

This document is a pre-publication version of a chapter in a book. Please acknowledge its sources as: Reimer, B., Barrett, J., Vodden, K., & Bisson, L. (2019). Rural-urban interactions and interdependence. In *Regions and Cities. The Theory, Practice, and Potential of Regional Development: The case of Canada* (pp. 149–182). Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.

The Theory, Practice, and Potential of Regional Development

Canadian regional development today involves multiple actors operating within nested scales from local to national and even international levels. Recent approaches to making sense of this complexity have drawn on concepts such as multi-level governance, relational assets, integration, innovation, and learning regions. These new regionalist concepts have become increasingly global in their formation and application, yet there has been little critical analysis of Canadian regional development policies and programs or the theories and concepts upon which many contemporary regional development strategies are implicitly based.

This volume offers the results of five years of cutting-edge empirical and theoretical analysis of changes in Canadian regional development and the potential of new approaches for improving the well-being of Canadian communities and regions, with an emphasis on rural regions. It situates the Canadian approach within comparative experiences and debates, offering the opportunity for broader lessons to be learnt.

This book will be of interest to policy-makers and practitioners across Canada, and in other jurisdictions where lessons from the Canadian experience may be applicable. At the same time, the volume contributes to and updates regional development theories and concepts that are taught in our universities and colleges, and upon which future research and analysis will build.

Kelly Vodden is Associate Vice-President (Grenfell) Research and Graduate Studies and Professor (Research) with the Environmental Policy Institute at Grenfell Campus, Memorial University, Corner Brook, Canada.

David J.A. Douglas is a Professor Emeritus at the University of Guelph, Canada, and has extensive experience in rural development across most Canadian regions, the EU, and other contexts (e.g., Indonesia, Iran, Ukraine, Pakistan).

Sean Markey is a Professor, and registered professional planner, with the School of Resource and Environmental Management at Simon Fraser University, Canada.

Sarah Minnes is a Research Associate and registered planner, with the School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada.

Bill Reimer is a Professor Emeritus at Concordia University in Montréal, Canada. From 1997 to 2008, he directed a Canadian research project on the New Rural Economy which included 13 universities, 35 partners, and 32 rural communities from all parts of Canada.



Regions and Cities

Series Editor in Chief

Joan Fitzgerald, *Northeastern University, USA*

Editors

Ron Martin, *University of Cambridge, UK*

Maryann Feldman, *University of North Carolina, USA*

Gernot Grabher, *HafenCity University Hamburg, Germany*

Kieran P. Donaghy, *Cornell University, USA*

In today's globalized, knowledge-driven and networked world, regions and cities have assumed heightened significance as the interconnected nodes of economic, social, and cultural production, and as sites of new modes of economic and territorial governance and policy experimentation. This book series brings together incisive and critically engaged international and interdisciplinary research on this resurgence of regions and cities, and should be of interest to geographers, economists, sociologists, political scientists, and cultural scholars, as well as to policy-makers involved in regional and urban development.

For more information on the Regional Studies Association visit www.regionalstudies.org

There is a **30% discount** available to RSA members on books in the *Regions and Cities* series, and other subject related Taylor and Francis books and e-books including Routledge titles. To order just e-mail Emilia Falcone, Emilia.Falcone@tandf.co.uk, or phone on +44 (0) 20 3377 3369 and declare your RSA membership. You can also visit the series page at www.routledge.com/Regions-and-Cities/book-series/RSA and use the discount code: **RSA0901**

134. Strategic Approaches to Regional Development

Smart Experimentation in Less-Favoured Regions

Edited by Iryna Kristensen, Alexandre Dubois and Jukka Teräs

135. Diversities of Innovation

Edited by Ulrich Hilpert

136. The Theory, Practice, and Potential of Regional Development

The Case of Canada

Edited by Kelly Vodden, David J.A. Douglas, Sean Markey, Sarah Minnes, and Bill Reimer

For more information about this series, please visit:

www.routledge.com/Regions-and-Cities/book-series/RSA

The Theory, Practice, and Potential of Regional Development

The Case of Canada

**Edited by Kelly Vodden, David J.A.
Douglas, Sean Markey, Sarah Minnes,
and Bill Reimer**

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Kelly Vodden, David J.A. Douglas, Sean Markey, Sarah Minnes, and Bill Reimer; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Kelly Vodden, David J.A. Douglas, Sean Markey, Sarah Minnes, and Bill Reimer to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book.

