de la réglementation qui contribuerait à étouffer tout développement local.

La confrontation de cette approche *top-down* retrouvée dans la politique énergétique et de l'approche de la Politique nationale de la ruralité est inefficace, et se manifeste par un manque de développement du potentiel énergétique rural québécois. Lorsqu'on jette un regard comparatif sur Bonneville Power Administration et Hydro-Québec, il apparaît que les lois sur l'environnement ont conduit à une réglementation accrue et à la réduction des externalités négatives que connaissent les zones rurales. Une législation de ce type, qui comprendrait une protection supplémentaire, pour les communautés rurales, contre les externalités négatives causées par les barrages hydroélectriques pourrait être intéressante pour le Québec. De plus, quand il s'agit de l'environnement et des communautés rurales qui cherchent des rentes pour les externalités négatives et l'utilisation de leurs terres, les futures politiques énergétiques devront être plus strictes et favoriser les efforts de collaboration et les normes minimales de façon à protéger les communautés rurales. En outre, ces communautés devraient recevoir un appui technique et financier suffisant pour réussir des projets énergétiques. Au lieu de suivre leur approche descendante, le Québec devrait soutenir une forme différente, soit une approche ascendante qui favorise la propriété. Dans l'ensemble, les politiques énergétiques actuelles doivent être adaptées au contexte rural plutôt que de créer un cadre politique qui n'encourage pas le développement rural, développement qui pourrait être stimulé par la valorisation des

ressources rurales comme l'énergie hydro-électrique ou d'autres formes d'énergie, comme celle provenant de la biomasse forestière par exemple.

Le groupe de travail sur l'alimentation

L'alimentation et l'agriculture sont des composantes importantes du Québec rural et elles exercent des effets sur d'autres problèmes tels que l'inégalité en milieu rural, l'éducation, l'accès aux services et le développement économique. Comme instrument de politique publique, l'agroalimentaire permet de prendre en compte d'autres enjeux ruraux. Au cours des discussions, ce groupe de travail sur l'alimentation a convenu que l'alimentation et l'agriculture pouvaient être considérées comme des outils grâce auxquels un certain nombre d'autres objectifs de développement rural peuvent être obtenus. Pour la conduite de cette analyse, le groupe de travail a divisé la tâche selon les thèmes suivants : le cadre général de gouvernance dans lequel l'alimentation et l'agriculture se trouvent, les questions entourant la production primaire agricole, la valeur ajoutée agricole, le rôle des agents ruraux dans le secteur alimentaire et le renforcement des capacités grâce à l'agriculture. Ces thèmes ont été discutés dans le cadre de la Politique nationale de la ruralité dans le but de comprendre ses points forts, ses points faibles et les possibilités d'améliorer ce secteur et la politique en général.

Sur la production agricole, le groupe a constaté la généralisation de ce que certains appelleraient une agriculture productiviste avec une uniformisation des modes de production. Le groupe conclut à la nécessité d'encourager la diversification des modèles de production, des modèles d'exploitation agricole. Il a donc trouvé intéressant le Programme québécois d'aide à la multifonctionnalité de l'agriculture mis en place par le MAPAQ et la présentation de la *Route du lin* avec des producteurs de la région de la Mitis. De même, le groupe s'est intéressé aux produits agricoles de spécialités et à l'agriculture de proximité, qui permet à des nouvelles petites entreprises agricoles de créer des emplois et de soutenir le développement rural.

La thématique du groupe étant l'alimentation, il s'est effectivement intéressé au mouvement « slow food », qui a un potentiel de créer de nouvelles demandes urbaines vis-à-vis de l'agriculture et des campagnes et de susciter de nouvelles opportunités de développement. Sous cet aspect, le groupe a compris que les « laboratoires ruraux » étaient un instrument adapté à des expérimentations dans le domaine de l'alimentation.

Finalement, le groupe s'est intéressé au rôle des agents ruraux pour constater qu'ils pourraient être plus actifs dans le soutien aux initiatives de développement agroalimentaire. Après avoir examiné des expériences étrangères de soutien à de telles initiatives, il considère que si la Politique rurale du Québec est fort pertinente, il faut qu'elle mise toujours, dans l'avenir, sur des agents ruraux travaillant au renforcement des capacités de développement des communautés rurales.

Le groupe de travail sur l'environnement

Selon ce groupe de travail, la stratégie de développement de l'énergie éolienne a le potentiel de faire de la péninsule gaspésienne un leader mondial dans ce domaine, avec un secteur

économique bien intégré dans son économie locale. La gestion des connaissances ne doit pas seulement se concentrer sur la croissance économique, mais aussi sur les impacts environnementaux. La formation environnementale des agents ruraux devrait être prise en considération afin qu'ils puissent opter pour une approche de développement respectueuse de l'environnement. Il est aussi essentiel que les parcs éoliens bénéficient aux communautés locales par des retombées économiques leur permettant de financer d'autres projets pour soutenir leur développement.

La Politique rurale québécoise s'intéresse à plusieurs enjeux environnementaux en milieu rural. Elle considère les ressources rurales telles que l'eau, le vent et le bois comme la base d'un développement rural durable. Cette politique ne parle toutefois pas de la nécessité d'une approche intégrée de la gestion de ces ressources et notamment de l'eau. Aussi, le groupe recommande une approche holistique de gestion de l'eau comme celle proposée dans la Politique québécoise de l'eau de 2002 et dans la Stratégie gouvernementale de développement durable 2008-2013. Comme elle vient à terme en même temps que la PNR2, cette Stratégie devrait pouvoir s'harmoniser avec la PNR3.

Le groupe de travail sur l'environnement suggère aussi que des variables environnementales soient prises en compte dans le futur Indice de mesure de la vitalité des communautés rurales que le MAMROT doit rendre disponible aux municipalités rurales. Le groupe recommande aussi une meilleure formation des agents ruraux aux questions environnementales pour améliorer leur travail avec les communautés. Il recommande aussi une augmentation de leur nombre.

Le groupe est aussi conscient que l'approche des Agendas 21 est dépassée, et qu'il faut déterminer de nouveaux indicateurs environnementaux prenant en compte l'engagement citoyen, l'innovation rurale, la présence d'un plan de développement et son contenu, les changements démographiques, etc. On suggère de s'inspirer des dimensions stratégiques définies par le ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs dans une perspective comparable à celle du Rapport sur le changement climatique de la Banque Mondiale (2010).

La Politique nationale de la ruralité 2007-2012 suggère que les êtres humains représentent une ressource parmi toutes celles de l'environnement naturel. Dans les communautés rurales dévitalisées, l'investissement dans les ressources humaines est particulièrement important puisque les humains ont un impact sur les ressources naturelles dans leurs localités. Les principaux défis à l'incorporation de l'Homme comme une ressource naturelle au sein de la Politique nationale de la ruralité sont les suivantes: 1) bien que les humains sont reconnus comme une ressource naturelle, ils ne sont pas intégrés dans les objectifs de la Politique, de ses mesures et des stratégies de partenariat; 2) les agents ruraux doivent accroître les liens entre les communautés rurales et les MRC; 3) les Agenda 21 sont obsolètes et doivent être remplacés par la Stratégie de développement durable du ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs. Une piste à envisager serait celle qui prend en compte les initiatives de développement durable pour créer un indice composite de mesure du développement qui permettra de mesurer sa variance entre les MRC.

PARTIE II : PROPOSITIONS POUR LA PNR3 ISSUES D'UN *FOCUS GROUP* AVEC LES ÉTUDIANTS DE L'ÉCOLE D'ÉTÉ 2012 (QUÉBEC)

Le 4 juillet 2012, qui marquait la dernière journée de cette École d'été, nous avons organisé un groupe de discussion avec les étudiants pour déterminer les éléments qui devraient se retrouver dans la future Politique rurale du Québec, la PNR3. Plusieurs suggestions, reflétant leur propre compréhension de cette politique, ont émergé de la discussion qui a duré près de deux heures. Ce sont ces suggestions qui sont reprises ici. Parfois, elles reprennent des propositions émises dans l'un ou l'autre des cinq rapports de travail des étudiants portant sur l'alimentation, l'énergie, les inégalités, l'environnement et le développement régional.

La présentation de ces recommandations est le fruit de notre propre traduction des propos oraux en anglais, et quelques éléments explicatifs ont quelquefois été ajoutés pour que telle ou telle recommandation soit bien comprise en l'ajustant, si on peut dire, au contexte québécois.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit maintenir le réseau des agents de développement ruraux dévoués au renforcement des capacités de développement des communautés rurales, au renforcement du capital social et de la mobilisation en vue d'une meilleure cohésion sociale au sein de ces communautés

Les étudiants et professeurs intéressés par les politiques rurales de plusieurs pays réunis dans cette École d'été ont été impressionnés par l'existence (et le soutien financier offert par le gouvernement) du réseau des agents ruraux. Il a même fallu amender notre programme d'activité pour ajouter des rencontres avec quelques agents, qui n'ont pas manqué l'occasion de bien définir leur travail et d'illustrer sa pertinence. Au moment où, dans certaines MRC, les élus locaux semblent se questionner sur l'utilité des agents en regard des coûts, il apparaît très clair qu'ils ont un rôle déterminant dans le développement rural en agissant comme des « accompagnateurs » des acteurs locaux des communautés rurales.

Les participants à l'École d'été ont ainsi rappelé que les agents ruraux ne doivent pas perdre de vue leur mission qui est de contribuer au renforcement des capacités de développement des communautés rurales. Cela implique de favoriser un développement endogène misant sur les ressources et les forces des communautés. Une de ces forces est le « capital social », que plusieurs théories du développement local considèrent comme nécessaire pour assurer un développement local soutenable en venant s'ajouter aux autres formes de capitaux comme le capital humain, financier ou naturel.

Une question se pose toutefois : la faible rémunération de ces agents ruraux fait en sorte qu'ils sont fort mobiles. En effet, dès qu'ils ont une certaine expérience et qu'ils apparaissent efficaces, ils postulent des emplois plus rémunérateurs dans d'autres structures de développement. On pourrait donc penser qu'il faut revaloriser leur rémunération pour

maintenir une plus grande stabilité. Par ailleurs, leur assurer une plus grande stabilité pourrait aussi s'avérer potentiellement inefficace, car ils pourraient alors devenir des acteurs trop puissants dans leur milieu tandis qu'ils doivent, par leur lien avec les CLD, être redevables aux élus locaux. D'ailleurs, la dynamique des rapports, relativement complexes, entre les élus locaux et les agents nécessitera la mise au jour des modèles d'action les plus performants, comme les acteurs de l'Université rurale québécoise (URQ) au Lac Saint-Jean ont voulu le faire récemment dans une journée d'étude.

Pour les participants à l'École d'été, le maintien du réseau des agents ruraux est une nécessité pour la prochaine Politique rurale. Ajoutons que Rafael Trapasso de l'OCDE, rencontré au récent colloque sur les politiques rurales de l'OCDE en Russie, et qui a une bonne connaissance de la PNR par les études de l'OCDE sur la PNR et un voyage d'étude récent sur la politique énergétique, considère aussi que la présence d'un réseau d'agents ruraux est une particularité majeure de la PNR à conserver dans son renouvellement.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit fournir des moyens et des incitatifs pour rendre l'action locale plus efficace en vue de renforcer les capacités communautaires (*empowerment*).

Cela devrait impliquer différentes initiatives telles que :

- 1) favoriser un climat de confiance préalable à une meilleure participation des citoyens;
- 2) mettre en place un mécanisme assurant le meilleur usage des ressources offertes par le Pacte rural;
- 3) offrir des formations aux citoyens pour les habiliter à établir des processus de concertation, de collaboration;
- 4) faciliter une meilleure communication autant à l'intérieur de la communauté qu'avec les intervenants extérieurs.

Les participants à l'École d'été ont bien compris la philosophie sous-jacente à la PNR, qui vise des facteurs intangibles de développement comme le renforcement des capacités de développement. Toutefois, ils ont aussi perçu plus ou moins précisément qu'il s'est produit une sorte de « routinisation » de la mise en œuvre des Pactes ruraux. Ils ont eu le sentiment que dans certains cas, les dépenses autorisées par les élus n'étaient pas les plus appropriées. Ce qui pose question, c'est la zone grise qui fait que les élus locaux peuvent utiliser les sommes rendues disponibles par la PNR pour réaliser des activités qui auraient dû être financées à même le budget municipal régulier, et donc être payées au moyen des taxes versées par les citoyens. On peut comprendre que la tentation est forte pour des élus d'offrir des services ou des activités qui ne viennent pas exercer une fonction additionnelle dans le budget de la municipalité.

Les participants ont aussi bien perçu que cette routinisation va à l'encontre de la mobilisation, pourtant nécessaire, des citoyens, ce qui se traduit par leurs propositions d'activités de formation civique. Les participants ont aussi bien compris, à la suite des exposés et des visites sur le terrain, que les communautés rurales dynamiques sont celles qui ont un bon niveau de capital social supposant une bonne ouverture au changement, une capacité de mobilisation pour soutenir des événements communautaires et, finalement, un bon climat de communication interne mais aussi avec les intervenants de l'extérieur de la communauté.

La Politique rurale québécoise devrait améliorer ses processus de mise en œuvre pour maximiser ses retombées dans les communautés rurales

Cette observation est en lien (ou découle) avec la précédente, mais elle cible davantage la nécessité d'améliorer certains aspects de la mise en œuvre de cette politique, fort originale par ailleurs.

Les commentaires se résument en quatre points distinctifs :

- Améliorer la mise en œuvre par une allocation efficiente des ressources selon des règles transparentes et une meilleure évaluation des impacts;
- Améliorer la coordination avec les autres ministères ou agences publiques comme le MAPAQ, et avec les autres lois comme la LAU (Loi sur l'aménagement et l'urbanisme);
- Explorer les liens (ou les opportunités) avec les politiques fédérales et les autres provinces (exemple : stratégie commune de développement touristique des milieux ruraux);
- Faire connaître (publiciser) les réussites rurales.

Les participants à l'École d'été, sans doute influencés par les propos de certains agents ruraux rencontrés, ont évoqué la nécessité d'une plus grande efficience locale dans l'usage des ressources financières, fort modestes par ailleurs, allouées dans le cadre de la PNR. Comme le temps a manqué pour les instruire de l'outil de reddition de comptes mis en place, ils avaient l'impression qu'il n'y avait pas une évaluation des retombées locales de la PNR, ce qui n'est pas le cas.

Le second commentaire nous semble d'une grande pertinence. Il remet en question la capacité de concertation au sein même des appareils gouvernementaux, caractérisés par la sectorialisation des décisions et des budgets. Cette problématique est connue depuis fort longtemps. Il ne faut pas oublier que la PNR a permis un travail important de concertation débouchant sur des engagements de plusieurs ministères (pensons seulement au transport public en milieu rural). Or, généralement, quand on essaie de discerner les effets de la PNR, on ne prend pas assez en compte les actions ou les investissements de tous ces ministères. Par

ailleurs, on peut penser que si elle se concrétise, la Loi sur l'occupation et la vitalité des territoires devrait faire avancer ce nécessaire processus de concertation.

Les liens avec le fédéral et les autres provinces semblent tomber sous le sens, mais en pratique, dans le cadre fédéral canadien, cela est plus complexe car plusieurs objets sont de la compétence spécifique des provinces ou de l'État fédéral, et chaque juridiction est jalouse de son espace d'action. Or, avec la ruralité et le développement rural, on entre dans une zone grise. Plusieurs provinces comme le Québec ont pris des initiatives et un leadership certain dans le soutien au développement de leurs territoires ruraux. Avec la mise en place du Secrétariat rural au sein du ministère de l'Agriculture, le gouvernement fédéral avait pris un leadership évident, mais tout récemment, avec la quasi-fermeture de cette agence, le fédéral semble se retirer de ce champ d'action.

Finalement, il est clair que malgré les efforts du MAMROT, avec notamment son site Internet et les Prix et les Journées de la ruralité, on peut penser qu'il faudrait diffuser encore plus largement les réussites rurales, surtout dans des médias de communication de masse comme les grands quotidiens et certains hebdommagazines régionaux. Cette suggestion est sans doute venue à l'esprit des participants à cause de leur méconnaissance de certaines initiatives importantes comme les Journées de la ruralité. Ils ont toutefois raison de penser que cette valorisation des réussites rurales est absolument nécessaire pour changer l'image dominante du monde rural, qui devrait être vu comme partie de la solution et non partie du problème dans le développement de la société québécoise.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit définir des moyens pour assurer une meilleure complémentarité entre les communautés urbaines et les communautés rurales

La complémentarité rurale-urbaine est une réalité universelle, même si elle se présente sous des aspects différents selon les pays. Au Québec, les participants à l'École d'été ont bien compris que dans ce cas, de vastes régions rurales qualifiées de « régions-ressources » dépendent de marchés urbains nord-américains pour l'écoulement de produits comme le bois ou l'énergie. La pression pour la construction de résidences secondaires, même si elle se fait sentir avec le phénomène de prise de retraite des baby-boomers, y est considérablement moins vive que dans certains pays européens.

Un enjeu de complémentarité évoqué par les participants est la possible délocalisation d'emplois des villes vers les campagnes avec la généralisation des TIC (technologies d'information et de communication). Ce que les participants voulaient toutefois signifier ici est surtout le fait que cette complémentarité, qui existe *de facto*, est en fait mal comprise par les populations urbaines, qui ne voient pas comment leur propre bien-être et leur prospérité dépendent d'un accès, à bas prix, à plusieurs ressources « rurales » stratégiques.

Donc, la future Politique rurale québécoise devrait accorder une attention particulière à cette question par des programmes d'éducation du public à cette réalité de la complémentarité

rurale-urbaine, qui est une question importante dans le contexte québécois. Déjà, un groupe de travail s'est penché sur ce sujet, mais son rapport reste peu diffusé.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit mettre en place un programme destiné spécifiquement aux communautés dévitalisées

Cette recommandation des participants à l'École d'été peut sembler étonnante quand on sait que la Politique nationale de la ruralité demandait aux MRC qui la mettent en œuvre de privilégier les « municipalités dévitalisées » et que, par ailleurs, un programme gouvernemental d'aide à ces municipalités a été mis sur pied. Cette proposition vient surtout du fait qu'avec 14 jours de visites-terrains et d'exposés, les participants ont perçu que dans certaines MRC, une allocation des ressources visant de manière significative ces municipalités n'apparaissait pas évidente au vu des actions mises en œuvre.

À plusieurs reprises durant cette École d'été, les participants ont mis en question le rôle effectif des MRC dans la Politique nationale de la ruralité. De fait, la délégation de pouvoir du gouvernement du Québec à un gouvernement supra-local représente une forme très avancée de décentralisation. Alors que certains saluaient l'autonomie des MRC dans la gestion du Pacte rural, d'autres se sont questionnés sur le pouvoir discrétionnaire, si on peut dire, relativement fort des Conseils des maires dans les décisions relatives à l'allocation des fonds mis à leur disposition par le gouvernement du Québec.

On peut conclure ici que les participants souhaitent une certaine forme de retour, dans la PNR3, aux dispositions (ou disons aux intentions) de la PNR1 concernant une sensibilité forte des Pactes ruraux envers les municipalités dévitalisées du territoire de chaque MRC, et devant se traduire par une allocation significative des ressources à ces municipalités.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit développer des programmes d'achat local

Les participants à cette École d'été appartiennent à une jeune génération fortement sensibilisée aux problématiques environnementales. Il était alors un peu naturel pour eux de mettre l'accent sur les « circuits courts de distribution alimentaire » et à ce qu'on appelle aussi le phénomène « manger local ». Au Bas Saint-Laurent, on connaît aussi l'histoire de l'industrie forestière où la pièce de bois coupée en forêt près de Rimouski sera usinée à plusieurs kilomètres de cette ville pour aboutir à un centre de tri près de Montréal et, par la suite, revenir chez le marchand local de matériaux. Cela signifie beaucoup de coûts de transport (de gaz à effet de serre) dans le prix final du produit. On pourrait évoquer le même processus pour ce qui est des produits laitiers.

Par contre, comme il est illustré par un laboratoire rural sur la valorisation de la biomasse forestière en ce qui a trait au chauffage des édifices publics dans la Matapédia, on est alors devant ce qu'on appelle en anglais « a local buy-in strategy ». Jusqu'à maintenant, la PNR n'a pas visé directement l'achat local, mais l'a fait indirectement par le soutien au programme des

« produits du terroir ». Si on peut être d'accord avec le principe général, des mesures gouvernementales concrètes sont à définir dans un cadre institutionnel où on ne peut pas tellement dicter au consommateur ce qu'il doit faire, la souveraineté de celui-ci étant un grand principe dans notre société.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit favoriser l'immigration en région, et particulièrement celle des étudiants internationaux

Les participants, grâce à un séjour de quelques jours à Montréal (Université Concordia), ont pu constater le caractère multiculturel de cette métropole, multiculturalisme accentué par des migrations internationales importantes. Ils ont alors constaté l'homogénéité ethnique du Québec rural, mais aussi le potentiel qu'il peut offrir pour ces migrants venant d'ailleurs. La question des migrations en région a donc été posée, et en passant une semaine dans une petite ville comme Rimouski, ils ont eu le sentiment que l'intégration des migrants s'y passait plutôt bien. Et cela leur est apparu encore plus vrai dans le cas des étudiants internationaux venant faire des études universitaires sur le campus de l'UQAR à Rimouski.