ISBN: 978-0-815-36521-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-26216-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
<i>List of case studies</i>	x
<i>List of contributors</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xv
DONALD SAVOIE	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvii
1 Introduction	1
SARAH MINNES AND KELLY VODDEN	
2 Regional development in Canada: Eras and evolution	12
SARAH BREEN, SEAN MARKEY, AND BILL REIMER	
3 What is new regionalism?	30
JEN DANIELS, DAVID DOUGLAS, KELLY VODDEN, AND SEAN MARKEY	
4 Project approach: Critical reflections on methodology and process	56
SARAH BREEN AND KELLY VODDEN	
5 Searching for multi-level collaborative governance	79
RYAN GIBSON	
6 Identity and commitment to place: How regions “become” in rural Canada	102
SEAN MARKEY, SARAH BREEN, KELLY VODDEN, AND JEN DANIELS	

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
7	“Integrated” regional development policy and planning DAVID J. A. DOUGLAS	123
8	Rural–urban interactions and interdependence BILL REIMER, JOSH BARRETT, KELLY VODDEN, AND LUC BISSON	149
9	Learning, knowledge flows, and innovation in Canadian regions HEATHER M. HALL AND KELLY VODDEN	183
10	Conclusions: Implications for policy and practice KELLY VODDEN, DAVID DOUGLAS, SARAH MINNES, SEAN MARKEY, BILL REIMER, AND SARAH BREEN	212
	<i>Index</i>	235

T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

8 Rural–urban interactions and interdependence

Bill Reimer, Josh Barrett, Kelly Vodden, and Luc Bisson

1 Introduction¹

The public media often represent rural and urban places as fundamentally in conflict. Urbanization and the resulting political tensions have exacerbated this view with challenges for resources and attention. This debate seldom reflects the fundamental interdependence of rural and urban places, however, and remains relatively uninformed regarding the empirical evidence demonstrating that interdependence.

Rural places provide the timber, food, minerals, and energy that serve as bases of urban growth (Alasia, 2004). Rural places also provide labour and markets, process urban pollution, refresh and restore urban populations, and maintain the heritage upon which much of our Canadian identity rests. Urban Canada provides the markets for rural goods, much of its technology, and most of its financial capital, along with a good deal of its media-based culture. Decisions and actions taken in one locale will often have implications for those in the other—whether directly or indirectly. To understand both locations, therefore, one must understand the interrelationships within which they exist.

Rural–urban interdependencies are implicated in many elements of new regionalism perspectives (Lichter & Brown, 2011; OECD, 2010; Tacoli, 2006). The focus on a region itself usually includes both low- and high-density locations: rural- and urban-like settlements and the relationships among them. Those who consider regions as useful units for economic development typically include both rural and urban areas within those regions—with the assumption that both are involved as their assets become part of the innovation systems driving success (Castle, Wu, & Weber, 2011; Partridge & Clark, 2008). This is reflected as well in political new regionalism as governance systems are imagined and described (OECD, 2013). Regional integration demands a consideration of rural–urban interdependencies. Metropolitan new regionalism reinforces this interdependence with both rural and urban settlement patterns being considered in transportation, service provision, land use, and other planning decisions. All of these approaches assume the integration of rural and urban places within regions as an important element of their frameworks.

New regionalism approaches also reinforce the importance of rural–urban interdependence between and among regions. The identification of network-based

systems, subsidiary governance organization, and competitive advantage all imply a consideration of the ways in which a regional system in one location might be connected to those in others. This includes situations where relatively remote regions are connected to metropolitan centres. The new regionalism vision is one of considerable rural–urban interdependence both within and among regions.

There is, however, uneven elaboration of the nature of rural–urban interdependencies within new regionalism literature. In those cases where they are acknowledged, the focus tends to be on trade and exchanges—the movement of people, goods, or provision of services among and within regions (Reimer, 2013). Those focusing on political new regionalism add a discussion of the institutional structures of governance that bind locations when it comes to planning, regulations, service provision, and relative power (Halseth & Ryser, 2006). Conflicts over land and asset use in the rural–urban fringe provide foci of attention for environmental concerns but sharing of a common history or identity are less frequently considered as a basis for such interdependence or action. The first task in examining such interdependencies as represented in new regionalism, therefore, is an elaboration of their nature and manifestations.

This chapter provides a framework for considering rural–urban interdependence as it is reflected in the literature on new regionalism and an analysis of interview results within the *Canadian Regional Development* project. The results not only reinforce the importance of rural–urban interdependence as an important feature of new regionalism, but they identify more specific elements of this theme that are underdeveloped in both the theoretical literature and in practitioner sensibilities. Several implications from this analysis are included for researchers, policy-makers, practitioners, and citizens.

2 Rural–urban interdependence as a theme in new regionalism

2.1 Rural–urban interdependence

Interdependence means that “changes in one place affect the other”—a relatively abstract formulation but one that can be effectively applied to rural and urban places. Sources of interdependence can include a wide range of factors, including natural resources, labour, changes to population, heritage, markets, and finances, as well as environmental concerns such as air pollution, greenhouse gases, and water quality (External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities, 2006; Reimer, 2005; Robinson et al., 2008). In Canada, and many other countries, rural provision of resources serves as a base for urban growth and urban areas provide markets, technology, financial capital, and manufactured goods—and policies and actions around these have implications for both rural and urban areas (Reimer et al., 2011)

In order to manage the range of possible factors, we consider the dynamics of rural–urban interdependence with respect to four spheres: exchanges, institutions, environment, and identity. All four of these spheres should be considered for a full accounting of this interdependence,

but we expect that their relative saliency will vary from place to place and time to time. Our findings suggest that they do. These variations can also provide insights into local conditions that frame any regional development activities in those places.

Within academic literature there is a growing recognition of the importance of rural–urban interdependence, but discussions of conceptual frameworks for what this might mean and empirical studies documenting such interdependencies tend to rely on economic approaches (Buttel & Flinn, 1977; Irwin et al., 2009; Lichter & Brown, 2011; Partridge & Clark, 2008; Tandoh-Offin, 2010). Addressing the interdependencies between rural and urban regions, Bosworth and Venhorst (2018) and Hibbard, Senkyr, & Webb (2015) argue that traditional approaches to evaluating economies are no longer appropriate for today’s rural regions: a different lens must be provided in analyzing regional and rural economies. An elaborated rural–urban interdependence framework offers such a lens.

Researchers have documented that a wide variety of dynamics and types of interactions connect rural and urban regions. Central Place Theory (Christaller & Baskin, 1966; Lösch, 1954), urban–rural fringe analysis (Beesley, 2010), and discussions of occasional counter–urbanization flows (Bryant, 2003) have all added elements to this material. In addition, studies regarding such diverse processes as commuting flows (Partridge, Ali, & Olfert, 2010), food systems (Cohen & Garrett, 2010; Lucy, 2008; Tacoli, 2006), and climate change (Irwin et al., 2009) all point to rural–urban interdependencies—yet, we require a better understanding of other linkages (Ozor, Enete, & Amaechina, 2016). This is especially the case since the role and interdependencies between rural and urban regions is ever changing (Lichter & Brown, 2011).

2.2 Trade and exchanges

Economic interdependence is the most common focus of attention when rural–urban relationships are discussed within the regional development literature. In most cases it is framed in terms of trade and exchanges, whether of goods, services, labour, or finances. These exchanges often occur in complex ways—involving chains of trade and diverse conditions. Sometimes it is direct as with farmers’ markets or commuting (labour markets), but often it is indirect via other nations or complex intra–firm transactions within our commodity-dependent and increasingly globalized economy. In Canada, more than 90% of our positive balance of trade in goods and services is due to the export of rural products (agriculture, forestry, energy, minerals) (CANSIM, 2007)—goods that originate in rural regions but make their way to national and global markets through urban fabrication, assembly, transportation systems, financiers, and regulators (Reimer, 2013, p. 95). Labour is also increasingly mobile, with workers moving in complex ways within and between rural and urban regions (Halseth et al., 2010; Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014; Tacoli, 2006).