Cette recommandation n'est pas nouvelle pour nous, car on connaît les nombreux efforts, pas vraiment couronnés de succès, de la politique québécoise d'immigration en région ou encore ceux des régions elles-mêmes. Toutefois, ce qui est intéressant ici est l'idée de cibler des étudiants venant de l'étranger et qui, après leurs études dans une université en région, se voient offrir un statut de résident permanent qui leur permet de se présenter à des concours menant à des emplois en région. Ayant déjà vécu le processus d'acculturation durant les années d'étude, ces étudiants étrangers pourraient alors mettre leurs compétences au service du développement d'une région où ils ne seront pas perçus comme des « voleurs de job », car actuellement, il manque de main-d'œuvre qualifiée dans plusieurs régions rurales du Québec.

La Politique rurale québécoise doit se donner un processus d'évaluation basé sur des données probantes (*Rural Policy Evidence Hub*)

Les participants ont repris à leur compte une proposition du professeur Tom Johnson de l'Université du Missouri, se basant sur une observation des pratiques des pays européens et qui consiste à se donner un processus de monitoring (suivi-évaluation) reposant sur des données les plus objectives possibles permettant de suivre les effets ou les retombées de la Politique rurale québécoise. À cet égard, les participants à l'École d'été ont trouvé fort intéressant l'usage de l'Indice de développement de chaque municipalité.

Il s'agirait aussi, selon les participants, de produire des données qui, par Internet, pourraient être accessibles à tout citoyen qui pourrait, avec une interface conviviale, se faire une idée de la situation du monde rural et des évolutions survenues dans les communautés rurales. De son côté, le gouvernement et les spécialistes des questions rurales pourraient émettre différentes

hypothèses pour interpréter ces données et surtout repérer les ajustements nécessaires dans les futures politiques rurales.

La question d'une évaluation rigoureuse des retombées des politiques publiques est devenue un incontournable dans l'administration publique, que ce soit au Québec ou ailleurs, et ce groupe de chercheurs n'a pas été sensibilisé à tous les efforts qui se font en ce sens. On n'a qu'à penser ici à l'Indice de vitalité des communautés rurales, qui viendra bientôt compléter un indice de développement à saveur plutôt économique, mais qui permet déjà une aide publique dont les montants peuvent être modulés en fonction du niveau de défavorisation des municipalités, un dispositif qui ne manque pas d'originalité comme ont pu le constater les participants de cette École d'été.

PARTIE III : LES COMMENTAIRES DES PROFESSEURS SUR LA PNR3

L'École d'été sur l'étude comparative internationale des politiques rurales vise un complément de formation aux étudiants, mais elle est aussi fréquentée par de nombreux professeurs de plusieurs pays qui encadrent ces étudiants et qui prennent intérêt à ces échanges souvent riches sur les politiques rurales d'un pays donné. Au terme de l'École d'été québécoise, un appel a été lancé aux professeurs pour qu'ils nous fassent part de leurs commentaires sur la future Politique rurale de la province. Huit professeurs se sont livrés à cet exercice et nous ont fait parvenir des textes plus ou moins longs. Certains exploraient un élément plus spécifique, comme la question de l'alimentation ou de l'énergie, d'autres s'intéressaient à notre ruralité.

Globalement, et même comparativement aux étudiants, les professeurs ont joué de prudence en ne préconisant pas de changements radicaux. Certains ont d'ailleurs renoncé à l'exercice en se jugeant non qualifié, malgré une immersion de 14 jours dans le Québec rural, pour définir des pistes d'action pour cette future PNR.

On trouvera ici ces commentaires traduits en français ainsi qu'un bref résumé dans lequel nous nous sommes parfois permis de résigner dans le contexte les propos d'un professeur. Les commentaires sont intéressants, et il nous semble pertinent de les prendre en considération dans l'exercice d'élaboration d'une future Politique rurale au Québec.

Quelques réflexions sur la Politique rurale du Québec. John Bryden et Karen Refsgaard, NILF, Norvège

Nous avons beaucoup apprécié notre séjour de huit jours avec les professeurs et les étudiants à l'École d'été 2012, organisée par nos collègues de l'Université Concordia et de l'Université du Québec à Rimouski. Nous avons quelques réflexions sur la Politique rurale du Québec à vous présenter à la suite de ces discussions et contributions à ce jour.

Le Québec se réfère à l'Europe et tourne le dos à Ottawa (gouvernement fédéral canadien) lorsqu'il est question de « politique rurale ». Ainsi, la Politique rurale québécoise ressemble au programme LEADER en Europe, ce qui n'est en rien surprenant quand on considère les allées et venues du groupe d'action LEADER et de l'Observatoire LEADER (dans lequel John s'est impliqué) dans la période formatrice de la politique. Son objectif est principalement d'atteindre une mobilisation au niveau administratif des MRC¹, et son budget est très restreint, comparable au LEADER, qui représente environ 1% du budget de la politique agricole commune au niveau de l'Union Européenne. C'est ce que le gouvernement finnois et le Comité de politique rurale nomment « politique rurale restrictive », une politique supplémentaire, au-dessus des autres politiques sectorielles qui dépensent plus de fonds publics et qui, ensemble, ont de loin un plus grand impact économique, social et environnemental sur les régions rurales². Une politique

¹ MRC : Municipalité régionale de comté, composée du maire de chacune des municipalités du territoire et de dirigeants non-élus.

² Dans le cadre des Écoles d'été sur les politiques rurales, nous avons toujours utilisé la définition de

rurale plus « large » considère toutes les politiques du secteur public qui influent sur la ruralité et fait valoir qu'il n'est pas suffisant de tenir compte seulement de la politique « restrictive ». Ainsi, LEADER et la Politique rurale du Québec ne tiennent pas compte des autres politiques importantes, gérées différemment et ayant un impact signifiant. Cela inclut les ressources naturelles et minières, l'agriculture, la foresterie, les pêches, le bien-être social, l'éducation, la santé, l'habitation, la propriété et le régime foncier, l'utilisation du territoire (planification), l'énergie (et les énergies renouvelables), l'environnement, les gouvernements locaux, le transport, les infrastructures, le développement régional et l'innovation, l'immigration et, au Canada, les Affaires du Nord, (plus particulièrement la question des Première Nations et des Inuits). En fait, comme dans la majorité des pays, les questions de politiques (le contrôle sur les décisions et les budgets) sont très centralisées à des niveaux provinciaux et fédéral au Canada. Même si le Québec a une structure de gestion locale plus forte que les autres provinces, il ne fait pas exception. Dans la plupart des pays, de telles politiques représentent environ 90% des dépenses publiques en milieu rural et, même si elles sont moins élevées qu'ailleurs, les décisions prises et les règlements les concernant sont habituellement cruciaux pour la viabilité des communautés rurales. En effet, ils peuvent motiver et déterminer l'étendue et la nature du désavantage du milieu rural et de l'exode rural. L'étendue de la centralisation se reflète aussi dans la faiblesse des budgets locaux et du pouvoir de taxation, puisque tous les impôts sont payés à un niveau provincial puis réaffectés par l'intermédiaire du budget global et sectoriel et par un processus de dépenses.

Dans ce contexte, il est compréhensible qu'une attention soit portée à l'autonomisation, ou *l'empowerment* (ou renforcement des pouvoirs) des communautés, puisqu'elles (autant rurales qu'urbaines) sont profondément en perte de pouvoir en raison de la centralisation de la prise de décisions et de l'élaboration des budgets publics. Cependant, même s'il est nécessaire et souhaitable d'encourager et de rendre possible une vie citoyenne active, cela n'est pas suffisant pour renforcer les capacités d'action des communautés. Elles doivent également avoir un contrôle satisfaisant sur la prise de décisions et sur les budgets qui affectent leur qualité de vie et leur développement, incluant la gestion des services publics.

Cela nous apparaît être la principale faiblesse des « politiques rurales » actuelles au Québec, et quand nous avons questionné nos interlocuteurs de Solidarité rurale et du Ministère concernant les moteurs de la Politique rurale après 2014, ils ont mentionné les « services ruraux », un « plus grand transfert de pouvoirs » et « l'agriculture de spécialité » se reflétant dans la situation que nous observons.

Les thèmes que nous explorons essentiellement à l'École d'été sont tout particulièrement touchés par le débat centralisation-décentralisation et les résultats qui en découleront pour la période qui suivra. Il sera impossible de s'avancer sur les bénéfices du potentiel d'énergie renouvelable, qui semblent considérables, sans le développement de politiques de

l'OCDE pour « régions rurales », qui identifie et divise l'ensemble du territoire des États membres en « rural prédominant », « urbain prédominant » et « régions intermédiaires », selon la densité de la population et la proximité des grands centres.

développement local et sans le pouvoir de les appliquer, ni le changement des politiques globales (du ministère de l'Énergie et de sa « ramification » Hydro-Québec). Il sera impossible de créer la plate-forme requise pour les systèmes locaux d'innovation comme celui que nous avons vu à La Pocatière sans que des politiques régionales sur l'innovation, l'agriculture (multifonction), le domaine alimentaire et les questions rurales soient coordonnées au même niveau local, idéalement dans les municipalités ou dans les associations bénévoles des municipalités (et non dans les MRC antidémocratiques et qui fonctionnent « du haut vers le bas»).

Il sera impossible de remédier aux désavantages ruraux, y compris les besoins des nouveaux arrivants et des familles, sans déléguer des politiques sociales, notamment dans la santé, l'éducation et la protection sociale à un niveau local, encore une fois, préférablement au même niveau local et aux mêmes institutions légitimes³, comme pour les autres aspects mentionnés ci-dessus. Ce sont la localisation ou la régionalisation des politiques globales et sectorielles qui sont au cœur du Nouveau paradigme rural (NPR) (NRP, *New Rural Paradigm*, en anglais) de l'OCDE.

Certains critiques universitaires ont fait valoir que le NPR suppose que les politiques de péréquation⁴ pourraient être abandonnées, mais ce n'est pas le cas. Plusieurs d'entre nous, impliqués dans le développement et l'écriture du Nouveau paradigme rural, avons soutenu que la péréquation et le rôle connexe du gouvernement local élu était plus important pour le NPR qu'il pouvait l'être sous le régime des politiques globales et sectorielles. Les politiques et les subventions critiquées par le NPR étaient du genre «taille unique» (*one-size-fits-all*), comme la politique agricole et la politique énergétique. Cet ensemble d'arguments est bien rodé, dans une perspective comparative, dans notre écriture sur l'équivalence rurale-urbaine, dans lequel nous articulons les droits sociaux/humains et le contrat social pour les politiques d'équivalence territoriales. Habituellement, en Scandinavie, la politique régionale (ou de « district ») a un objectif clairement établi de permettre aux gens de vivre là où ils l'ont choisi et de bénéficier de niveaux équivalents de services et de possibilités de gagner leur vie dans leur communauté, ou dans un endroit facilement accessible pour eux. Les outils principaux sont des politiques sociales qui leur appartiennent d'un côté, et de l'autre, des politiques régionales et d'innovation qui leur sont dévolues.

³ Par exemple, les Européens ont du mal à comprendre la nécessité d'un système séparé de « commission scolaire », ou l'obsession de la prolifération d'agences publiques, ayant des limites différentes les unes par rapport aux autres et des autorités locales, élues et légitimes.

⁴ La péréquation fiscale signifie un transfert de ressources de municipalités ou de régions plus riches vers les plus pauvres afin de leur permettre de fournir des services équivalents à leurs citoyens. Ainsi, en Norvège (comme dans la plupart des pays scandinaves et en Allemagne), il y a de grandes différences dans (a) les moyens fiscaux locaux (en raison des différences de richesse et de revenus) et (b) les coûts de répartition des services (en raison de la géographie et des types de populations), et ces deux principaux critères conduisent aux contributions du gouvernement central aux budgets locaux.

Le Québec n'en est pas encore là! moins que la Scandinavie, mais toutefois plus que pour la plupart des autres provinces et États de l'Amérique du Nord, et selon moi, il doit en être félicité. La question sera de savoir combien de politiques seront établies pour l'après 2014.

Résumé de Bruno JEAN :

John Bryden et Karen Refgaard rappellent d'abord que la PNR est proche du modèle européen de politique rurale, avec son programme LEADER également orienté vers le renforcement des capacités des acteurs locaux de développement. En ce sens, comme ils disent, dans ce cas le Québec tourne le dos à Ottawa et au gouvernement canadien, ce qui a du sens quand on constate le fort désengagement du Canada dans le dossier rural avec la quasi-fermeture du Secrétariat rural qui avait été mis sur pied il y a une décennie à peine.

Par ailleurs, Ils rappellent avec justesse que le gouvernement fait d'importantes dépenses dans les zones rurales, par l'entremise des ministères sectoriels (agriculture, ressources naturelles, affaires sociales, etc.), et que la politique rurale québécoise n'a pas beaucoup de prise, d'influence sur les choix qui sont faits. Pire encore, ils constatent que les gouvernements locaux ont peu de moyens financiers et peu de capacités de prendre des décisions pouvant avoir une influence réelle sur le cours des choses. Or, selon eux, le renforcement des capacités de développement des acteurs des communautés rurales ne passe pas seulement par la gestion de petits projets à portée limitée rendus possibles par les Pactes ruraux, mais par une plus grande prise de décision au sein même des municipalités ayant plus de moyens financiers à leur disposition pour non seulement livrer les services municipaux, mais aussi faire des investissements stratégiques en faveur du développement local.

À cet égard, ces professeurs n'ont pas beaucoup confiance en la MRC, jugée assez sévèrement d'anti-démocratique car généralement ses membres, et même le préfet, ne sont pas élus directement par la population. Pourtant, les auteurs plaident fortement pour la décentralisation des pouvoirs vers les niveaux local et supralocal (des MRC donc), notamment dans le domaine de la santé et des affaires sociales. Ils nous invitent à considérer le cas de la Norvège et de sa politique régionale en faisant remarquer que le Québec, sur cette voie de décentralisation, est plutôt en avance dans le contexte canadien.

Commentaires sur la ruralité et le développement de Dr. Philipp Kneis et Prof. Allison Davis-White Eyes, Université de l'État d'Oregon

Le discours sur le développement rural tend à définir le rural comme étant ce qui n'est pas urbain, ou plus spécifiquement, ce qui n'est « pas encore » urbain.

La visée de telles conceptions consiste à fournir des services considérés comme urbains aux régions rurales. Plusieurs de ces services ont déjà existé, mais ont été réduits à cause de considérations financières. Il s'agit ici, entre autres, des bureaux de poste ou des services ferroviaires en régions dites « éloignées ». D'autres services n'ont pas encore été suffisamment fournis, comme Internet haute-vitesse ou les réseaux de téléphonie mobile. La poursuite du

développement concerne la transformation économique de régions vivant majoritairement de l'agriculture, de la pêche et de la sylviculture.

Ce genre de développement suit un principe de services publics économiques et utiles, qui peut par la suite laisser une grande empreinte urbaine en milieu rural. Cela a pour effet de donner l'impression que les milieux ruraux sont en retard, ou sur la mauvaise voie, et qu'ils ont besoin de stratégies de développement urbain interventionnistes. Le rural – selon le paradigme développementaliste – ne doit pas demeurer rural, il doit rattraper son retard.

Cela est illustré par la diminution de la population rurale : les jeunes partent pour les centres urbains pour les études, le travail, les services, et peuvent revenir plus tard au cours de leur vie. D'une certaine manière, le développement vise à améliorer ou à modifier ces processus. Cependant, ces initiatives peuvent être faites au détriment de la ruralité, plus particulièrement en détruisant les caractères spécifiques de ce qui fait la ruralité. Au lieu de cela, elle doit s'adapter pour répondre aux critères urbains.

Le développement des régions rurales devrait idéalement – selon ce que reconnaît la Politique sur la ruralité du Québec – puiser ses initiatives de la population rurale elle-même. Il semble qu'il n'en soit pas toujours ainsi. Il peut y avoir plusieurs raisons expliquant de telles lacunes, particulièrement en lien avec l'importance du bénévolat en milieu rural. La contribution des acteurs ruraux pourrait être améliorée par une meilleure compensation aux participants locaux dans le développement rural, par la création de coopératives régionales structurées et soutenues par une diversité d'acteurs locaux et par des partenariats de recherche entre universités, instituts de recherche et entreprises privées engagés activement avec le milieu dans une recherche-développement visant des finalités communes.

Un aspect clé du développement est l'utilisation des ressources rurales. La production d'énergie est souvent faite en région rurale, mais encore une fois, pour le bénéfice premier des populations urbaines. Il s'agit entre autres des énergies fossiles, mais de plus en plus – comme on peut le voir au Québec – d'une production d'énergies renouvelables telles que l'éolien et l'hydroélectricité. Toutes ces façons de produire de l'énergie transforment le paysage rural, affectent et déplacent même des populations, par exemple lors de la construction de barrages hydroélectriques. Les citadins ont l'habitude de sous-estimer les profonds changements que cela apporte aux territoires ruraux et à prioriser leurs besoins puisqu'ils sont plus nombreux. Les régions rurales sont souvent perçues comme de simples pourvoyeuses de ressources pour la consommation urbaine.

Cette consommation peut aussi servir à des fins récréatives. Il s'agit ici de la création de parcs ou de zones protégées – les modes de « préservation » peuvent aussi vouloir dire du développement économique ou autres profits – mais aussi de la construction de logements dans un milieu rural attrayant, un « embourgeoisement » des régions rurales où les citadins aisés pourraient s'installer à plus long terme.

Le développement durable des milieux ruraux peut fonctionner, même sans ces vocations récréatives, en tant que milieux de plus en plus urbanisés ou sous-urbanisés. Cela aurait pour

effet d'en réduire le caractère régional distinctif – qui pourrait être utilisé à des fins de promotion du tourisme – et pourrait aller à l'encontre d'autres effets économiques positifs. Ce genre de développement rural est ainsi caractérisé par le discours contradictoire de la croissance et de la conservation, plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne le développement des ressources naturelles, humaines, sociales et culturelles, et en ce qui concerne également la conservation de la ruralité en tant que « site naturel » ou « réserve » de ressources naturelles, de récréation et d'expression du patrimoine culturel.

Résumé de Bruno JEAN

Les propos des professeurs de l'Université de l'État d'Oregon porte sur les représentations urbaines de la ruralité qui pèsent lourdement dans l'opinion publique et donc dans la vision de la ruralité qu'ont les pouvoirs publics qui font les politiques rurales. Ils rappellent d'abord la vision négative de la ruralité définie comme ce qui n'est pas urbain, et surtout comme ce qui n'est pas encore urbain.

Ils affirment aussi que les représentations urbaines de la ruralité sont contradictoires, car elles sont à la fois vues sous l'angle de la conservation, donc comme des sites naturels à protéger, comme une réserve (de ressources et de paysages) et sous l'angle de territoires productifs pour fournir des biens (bois, énergie, alimentation, etc.) et des services (principalement récrétouristiques) aux populations urbaines. Ils sont d'avis que la représentation dominante du rural reste celle d'un territoire de ressources naturelles mises en valeur essentiellement en fonction des besoins des secteurs urbains, peu soucieux des conséquences de ces activités qui peuvent affecter la qualité de vie des ruraux.

Ces chercheurs constatent que la politique rurale québécoise se base sur l'engagement des acteurs ruraux eux-mêmes et sur un souci pour un développement rural durable, ce qui leur apparaît une excellente approche. Ils souhaitent donc que cela se continue dans la future politique, mais avec des moyens pour créer davantage de coopératives locales qui pourront être soutenues par une plus grande recherche partenariale entre les universités et leurs centres de recherche et les acteurs locaux. Ces chercheurs rappellent également qu'une des réalités du monde rural est l'existence du bénévolat pour certaines tâches d'intérêt collectif; ils sont d'avis que la future PNR devrait mieux compenser ce bénévolat qui serait alors encore valorisé.

Un outil de mesure objective des effets d'une politique basée sur des données probantes pour la Politique rurale du Québec par Tom Johnson, Université du Missouri à Columbia

Tout le monde s'entend pour dire que le Québec possède une Politique rurale complète et avant-gardiste. Ses objectifs englobent l'équité territoriale, la possibilité d'une gouvernance locale et l'occupation dynamique du territoire (Organisation de développement économique, 2010). La Politique dépend du capital social ou humain, d'une gouvernance à plusieurs paliers, ainsi que d'un bon soutien des organisations locales pour atteindre ses buts.