152 *Bill Reimer et al.*

2.3 Institutions

Institutional interdependence is demonstrated in both formal and informal ways. Government policies, whether designed specifically for rural places or of a more general nature, will often reinforce the interdependence between rural and urban areas by virtue of their application. A medical policy favouring specialists and shared equipment will place different transportation and accommodation demands on rural people and on urban services and infrastructure. Transportation policy designed for high-density spaces is likely to isolate those where people are more widely distributed. In a similar manner, private and third-sector (not-for-profit organizations) institutions reflect this interdependence when, for example, corporate decisions dramatically alter rural land use, cash flow, and financing options for rural residents (e.g., the location of big-box stores); urban-based hunting or recreation groups transform wetlands and habitats; or when advocacy and advertising organizations redefine rural identities in strategic ways (Halfacre, 2007; Murdoch & Pratt, 1993; Shucksmith & Brown, 2016a).

2.4 Environment

Over the past 50 years the environmental sciences have demonstrated the ways in which our common environment binds us all in a multi-level system of interdependence (Buttel & Flinn, 1977). This can also be seen dramatically on a regional scale. The ecological footprint for the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, for example, is 59 times the metro area's actual size (nearly one-third the size of Ontario) (Wilson & Anielski, 2005). This footprint rests largely on rural areas (through food, fibre, and water provision, pollution processing, and waste management). Agricultural runoff can destroy the favourite recreation areas of both urban and rural dwellers, urban air pollution threatens rural forests, uncontrolled resource exploitation can poison urban water supplies (O'Connor, 2002), and urban sprawl can undermine rural communities and despoil landscapes while contributing to the global warming that threatens us all. Of all the forms of interdependence, the environment has emerged as one of the most visible to the general public (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2002). The public concern with the quality of food, the purity of water, recreational benefits of natural assets, and local manifestations of climate change have been encouraged by the popular media, creating an opportunity for recognition that is often missing from the common interests reflected in trade, institutions, or identity. For that reason, our discussion of environmental interdependence serves as a basis for several strategic options for improving rural–urban relations.

2.5 Identity

Rural–urban interdependence based on identity is seldom discussed in the literature. Research from the 1997 to 2008 *New Rural Economy* project demonstrates, however, that it remains a powerful feature of rural–urban interdependence

(Reimer, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 6, people form attachments to places—attachments that deeply influence their perception, preferences, and choices. Social psychologists have also documented how this can easily become a central feature of how people view themselves and their personal and collective worth (Devine-Wright, 2009). In some of the more settled regions of the country (e.g., NL, NS, QC) rural markers of identity have become synonymous with provincial and sub-provincial identity as reflected in language, dialects, traditional industries, architecture, music, values, and other characteristics. Challenging or upsetting those identifications can lead to community and individual collapse—as illustrated most dramatically by the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the disregard of the association between identity and geographical places in colonial policies (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998). Visions of the rural by urban people or of the urban by rural people significantly condition our expectations when we plan, visit, or engage with each other across—or even within these regions. The bright lights of city life and the tranquility of rural places are both constructions that affect migration, expectations, and openness to others in ways that are not always beneficial. As we have found in the past, ignoring these aspects of interdependence can easily jeopardize the social cohesion of all Canadian society.

2.6 New regionalism

Rural–urban interdependence is a theme with a mixed relationship to new regionalism. New regionalism has primarily been examined with a bias to urban settings—in spite of the fact that most authors assume the urban-associated hinterlands to be part of the economic or political system. In general terms, Wheeler (2002) suggests there is a lack of understanding of the interdependence between rural and urban areas in the new regionalism literature. For example, much of the discussion focuses on the (perceived) power imbalance and conflict between rural and urban areas, and a hierarchical spatial order that privileges urbanized areas over rural counterparts in terms of public policy and institutional representation (Overbeek, 2009).

The differing demographic and spatial contexts of regions can also make the exploration of new regionalism insights difficult. For example, regions can vary from those where an urban centre dominates to those where the nearest urban centre is remote, and in each case the nature of their interdependence is different. In addition, this interdependence is reflected both within and among regions (Gallent, 2006; Tacoli, 1998).

In spite of these challenges, there is sufficient evidence to support critiques of urban-centric new regionalism to ensure that more rural areas within and among those regions are given scholarly and practitioner attention—particularly with respect to their contributions to and impacts on urban places (Ortiz-Guerrero, 2013; Markey et al., 2015). Table 8.1 identifies some of the key themes and related literature regarding these relationships.

Table 8.1 Rural–urban interdependence themes in the new regionalism literature

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Cited in (not exhaustive)</i>
Rural communities are valuable for their recreation and environmental assets	Breen, 2016; Hamin & Marcucci, 2008; Ortiz-Guerrero, 2013; Reimer, 2005
Rurally located resources provide a base for urban economic growth	Baxter et al., 2005; Hamin & Marcucci, 2008; Reimer et al., 2011, Tsukamoto, 2011
Four spheres of interdependence: economy, institution (policies, design), environment, identity	Hamin & Marcucci, 2008; Ortiz-Guerrero, 2013; Reimer, 2005; Reimer et al., 2011
Three types of R–U relations: Flows between, different territorial bounds, different functional relations	Bellini et al., 2012; Overbeek, 2009
Need for shift to emphasize interrelationships (governance) and functional interdependencies as opposed to the more conventional conflict that occurs	Breen, 2016; Devlin et al., 2015; External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities, 2006; Wallis, 2002
Interdependencies are important to consider in planning (e.g., the R–U fringe areas)	Gallent, 2006; Vodden, 2015; Wallis, 2002; Wheeler, 2002

2.7 *A matter of scale*

The particular geographic or scalar resolution at which rural–urban interconnections are examined creates an additional dimension that must be considered in our analysis. For example, place-based development in relation to identity will look very different at the local scale relative to the national one. For better or worse, fragmented national identity remains a significant barrier to place-based development in Canada, whereas local density often plays a reinforcing role in such development. This suggests three key dimensions to consider when looking at rural–urban interdependence and its relationship to our project themes: the four mechanisms of interdependence, the five themes of new regionalism (see Chapter 3), and the level of scale at which they are considered. We will consider five levels of scale: community, regional, provincial, national, and international. These distinctions are selected since they all have institutional structures in place for decision-making and resource distribution.

3 Rural–urban interdependence as a theme in Canada

In Canada, the main driver for exploring rural–urban interdependence is the enormous influence that resource development policies and practices have on people’s lives and the environment—from a macro-scale down to the local level. The pervasiveness of these connections has been extensively documented by Harold Innes’ contributions to staples theory since the 1930s (Innis, 1995, 1999) and its associated metropolitan–hinterland thesis (Careless, 1979).

Unfortunately, city–regions and high-profile urban metropolises are often treated as “engines of growth” (Duranton, 2007; Jean, 1997). Savoie (2003) suggests Canada’s regional development problem is now primarily urban–rural in nature, rather than regional or provincial. This debate seldom reflects the fundamental interdependence of rural and urban places, however, and remains relatively uninformed regarding the empirical evidence demonstrating that interdependence. As Tacoli (2006) points out, without recognition and attention to the linkages among rural and urban sectors and regions, researchers and policy-makers alike lack understanding of the contributions these linkages make to livelihoods, local economies, and social-cultural transformation, as well as the opportunities and challenges that they present.

4 Interview questions and indicators

To what extent and in what ways are issues of rural–urban interdependence reflected in regional development policy and practice in Canada? This was the research question posed as a part of the 2011 to 2015 *Canadian Regional Development* research initiative. To answer it, researchers conducted 102 key informant interviews with residents, government officials, business people, and community organizations within the project’s case study regions (22 respondents in BC, 33 in ON, 19 in QC, and 28 in NL) to gain insights into rural–urban interactions and interdependence in policy and practice. These interviews covered each of the five research themes.

With respect to the rural–urban interdependence theme, questions focused on the nature of the organizations with which the interview participants were involved, the networks within which they worked, their interactions with people and groups in regional and external urban (or rural) areas, and, for rural interview participants, the relative control and involvement of urban people, groups, and policies in their activities—with some focused attention on those organizations and policies that related to both rural and urban areas in their region.

Our coding protocol was developed to capture specific types of interdependencies within each of the four spheres of interdependence as well as connections across various themes and scales (see Table 8.2). Concepts used to identify trade and exchange relationships include, but are not limited to, labour, finance, and trade. Institutional concepts include government, family, and corporations, with these relationships also analyzed by institutional scale. Environmental concepts can be identified through recreation or nature-based recreational amenities, or other shared interests, such as food, air, and water. Concepts that can reveal relationships based on identity include place attachment, families, religious, and cultural groups or affiliations. In all cases the coding protocol allowed for types of relationships to be identified within the data that were not previously anticipated (see “Other” category). Our data analysis from across regions and provinces allowed for comparison of perceptions and practices relating to rural–urban interdependence. This included analyses of the frequencies with which the presence of particular types of interactions and interdependencies arose within the data, which are presented below.