Un indice de développement, qui est présentement en création au Québec, servira à suivre de près l'avancement des travaux en cours. Nous saluons cette initiative et recommandons que ce processus de suivi soit fait de façon exhaustive et transparente. Nous recommandons également que le processus soit développé à titre de politique, de programme et d'outil d'évaluation de projet. Cette façon de faire pourrait être qualifiée « d'élaboration de politiques basées sur des données probantes » (Laurent and Trouvé, 2011). Une tendance marquée pour ce type de politiques se fait sentir dans plusieurs pays européens. Le Royaume-Uni a déjà établi un « Rural Evidence Hub » (*Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, 2012) qui, selon ce que l'on croit, saura soutenir, pour ses régions rurales, le développement de politiques d'après des résultats probants. DEFRA a rendu accessible une base de données aux responsables de l'élaboration de ces politiques ainsi qu'aux analystes afin d'assurer le succès des politiques rurales au Royaume-Uni (Organisation de coopération et de développement économique, 2011). À l'heure actuelle, cette base de données centralisée n'est pas encore accessible à la population en général, mais le but est que ce soit le cas éventuellement.

Les politiques élaborées à l'aide de données probantes impliquent la récolte et l'organisation de connaissances établies sur un sujet donné. Les données, incluant l'indice de développement du Québec, sont utiles pour faire le suivi des changements en contexte rural. Cependant, une vraie base de données probantes lie ces changements à des causes, incluant les changements de politiques. Les indicateurs de changements ne sont pas suffisants pour conclure qu'une politique soit une réussite ou un échec. Le changement doit aussi être expliqué. Le lien de cause à effet nécessite un cadre théorique ayant fait ses preuves de façon empirique.

Un cadre de travail pour une Politique rurale fondée sur des données probantes au Québec nécessiterait des objectifs clairement établis, un choix approprié d'indicateurs et un système d'évaluation des conséquences du programme et des projets dans des régions et communautés bien précises. Au début, le cadre de travail pourrait au moins inclure les objectifs de la politique, les indicateurs qui leurs sont rattachés ainsi qu'un historique des données pour chaque indicateur. Un cadre de travail pour une politique basée sur des données probantes pourrait évoluer au fil du temps, selon les résultats de la recherche, des projet-pilotes et des tests. Finalement, un système clairement défini d'indicateurs et des connaissances avérées s'additionneront, connaissances provenant d'une multitude d'endroits, mais qui seraient testées et confirmées dans des contextes locaux.

Idéalement, la base de données probantes pourrait s'avérer une ressource interactive en ligne et faire en sorte qu'il serait possible de générer des tableaux et des cartes à l'échelle des MRC. Cela pourrait être très utile, sans être essentiel, qu'un utilisateur puisse comparer la performance d'une MRC donnée avec un groupe de régions semblables de l'intérieur ou de l'extérieur du Québec.

Les avantages d'un tel cadre seraient l'implantation de politiques et de programmes plus rentables ainsi que la création de bases plus solides pour le repérage des projets au sein de ces programmes. Les coûts associés à de tels programmes seraient rapidement rentables grâce aux économies engendrées. Rendre publique toute cette information aurait également pour effet de

rassurer et de mobiliser la population rurale, augmentant par le fait même l'efficacité de ces politiques.

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Commentaires de John Bryden

Merci pour cette heureuse contribution au débat sur les politiques québécoises. Je voudrais soulever quelques points, relativement à un article lu récemment sur « l'élaboration de politiques basées sur des données probantes » et comment les gouvernements cherchent parfois à interférer dans les bases de données qui sous-tendent les politiques publiques, un jeu bien connu au Royaume-Uni! Sally Shortall a étudié le processus des politiques au Département de l'Agriculture et des Affaires rurales du Nord de l'Irlande sur plusieurs années, et un article à paraître incessamment (en sociologie je crois) montre qu'ils utilisent les bases de données dont ils ont besoin pour démontrer ce qu'ils veulent bien démontrer, et qu'ils ne tiennent pas compte des autres bases de données, par exemple celles dont disposent les autres départements, quand vient le temps de réviser les politiques rurales. Selon moi, cela prouve l'importance d'un processus ouvert, transparent et disponible au public en tout temps, et cela démontre également que nous avons besoin d'impliquer les médias dans le débat. La démocratie doit s'exercer dans sa totalité quand il est question de « données », qui sont en tout temps contestables, même sous l'aspect le plus « scientifique » de la chose.

Mon deuxième point fait référence à l'utilisation des MRC dans le processus. Je suis inconfortable avec les MRC et j'ai plus confiance dans les municipalités et les liens créés volontairement entre les municipalités pour des besoins précis et où des économies d'échelle ou de grandeur peuvent être réalisées de façon importante. Les dirigeants des MRC ne sont pas élus, mais ils le sont indirectement par le biais des élections locales. Certes les maires ont été élus dans leur municipalité, mais leur imputabilité est certainement douteuse lorsqu'ils siègent à la MRC, c'est-à-dire, au moins discutable. Il y a donc de la place pour une autre magnifique École d'été, plusieurs grands débats sont en émergence de toute évidence!

Résumé de Bruno JEAN

Le professeur Johnson constate d'abord que le Québec possède une Politique rurale complète et avant-gardiste. Ses objectifs englobent l'équité territoriale, la possibilité d'une gouvernance locale et l'occupation dynamique du territoire. Selon lui, cette politique repose sur la mobilisation du capital humain et social, sur une gouvernance à plusieurs paliers, ainsi que sur un bon soutien des organisations locales.

Ce professeur s'intéresse à la question de l'élaboration et de l'évaluation d'une telle politique publique, qui devrait reposer sur une solide base de données permettant de mesurer les retombées ou les effets d'une politique au moyen d'informations objectives et probantes. C'est pourquoi il propose une base de données transparente, prenant la forme d'une plaque tournante (un « hub ») combinant diverses sources de données et ouvertes à plusieurs usagers pouvant commander des analyses en fonction de leurs besoins.

À cet égard, ce professeur constate que la PNR est déjà avancée dans ses processus d'évaluation, car elle repose sur un indice de développement qui permet de suivre les évolutions de la situation des collectivités locales et d'estimer ce qui peut être attribuable à la Politique ou à d'autres facteurs incidents et incontrôlables. Évidemment, il s'agirait selon lui de multiplier les données objectives de ce type pour une meilleure évaluation de cette politique rurale devant reposer non pas sur des représentations et des opinions subjectives des politiciens, mais sur des données objectives sur lesquelles s'appuie une telle politique publique.

Réagissant aux propos de ce professeur, notre collègue John Bryden a rappelé que les gouvernements ont souvent tendance à repérer les données qui confèrent du sens aux choix politiques qu'ils ont faits antérieurement sans tenir compte des données les plus objectives disponibles. Dans un autre ordre d'idées, le professeur Bryden se questionne sur le rôle important des MRC dans la mise en œuvre de la PNR, vu la faible imputabilité des élus siégeant à la MRC. Cela dit, je pense qu'il ne savait pas que certains préfets sont élus et que leur nombre augmente, mais à un rythme plutôt lent.

La Politique rurale québécoise et la question de l'alimentation, par Francesca Regoli, Université de Bologne, Italie

La question alimentaire a une grande pertinence dans toute politique de développement rural. Alors, il est approprié d'évaluer comment la question alimentaire est analysée et considérée dans la Politique nationale de la ruralité 2007-2014, si une politique alimentaire est abordée et détaillée dans le document et quels sont les acteurs et les instruments impliqués.

Le document énonçant la Politique rurale québécoise souligne que des fonds seront alloués au secteur agroalimentaire (12 millions de dollars pour les produits des terroirs ruraux). Cela vise à fournir un soutien aux projets reliés à la production agroalimentaire et au développement de petites entreprises dans ce domaine afin de renforcer une approche multifonctionnelle et de commercialiser des produits spécifiques de la région. En conséquence, le secteur agro-

alimentaire est un domaine pertinent et un ensemble de mesures financières et institutionnelles sont prévues pour encourager ce genre d'initiatives.

Observations

Afin de favoriser le secteur agroalimentaire, une collaboration devrait être créée entre les différents secteurs et acteurs de ces zones rurales. Plus particulièrement, pour améliorer la qualité et la disponibilité de la nourriture, il est important de tenir compte du processus de renforcement des capacités. La FAO (2010) souligne l'importance du renforcement des aptitudes des citoyens des communautés rurales à gérer leurs ressources naturelles et à surmonter les obstacles causés par leur manque d'instruction. Les connaissances et les aptitudes pour le développement contribuent à l'augmentation de la productivité et aussi au renforcement de l'identité de la population qui sera alors consciente de son rôle et de sa valeur. Cela aura pour effet d'impliquer la population dans la vie sociale et politique (SIDA, 2000).

Une étape primordiale consiste à promouvoir l'éducation, qui comprend non seulement le système scolaire (éducation primaire et secondaire), mais également l'éducation des adultes à travers un apprentissage fondé sur l'expérience. Le document de la Politique rurale souligne l'importance du rôle de l'école, « au cœur de la communauté rurale » (MAMR, 2006).

Quo qu'il en soit, les activités d'enseignement devraient être renforcées par des approches innovantes et une collaboration entre le milieu de l'éducation et les acteurs des milieux ruraux, plus particulièrement les agriculteurs et leurs associations.

Des exemples de projets qui pourraient être favorisés, comme un Laboratoire rural (MAMR, 2006) font référence à la « ferme éducative »:

- Faire la promotion des activités impliquant les écoles (primaires et secondaires) et les fermes à vocation éducative pour augmenter la conscience et la connaissance des enfants au sujet des ressources naturelles, de la qualité de la nourriture, de la production agricole (par exemple dans l'utilisation et la quantité de pesticides et de fertilisants chimiques) et une plus grande attention à la relation entre la production et la consommation de cette nourriture (qualité et proximité).

L'initiative « adoptez un arbre fruitier » est un exemple intéressant (des études de cas italiennes sont disponibles). En classe, l'activité consiste à étudier les graines des fruits, l'écologie et les cycles de la vie, et chaque élève plante une graine dans un pot. L'activité se déplace alors à la ferme, où les enfants transplantent leur arbre fruitier dans un champ. Chaque enfant est responsable de son arbre, et quand vient le temps d'en récolter les fruits, il peut aller lui-même le faire. Cela permet de créer un lien direct entre l'enfant, la terre agricole et le fermier, et cela augmente l'attention et la participation de l'enfant à la vie dans une ferme. Il deviendra motivé à aller, avec sa famille, prendre soin de son arbre et faire la récolte de ses fruits le moment venu. Pour l'agriculteur, cette collaboration implique plus de visiteurs à la ferme et une plus grande opportunité de ventes de produits directement à la ferme.

Cette méthode favorise une éducation fondée sur l'alimentation et la nature et le lien entre l'enfant et les familles impliquées, et cela favorise également les affaires des agriculteurs. Qui plus est, cette approche peut contribuer à réduire l'écart entre les milieux urbains et les milieux ruraux lorsque l'école urbaine est impliquée dans ce genre de projet.

En revanche, l'apprentissage par expérience fait référence à la formation des agriculteurs. La transmission du savoir-faire et l'échange des meilleures pratiques sont des étapes essentielles dans l'amélioration de leur prise de conscience sur toutes les facettes du métier, soit de nouvelles méthodes de transformation des aliments, de nouvelles activités économiques, du marketing et une stratégie de marque.

L'octroi de subventions pourrait s'avérer inefficace ou non approprié pour développer des produits spécialisés si des stratégies précises et des plans ne sont pas élaborés selon les spécificités de la région. Par conséquent, il serait pertinent de former les agriculteurs sur la façon d'utiliser les subventions qui pourraient être mises à leur disposition.

Dans cette optique, l'introduction de l'agent rural (agent de développement rural; MAMR, 2006) joue un rôle très important dans :

- La création de réseaux et de liens entre les institutions d'enseignement, les agriculteurs et les communautés locales
- L'organisation de rencontres et des séminaires sur le transfert des meilleures pratiques
- La transmission de l'information quant aux opportunités offertes aux régions rurales
- La promotion du travail en réseau entre les agriculteurs, les transformateurs d'aliments, les marchands locaux, les points d'information locaux pour publiciser la région ou créer un itinéraire qui pourrait attirer les visiteurs.

Le défi à surmonter est de renforcer les relations entre les agents de développement, les associations d'agriculteurs et les agriculteurs eux-mêmes, de se questionner à savoir si les agents de développement sont acceptés par la communauté et à quel point ces agents connaissent le territoire et ses communautés.

Selon la pertinence de la démarche dite « du bas vers le haut » (un facteur clé dans la Politique de développement rural au Québec), si l'agent de développement est perçu par la communauté comme un acteur externe - qui vise à « distribuer des solutions » mais qui n'est pas sensibilisé aux spécificités et aux problèmes du territoire -, le risque est que les capacités de l'acteur clé ne soient que partiellement exploitées, car il ne sera pas en mesure d'interagir avec les gens de la communauté ni de traduire et transmettre aux autorités concernées les besoins spécifiques de ces milieux.

Réflexions

Un ensemble d'outils a été créé pour une politique de développement rural au Québec, et la question est donc de savoir comment l'utiliser adéquatement. Une synergie efficace entre l'agent de développement et la communauté est le point central qui implique un partage des informations et une mobilisation des connaissances.

Le secteur alimentaire peut devenir un atout important pour réduire la distance entre l'agent et la communauté. Il représente un des secteurs spécifiques pour l'organisation de laboratoires ruraux, pour faire la promotion et améliorer les produits alimentaires. Plusieurs bonnes expériences l'ont prouvé; elles pourraient être décortiquées et adaptées selon les particularités du Québec rural.

Pour le secteur agroalimentaire, un travail en réseau efficace demande de faire la promotion des produits et, par le fait même, de la région, favorisant donc le développement du système dans son ensemble.

Dans le cadre de la Politique nationale de la ruralité 2007-2014, les dirigeants locaux devraient élaborer des stratégies qui permettraient une interaction entre les ressources locales (incluant le capital humain) et de les promouvoir comme il se doit.

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Résumé de Bruno JEAN

Notre collègue de l'Université de Bologne constate que l'actuelle PNR s'intéresse à l'alimentation, avec son programme de soutien aux produits du terroir qui devrait donc se voir élargi dans une future version de cette Politique rurale. Elle fait aussi allusion à quelques *Laboratoires ruraux* qui traitent plus ou moins directement de la question de l'alimentation et de la nécessaire reconnexion des populations urbaines comme rurales avec les réalités agricoles et alimentaires, ce qui constitue par ailleurs un intérêt de recherche pour cette chercheure en études rurales en Italie.

Son propos met l'emphasis sur le rôle de l'éducation de base et de la formation permanente pour assurer le succès des expériences de développement dans le secteur agroalimentaire, un domaine qui nécessite plusieurs connaissances techniques. Elle constate que les plus beaux projets de développement local peuvent échouer à cause d'un manque de formation des promoteurs sur le plan technique, comme celui de la gestion autant des ressources matérielles qu'humaines.

Finalement, elle s'intéresse aux agents ruraux qui lui apparaissent devoir agir davantage au niveau de la formation des acteurs locaux. Son propos va ici plus loin, car elle commente les relations qui peuvent s'établir entre un agent rural et les communautés où il intervient. Il est crucial qu'une synergie efficace s'établisse entre l'agent et la communauté pour que son travail produise des résultats tangibles, synergie qui dépend de sa capacité à partager ses connaissances en matière de développement avec les acteurs locaux. Elle rappelle aussi que bien des outils fort intéressants ont été mis en place avec la PNR, mais il s'agit maintenant, avec le dynamisme des agents ruraux, de s'assurer qu'ils soient utilisés et cela, d'une manière à maximiser leurs retombées pour le développement des communautés.

Politique rurale du Québec, politique énergétique et méthode du coût de revient par Judith I. Stallmann, University du Missouri, États-Unis

Plusieurs politiques, en plus de la politique rurale officielle, ont un impact sur les régions rurales et leurs citoyens. L'une de ces politiques est la politique énergétique.

La politique énergétique du Québec a des répercussions majeures sur la ruralité du Québec, qui joue le rôle à la fois d'utilisateur et de fournisseur d'énergie. Compte tenu de la dépendance à l'hydroélectricité et du fait que la majeure partie de la production énergétique se retrouve en région rurale, ces régions fournissent au reste du Québec un très grand service.

Au Québec, le prix de l'énergie se situe parmi les plus bas en Amérique du Nord. (http://www.hydroquebec.com/publications/en/comparison_prices/pdf/comp_2011_en.pdf)

L'efficacité économique exige d'une personne ou d'une entreprise de payer la totalité des coûts de ce qu'elle reçoit comme service (électricité). Si elle paie moins de la totalité des coûts, elle surconsommera l'électricité, c'est à dire qu'elle en utilisera plus que le niveau jugé socialement optimal.

Le prix complet de production de l'énergie inclut les coûts directs (ceux qui devraient être inscrits aux livres comptables d'une compagnie) et les coûts externes. Les coûts externes ne sont pas payés par l'entreprise, mais par quelqu'un d'autre, à un autre moment. À ce titre, on peut donner comme exemple les émissions de dioxyde de soufre des centrales américaines (les consommateurs américains n'ont rien déboursé pour ces coûts) qui ont contaminé des lacs et des forêts canadiennes (frais assumés par les Canadiens). Dans le cas de l'hydroélectricité, les coûts se présentent souvent en termes de dommages environnementaux et écologiques et de

plusieurs émissions de carbone dues à la décomposition de la matière. Ces coûts externes d'hydroélectricité sont concentrés majoritairement dans les régions rurales où les émissions de carbone issues des énergies fossiles font augmenter le taux de changements climatiques. Alors que la province entière profite de cette production, la plupart des régions rurales paient la note des coûts externes. Ces coûts élevés peuvent se traduire par une moins bonne qualité de vie, un taux d'emploi plus bas, un exode de la population vers les grands centres, etc.

Une absence de calcul de coût de revient complet fait en sorte que le coût de fabrication de l'énergie apparaît plus faible qu'il ne l'est en réalité pour le consommateur, ce qui entraîne une surconsommation de l'énergie plutôt qu'une utilisation optimale de celle-ci. En effet, la consommation d'énergie résidentielle *per capita* au Québec est plus élevée que dans le reste du Canada (il est difficile de comparer la consommation industrielle puisque les besoins énergétiques ne sont pas les mêmes par type d'activité. Les secteurs d'activités qui nécessitent plus d'énergie seront situés où les coûts énergétiques seront les plus bas). Le maintien de bas prix, qui ne tient pas compte du coût complet, entraîne une plus forte demande et, à plus long terme, pourra occasionner une pénurie d'énergie ainsi qu'une pression pour construire davantage d'infrastructures permettant d'augmenter les capacités de production. Au Québec, il s'agit souvent d'une production hydroélectrique générant des coûts externes sur les régions rurales, là où la production est située. Ce sont ces régions qui pourvoient le reste de la province.

La méthode de calcul du coût de revient complet devrait être appliquée afin de comparer les coûts des différentes méthodes de production qui sont, pour le Québec, l'hydraulique, l'éolien et le nucléaire. Cette comparaison devrait mettre en évidence laquelle de ces méthodes est la plus économique. Les États-Unis ont développé un système pour comparer ces coûts. Même s'il n'est pas parfait, il s'agit tout de même d'un outil très utile.

Selon ma compréhension, il y a une structure tarifaire pour toute la province, indépendamment des coûts de transport. Cette politique encourage certainement les entreprises à s'installer dans les milieux urbains plutôt que dans les milieux ruraux où l'énergie est produite. Si les coûts de transport étaient inclus dans le prix, les régions rurales, qui paient les coûts externes, pourraient bénéficier d'une meilleure activité économique.

Références

Hydro-Québec. Comparison of Electricity Prices in Major North American Cities. Rates in effect April 1, 2011. Amended, November 2011. Affaires réglementaires et tarifaires, Hydro-Québec. (http://www.hydroquebec.com/publications/en/comparison_prices/pdf/comp_2011_en.pdf)

Résumé de Bruno JEAN

Notre collègue de l'Université du Missouri rappelle d'abord les liens importants entre l'énergie, la production énergétique et le développement rural, un milieu à la fois producteur et consommateur d'énergie, ne serait-ce que du fait que l'énergie hydro-électrique se situe en milieu rural. Mais la thèse qu'elle défend, et qui est celle d'un certain nombre d'économistes,

est celle qui consiste à vendre l'électricité au coût réel de production incluant les externalités environnementales.

Elle prétend qu'au Québec, on ne vend pas l'électricité assez cher, ce qui encourage le gaspillage de cette ressource au moment où on dépense beaucoup pour les énergies fossiles, argent qui va à l'étranger. Il s'agit ici d'un grand débat et plusieurs économistes sérieux ne partagent pas ce point de vue et arguent qu'une énergie peu chère est un puissant stimulant économique, comme on le voit au Québec avec les industries reliées à la production d'aluminium.

Comme les prix sont identiques peu importe l'endroit où se situe le consommateur de l'hydro-électricité, cette chercheure prétend qu'on devrait introduire les coûts de transport dans le prix final, ce qui rendrait les régions rurales plus attractives pour des industries. Cela est possiblement vrai en théorie mais en pratique, est-ce que cela se produirait vu l'effet des autres facteurs de localisation. Mais des prix constants peuvent aussi susciter un développement plus équilibré des différents territoires compatible avec une approche de développement territorial solidaire.

Par ailleurs, madame Stallman mentionne les effets négatifs des installations hydro-électriques sur l'environnement et sur les populations rurales. C'est un argument très faible, car l'hydro-électricité émet peu de GES (gaz à effet de serre) comparativement à la production des autres formes d'énergie; elle est donc fort intéressante sur le plan environnemental. De plus, les grands barrages sont installés dans des régions peu ou non peuplées, donc engendrant peu d'impacts sur les communautés rurales.