Table 8.2 Rural–urban relationships codes

<i>Trade and exchanges</i>	<i>Institutional</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Environment</i>
People	Local-local	Place attachment	Energy
Jobs	Local-provincial	Language	Food
Goods	Local-federal	Religion	Water
Services	Local-international	Ethnicity	Air
Finances	Government	Family	Land use
Knowledge/experience	Private sector	Culture	Waste
Infrastructure	Third sector	Lifestyle	Recreation
Other	Family/culture	Employment/tasks	Climate
	Other	Political	Other
		Other	

Our data analysis from across regions and provinces allowed for comparison of perceptions and practices relating to rural–urban interdependence. This included an analysis of the frequency with which the presence of particular types of interactions and interdependencies arose within the data. Although common themes and questions were agreed upon by the project researchers, the style of engagement with interview participants and the recording of information was not consistent across all study regions—for reasons of logistics, capacity, and researcher preference. The greatest variation occurred between the Ontario interviews and the others. In the former, the researchers recorded summaries of the respondents’ responses regarding each issue, whereas with the others, the questions and answers were recorded using audio equipment and transcribed for analysis. The coding process, therefore, relied on the summaries for Ontario but transcriptions for the others. This means that comparisons among BC, QC, and NL using frequency and standardized information can be made with more reliability than those including ON.

5 Findings

5.1 Recognizing rural–urban interdependence

In what ways are rural and urban places interdependent in Canada—as perceived by local leaders and regional development practitioners? In general, most of the interview participants mentioned all four of the types of interdependencies at least once.

If we consider the number of times that an interdependency issue was mentioned by the respondents (or interviewer summaries in the case of ON), we see that institutional issues were most common (54% of the 5,431 interdependence mentions in Table 8.3). This is likely to have been influenced by respondent selection since most participants were involved with public and third-sector regional development institutions as employees or volunteers. Trade was the second most commonly mentioned type of relationship (27%),

Table 8.3 Evidence of the presence of rural–urban types of interdependency from interview data

Type	Kootenays BC (n=22)	Eastern ON (n=33)	Rimouski QC (n=19)	Kittiwake NL (n=28)	Total (n=102)
Institutions	M	M	M	M	M
Trade	L	L	L	L	L
Environment	L	L	L	L	L
Identity	L	L	L	L	L
Number of mentions	(1667)	(936)	(718)	(2110)	(5431)

N = no mention of the concept was made in the interviews being considered; L (Low) = 1% to 33% of the interview participants indicated that the concept was present or taken into consideration in development and practice (low prevalence), M (Medium) = 34% to 67% of the interview participants suggested the concept was present; H (High) = 68% to 100% indicated presence.

followed by environment (11%), and identity (9%). This ordinal pattern is followed in all four regions (see Table 8.3).

5.2 Trade and exchanges

All interview participants mentioned some form of trade or exchange as a basis for rural–urban interdependencies but the type of exchange varied in some important ways.

Most interview participants identified the exchanges of knowledge and ideas as the most prevalent example of rural–urban exchange (95 out of the 102 interviews) (see Table 8.4). This included sharing experiences among regional development agencies often facilitated by annual conferences, for example, but also through personal relationships, the exchange of knowledge among post-secondary institutions through their instructors, and among businesses and organizations that provide work term opportunities, especially for youth (Reimer & Brett, 2013). When asked about institutional linkages, a respondent from the regional centre of one case study region referred to the use of external speakers as an important source of knowledge in the following manner:

... we would bring in someone from a major department of government or a business ... and we hold meetings around tables with the heads of Marine Atlantic and we invite representatives from the other Chambers to come in to make sure that everyone has their voice with them.