Notes sur la relation entre la durabilité et l'inégalité, Bruce Weber, Université de l'État d'Oregon,

Dans un récent article du PNUD (Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement) intitulé *Durabilité et inégalité dans le développement humain*, Éric Neumayer souligne un cadre dans lequel il relie les inégalités dans les revenus, la santé et l'éducation avec la « non-durabilité » qu'il définit par des investissements et de l'épargne insuffisants en capital (humain, social, manufacturier) et, plus particulièrement, par la dégradation de formes essentielles du capital naturel (ressources naturelles qui absorbent la pollution et qui fournissent des équipements et des biens environnementaux). L'argument de base est « qu'il existe plusieurs raisons pour lesquelles plus d'inégalité pourrait amener à plus de non-durabilité, et pourquoi plus de non-durabilité pourrait causer plus d'inégalité dans le développement humain, et cela à l'intérieur d'un pays et entre plusieurs pays. En d'autres termes, il est probable qu'il existe un cercle vicieux entre l'inégalité et la non-durabilité, où plus de l'un causera plus de l'autre, qui causera plus du premier, et ainsi de suite » (p. 1).

Ce cadre pourrait être utile dans la conception d'une politique rurale au Québec et dans la définition des contributions du rapport du groupe sur l'inégalité du ICRPS 2012 au rapport

d'ensemble du ICRPS au MAMROT. Les réflexions contenues dans cet article sont organisées comme suit : les arguments de Neumayer au sujet de l'inégalité menant à une forte non-durabilité sont résumés (principalement au moyen de citations choisies dans cet article), tout d'abord dans les pays ou les régions et, par la suite, entre plusieurs pays et régions. Ensuite, ses arguments concernant l'impact de la non-durabilité sur les inégalités sont résumés. Les réflexions concluent avec quelques observations sur la manière dont le cadre peut définir les contributions du rapport du groupe sur les inégalités du ICRPS. Les réflexions ne sont pas encore bien développées et pourraient finalement ne pas être utiles, mais elles pourraient aussi bien intéresser quelqu'un qui voudrait élaborer le cadre plus en profondeur.

Quelques définitions

- ▲ « L'inégalité dans le développement humain est une inégalité dans les niveaux d'éducation individuelle, les standards de santé et les revenus dans un pays donné et dans ces mêmes niveaux moyens, standards et revenus entre les pays » (p. 2). Égalité pourrait vouloir dire que tout le monde a le même niveau de revenus, de santé et d'éducation. Inégalité signifie que le riche a une plus grande part des revenus, de la santé et de l'éducation que le pauvre. Plus la part du riche est grande, plus il y a d'inégalité.
- ▲ « La définition de durabilité employée ici est basée sur l'approche dite du capital pour le développement durable, pour lequel le but visé est d'être certain que les générations futures ont au moins la même valeur de capital disponible pour leur permettre de maintenir au moins le même niveau que la génération actuelle. Les chercheurs définissent habituellement quatre types de capitaux : naturel, créé par l'homme, humain et social. Le capital naturel englobe tout ce que la nature peut fournir aux êtres humains en vue de combler leur bien-être, de la ressource naturelle jusqu'aux équipements environnementaux et à l'absorption de la pollution par la nature. Le capital créé par l'homme, ou manufacturier, fait référence aux moyens utilisés pour la production (usines, machinerie, etc.) et aux infrastructures. Le capital humain possède les connaissances et les aptitudes. Le capital social est pour sa part plus délicat à définir, mais il se rapporte généralement à des aspects du genre : la confiance entre les individus et la confiance qu'ils ont dans les institutions qui gouvernent leur vie et la qualité de ces institutions ».
- ▲ « Une faible durabilité (*weak sustainability*, WS en anglais) est construite sur l'hypothèse que le capital naturel et les autres formes de capitaux sont majoritairement remplaçables, et que la seule chose qui importe est la valeur totale de la réserve en capitaux, qui devrait être au moins maintenue ou idéalement ajoutée dans l'intérêt des générations futures. Donc, la faible durabilité signifie des épargnes suffisantes (investissement) pour le compte des générations futures. Une forte durabilité (*strong sustainability*, SS en anglais) rejette la notion de durabilité (du capital naturel) et soutient que certaines formes de capitaux naturels sont essentielles et que leur

épuisement ne peut être compensé par un investissement sous une autre forme de capital, comme le capital créé par l'homme (manufacturier) ou humain. Comme la faible durabilité, il appelle à suffisamment d'épargne (investissement) pour le bien des générations futures, mais aussi à ce que l'accumulation d'autres formes de capitaux ne détériore pas ou n'appauvrisse pas les formes de capitaux naturels essentiels » (p. 2-3).

L'inégalité mène à la non-durabilité

À l'intérieur d'un pays ou d'une région

- Une grande inégalité dans les revenus mène à un plus grand capital créé par l'homme (les plus riches économisent et investissent plus que les plus pauvres), mais à moins de capital humain (puisque les plus pauvres n'ont pas les moyens d'investir dans leur éducation), à moins de capital social (le « tissu social » s'effrite) et à moins de capital naturel (les riches consomment et polluent plus et résistent aux politiques publiques qui protègent l'environnement).
- L'impact de l'inégalité dans les revenus et l'éducation sur les formes essentielles de capital naturel (« climat, biodiversité, forêts et zones humides, nourriture et eau, ainsi que capacité d'emmagasinage de la pollution par l'environnement » [p.6.]) sont plus susceptibles d'être des biens environnementaux critiques que les énergies fossiles et les autres facteurs de production pour lesquels les capitaux peuvent être remplacés. Neumayer note que « plus importants encore que l'effet direct de l'inégalité sur la prise de décision privée sont les effets indirects sur la prise de décision publique sur l'économie politique. La plus élémentaire des inégalités existe entre ceux qui ont leur mot à dire dans de telles prises de décisions et ceux qui ne l'ont pas » (p.7-8).
- « Dans la mesure où le pouvoir économique est concentré, une plus grande influence est permise sur la prise de décision politique et une plus grande inégalité affectera également la prise de décision politique contre la protection de l'environnement. Ainsi, la différence dans la capacité de payer achète le pouvoir politique pour influencer les décisions » (p. 10).
- Une grande inégalité dans la santé mène à moins de capital manufacturier (la maladie mène à la perte d'emploi), à moins de capital humain (les gens malades investissent moins dans l'éducation) et ainsi à moins de revenus, d'épargnes et d'investissements. Cela mènera aussi indirectement à moins de capital naturel.
 - « Les gens moins en santé vont trouver plus difficile de participer activement à la prise de décision publique dans le processus politique [concernant le capital naturel]. Puisque la pollution environnementale est susceptible d'être concentrée aux endroits où les gens sont moins en santé, cela suppose que les victimes de la pollution ont moins leur mot à dire dans les politiques publiques » (p. 11).
- Une grande inégalité dans l'éducation mène à moins de capital manufacturier (baisse de productivité), et ainsi à moins de revenus et à moins de capital humain (moins de revenus signifie moins d'investissements privés et publics en éducation) et donc, à

moins d'épargne et d'investissement. Cela mènera indirectement à moins de capital naturel également.

- « Les personnes moins instruites trouveront plus difficile de participer activement dans le processus politique de prise de décisions environnementales. Étant donné que la pollution environnementale sera plus concentrée dans les régions où vivent les gens moins instruits, cela laisse supposer que les victimes de pollutions n'auront pas leur mot à dire dans les politiques publiques » (p. 11).
- Dans l'ensemble, plus d'inégalité dans le développement humain mène à plus de capital créé par l'homme et à moins de capital humain, social et naturel.

Entre les pays (comtés, régions centrales et périphériques)

- Une plus grande inégalité de revenus entre les pays ou les régions mène (de façon modérée) à moins de capital manufacturier et, dans l'ensemble, à de plus bas taux d'épargne, qui font que les pays les plus pauvres ont de la difficulté à épargner pour l'avenir. Cela pourrait aussi mener à moins de capital naturel (par moins d'ententes multilatérales).
- Une plus grande inégalité en éducation mène à moins de capital naturel, car les pays pauvres luttent pour faire de l'éducation une priorité.
- L'inégalité dans la santé mène à moins de capital naturel, car les pays pauvres luttent pour prioriser la santé et permettre quelques initiatives.

La non-durabilité mène à l'inégalité

À l'intérieur des pays,

- De bas taux d'épargne augmentent l'inégalité. « Les pays qui ont constamment une faible non-durabilité sont voués à l'augmentation future des inégalités à l'intérieur même du pays dans le développement humain. La raison en est fort simple : une faible non-durabilité (c'est-à-dire de bas taux d'épargne) mène à la détérioration de la condition économique dans l'avenir et mine le pouvoir de l'État à fournir de futurs biens communs. Les deux sont susceptibles d'atteindre les plus démunis plus que les mieux nantis. Ceux-ci peuvent se protéger dans une plus grande mesure de ces conséquences à l'aide de l'épargne et des investissements privés, alors que les premiers sont beaucoup plus dépendants des transferts et des investissements publics dans l'éducation et la santé » (p. 14).
- Une perte de capital naturel mène à l'inégalité. « La baisse de formes essentielles du capital naturel est susceptible d'augmenter les inégalités qui existent à l'intérieur du pays. Les personnes aisées trouvent cela plus facile de se protéger des conséquences négatives reliées aux pertes des ressources essentielles du capital naturel en substituant le privé par les installations environnementales publiques. Elles trouvent aussi plus facile de s'adapter dans un monde ayant une forte non-durabilité et, si besoin est, de

s'éloigner des zones plus fortement touchées. Les plus démunis n'ont pas ces choix. Ils n'ont pas les moyens de payer pour des services environnementaux privés, ils ne peuvent pas s'adapter et sont habituellement plus exposés aux effets d'une non-durabilité forte, par exemple la nourriture et l'eau contaminées, les désastres naturels, les niveaux de pollution dangereux, etc. » (p. 14-15).

- ▲ « Malheureusement, même si la durabilité forte atteint moins de pauvres que de riches et que cela mène à une plus grande inégalité dans le développement humain à l'intérieur d'un pays, des politiques visant à assurer la durabilité forte ne feront pas diminuer cette inégalité et pourront même l'augmenter » (p. 15). Les politiques qui encouragent la durabilité forte (politiques de protection environnementale) provoquent une augmentation des prix et une diminution des achats de biens publics, et mènent donc à une inégalité.
- ▲ L'inégalité entre les individus rend la prise de décision publique plus difficile puisque les gens mettent l'accent sur l'équité plutôt que sur des objectifs touchant une plus grande partie de la population.

Entre les pays,

- ▲ « Il résulte de cet aspect que les baisses des taux d'épargne véritable se concentrent entre les pays plus pauvres qui ont une non-durabilité faible, et cela est susceptible de faire augmenter les inégalités entre ces pays » (p. 17).
- ▲ « Une non-durabilité forte est susceptible d'affecter les pays les plus pauvres, augmentant ainsi l'inégalité qui existe entre les pays. Il y a deux raisons principales pour expliquer ceci. Premièrement, quelques conséquences de la non-durabilité forte toucheront les plus pauvres majoritairement. [Deuxièmement] Même si les impacts étaient les mêmes pour tous les pays, les pays plus pauvres n'ont pas la même chance de faire face à une non-durabilité forte et de s'adapter que les pays les plus riches » (p. 17-18).
- ▲ La relation entre la non-durabilité et l'inégalité n'est pas linéaire. L'impact des dégradations environnementales mineures est susceptible d'être plus grand : « la non-durabilité moyennement forte est susceptible d'avoir un effet mineur sur l'inégalité alors qu'une non-durabilité forte plus marquée aura un impact plus grand sur l'inégalité ».

Implications des politiques publiques

- ▲ Ceux qui élaborent les politiques doivent avoir un souci pour les retombées des politiques environnementales et mettre au point des outils améliorant ces politiques: « Les politiques visant la durabilité forte peuvent accroître les inégalités dans le développement humain, du moins à court terme. Dans plusieurs cas, de tels conflits et

arbitrages peuvent être évités par le biais d'autres outils (par exemple, une taxe à la place de permis négociables et donnés gratuitement), en utilisant plusieurs instruments (par exemple, des subventions pour les systèmes de transport public ou pour étendre l'accès aux sources d'énergie renouvelables pour les moins bien nantis) et en utilisant d'autres politiques pour pallier les effets régressifs que les politiques de durabilité forte pourraient avoir (par exemple, en utilisant le revenu des taxes environnementales pour un transfert de revenus aux moins bien nantis) » (p. 18-19).

Observations sur comment cela pourrait être aidant dans l'organisation de la contribution du groupe sur l'inégalité du rapport de la Politique rurale du Québec

La Politique rurale du Québec semble se concentrer sur l'élaboration de capital social et vouloir fournir du financement aux paliers de gouvernance locale des communautés rurales du Québec, plus particulièrement les régions éloignées qui sont en retard et dévitalisées. Quelques projets du Pacte rural québécois impliquent un nouveau soutien pour le développement du capital humain (éducation), des services et des installations de santé, du capital manufacturier (par exemple l'accès à Internet haut vitesse) et la protection des ressources naturelles.

Pendant que la philosophie « du bas vers le haut » décourage l'établissement de priorités par le gouvernement national, le cadre de Neumayer suggère que la Politique rurale du Québec se concentre sur de nouveaux investissements en santé, en éducation et en occasions d'affaires. Le cadre propose que l'inégalité dans la distribution des revenus, dans la santé, dans l'habitation et dans l'éducation au sein du Québec rural pourrait être liée à la dévitalisation et à la non-durabilité (manque d'épargne et d'investissement et dégradation des ressources naturelles), et que ces politiques qui améliorent la distribution des revenus, de l'habitation et des services de santé dans le Québec rural pourraient mener à la revitalisation des communautés rurales. Ce changement pourrait mener à une diminution de l'écart de revenus entre la ruralité et les centres urbains du Québec si le financement est pensé de façon à être redistribué aux ménages à faibles revenus et aux régions.

Référence

Neumayer, Éric, *Durabilité et Inégalité dans le développement humain*, Rapport sur le développement humain du Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement, Article du 4 novembre 2011.

ANNEXE 1

Participants étudiants

Abigail Sigmon	Oregon State University	United States
Anaïs Detolle	Université Concordia	Canada
Anna Rachel Terman	Penn State	United States
Casey Parnell	University of Missouri	United States
Conor Wall	Oregon State University	United States
Eduardo Gomez	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona	Spain
Ellen Henrikke Aalerud	Norwegian Agr. Economics Research Institute	Norway
Eric Marr	University of Guelph	Canada
Faith Ryan	Penn State	United States
Fobete Dingha Ngoh	Brandon University	Canada
Hélène Saint-Jacques	UQAR	Canada
Immaculate Nabisere	Brandon University	Canada
Jarrod Olson	Oregon State University	United States
Jonathan Pinkerton	Penn State	United States
Karen Henry	University of Missouri	United States
Krishna Poudel	University of Missouri	United States
Lauren Edens	University of Missouri	United States
Luce Thériault	UQAR	Canada
Marie Anselm	Oregon State University	United States
Mika Yasuo	Oregon State University	United States
Oriol Forcada	Universitat de Girona	Spain
Oriol Prado	University of...	Spain
Pam Kelrick	University of Missouri	United States
Penny Williams	University of Missouri	United States
Rebecca Thacker	Penn State	United States
Ryan Deska	University of Guelph	Canada
Ryan Hayhurst	University of Guelph	Canada
Sam Christensen	University of Missouri	United States
Shelby Clark	Penn State	United States
Sian Ringrose	Scottish Agricultural College	Scotland
Yakub Ab. Adediran	Brandon University	Canada
Lindsay Wiginton	Université McGill	Canada

Professeurs présents à l'École d'été 2012* au Québec

Bill Ashton: Brandon University

Ray Bollman: Brandon University

James Breen: University College Dublin

John Bryden: Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute

Ken Carter: Memorial University

Lidia Carvajal: Universidad Autonoma del Estado de Mexico

Allison Davis-White Eyes: Oregon State University

Philomena De Lima: University of the Highlands and Islands- Inverness

John Devlin: University of Guelph

Bruno Jean: University of Quebec at Rimouski

Tom Johnson: University of Missouri

Phillipp Kneis: Oregon State University

Denise Lach: Oregon State University

Karen Refsgaard: Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute

Francesca Regoli: University of Bologna

Bill Reimer: Concordia University

Judith Stallman: University of Missouri

Yancy Vaillant: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Kelly Vodden: Memorial University

Weber: Oregon State University

*Selon ses disponibilités, chaque professeur séjourne au moins une semaine à cette école d'été mais environ un tiers du groupe des professeurs sont présents tout le temps.

Annexe 2



Comparative Rural Policy Summer School 2012 in Québec (Canada)

The International Comparative Rural Policy Studies (ICRPS)

The International Comparative Rural Policy Studies (ICRPS) program brings together an international, multi-disciplinary group of faculty, students, and professionals to study the many facets of rural policy: from policy formulation to policy impacts. The ICRPS Consortium, comprising core faculty from eleven universities in Canada, Europe, Mexico, and the USA, has developed an advanced program to enhance policy formulation and analysis in the rural context. The ICRPS program is the first of its kind that enables students to examine and compare the role of rural policy in different cultural, political, and administrative contexts in Europe, North America, and the South. Designed for graduate students and mid-career professionals, the ICRPS program introduces the skills to analyze and compare policies at the international, national, state, regional, and local levels. It also provides the opportunity to study the nature and implications of new forms of governance in rural contexts. The key elements of the ICRPS program are: a two-week international summer institute, comparative rural policy research projects, and online distance learning courses.

The 2012 Québec Comparative Rural Policy Summer School

This seminar follows the same academic format as previous summer schools in Canada (Guelph, Ontario, Brandon), Europe (Scotland, Belgium, Catalonia in Spain, Norway), and the USA (Missouri, Oregon). It will mix co-learning academic experiences with field work in different settings. After a few days in Montréal, (hosted by Concordia University and Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation), we will travel to the Estrie region of the province, then on to Québec City to meet with policy makers involved in the development of Québec's innovative rural policy. During the last week, we will move to a more remote region and its university, the Université du Québec à Rimouski, where we will be hosted by the Canada Research Chair in Regional Development and an associated network of regional development researchers. Rimouski is about 300 km NE of Québec City – in the picturesque Bas-Saint-Laurent region of the province.

2012 Québec Rural Policy Summer School Program preview

According to the OECD program review, the Québec government has put in place one of the most impressive rural policies in the world. The 2012 Summer School will provide us with an opportunity to learn about this policy, its implementation in 2001, the transformations since then, and its impacts on rural communities and regions. The experience and insights of the Québec regional development research group will be complemented by the work of a Canadian national research team conducting comparative analysis of new regional policies in Newfoundland, Ontario, and British Columbia since 2010.

The Summer School will pay particular attention to the ‘new regionalism’ approaches to regional policy – their focus on collaborative, multi-level governance, integrated programs, knowledge flow and innovation, place-based development, and rural-urban interaction. We will have an opportunity to examine how these elements are integrated into the Québec approach, how they are manifested at the local level, and their current assessment by policy-makers and researchers. Comparisons from other Canadian provinces will provide an opportunity to highlight the impacts of variations in the application of new regional approaches as they are adopted by different policy regimes. The exploration of these issues will take place within a context of first-hand engagement of students and faculty with policy-makers, practitioners, researchers, and citizens in the various field sites included in the summer school.

The organising team	For information, contact
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Sponsors

Ministère des Affaires municipales, des régions et de l’occupation du territoire (MAMROT - Québec)

Rural and Cooperatives Secretariat (Federal government)

Centre de recherche sur le développement territorial (CRDT)

Canada Research Chair in Rural Development

Hydro Québec, Concordia University, Université du Québec à Rimouski

Canadian Foundation for Rural Revitalisation (CRRF)

Dates of the Summer School

June 24 to July 7, 2012

(...)

Remarks

The language in Québec is French but the Summer School will be held in English. For some visits, translation will not be possible so a basic knowledge of French will be useful.



Social Capital: Networking for Stronger Rural Communities

A reflection on the *Politique Nationale de la Ruralité (2007-2014)*

Regional Development Group 1

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

Faculty Advisors: Bruno Jean, Kelly Vodden and Ray Bollman

Submitted July 11, 2012

International Comparative Rural Policy Studies Summer Institute, Québec 2012

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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 labor 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 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 Quebec, particularly the National Rural Policy, through several case studies. Specifically, the role that social capital plays in advancing regional development and regional development policy is explored. In Quebec, regional development has been a major government priority at all levels as federal responsibility has been decentralized to respond effectively to regional needs and to foster community involvement towards economic revitalization. The paper addresses the question: i) how social capital influence regional development. Before engaging into the question, this paper defines key concept; regional development, and social capital.

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 the 21st 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 focus on human and social capital, innovation and the spatial dynamics 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

Lyon (2000) described 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, Lyons, Ferguson, and Polanco, 2008, p. 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 make 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 credential, and reinforced identity and recognition. In doing so, Aldridge et al.,(2002) are of the view that social capital facilitate 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 as it may serve as a buffer against rural decline. The government of Quebec has recognized the importance of social capital in rural areas as evidenced by the creation of the National Rural Policy.

Why Does Social Capital Matter for Regional Development in Quebec?

The current structure of the National Rural Policy 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 National Rural Policy. 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 incentivises collaboration between 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 National Rural Policy, particularly through the use of the rural agents. Through the PNR, 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 National Rural Policy has already recognised 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 Quebec confirmed this notion. Based on her work in the implementation of the National Rural Policy, 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 also reflected upon the importance of local social capital in the success of the National Rural Policy. The agent expressed the fact that many of the volunteers he works with in his municipalities are volunteers, many of whom are unemployed. Their capacity to carry out projects with scale is limited. Meanwhile, the rural agent is not allowed to lead projects, making any National Rural Policy-funded work extremely dependent on social capital. He also reflected on linking social capital, describing how longstanding rifts between municipalities prevent them from collaborating, even when it is in their interest to do so.

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 National Rural Policy 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 Quebec 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 existing 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 effort 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 a forum for 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 proved 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; though there have been moves to drastically cut Extension services and allocated funds by the 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, though 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 level, the most successful counties in utilizing and maintaining their extension offices are those with greater levels of community bonding. The wide level of focus groups facilitated by Extension, for example, beef councils, encourage cooperation between 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 unique way for UQAR or any other Québec university to have a permanent presence beyond Rimouski and or the local MRC in which they operate, 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 support the local hospitality industry. Moreover, "in Québec *le patrimoine* is a term common in popular usage and central in national discourse" and 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 building 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 strategy 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 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 Program

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 to address 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 represented 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, facilitating knowledge transfer and resource-sharing among these groups.

Some key differences between Ireland's partnerships approach and the Québec National Rural Policy can be highlighted. These are summarised in Table 1.

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

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

First, as 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 National Rural Policy, where the MRCs, a level of regional government, 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 between levels of government: in Québec, their role in funding allocation forces the MRCs to communicate more with municipalities, which facilitates 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 National Rural Policy, 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 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 National Rural Policy 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 National Rural Policy, on the other hand, allocates more funding to communities that have been statistically designated as "devalued," 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 National Rural Policy 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 incentivised to work together as there is more funding available for joint projects. Keeping the funding at the MRC may thus be an important component of the Québec National Rural Policy. 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 National Rural Policy 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 National Rural Policy 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 between communities. We have found that the National Rural Policy 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 summarise below our recommendations and considerations for the Québec National Rural Policy in three main themes: education networks, connections to heritage identities and funding allocations. We also make some broader comments on linkages between communities.

Universities should have a presence in rural MRCs

The case study from the University of Missouri illustrated that Extension programs encourage education, individual empowerment, and inter-/intra-community involvement. A system such as this would provide a unique 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, and 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 rural policy currently lacks a level of support for linkages between 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.

Keep funding with the MRCs to facilitate linking between institutions and organisations

We think 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. We think that 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 between 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 National Rural Policy are important and should be maintained.

The focus of the National Rural Policy 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 is a fundamental component to the growth of local social capital. As such, we think that future versions of the National Rural Policy 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, as 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 National Rural Policy. Moreover, we note that there is no explicit recognition in the National Rural Policy 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. A 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 between 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 between 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 National Rural Policy 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. We think that a greater consideration for the links and flows between 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 between institutions, organisations and individuals are the key ingredient 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 National Rural Policy 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 Policy in Rural Quebec: Perspectives on Public Health, Population, Entrepreneurship, Immigration, Governance, and Budgeting

Regional Development Group 2:

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I. Introduction

Regional development can be seen as 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 Quebec, 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 Quebec. Rural areas, in particular, can benefit from regional level organization and activity because the consolidation of resources (e.g. effort, funding, land, labor, 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 Quebec. Treatment of those issues is followed by analysis of how regional governance in Quebec could enhance development prospects, as well as a more in-depth look at the budgeting of its National Rural Policy (PNR). These topics are not meant to form a comprehensive analysis of all the challenges to regional development in rural Quebec, but rather, represent the viewpoints and expertise of the paper's individual authors. Together, the sections below aim to provide perspective on the various, inter-tangled issues faced by rural communities, and to highlight potential improvements to the National Policy on Rurality (Politique National de la Ruralité, PNR).

II. Access to Healthcare

Healthy citizens and adequate access to healthcare services are vital to the sustainability of a rural economy and in encouraging 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 Quebec. 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 lack of adequate treatment options and inadequate access to care. Barriers to healthcare access include patient lack of transportation, long patient wait times for medical services, and a lack of rural healthcare providers (Roarke 2012). Since the citizens of rural Quebec face obstacles and challenges in accessing healthcare not seen in the urban and metropolitan areas of Quebec, 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 persons who live in very rural areas who do not have an automobile, or who cannot drive for various reasons, do not have the same access to healthcare opportunities as those residing in rural 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, Quebec has the potential to improve the health of those in very rural communities; and would provide an opportunity to 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 loss of personal time associated with waiting for healthcare services in rural Quebec. 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 Quebec, including oncology, cardiac care, gynecology, etc. (Esmail 2010).

Addressing these areas is critical because some patients could avoid accessing 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 Quebec.

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 Quebec 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 1308 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 Quebec and through-out Canada have increased during recent years however; there is still a shortage of available physicians in Quebec (Roarke 2012). Data also suggest that physician retention rates are also 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 practitioner's 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 for service as Community Emergency Medical Technicians could address some of the issues

associated with the shortage of health care providers while, offering future employment opportunities for those who successfully complete (EMT) training (HRSA 2006).

III. Population Decline

One cause of the challenges residents of rural Quebec face in accessing health care 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 Quebec'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, potentially, 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, who, in places like d'Esprit-Sainte, have repeatedly come together to preserve their towns, schools and social institutions. Most of Quebec's rural communities have persevered despite economic restructuring and attempted closure by the government, and the power of citizen mobilizations and their third sector organizations are major reasons that rural communities remain viable, and that Quebec's policy now specifically seeks to ensure the survival of rural 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 do exist of rural areas in Quebec that have remained vibrant due their ability to attract well-paying jobs. La Pocatiere 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 performing research in a number of industries, and diversifying the economy to weather potential job losses (Gendron, 2012). Similarly, the Gaspesie 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 Pocatiere, 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 Gaspesie will create enough long-term jobs to make a difference in regional development, and not every community can or should acquire a food processing plant like St. Damase. Such relative success stories, however, underline the way that rural areas can use community assets to promote diverse and resilient economies.

Policy Recommendations

The National Policy on Rurality (PNR) 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, as 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 of preventing the outmigration that robs rural communities of their capacity for action.

Another major drawback in the PNR'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 MRCs to plan for their own futures, the relatively small geographic scope means that funds are distributed for just portions of regions. This could be remedied by appropriating funds that adjacent MRCs could use for larger joint projects.

The lack of focus on getting rural areas to use complementary assets to promote regional development speaks to the PNR'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 Quebec 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.

Quebec is one of the territories in the world where there is more clarity linking entrepreneurship to regional development (OECD, 2010). Thus, rural Quebec displays higher rates of entrepreneurial activity than urban areas, and where 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 an important success story with lessons for other rural regions.

How do we explain the success of rural entrepreneurship in Quebec? 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 the 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. For example, the governmental and non-governmental institutions that stand out in recent years for support of entrepreneurial activity in Quebec include the following: 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 other institutions.

On the other hand, there are still major challenges ahead in Quebec concerning entrepreneurship, socio-economic development and the sustainable futures of its territories. A main challenge is the renewal of the entrepreneurial population, because the entrepreneurs have aged in rural Quebec. For small towns and areas with low population density, there is a particular 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 the human capital and innovative projects in the rural territories even more crucial in coming years.

Policy Recommendations

Two recommendations draw 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 in rural youths (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 an essential part of 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 being 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 plan, implementation, and providing facilities for them to access networks of contacts and venture capital. Perhaps most important, however, are adult mentors to teach, help achieve business objectives, and for mentors to serve as role models to encourage young individuals to be entrepreneurs (Schroeder et al., 2010).

Sur cette question de l'entreprenariat, le Groupe de travail fait deux recommandations. Premièrement, la mise en place de politiques et d'activités spécifiques à propos de l'entreprenariat des jeunes ruraux et qui misent sur leur engagement dans la communauté. Ces dernières années, plusieurs pays ont tenté de promouvoir l'entreprenariat jeunesse avec des politiques génériques. Cette approche n'a pas bien fonctionné. Les études démontrent qu'il faut des politiques et des programmes spécialement construits pour promouvoir l'entreprenariat des jeunes, et particulièrement des jeunes en milieu rural. Il faudrait alors créer une stratégie spécifique pour les jeunes des milieux ruraux misant sur trois points fondamentaux : 1) l'engagement; 2) les équipements; 3) l'accompagnement et le support.

The second recommendation is to foster more and better economic relationships between the business clusters of the urban centers of the province and rural areas of Quebec. For

instance, Montreal and Rimouski 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 trends in developed countries, and particularly in Canada. Most of immigrants to Canada end up in major cities, and Carter, Morrish, and Amoyaw (2008) note that four provinces (Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta) are the destination of approximately 95% of new arrivals, with Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal attracting over 75% of these arrivals. This means that immigration, which is an 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, especially in rural areas and small towns, are driven by three goals:

1. A desire to improve the economic outcomes of entering immigrants, given the deterioration since the 1980s,
2. An attempt to better respond to short-term regional labour market shortages often associated with commodity booms, and
3. 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 Quebec live in the Greater Montreal area. This has led to disproportionate distribution of economic growth. MICC are working in partnership with CRÉs, in respect to government guidelines in 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 Quebec, the president of Solidarité Rurale du Québec in 2005 emphasized the importance of building up regional immigration regionalization policies on the will of the

community (Allen and Troestler, 2007). Regionalization of immigration in Quebec is one of the five priorities of the Quebec 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 Quebec, Manitoba has an exceptionally good program in place to attract immigrants into rural communities. The Provincial Nominee Program has led to the increase of migrants in rural areas and small towns, with a particular increase in areas such as Brandon, Steinbach, Morden, 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, meaning 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 they choose to settle in. 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 between 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 in creation of an inclusive society.

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 these 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 prospect that a large area can benefit from 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 . Engagement and sustainability 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 some residents. Some communities are suffering stagnation or decline (in terms of development) because communication and coordination among development 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 chart) 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 relationship between, the MRC and local communities are critical for regional development success.

Communication and Coordination

Based on conversations with residents in local communities in Eastern Quebec, 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 for between the higher levels of government and local communities. As the critical connection for both, the MRC can serve as a common, 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, are promoting 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 real potential to be community and regional leaders.
- Promote ‘inspired identity’ among constituencies of Quebec’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 Quebec 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 Quebec National Rural Policy

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

Who Receives Funding

Each year, there is a budget dedicated exclusively to the PNR. 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 PNR. 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 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 any other 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:

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

Maintain a balance between the quality of live, framework of live, environment and economic activities (Pacte Rurale 2007). Every rural MRC with 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, as 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 all the amount of money has been expended and if it has been expended in the supposed projects. The Rural Pact states that a characteristic that to be achieved is a process of accountability to government and to the people, there is no evidence of evaluation on these criteria.

Evaluation and Recommendations

PNR 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 of the whether the project succeeded in meeting the goals and advancing the priorities of the PNR.

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 further 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 Quebec'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, meanwhile, 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 devitalized 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 welcoming communities needed to attract and retain immigrants. Because there is little evidence as to 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 between various levels of government, the private sector, community organizations, and, perhaps most importantly, other communities and MRCs. Quebec'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

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I. Inequality observed through identity foster by language and migration trends in Quebec

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 e.t.c. It has always been with us, it is widening and contracting and no one has been able to solve it.

In this paper we will be looking into fighting inequality as a way to ensure strong sustainable future (Neumayer, 2011) in rural areas of Québec. Equality in society is a necessary factor for sustainable development and also sustainable development is needed to ensure equality for the present generation and the future yet unborn. From these points of view barriers to equality will be identified and how to eliminate or remove them.

The research will be divided into certain issues that have been identified. First classified into behavior (Québec's culture and background of social surroundings) and services and infrastructures (lack of them in certain rural areas of Québec) we will be analyzing Identity, immigration, demography, labour market, housing, health and education.

All the areas will be observed from both the rural-urban perspective and possible comparisons will be made where applicable.

Identity and Immigration:

Québec's history as a French origin makes it to be a very different and unique province in Canada. Getting into the province for the first time, the culture that is transmitted from its surroundings is much greater than expected. Car's license plates remind the newcomer that they 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 makes Québec government wants to protect their language and culture at all cost. A big part of the threat is the surrounding area that is predominantly English; this is seen as a big threat.

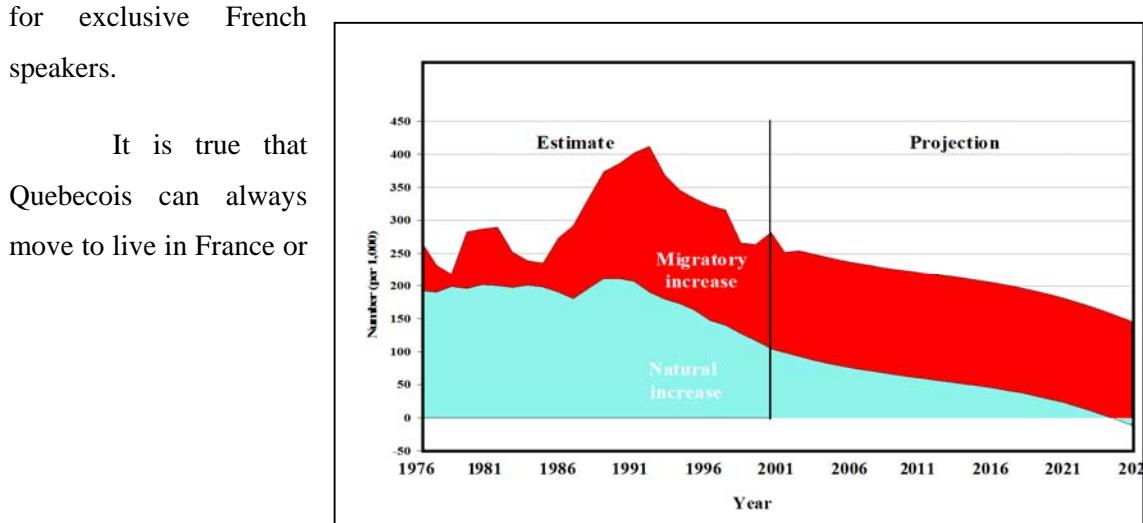
Most Canadians speaks English so Québec's governments have had to protect the language with more and more laws. We could easily compare this situation to Catalonia, in Spain, which has had to fight for the rights of Catalan as the main language of the region (always keeping in mind that French is a strong language, spoken in several countries, not like Catalan).

Needs of immigration:

These French language protection policies have led rural population in Québec to having little or no knowledge of English. This has led to two different inequalities in rural Québec. On one end we find a way on which the rural population has enough barriers not to have an easy exit to live elsewhere in the country.

They cannot even move to live to Montreal as the city is bilingual and there is little room for exclusive French speakers.

It is true that Quebecois can always move to live in France or

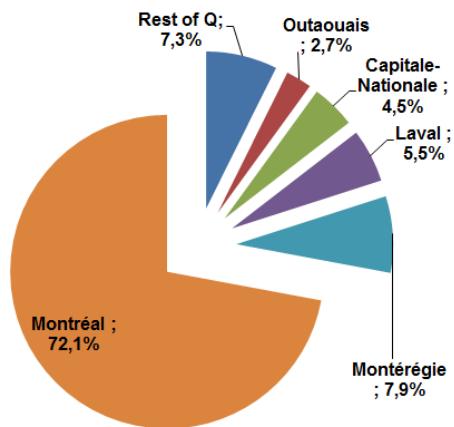


other francophone countries, but leaving one's country is much harder than just migrating within it.

The second inequality is related to migration movement in Canada. It is well documented that since the end of the past century and the beginning of this one, most developed country have not had the ability to keep up their population growth without immigration. This world trend is easily observable in Québec (graph. 2) and Canada (graph. 1), where the population growth is more and more dependent on migration while the natural increase reduces.

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, observing internal national migration, Québec has a negative net migration index with the rest of the country making it even more necessary to promote international immigration to the territory.

Québec has a very good program to attract new immigration, but having part of the country, especially the rural areas, monolingual in French, some of these new migrants will chose to move to other areas of the country before even settling. English is seen as the common international trade language and has been chosen by many to be their international language.



This hypothesis can be backed up with statistical data (graph. 3) relating to the distribution of migration in Québec. From the total migration in the region, we can clearly distinguish a big difference between rural (10 % migration) and urban (90 % migration) in which we include Montréal and its surroundings (Montérégie and Laval) and Québec City. This huge difference has to be reduced if Québec wants to keep most of the population in rural areas. The promotion of migration outside the city is important to ensure the sustainability of those areas.

But if we go further in the analysis it is also easily observed that the metropolitan area of Québec represents 85.5% of the total migration in Québec, while another urban area 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.

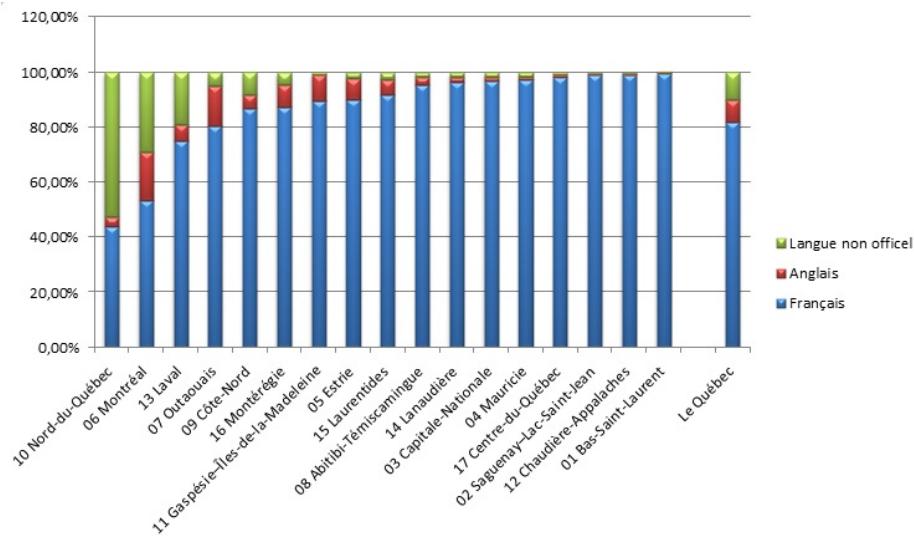
Graph 3: Immigrant distribution in Québec /
Source: "Banque de données des statistiques officielles sur le Québec" Immigration 2007-11

In graph 4 we can observe areas in relation to the mother tongue of its inhabitants. There is a clear relationship between the areas with more English speakers and migratory flows.

Of course this relationship is not unique and doesn't make it the only reason

why immigrants choose to go near those areas over others. The fact that most of them try to get closer to other immigrants from their home country when arriving to a new environment or that there are more job opportunities in the urban area might be other reasons why it is harder for them to move to rural parts of Canada.

From another perspective, and checking the countries of origin of immigrants in Canada and Québec (fig. 1), we can easily observe a trend. While in Québec most of the immigration comes from francophone countries which are attracted to a certain region that welcomes them with their language, the rest of Canada has less specific origins.



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%

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

Possible Policy suggestion

Concluding the immigration and identity issues in Québec, It should be suggested that rural Québec open up to the use of English language as a second language as it is used in Montreal such that migrant can be comfortable in staying there while learning the major language French, instead of running away to other parts of the country. This will create new opportunities for youngsters from the rural areas since it will allow them to get education and training in other countries or regions of Canada since they will be bilingual and they can go back to their homeland with a wider view which might help regional development.

At the same time it is very important that this openness comes accompanied with the region keeping its culture. This must be ensured through education and promoting newcomers to

integrate in the local society. Traditions kept in small villages are what gives them their unique personality and is the richest source of knowledge to be kept by society.

II. Compared to Urban Area: Inequality in Rural Demography, Labour market and the First Nation

Understanding inequality

Inequality could be defined as a stage of imbalance; it means a certain condition where a part of a system is in a better or worse condition than the other part; it shows how resources are distributed across the whole spectrum of a society (www.eapn.eu). Although; the subject of inequality is very wide, this essay will be exploring the concept of inequality in demography, labour market and the first nation community.

Demography

It is generally observed that rural Canada and also rural Quebec has been losing population to the urban cities and this explains the trend of age disparity in the urban and rural region (www.statcan.gc.ca 2006). There is aging population in rural area than urban area; couple with this fact urban centre tends to attract new immigrant population than rural and small towns ([stat canada](http://www.statcan.gc.ca) 2006).

This phenomenon creates a gap in the sustainability of the small town and rural area, especially in succession of rural jobs and entrepreneurs (Ryan, 2008). For example the city of Montreal with land area of 4,258.31 km² has a population of 3,908,700 people while the remaining Quebec with land area 1,365,128 km² have a population of 3,994,301 people (Stat Canada Census 2011) this disparity in demographic spread has affected the growth of small town and rural area.

Although, rural Quebec tends to have a very positive population growth compare to other province in Canada, but most of the growth are in places with proximity to larger urban centre (Bollman, 2012), rural places in Quebec like Esprit Saint are having a declining population.

Another positive example for rural population drive 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 have included in their Provincial Nominee Program that

all new immigrant must be ready to settle in a place outside Winnipeg, this has pushed populations into places like Altona, Steinbach and Brandon and this has created big 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 continue to influence attraction of immigrant into small town and rural area and this eventually increases the demography. Manitoba have some private sector company opening up operations in the small town and rural area, one of such example is Maple Leaf Foods, an agricultural value adding company employing people from abroad. The coming together of such diverse population has seen the growth of ethnocultural groups and language support services which have eventually increase the diversity and demography in Brandon and Steinbach (Bucklaschuk & Sormova 2009).

Labour market

Disparities in working conditions are very synonymous with seasonal and part time jobs (Block & Edward 2011). Also noted by Harleen Kaur is that “Poor work conditions in Quebec threaten migrants - As per the information revealed by Quebec commission for workplace health and safety, migrant farm workers in this Canadian province are exposed to pesticides and heat” (Harleen kaur 2011). She further said labour market in Quebec should endeavour to pay the same wage for their entire worker regard-less of status of their citizenship; this, she said could further enhanced the relationship between seasonal workers and their employers by creating enabling opportunity for the seasonal labour to enjoy a better working condition.

First Nation

The statutory rights of first nation in Canada; has a nation within a nation has been very confusing; they have their own territorial area known as reserve with their own laws and policing (www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com).

It is a cause for concern since many publication has affirmed that the reserves are in the worst condition one can ever imagine, most of it with no functional facility and services like water, housing and electricity. Laws are broken at will without justice been served on the perpetrator (Robson, 2008; Salvas, 2011), this has called into focus the issue of injustice been propagated by first nation (India) on first nation (India) and the issue of injustice from the wider Canadian society through social exclusion from the larger society.

The fact that the different province, Quebec inclusive has the reserve within their land area should encourage the government of such province to create a provision to attract some of the first nation to the wider society by creating incentives to pull them out of the reserve in order to encourage them to be better integrated in to the wider society. Especially, since they tend to have a growing population that could benefit the shortage in labour that is normally experienced by other part of rural Quebec.

Possible Policy Suggestions

Legislation to redirect migrant population: The province should create legislation to redirect new migrant into rural area, just as it is done in Manitoba this will create a steady flow of people to rural area and threshold population needed for development activities will be available and this will attract both public and private investment into rural area.

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 benefit, both in rural and urban area. This would create trust among employees and employers alike and build on a steady flow of labour into the rural area since they will earn equal benefit regardless of location.

Encourage private sector to set up companies in rural area: Private sector/entrepreneur should be encourage to move to rural location especially by adding value to vast amount of agricultural produce in rural places in Quebec through tax rebate or other kinds of incentive.

Adhering with fair-trade policy to create leverage with pricing: Source of imported goods should be clarified and the environment of production should be established, because a lot of them are cheap because of undue advantaged fostered by illegal workers and unfair treatment of workers in those places.

Provide incentive to attract willing First Nation community to rural Quebec instead of living in remote areas: Enabling environment should be provided within the rural policy to look out specifically for the first nation population to come out and participate in the main stream activity; 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 effect on the traditional ‘trickle down effect’ or ‘housing ladder’; cyclic models that demonstrate the different levels of housing that different populations and socio-economic classes have access to (www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com).

There are many reasons as to why the housing ladder’s cyclic and constant motion can be interrupted. As the baby boomer 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, ‘McMansion’-type homes that are neither affordable nor modest if they want to be homeowners. As this cyclic system continues to rapidly get ‘backed up’, more and more people are unable to find houses that are affordable to them as 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 as that employment runs out or leaves the selected rural area, the employees’ leave and the foundation of the local economy crumbles. While there still needs to be a ‘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 on the housing ladder.

In Quebec, one of the general concerns regarding the sustainability of rural areas is that more and more people are moving into the larger cities which 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. In both the United States and Canada, as discussed, there is 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).

Comparing Housing Programs in Canada and the United States (Centre County, Pennsylvania)

As access to safe, affordable housing is becoming a greater challenge for many people, both the public and the 3rd sector have demonstrated the ability to try and alleviate some of these concerns as the private sector continues to excuse the need for small, single family homes and apartment complexes. This also, in some ways, is able to address the issues of housing inequality within rural areas. In both Canada and the United States there have been programs developed at the public and 3rd sector levels to try and resolve some of the many housing concerns.

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

1. 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 electric on their own depending on their lease.
2. The Shelter Allowance Program - provides assistance up to \$80 per month for people aged 54 years or older to help offset the costs of housing.

3. The Emergency Repair Program - designed to help people living in rural areas make urgent repairs on their home that would, if not corrected, would present a serious threat to their health and safety(www.habitation.gouv.ca).

In the United States, with expert knowledge of Pennsylvania programs and policy, the following exists:

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

An example of a 3rd sector - developed and administered program 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 market continue to fluctuate it is difficult to know when some of these housing inequalities will be resolved. The suggestion from this factual information is two-fold relating to the housing ladder. First, there either needs to be a construction of additional apartment rentals or the conversion of unoccupied unites 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 not only to the productivity of the housing market but to 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 requires the administration of the private, non-profit but needs energetic and highly talented community volunteers who are willing and able to make home repairs. Homeowners who are looking to sell their home but maybe be unable to make repairs to sell the house (because they either cannot afford it, are disabled or elderly) can request for 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 an example of the many programs that are available in the United States and could be available in Quebec, Canada the point to be made is 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.

VI. 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 Sante et Services Sociaux. As the Politique nationale de la ruralité exists today, it provides funds for innovation that can be used for projects related to health but it in no way focuses 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 and 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 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 problems still 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, in fact, 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 dollars 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 and the college of physicians does not currently support Sante San Fil program, for example, because it

does not allow for physical examination of the patient (Montreal 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 markets would take a significant investment of time, money, and effort but the long-term benefits could make it worthwhile. Telehealth has been implemented in Quebec 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 Quebec 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 labor market, develop skills and knowledge, and climb the socioeconomic ladder. Education fosters innovation and greater understanding among people. Common 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 Vaillantand John Dryer. However, scholars have documented the ways education can have detrimental effects on rural places (Corbett 2007, Carr and Kefalas 2009). Michael 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 in order 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' Pocatiere shows that there is potential for integrating the knowledge economy in rural areas through cooperation between 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, example are the land grant universities located in all 50 states and 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 a key cite 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 between people and 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 labor force than are men and urban women (Curto and Rothwell, 2003). As Yancy pointed out in

his presentation, there are “three main targets for closing labour-market mismatches in the transition towards a knowledge-driven economy are:

- i. *Better integrate young people in the regional economy;*
- ii. *Attract talent from outside; and*
- iii. *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 labor 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 Québec National Policy on Rurality focuses on maintaining village schools in rural areas as 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 Québec National Policy on Rurality could be generalized as a path toward cooperation between 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 education access, resources, and behaviors are 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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FOOD GROUP Report

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 and their activities aren't fully integrated into Quebec's Rural Policy. Listed are opportunities to be considered:

General:

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

Primary Production:

1) A restructuring of succession procedures would decrease barriers for multi-generation family farms. To streamline succession planning between advisers, bank and government would allow for producers to pass down 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 and remain in niche markets. 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's 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.

A) 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.

B) In order to generate a local supply, the support and expansion of local activities can be pursued such 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 grown on the property may be allowed to do so if they meet the criteria of contributing to the local food supply and economy and is sustainable.
- 8) Expand on 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 rurality.

Value-Added Agriculture – Ryan Deska

“Adding value” to primary/ commoditized agricultural 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 Quebec’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 state (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 - Rural Development - currently provides \$14 million towards to help agricultural producers enter into value-added processing and/or marketing activities (USDA, 2012). At a more local level, 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 Quebec takes different forms, such as the provision of processing facilities to 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 incentivize value-added food and agriculture, it has been acknowledged as one important component. The 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 localized spinoff effects; however, the economic impacts of an industry/sector on a rural community are very much dependent on the location and ownership structure of a business as 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 in 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 Quebec, however, we still did see 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 Damasse'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, and Saint Damasse 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 Pocatiere, an innovative milieu developed as a result of an investment in education, starting originally through the agricultural and eventually evolving into a high technology/manufacturing region due largely to the success of Bombardier.

Looking at these two models, we see the importance of a community's evolving history in the development of a strong, resilient local economy. The question to be asked is whether or not policy can intervene to 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 enable local entrepreneurs who want to create something new. This also raises the question of whether or not the PNR 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. Respective 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 as 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 the rural policy is a better-adapted agri-land protection policy as it is currently too weak in urban/metro regions and too strict in rural regions (Vaillant, 2012). A meeting taken on 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 as his facility would not be using agricultural products from on the farm. One strategic goal of the Politique Nationale de la Ruralité 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 the rural policy has not fulfilled its goal, however not everyone can be adequately represented by a singular policy.

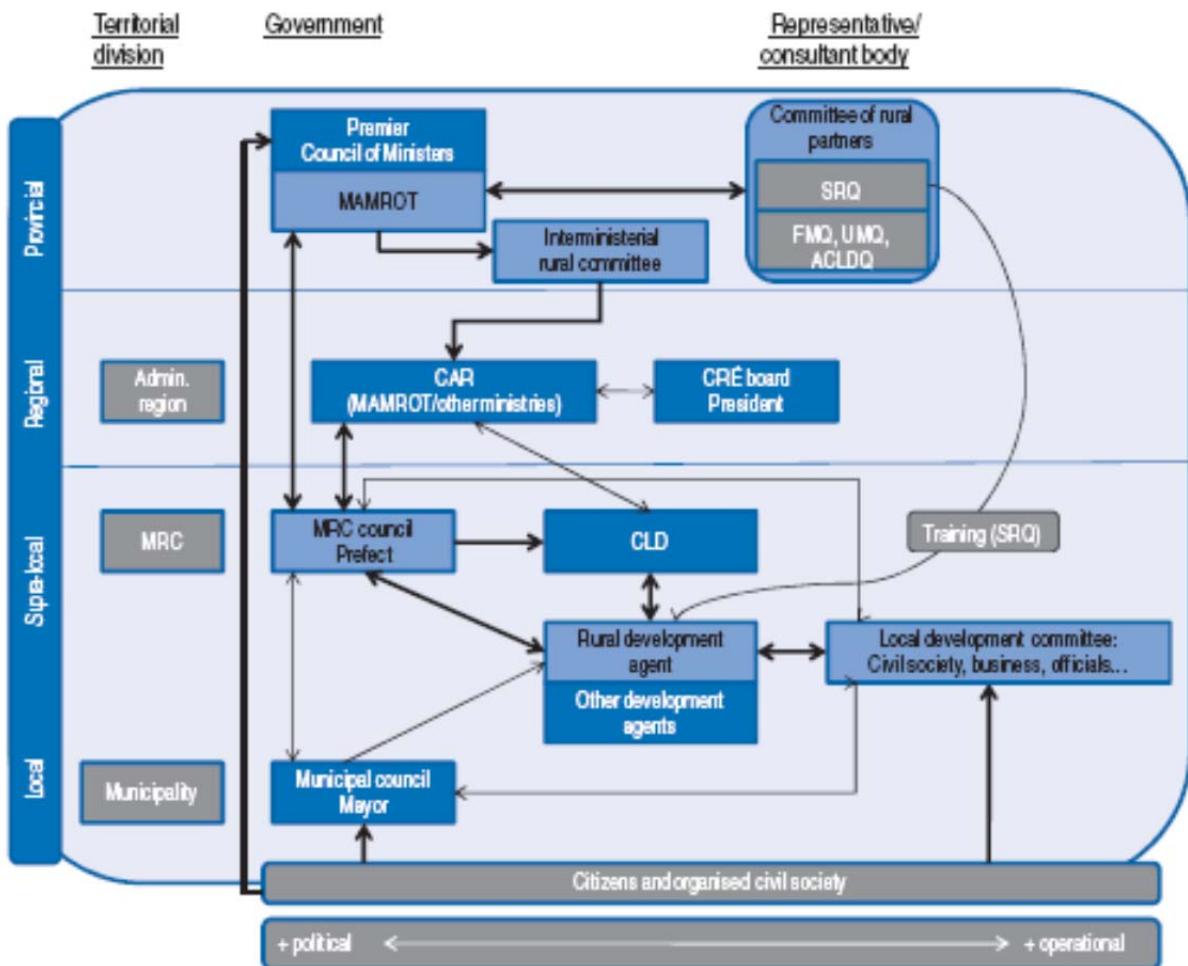
Challenges for Policy

Not all the communities in rural Quebec have equal opportunity to a specific model of 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 Quebec finances rural development agents. Their role and responsibilities are to act as point of contact for communities or individuals for help initiating rural development programmes and integrating policy with other measures. Rural development agents promote and support local communities to develop rural pact projects; they facilitate knowledge transfer and exchange as well as providing a monitoring service of the rural pacts projects (OECD 2010).

Figure 1. Governmental structures and organisations in Quebec province.



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

Figure 1 illustrates the government structures and organisations, which interact with the rural agents. Whilst 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 Rural Policy of Québec. 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.

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 International Comparative Rural Policy School (ICRPS) a variety of organisations, bodies 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 Montreal; 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 their 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 smokery 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, UK, the Welsh Assembly Government fund 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 schemes⁵. 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 capitalised on.

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 pact 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 projects that may be very successful in developing rural communities may fail due to the lack of management skills. As rural agents are not allowed to intervene in the running 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 on community confidence as initiatives would be less likely to fail and may encourage further growth/development ideas.

Collaboration and linkages with other sectors also seemed an area which was lacking. General discussion highlighted cultural differences or family conflicts between municipalities were inhibiting effective collaboration. However, communities could benefit from pooling resources together across municipalities. Increasing awareness of local food production and combining skills within the agri-food sector could offer more opportunities on which to grow. Whilst overcoming regional differences is not within the remit 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 scheme⁶ is a scheme part funded by Scottish Government and part funded by private organisations. It is primarily used to encourage

⁵ Care Farming Scotland – <http://www.carefarmingscotland.org.uk/about-us>

⁶ SAC's Monitor Farm Scheme for Beef and Sheep
<http://www.sac.ac.uk/consulting/services/i-r/livestock/beefandsheep/monitorfarms/>

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 decided 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.

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

The Quebec 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 the ties to be promoted between 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, heritage and culture, and so on.

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:

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 the 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, 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 that focuses 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 or any area where training is needed. Additionally, they have an equally integrated program for youth, through 4-H clubs. These are afterschool 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 and 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 and is a big social and educational event that is also used to sell local products or livestock that was raised 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 tract 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 and incorporate classroom instruction, work experience and involvement in student organizations.

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

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Ryan Hayhurst (section 3)

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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, 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 uniformed 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 National Policy on Rurality adopted in 2007 is due for renewal and the Ministère des Affaires municipales, des Régions et des Territoires (MAMROT) published in 2011 a report produced by a working group on renewable energies as development opportunities for rural areas.

Since rural and energy policies refer to common goals and objectives, and both are due to be renewed 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 National Policy on Rurality 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 in a top-down approach, enabling us to look into the notions 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 (section 1)

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 Energy strategy promotes large-scale hydroelectric development and energy efficiency and its orientations are mainly economic through exportation of surplus energy capacity. It also wishes 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 Gaspésie and Îles-de-la-Madeleine region and Matane MRC⁷ 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), 4) reserve 50 MW and smaller projects to be developed by and for local communities (MRNF, 2006: 18).

The NPR on its side identifies the potential to produce new energy sources in rural areas as an avenue of importance in the next years (MAMROT, 2006: 35). It wishes to strengthen a bottom-up approach to empower rural communities while encouraging accountability and public participation. Collective benefits and wealth from development that “occurs in the local community without outside intervention” (Mamrot, 2006: 26), as the emergence of local commitment and common solutions rallying citizens (Mamrot, 2006: 27) are at the center of the rural pacts that each community might adopt after consultation of the population.

The general purpose of the policy is to ensure the development of rural communities and the dynamic occupation of the territory by relying on their diversity and specific traits and the ability of rural areas to take the initiative.

The policy adopts the RCM as the core territory from the standpoint of intervention, belonging and decision-making. (Mamrot, 2006: 8)

It is clearly stated that the government encourages, in both the NPR and other governmental 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).

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 the group, published in 2011, highlights that local communities need to define their energetic 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 subdued to economic external conditions, stating that communities must therefore take initiatives in the energy sector instead of being passive (Mamrot, 2011: 25). The group recommends four different types of actions to improve the situation (Mamrot, 2011: 51): 1) to inform citizens and local actors on the local and regional potential on energy production for 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 on research and development, expertise center and supporting start-up projects, 3) give access to local energetic resources mainly by improving the actual national policies and bylaws and insuring access to local resources on crown-owned land and 4) give access to markets by adjusting regulation, tariffs, programs and help measures to improve the profitability of community-based projects.

⁷ The government adopted a series of decrees to favour a 60% Québec content in all investments in the wind sector, maximizing economic benefits in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine region and the Matane regional county municipality.

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, for example, 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 wishes to encourage regional energy development, the conditions in which this can be 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 a lot of power in 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 opposing 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 underlines the fact that large-scale production and exportation markets are not accessible for rural communities. Even though the RNP, 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 just to be part of such projects are limited by a lack of financial and human resources. Those small, often devitalized communities lack the tools, resources and expertise to develop energy generation projects, especially under the large-scale deployment model prioritised 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 programs tend to quickly appear and disappear, causing the proposals to come short of funds in the midst of a lengthy application process. They 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 law and strategy was adopted in April 2012 to ensure the occupancy and vitality of territories (OVT), ensuring communities' ability for action by emphasizing efforts on decentralization and coherent and swift governmental action and interventions in ministries and agencies. The renewal of the two policies as the new Law provide interesting opportunities to bridge the gap between the top-down and bottom-up approaches and the exogenous/endogenous development orientations. The law creates a *Governmental round table on territorial affairs* is one of those ventures since assistant deputy minister sit together to promote concerted actions and ensure the coherence of their actions in regards to the OVT. The following case studies and argumentations explore some of the different venues that could or shouldn't be undertaken.

Hydroelectricity and the Bonneville Power Administration (section 2)

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 and any amount produced in excess of Quebec's energy needs will be exported, therefore providing 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. Quebec 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, which 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 Quebec and the Pacific Northwestern United States and then discussing the impacts of hydro development in both areas.

In Quebec, the state-run organization Hydro-Quebec (HQ) is charged with management of electrical production, transport and distribution of energy in the province⁸ with 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 Quebecois energy policy towards hydroelectric development. The 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 4000 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 (MNRF, 2006). HQ has a policy and legal requirement to provide energy to all residents and agricultural users of Quebec at a single price regardless of geographic location, which is currently \$0.0532/kwh for the first 30 kwh a day (<http://www.hydroquebec.com/residential/tarif-residentiel.html>). This is the lowest price throughout Canada and most of the world. Pricing for business use are also very low, with the largest industries receiving a preferential rate of \$0.0295/kwh (<http://www.hydroquebec.com/residential/tarif-affaires.html>).

In the Pacific Northwestern United States, the BPA was created in order to manage the 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

⁸ Hydro-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.

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 Quebec's experience and the PNW experience. Cheap electricity is crucial to many industrial activities in Quebec, including aluminum smelting, forestry and processing of goods, which are key contributors to Quebec'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/AI_Econ_Study.pdf, <http://www.nwcouncil.org/news/2006/08/DSIreport.pdf>). Additionally, it 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 the rural area.

In addition, the extremely low price provides 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 Quebec's rates). These rents, if handled properly, could function as a subsidy that keeps energy prices down domestically in Quebec. Additionally, 75% of HQ's profits are returned to the Quebec 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, which 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 Quebec 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, STATS). 41 of Quebec’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 highlights connections between the experiences of both Quebec and the Pacific Northwestern U.S. with large-scale development focused around hydroelectric power. It noted the externalities associated with its development from the rural perspective. The energy policy of Quebec 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 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 (section 3)

At present, the province of Quebec is not a major player in the development 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 Quebec 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 Quebec 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 Quebec. 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.

Quebec and the Western Climate Initiative (WCI)

In December of 2011 Quebec enacted legislation that formally commits the province to participating in the California-led WCI, confirming what had been expected ever since Quebec joined the protocol in 2008. Quebec 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. Herein the focus will be on offset market protocols and the opportunity for rural communities to participate therein. In doing so, a brief comparative analysis of Quebec's proposed protocols and those of Alberta will be undertaken.

Quebec will phase in the cap regulation starting in May 2012 and starting on January 1, 2013 when 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, p. 1)

2012, Vol. 144, No. 23A).

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 in 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 Quebec, at this time there is no specific policy in place it would appear 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 and as such practicing farmers became accredited as offset vendors (Karbone, 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 Quebec markets. A higher likelihood would see the Alberta system expand into Saskatchewan and Manitoba where political and agricultural conditions are more congruent.

In Quebec, 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 of 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 Quebec 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 Quebec

On the other side of the climate change equation, recent developments suggest that Quebec is poised to begin exploitation of shale gas deposits in the regions agriculturally rich south west 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 Quebec 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 equally 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 Quebec, 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, as the April 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico is still fresh in the minds of almost everyone. A breakdown of the costs associated with British Petroleum'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, and debate about alternatives in light of climate change and the full cost accounting of such developments plays out, is also beyond the scope of this paper. Herein the question is about how this resource could affect development in the Gulf, one of Quebec'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 clearly 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, Quebec continues to study the potential for shale gas extraction in the Bas St. Laurent region where 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 the 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 Quebec 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 Quebec's Bas St. Laurent, the Province's richest agricultural region which happens to overlay the shale gas deposits. However, the gas play 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 Quebec'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 valorizes and prioritizes resource development, Quebecers have shown in the past that local interests aren't necessarily congruent with national priorities. In this instance, Quebecers must demand a voice in the consultations that will affect their livelihoods for generations to come.

On the flip side of this carbon equation, carbon offset markets might be the sleeping giant in terms of rural transformation and may in fact represent a much stronger play in terms of 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 just push more carbon into the atmosphere, a policy turn towards the promotion of well-being and sustainable livelihoods in rural Quebec 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, as Quebec's carbon market will ultimately be tied into regional and global markets which will 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 (section 4)

The implementation of renewable energy projects, particularly wind developments, in rural communities in Quebec 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 as well as allowing for the community to participate and ensuring that residents are not negatively affected by renewable energy projects. Correspondingly, renewable energy is important for the sustainability of clean energy supply in Quebec and 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 Quebec with approvals necessary at both the provincial and local government levels.⁹ As seen earlier, the initiation and implementation of projects can be described as *top-down* with Hydro Quebec 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 interest 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 and in order to do so renewable energy sources are a primary means in order to makeup the shortfall between the current supply provided by these plants and future demands

⁹ If projects refer to interprovincial or international exportation and trade, then Federal authorizations will also be required.

(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)".¹⁰

However, Ontario has experienced considerable opposition to wind development from communities being reflected in municipalities declining 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 conflicted 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" (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 of 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 as a case of rural areas being forced to accept negative externalities for the benefit of urban electricity markets.

In conclusion, Quebec must consider a balance between top-down and bottom-up decision 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 Quebec 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 (Section 5)

In review of Quebec's energy policies, there is a disparate and even philosophical gap of how energy should be produced, distributed, and managed. The NPR has a policy towards bottom-up

¹⁰ Ontario currently has 34,079 MW of installed generation (IESO, 2012).

support and ownership, and MRNF policy is geared towards a top-down approach. Meanwhile, the province, and even federal government, is pushing for policies of sustainability, especially at the local level. These policies also mention the need for efficiency, conservation, and renewables. However, for rural Quebec, 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 Quebecois receives is deemed cheap, clean, and well organized by Hydro-Quebec. 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 in 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 Quebec can attain ownership of its energy needs, which is no small task. Ownership is an important factor when considering energy policies because they often have a major affect on the residents where production occurs (Warren & McFadyen, 2010). There are many potential benefits for rural communities, if ownership is properly accomplished, to invest and diversify their energy needs. 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 Green House Gas emissions and waste), become more self-reliant (i.e. sustainable), and capture rents and profits for the locality. Also, the process of attaining ownership fits well within Quebec'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, especially for renewables (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 (i.e. by rent-seeking companies). But community benefits and compensation are sometimes seen as "bribes", perceived negatively and often insufficient to promote local ownership (Atiken, 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) is to continue (supply side), 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 of how energy is attained and used, what other resources are available for energy production, and measures of how conservation and efficiency could occur. While not detailing specifically how these communities collected energy use and available resources, they did mention communities receiving technical expertise from outside sources (Denis & Parker 2010). A publication by Canada's Rural Partnership: Rural Team Quebec 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). Also, 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 CEP's is important, social acceptance and the desire to carry the plans out is another case in and of itself. In reference to energy management and planning for local communities, the literature on community ownership of energy production finds 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 in 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" between 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).

When it comes to the procedural course of action, the communities' leaders cannot take a top-down approach when communicating plans to the rest of the citizenry. In other words, the way information is filtered should not be communicated as merely "informing" the community of the plans. For example, the project should not be first introduced as this is how it will be. Instead, the leaders should play the role of "consulting" the public for its 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 told (Gross 2007).

As noted by an OECD report on rural policy in Quebec, modulation—the ability for local communities to collaborate policies together rather than individually—has not occurred (OECD: Rural Policy Reviews: Quebec, Canada). A possible benefit of organizing a community energy plan at the MRC level could be a forced collaborative effort to address energy sustainability from the perspectives of planning in relation to efficiency, conservation, and new production in the form of renewables. Linking the communities will have the benefit of linking their individual needs into a consorted plan. The process may have the ability to create a modulation around community engagement. An interesting study could be done to track engagement around sustainable action plans such as the one that Victoriaville has created and 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 undertake a consultation to concretize a territorial energy strategy is another option (Municipalité, 2011). This consultation is the final process of an initiative which started after the local refusal of a HQ wind plant implementation project. This process has so far included an independent commission on wind development, which concluded 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 which commented on the opportunity to become a model in remote renewable energy production (CRÉGÎM/CRNT, 2010). This particular plan pointed to the capital need to obtain decisional power and regional economic fallouts.

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 of current policy frameworks. While these considerations about social acceptability and adding technical and legal expertise to the process and 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 Quebec is complicated by a highly centralized top-down oriented energy policy run by a public enterprise, Hydro-Quebec, 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-Quebec, 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-Quebec. 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 Quebec. When taking a comparative look at Bonneville Power Administration and Hydro-Quebec, it is evidenced that a specific wildlife and environmental act¹¹ has led to increased regulation and possible reduction in negative externalities faced by rural areas. Similar legislation and policy in Quebec, with added protection for rural communities from the negative externalities caused by hydro-damming, could be an interesting consideration for Quebec. 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. Also, 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 top-down approach, Quebec 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.

¹¹ 1973 Endangered Species Act (ESA) and 1977 Clean Water Act (CWA)

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NATURAL ENVIRONMENT REPORT

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Wind – rural development and the natural environment

Wind farming in Quebec

Québec is mainly relying on hydropower as a source of energy, but has recently included wind power in its Provincial energy strategy. The objective is mainly energy self-sufficiency, but it is also to diversify the economy of a rural region heavily dependent upon extraction of natural resources. Québec has an installed capacity of wind farms of 1057 MW at 12 wind farms. Another 1592 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 in 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 of 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 also can be seen as noisy, 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 oppositions against wind farms' 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 is 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 the locals.

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 Quebec, being a state owned company, was the first to take wind power into its energy strategy in 2001. Elements in Hydro Quebec's strategy were the following:

- (i) Big wind farms (60-100 wind mills) in order to be competitive and enjoy economies of scale
- (ii) Set up the farms within a certain geographical region to create a wind cluster and attract foreign manufacturers of wind turbines
- (iii) A demand that 60 % should be of local content

The presence of several major wind farms within a delimited territory should 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 level and at the MRC level.

Quebec's provincial government, and the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Fauna elaborated an energy strategy, launched in 2006 for the period 2006-2015, where wind energy is seen as one of the priorities (Gouvernement de Quebec, 2006). The objectives of the strategy are to secure supply of energy and to promote economic growth and to make Quebec a leader in sustainable development. However, the strategy also focuses on local ownership by giving more space 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 by 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 lead to a "voluntary contribution" of 2500 \$ per MW, and the wind farms receive on average 100,000 \$ per year (Fortin and Fournis, 2012). Also, local committees have been set up to increase the negotiation power of the local communities, named "Régie intermunicipal de l'énergie".

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 between 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, sources of renewable energy etc. 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 the government of Québec has elaborated the recent years. A few of them are already discussed above. (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 fulfilled before a public hearing 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

Also in Norway, wind farming is seen as a strategic way to use the natural resources and also for the means of secure supply. 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), among others to “facilitate the construction of environmentally friendly wind power, and to ensure that this is a result of a holistic and long term evaluations” and at “[l]owest possible cost for environment and society”.

Wind power in Norway is almost always set up in remote areas with minimal infrastructures. 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 the biological diversity; infrastructure such as roads contributes to fragmentation of the natural environment, which can have negative impacts on a certain species. Several of the wind parks are planned in heathers, a threatened biome.

Norway has a vertically integrated planning system with three levels of planning, a national, regional and a municipal. Thus a national planning system sets out general planning objectives (Petterson 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 fulfilled and planned installations of more than 5 MW should be a subject to an impact study to evaluate all the consequences regarding the environment, natural resources, the society. Before obtaining a concession, the Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management elaborates documents for a hearing. The Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage has the joint responsibility to evaluate potential conflicts of interests between 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 and 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 environmental friendly development approach; for 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 defined in rural Quebec, how the current rural policy is addressing these issues, and will look at what improvements could be made to the current rural policy. Quebec has an estimated 4,500 rivers and 500,000 lakes, which equates to 3% of the world's freshwater supply. However, Quebec 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 pollution due to manufacturing.

Policies

In the fall of 2002, the Quebec Government instituted a national water policy that worked towards preservation, management, and protection of public and environmental health. In order to accomplish these goals, the 2002 Water Policy outlined five steps: implementation of watershed based management; isolate the St. Lawrence as a vital area in need of special management techniques; protect ecosystems and water quality; cleanup and management of; and the promotion of 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 Quebec (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 Quebec 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, Quebec is seen as a prominent location for most water-related recreotourism activities (MDDEP 2012).

In late 2007, the Government Sustainable Development Strategy 2008-2013 was passed. This holistic strategy integrates all governmental departments, agencies, and requires participation from the Quebec population. Three issues are addressed by this strategy: developing knowledge,

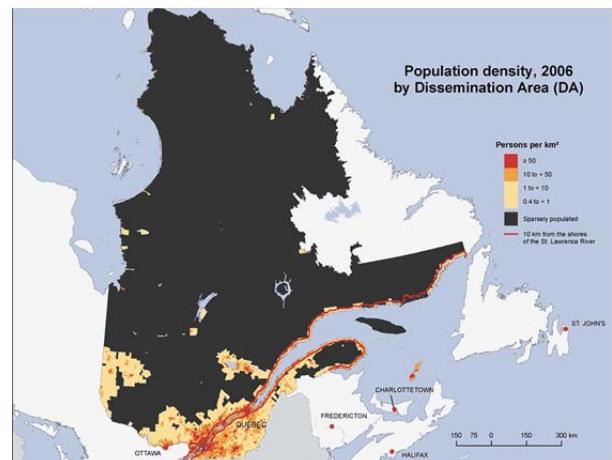


Image 1: The population density of Quebec is highly regionalized. Source: Statcan.

the promotion of responsible activities, and commitment by nine major directions. The first directions involves information gathering and education. Direction 2 is the reduction of risks related to health, safety, and the natural environment. Direction 3 is focused on “ecoresponsible production and consumption”. Direction 4 addresses economic efficiency. In accordance with the Quebec Rural Policy, Direction 4 addresses the importance of economic growth while continuing to address environmental concerns. Direction 5 focuses on the ever-changing demographics of Quebec and wishes to understand these changes in the furthered development of Quebec. Direction 6 focuses on sustainable land use practices. Direction 7 focuses on the ever-important heritage of the Quebecoise and its preservation. Direction 8 wishes to increase community action and social involvement. And, Direction 9 wishes to reduce or eliminate inequality in the social and economic spheres (GSDS, 2008).

The Quebec Rural Policy addresses several environmental challenges throughout rural areas of Quebec. Citing the large amounts of water found within the Quebec province, the Quebec Rural Policy 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 Rural Policy looks towards a holistic integration of water management policies like the Water Policy of 2002 and the Government Sustainable Development Strategy 2008-2013. Both policies are up for revision in the near future and could be easily integrated into the many sustainable development practices outlined in the Rural Policy.

Land Use and Multifunctionality

Natural endowments are a backbone for any dreamed equitable society. The wise harvesting and replenishing for renewable resources is inevitable. Quebec 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 topics would be remunerative while ensuring local participation in program planning to execution. The overuse and careless exploitation of these resources endanger not only the ecological balance but also threaten sustainability of living standards (Banskota et al, 2000). Community based resource management practices has proved more sustainable than a publicly managed one. The experimental evidences are collected from irrigation water management (Ostrom,1993)and community forestry program of Nepal (Varughese, 2001).

Realizing that sectorial policies (agriculture, forestry, industry, etc.) could not serve as policies for rural development in totality with prominent indicators of sustainability. Rurality is becoming a complex reality that warrants its own public policy. The government of Quebec has given priority to economic development via robust local rural economy. Attentions are focused on efficient utilization of natural resources followed by a bottom-up approach to ensure effective rural-urban linkage development. However, we observed the contradiction in some sectors such mining and large-scale water resource management.

Low population density ($4.8/\text{Km}^2$) in Quebec has an effect in potential utilization of available land resources. Amicable immigration policy may foster this problem to some extent, but immigrants are reluctant to settle in rural localities. Better incentives in terms of farming and other economic opportunity may be complementary. Resource (land, water, wind and forest) conservation policy inclined towards economic activities rather than merely protection is a supportive instrument in enhancing/revitalizing rural local communities. It has found that rural policy does not replace sector or regional policy, which is multisectoral and mostly decentralized. This may produce policy a dilemma in implementation.

A visit to Victoriaville, Quebec, illustrated the successful economic recuperation model (pilot test) by implementing environmental friendly development works such as city waste management, business creation, industrial park development, and “sustainable house construction”. The issues here are in the backdrop of pumping out large amount of public money as subsidy for the project and individual house construction. We came to learn that the Quebec government is under a huge fiscal deficit. It will be better to work towards finding self-sustained fiscal policy, which would lead to the competitive sustainable development of the region. For example, the private sector would further be motivated for extending social corporate responsibility. 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 (carbon cycle) in industrialized nations. Land-use and land-management dynamics jointly determine land-cover change and ecosystem function (Robinson et al, 2010).

An agreement between government and supralocal authority (MRCs) who are mandated for social, economic and environmental development responsibilities and well connected to community are to be fortified with more resources and dynamic know-how. Delegating more responsibilities to investigate new possibilities, assemble human resources and knowledge and undertake transfer result within and between communities would pave productive courses in natural resource based rural community in the Quebec's context. However, so far the number of project development and implemented via RCMs does not provide any significant numbers in the transformation of land potentials onto the productive enterprise.

According to PDAC, area protected in Quebec is 6.26% or approximately 9.46 million hectares (2007). The land and fresh water area of Quebec is 151,421,800 hectares with the *land only* area being 136,512,800 hectares. Approximately 92% of land in Quebec is Crown or public with the remaining 8% being private. The policy of utilization of certain component of crowned land either privately or publicly ensuring incentives from provincial government for a certain period of time would add marginal revenue to the local economy. The private-public partnership in the region seems to be desirable.

The Ministry of Natural Resources, Forests and Parks (MRNFP) prepares and amends public land use plans. We see here the top-down approach in decision-making rather than bottom-up. Land use patterns have been broken down into tourism and recreation; commercial and industrial

activities; public and community utilities; specific intervention areas; preservation and protection. The Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Natural Resources consult with other ministries, non-governmental organizations and aboriginal organizations as part of the evaluation and selection of territories of interest for protected area purposes. That seems to be a long-term strategic vision of the nation. The insufficiency lies in explaining wildlife conservation areas and should be addressed.

While talking land use, immediate concerns come to the agriculture system. The organizations of urban, peri-urban and rural agriculture with independently suitable mechanism are important to consider. Humanized landscape is desirable in protecting cultural and aesthetic value of land in urban areas while mechanized farming may be suitable in large scale farming in rural region. One way to reach an equitable society in an area that is devitalized is to implement multifunctionality. Multifunctionality in agriculture refers to the various 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).

Agriculture creates both positive and negative externalities. Sometimes current agricultural practices and markets produce too much of an undesired effect which we reflect in market failure. Governments may intervene in order to correct such anomalies with policies designed to either encourage or discourage a certain practice. Cabil (2001) explains multifunctionalities of agriculture that includes food security, food safety, animal welfare, cultural values, environmental quality, landscape, biodiversity and rural development.

Exposure to the ongoing project and future planning of multifunctionality in Quebec is necessary for rural communities' better ecological farming. This benefits society. It gives place based resource mobilization and moderate eco-friendly farming system. Following OECD propositions, the key elements of multifunctionality are the existence of both tangible (multiple commodities) and intangible (services, effects). Our effort should be directed towards minimizing 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 has proved to be desired model to operate in rural regions. The only precaution should be on farm income stability. The better the value it creates and well connection with market centers, the stronger the scope for the multifunctionality of agriculture. Quebec is fortunate with abundant forest and pastureland, which demands a more livestock, integrated farming system. It provides farmyard manure, which is again supportive in organic food production. This will protect the soil health and foster floral and faunal diversities in the territories. The present trend of granting individual project for 3 years does not ensure the feasibility of the system. We suggest extending a time line and having more focus on collective projects. This may be a one feasible route of rural wealth creation.

Human as a Resource in the Rural Policy Context

In the National Policy on Rurality of 2007 – 2014, humans are uniquely described as a territorial resource as communities are living environments that are closely linked with the natural resources of the land (Politique nationale de la ruralité, 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. Promote the renewal and integration of newcomers.
2. Foster the development of the territory's human, cultural and physical resources.
3. Ensure the survival of rural communities.
4. Maintain a balance between the quality of life, the living environment, the natural environment and economic activities.

Major Challenges

The National Rural Policy 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 between communities and RCMs.[1] A second challenge is a continuation of the top-down approach of policy implementation from federal to local levels, (Friedmann, 1992; Chaisson, 2012.) In one study of rural communities in Quebec, researchers discovered a pattern over a number of telephone interviews that many of local representatives and administrators that acted on behalf of their communities or RMCs sat in multiple positions within the Quebec government, which illustrates a potential for social elitism installed actors 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 that measures sustainable development in respect to communities (p. 16). However, Agenda 21 is out of date and to better measure the sustainable development of communities in the next National Rural Policy, the several of the indicators in the current policy can be modified to measure the development of communities in respect to natural resources include: mobilization of individuals, community commitment, rural innovation techniques, number of municipalities that have a development strategy and structure, and changes in migration movements in rural municipalities (Politique nationale de la ruralité, p. 54).

The Ministry of Development (2010) uses several indicators that are more strategic in their measures of human resource development in Quebec and include: active rate, job quality, life expectancy, distribution of the high level of post-secondary education (p. 7). Alternatively, in *Quebec'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 National Rural Policy 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 a frontier 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 National Policy on Rurality of 2007-2012 suggests that humans are amongst the resources of the natural environment. In consideration of 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 National Policy on Rurality 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 Quebec in a way that creates a composite index that will identify the needs between RCMs.

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ANNEXE 4 Programme détaillé du Summer School

ICRPS 2012 Program: Quebec, CANADA
June 18, 2012

Governing for Sustainable Rural Futures – a framework for investigation

The ICRPS Program for 2012 will examine the policy options that are likely to facilitate sustainable rural futures. We will pay attention to 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 will consider the ways in which these types of stakeholders contribute to policies relating to five issues: **food, energy, inequality, the natural environment, and regional development**.

When doing so we will be guided by the five following questions.

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

When addressing these questions you will be asked to consider four types of governing agents relating to five important issues as illustrated in the following table. You will be 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.

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

We will consider each of these governing agents in their complexity. For the **private** sector this includes 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** 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, we will consider 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 have selected five specific issues that reflect the range of challenges facing both rural and urban places. 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 will require us to learn much more about how those systems are organized as well as their implications for the use of land, water, and most of our other natural resources. Food production and distribution are also closely connected to the second issue we have identified. **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 the primary locations as both sources of energy and sinks for the related pollution. 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 underserviced. 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. 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. Finally, we will consider the challenge of **regional development**: economic, social, and cultural. 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 with the collapse of traditional sources of revenue – or controlling the sprawl of new residents with different views and lifestyles in places where populations are growing.

The five questions initially posed in this document can be asked 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 will be asked to explore the nature and implications of these differences – and the interdependencies among them.

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.

ICRPS2012 will provide an opportunity to visit first-hand with the agencies and people in urban, urban-adjacent, and remote locations. We will spend three days in Montréal – the major metropolis of the province – where we will meet with corporate, 3rd sector, and municipal leaders who are closely engaged with the development of policy affecting future governance. We will travel to two rural communities adjacent to urban centres on our way to the provincial capital of Québec City. There, we will meet with the architects of Québec's rural policy before moving to Bas Saint-Laurent and its regional capital, Rimouski: a more remote city adapting to the new rural economy by innovations in sustainability.

Students will work in groups to produce a report on one of the five issues above. Each group will be asked to consider their issue with respect to the four types of governing agents identified in the grid above. The five questions above can be asked with respect to each of the cells in this grid – producing responses that are likely to be diverse, interdependent, and stimulating. The presentations, field visits, reading materials, discussions, and your own experiences will serve as sources for you to use when answering these questions and your group meeting will serve to hone and filter the answers in a critical and clear fashion. The end result will be a presentation and report that outlines your answers for the summer school participants in the short term and Québec policy makers in the long term.

In order to maintain flexibility your contribution may take a number of forms as identified below.

1. Those with ongoing obligations for theses or other documents will participate as consultants in the group that is most relevant to their topic and interest. They will be required to contribute a short section or report to the group discussing the implications of their individual research project to the objectives of the group.
2. Students without an ongoing project will be required to contribute to the group report through the following activities:
 - self-organizing the group in such a manner that the individual interests, competencies, and experiences of the group members are reflected and respected;
 - conducting the necessary information collection and analysis to address the research questions above;
 - comparing the experiences, policies, and programs in Québec with those in their home country or region – identifying the insights gained that will contribute to the critical evaluation of Québec's policy and trajectories and writing a collective report on how our Summer School participants imagine the key feature of the next generation of Quebec rural policy; and
 - producing a report of their insights that will serve as basis for a presentation to all participants.

These reports will serve as a basis for a combined report subsequently produced by faculty members for submission to various funding partners. A key element of this report, for example, will be a consideration of Québec's rural policy from the international experiences reflected in the Summer School participants and suggestions for its future development.

Schedule of Activities

June 21 – Arrival Thursday	Theme-Welcome	Topic/Activity	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
Afternoon and Evening		Arrivals		Students/Faculty	Grey Nuns' Residence, Concordia
18:00-19:30		Buffet Dinner /Reception		Students/Faculty	Grey Nuns'; greeting activities (GNM-100)

Day 1 (June 22) Friday	Questions: Meeting and greeting	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:30-9:30		Group breakfast			Grey Nuns'
9:45-10:15	What are we going to do? Why?	Introduction to the Summer School: Program framework	Reimer	Bill Reimer, Bruno Jean	Assignments discussed; Topics and groups established; MB 5.106
10:30-12:00	Who are we? What do we like to do?	Introductions by students	Reimer	Students	Maximum 2 minutes, 1 slide each
12:00-13:15		Lunch			Grey Nuns'
13:30-14:50	What is the structure of the agricultural sector in Canada and Québec? What role do/should unions have for policy development and practice? What are their commitments to food quality, prices, and sustainability?	Agricultural policy in Québec; <i>Natural environment and inequality issues; All agents</i>	Reimer	André Drapeau, Directeur des affaires institutionnelles, UPA (Union des producteurs agricoles) a Québec farmers' union.; Comments by Ray Bollman, Statistics Canada	Presentation and questions/comments; MB 5.106

Day 1 (June 22) Friday	Questions: Meeting and greeting	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
14:50- 15:05		Break			
15:05- 16:30	How do corporations view rural places? How do their policies reflect those views? What are the implications for rural places?	Rural policy and corporations; <i>Natural environment issue; Private sector agents</i>	Bisson	Robert Valdmanis, Director, Public Affairs, Rio Tinto-Alcan; Comments by Tom Johnson, SUMissouri	Presentations and questions/comments; MB 5.106
16:45- 17:30	What are the groups going to do? Who is responsible for what? What do we need to learn from the next event?	Group debrief and project organization	Reimer, Jean	Bill Reimer – introduce group assignments	Groups meet to identify roles and responsibilities and prepare questions for next event; MB 5.106
18:00- 19:30		Dinner - Barbecue			Grey Nuns' garden (GNM-100 if rain)

Day 2 (June 23) Saturday	Questions: The Canadian and Québec contexts	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00- 9:00		Breakfast			Grey Nuns'
9:15- 10:30	What are the key conditions and policies in Canada and QC?	Introduction to Canada and Quebec history/policy	Reimer; MB 5.106	Bill Reimer (Concordia), Bruno Jean (UQAR)	Short presentations with discussion
10:30- 11:00		Break			
11:00- 12:00	How does comparative governance take place? What implications does this have for rural policy?	Introduction to comparative governance and rural policy		Judith Stallmann (U of Missouri)	Short presentation with discussion; MB 5.106
12:00- 13:00		Lunch			Grey Nuns'
13:15-	What is policy	Tools for policy	Reimer	John Bryden	Seminar; MB

Day 2 (June 23) Saturday	Questions: The Canadian and Québec contexts	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
15:15	analysis? Why is “international” important? Why is “comparative” important?	analysis		(NAERI) and Ray Bollman (Statistics Canada)	5.106
15:30+		Picnic: Atwater market and canal; <i>Food Issue</i> ; <i>Private sector agents</i>	Concordia team	Where did your food originate? Who produced it? Do policies help or hinder?	Group project: How was your dinner grown?

Day 3 (June 24) Sunday	Questions: Rural- urban interdependence	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast			Grey Nuns'
9:15-10:45	What are the projects of the Year 2 students? How do they relate to this year's themes?	Year 2: projects	Bryden	Year 2 students presentations	Year 2 project presentations; MB 5.106
11:00-12:00	In what ways are rural and urban regions interdependent? What strategic alliances with urban areas exist for rural areas?	Sustainable Urban Food; <i>Food, Energy, Natural environment issues</i> ; <i>All agents</i>	Reimer	Ghalia Chahine, Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal (roundtable on sustainable food system for Montréal); Comments by John Devlin, U of Guelph	MB 5.106
12:00-13:15		Lunch			Grey Nuns'
13:15-14:15	What challenges and opportunities exist for the reorganization of energy production and distribution? How do rural policies affect	<i>Energy issue</i> ; <i>All agents</i>	Reimer	John Bryden (NAERI)	MB 5.106

Day 3 (June 24) Sunday	Questions: Rural-urban interdependence	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
	them?				
14:15-15:15	What challenges and opportunities exist for the reorganization of watersheds? How do rural policies affect them?		Reimer	Karen Refsgaard (NAERI)	MB 5.106
15:30-16:30	What techniques are useful for comparative analysis?	Concurrent activities	Reimer; Johnson	Systems analysis (Johnson); Field work (Devlin, deLima); Census and Surveys (Bollman); Communication (Reimer)	MB rooms
16:30-17:00	What have we learned? What do we need to learn?	Group caucus		Students/Faculty	Prepare questions for tomorrow; MB 5.106
17:00-19:00		Return to Grey Nuns'; travel to Old Montréal; Treasure Hunt			
19:00+		Dinner: Old Montréal	Concordia team	Cabaret du Roy, 363 Rue du la Commune E.	

Day 4 (June 25) Monday	Questions: Food and agriculture	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
7:30-8:45		Breakfast and pack			Grey Nuns'
9:00-10:00		To St-Damase (60 min)	Soles, Bisson		See travel booklet
10:30-12:00	What is the role of food processors for policy development and practice? What are the impacts	Food Transformation Industries; comparative rural & agricultural policies; <i>Food</i> ,	Bisson	Carole Fortin, Conseil de la transformation agroalimentaire et des produits de consommation	Municipal governance; Food processing and marketing; Land use;

Day 4 (June 25) Monday	Questions: Food and agriculture	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
	of those decisions for rural development? How much and in what ways can municipalities manage their contributions and impacts? How does St-Damase compare to international circumstances?	<i>Natural environment issues; All agents</i>		(CTAC)	Comparisons and reflections from other countries
12:00-13:00		Lunch	Bisson		St-Damase cafés
13:00-14:30		To Victoriaville (1hr 30 min)	Concordia team		See travel booklet
15:00-17:00	What has Victoriaville done to sustain its future? How have 3 rd sector groups contributed to these strategies? What are the challenges they face? What options are available?	Sustainable development at the local level: the Victoriaville case; <i>Food, Energy, Inequality, Natural Environment; All agents</i>	Bisson, Jean	Martin Lessard, Municipal gov't; Bill Ninac, Coopérative de consultation en développement La Clé; Comments by Karen Refsgaard, NAERI	Short presentations from municipality with comparative reflections from participants
17:00-18:30		To Québec City (1 hr 30 min)			See travel booklet
19:00-20:00		Dinner			Collège Mérici
20:00+	What are the key ideas that you will be presenting tomorrow ? How will your group prepare for the final report in the light of these presentation?	Orientation	Jean, Bisson	Bruno Jean	Collège Mérici

Day 5 (June 26) Tuesday	Questions: Québec rural policy	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast	Bisson		Collège Mérici
9:00-10:00	What are the challenges and options being considered as a result of Québec's rural and northern policies?	The Québec National Rural Policy; <i>All issues; State agents</i>	Jean	Martin Chiasson, Ministère des Affaires municipales, des régions et de l'Occupation du territoire (MAMROT)	Use this session to review the key issues and questions to be addressed in our collective report to MAMROT
10:00-11:00		Loi sur l'occupation et la vitalité des territoires		Jessy Baron: MAMROT	Presentation on Moodle
11:00-11:15		Break			
11:15-12:00		Multifonctionnalités of agriculture and rural economies	Jean	Francisca Müller: MAPAQ	
12:00 – 13:30		Lunch			
13:30-15:00	What are strategic models for the funding and support of agriculture – in Canada and internationally? How do these models affect other sectors?	Perspective on Quebec rural and territorial policies and presentation of the mission and propositions of Solidarité Rurale; <i>Food, natural environment issues; State agents</i>	Jean	Claire Bolduc, President of Solidarité Rurale du Québec (SRQ)	This session can be used to review the key issues and questions to be addressed in our collective report to MAMROT.
15:00-15:30		Break			
15:30-16:30	How does Québec's rural policy compare with other OECD countries?	OCDE Québec-Canada rural Policy review		Yancy Vaillant, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona	
18:00		Dinner	Bisson		Collège Mérici

Day 6 (June 27) Wednesday	Questions: Québec R & R	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast	Bisson		Collège Mérici
9:00 – 10:30	How has Québec protected its agricultural land?	Loi sur la protection du territoire agricole du Québec	Jean, Bisson	Isabelle Ouellet, Commission de la protection du territoire et de l'activité agricole du Québec; Comments by John Bryden, NAERI	
10:30-11:00		Break			
11:00 – 12:00	What have we learned? What do we need to learn? What do we need to do?	Plenary session with all groups	Jean	All groups report	
12:00 – 21h+	Québec City Adventure	Free time in Québec City			
17:00+ (Faculty only)		Annual Meeting of faculty members of ICRPS Consortium	Jean	Faculty members only	

Day 7 (June 28) Thursday	Questions: Municipal reorganization	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
6:30-7:30		Breakfast	Bisson		
8:00-9:45	How have rural communities transformed themselves? Why are rivers so important for policy? (pattern of settlements)	Bus to La Pocatiere via Cap Saint-Ignace, L'Islet-sur-Mer et Saint-Jean-Port-Joli. (1 hr 45 min)	Bisson		See travel booklet
10:00-12:00	How have agricultural communities transformed themselves? How can they use research and related	La Pocatière as a local innovative system or Rural Cluster; The opportunities of local and organic food	Jean	Francois Gendron, Bombardier (local innovation); John Devlin, U of Guelph (local food);	Meeting at Bombardier Center (Local arena)

Day 7 (June 28) Thursday	Questions: Municipal reorganization	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
	development? What opportunities exist in the development of local and organic foods?			Francesca Regoli, Università di Bologna (organic farming, farming policy and food waste)	
12:00- 13:15		Lunch	Bisson		Lunch Centre Bombardier
13:15- 15:00	How has La Pocatière organized its innovation?	Visit to Agro-Bipole du Bas Saint-Laurent	Jean, Bisson	François Gendron	
15:15 – 18:00		Travel La Pocatière à Rimouski (2 hr 30 min)	Soles		See travel booklet
18:00 – 18:30		Installation in résidences and group caucus	Bisson		
18:30 – 19:30		Dinner	Jean, Bisson	Welcome words of Recteur UQAR	
19:30+		Accueil	Jean, Bisson		

Day 8 (June 29) Friday	Questions: Regional governance	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
7:15- 8:15		Breakfast	Bisson		CAF UQAR
8:30- 9:30	How was the Bas Saint-Laurent Region settled?	The history of the Bas Saint-Laurent region; <i>All issues; All agents</i>	Jean	Mathieu Arsenault, Student in history UQAR	UQAR - D520
9:30- 10:30	What is special about Bas Saint-Laurent Region?	The contemporary Bas Saint-Laurent: its challenges for rural development; <i>All issues; All agents</i>		Bruno Jean, UQAR	UQAR - D520
10:30- 10:45		Break			

Day 8 (June 29) Friday	Questions: Regional governance	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
10:45-11:45	How can territorial multifunctionnality be a new opportunity for rural regions?	Multifonctionnalité du territoire agricole and introduction to the Conseil Local de Développement (CLD)	Jean	Stéphane Héroux, CLD Métis	UQAR - D520
12:00-13:00		Lunch	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR
13:00-13:45		Travel to Parc National du Bic (30 min)	Bisson		See travel booklet
13:45-15:30	How does culture contribute to the relationships between rural and urban places?	Cultural representations of the rural-urban divide; <i>All issues; All agents; Protected areas.</i>	Reimer	Allison Davies-White Eyes and Philippe Kneis, Oregon SU	
15:45-18:00		Climb Pic-Champlain	Bisson	Luc Bisson, UQAR	
18:00-19:30		Travel and dinner at Rimouski	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR

Day 9 (June 30) Saturday	Questions: Boom-bust economies	Topic	Co-ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast			UQAR – D520
9:15—10:45	How have cooperatives been organized in Bas Saint-Laurent? How does this compare with other countries? What are the challenges and opportunities?	The role of cooperatives in rural development.	Jean	Marie-Joëlle Brassard, Conseil québécoise de la coopération et de la mutualité (CQCM) Comments by Allison David-White Eyes, Oregon SU	
10:45-11:00		Break			
11:00-12:00	What are the policy options	Curriculum work: Moving beyond	Reimer	Philomena De Lima, University	

Day 9 (June 30) Saturday	Questions: Boom-bust economies	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
	addressing rural minorities and excluded groups? How effective are they in addressing issues of inequality? How can policies improve the options for marginalized regions?	GDP, growing inequalities, and poverty/deprivation; <i>Inequality issues; All agents</i>		of the Highlands and Islands (inequality); Bruce Weber, Oregon State University (inequality and poverty); Bill Ashton, Brandon University (immigration)	
12:00-13:00		Lunch			Cafeteria UQAR
13:15-15:15	How do regional organizations relate to other levels of governance? What are the challenges and opportunities?	Regional development organisations	Jean	Pierre Roberge, Développement économique Canada pour les régions du Québec plus two agents from SADC (Community Futures); Comments by Bill Ashton, Brandon U	Include local and international interventions
15:15-15:30		Break			
15:30-17:30	What are the best strategies for comparing diverse regions?	Research on new regionalism in Canada; <i>All issues; All agents</i>		Kelly Vodden and Ken Carter, Memorial University of Newfoundland	Consolidate notes and prepare for tomorrow
18:00-19:30		Dinner	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR

Day 10 (July 1) Sunday	Questions: Environmental management	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
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Day 10 (July 1) Sunday	Questions: Environmental management	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
6:45- 7:45		Breakfast	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR
8:00- 8:45		Travel to Canyon des Portes de l'Enfer (45 min)	Bisson		See travel booklet
9:00- 10:00	What are the best strategies for natural resource management?	Forestry issues (and forestry public policy) related to rural development; <i>Food, Energy, Natural environment issues; Private, State, and 3rd sector agents</i>	Jean	Luc Sirois et Dominique Arsenault, Chaire de recherche sur la forêt habitée, UQAR; Comments by Francesca Regoli, U di Bologna	
10:00- 10:15	Break				
10:15- 11:15	What are the best strategies for natural resource management?	Watershed Management; <i>Food, Energy, Natural environment issues; Private, State, and 3rd</i>	Jean	Taylor Olsen, Geography, UQAR; Comments by Denise Lach, Oregon SU	
11:15- 12:15		Lunch	Bisson		Chutes du grand saut
12:15- 13:15		Visit to the Canyon des portes de l'Enfer	Bisson		
13:15- 14:00		Travel to Esprit Saint (35 min)	Bisson		See travel booklet
14:00- 15:00	What are different models for regional governance? What are the challenges and advantages of them? How can conflict within and between communities be managed?	3 rd sector contributions in remote regions; <i>Inequality issue; 3rd sector agents</i>	Jean	Suzanne Tremblay, Coalition Urgence Rurale; Comments by Philomena de Lima, UHI, Scotland	
15:00- 16:15	What are the primary challenges in Esprit-Saint? How have they	Presentation on “Centre de mise en valeur des Opérations-	Jean	Richard Lemay and Marlène Dubé, Mayor of d'Esprit-Saint;	

Day 10 (July 1) Sunday	Questions: Environmental management	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
	responded to them?	Dignités" and Plan gouvernemental pour les municipalités dévitalisées; <i>Inequality issue; All agents</i>		Comments by Philipp Kneis, Oregon SU	
16:15- 18:00		Curriculum work: Inequality, Minorities, Dealing with Community Conflict; <i>Inequality issue; All agents</i>	Bisson	Visit to Opération-Dignités interpretation center Esprit-Saint	
18:00- 19:30		Dinner: Esprit-Saint	Bisson		
19:30+		Return to UQAR			

Day 11 (July 2) Monda y	Questions: Tourism and the environment	Topic	Co- ordinato r	Presenters	Notes
6:45- 7:45		Breakfast	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR
8:00- 9:00		Travel from Rimouski to Baie-des-sables	Bisson		See travel booklet
9:00- 9:30		Visit to the wind farm			
10:00- 12:00	What are the challenges and opportunities for alternate energy? How can rural communities capture the value of these sources?	Windmills: new opportunities , and challenges – enhanced by policy	Jean	Marie-José Fortin, UQAR and Techno-centre Éolien representative; Comments by Judith Stallmann, U of Missouri	
12:00- 13:30	What is the Jardins de Métis ? And its contribution to local development?	Lunch	Bisson	M Alexander Reford, CEO Jardins de Métis	
14:00- 16:00	How have rural coastal communities	Coastal communities and climate	Jean	Steve Plante, UQAR; Comments by	

Day 11 (July 2) Monday	Questions: Tourism and the environment	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
	managed with new policies and environmental changes?	change: what challenge for governing a sustainable future		Bruce Weber, Oregon SU	
16:00- 17:30		Visit to des Jardins de Métis; Travel to le Capitaine Homard – Sainte-Flavie (10 min)	Bisson		
17:30- 18:00		Travel to C. Homard	Bisson	Students/Faculty	
18:00- 20:00		Dinner au Capitaine Homard de Sainte-Flavie	Bisson		
20:00- 20:30		Return to Rimouski (30 min)	Bisson		
Day 12 (July 3) Tuesday	Questions: Rural-urban interdependencie s and Immigration	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00- 9:00		Breakfast			Cafeteria UQAR
9:15- 10:15	What have we learned? What do we need to learn? What do we need to do?	Group work	Québec team		UQAR – D520 prepare presentations for tomorrow
10:30- 12:00		Group work	Reimer	All participants	UQAR – D520
12:00- 13:00		Lunch			Cafeteria UQAR
13:15- 15:00	How do we deal with the methodological challenges of policy analysis?	Concurrent sessions	Jean, Reimer	Topics identified according to group and individual needs	UQAR – D520
15:00- 17:00	What have we learned? How will we present it?	Group work			prepare presentations for tomorrow

Day 11 (July 2) Monday	Questions: Tourism and the environment	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
18:00-19:30		Dinner	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR
19:30+		Group work			prepare presentations for tomorrow

Day 13 (July 4) Wednesday	Questions: Policy proposals	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast UQAR	Bisson		
9:15-12:00	What have we learned? What would we recommend to MAMROT?	Group presentations: Report production	Jean	Students	UQAR – D520
12:00-13:00		Lunch	Bisson		
13:15-14:45	What have we learned? What would we recommend to MAMROT?	Group presentations: Report production	Jean	Students	UQAR – D520
14:45-15:00	What will ICRPS2013 be like?	ICRPS2013-Italy	Jean	Presentation by Francesca Regoli, Università di Bologna	
15:00-16:00		Free preparation for Cocktails			
16:00-16:30		Walk from UQAR to Hôtel de ville de Rimouski			
16:30-18:30	Reception	Cocktails: City Hall, Rimouski	Jean, Bisson		
18:30-		Dinner	Bisson		Pub Saint Germain

Day 14 (July 5) Thursday	Questions: Communication	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast	Bisson		Cafeteria UQAR
9:15- 12:00	How can we improve our report?	Travel to Lévis (4 hrs) with group work	Québec team	Students/Faculty	See travel booklet
12:00- 12:45	Lunch	Halte Routière de Beaumont près de Lévis	Québec team		(Lunch Box from C Cafeteria UQAR)
12:45- 18:00	How can we improve our report?	Bus to Montréal with short stop and group work (3 hrs)	Québec team	Students/Faculty	See travel booklet
18:30- 19:30		Dinner			Grey Nuns' residence
19:30+		Participants' event	Concordia team	TBA	

Day 15 (July 6) Friday	Departures	Topic	Co- ordinator	Presenters	Notes
8:00-9:00		Breakfast			Grey Nuns'
		Departures		Grey Nuns' checkout time at 11:00 AM	