[Business organization, NL]

Some representatives of rural organizations also viewed activities for visitors as a way to share knowledge about rural people, communities, and ways of life. Referring to their remote community's collaboration with urban-based

Table 8.4 Evidence of the presence of rural–urban trade by type of exchange from interview data

<i>Exchange Type</i>	<i>Kootenays BC (n=22)</i>	<i>Eastern ON (n=33)</i>	<i>Rimouski QC (n=19)</i>	<i>Kittiwake NL (n=28)</i>	<i>Total (n=102)</i>
Knowledge	H	H	H	H	H
Finance	H	M	H	H	H
Services	H	M	H	H	H
People	H	M	M	H	H
Goods	M	M	M	M	M
Infrastructure	L	N	N	L	L
Other/unspecified	L	L	L	L	L

N = no mention of the concept was made in the interviews being considered; L (Low) = 1% to 33% of the interview participants indicated that the concept was present/taken into consideration in development and practice (low prevalence), M (Medium) = 34% to 67% of the interview participants suggested the concept was present; H (High) = 68% to 100% indicated presence.

universities, the National Film Board, and urban artists, one of our respondents expressed it in the following way:

... we think of it as engagement, so the way we use the house [a local inn and studio], for example, this is a cinema thing in partnership with the National Film Board of Canada and we don't play any kind of film but a specific collection to share certain knowledge.

[Community organization, NL]

While knowledge was the most common type of exchange noted by interview participants, exchanges of finance and services were also common (85 and 84 respectively out of 102 interviews). One respondent from Newfoundland emphasized how rural consumers help to sustain businesses within regional service centres—in this case, the town of Gander: “Well Gander wouldn't exist without rural, there's no ifs, ands, or buts” [Business organization, NL]. Impacts of global flows of goods and services were also evident, as well as development responses to these changes. One interview participant from Québec, for example, explained in the following way the role that local agencies have played:

I think we can provide a counterbalance to the global movements, that is to say, counterbalance the flow of concentration. Large commercial type chains like Walmart and the like have so many strong resources, but we are able to explain to the large food chains how important it is to introduce regional agricultural products for support to our economy.

[Provincial organization, QC—author translation]

Technology has helped rural businesses access urban and global markets but also rural workers to access distant job opportunities, “because they have connectivity to work abroad”.

[Regional government, ON]

Mobility and “exchange” of people was a common theme across the study regions (74 out of 102 interviews). In many cases, residents in rural communities must not only travel to urban centres to access goods and services but also to sustain their livelihoods.

There is no question that the rural areas are dependent upon the urban centers. There is no question. We have, the city of Trail in itself is the employment center for arguably the area and I would say Castlegar as well for the large part. There is a tremendous amount of labour force mobility between Castlegar and Trail

[Community organization, BC].

We should also mention that almost 70% of workers living in rural areas in these communities actively work within the city of Rimouski.

[Regional organization, QC—author translation]

While some rural residents commute to job centres far and near, others choose to migrate. Loss of youth to large cities, within or out of province, was another common theme within the study regions. This creates the need to attract young families and bring outside education and experience into communities that have experienced population losses. At the same time, some communities within the study regions experienced increased numbers of incoming visitors or property owners on a seasonal basis. The interviews reveal that mobility choices and their implications are strongly linked to identity, culture, attachment to place (discussed further below), and to historical employment patterns as a basis for rural–urban relationships.

The exchange of goods was quite frequently mentioned as a reflection of interdependence (60 out of 102 interviews). In some cases, this occurred within discussions about the disadvantages of rural as opposed to urban communities—or the competition between them:

If they are able to, people go to Alberta for their shopping because the tax is lower.

[Community organization, BC]

I can recall when I was young that we have inside the village four places where we could buy groceries, four places. And it was like that if we go back like 45 years. And there were four farms in our village where we had different products like eggs and others. And even in my farm we were going door-to-door to sell our eggs. And we also had a general

160 *Bill Reimer et al.*

store but now if you look in the village you have almost nothing ... the price of food inside big grocery stores inside the city came down drastically. So, people were now going into the city to buy their food which was costing them less than if they were buying from us.

[Provincial organization, QC—author translation]

Most people go to urban centres for their significant grocery purchases.

[Municipal government, NL]

There was also recognition of the way in which exchanges of goods to urban places could be of benefit to rural ones.

... because the city is full of potential buyers and the rural communities produce products with not only themselves in mind, but also for city dwellers, so there should be way closer ties between the rural citizens and the citizens of the city.

[Regional organization, QC—author translation]

Exchanges or sharing of infrastructure was mentioned by only three interview participants of the 102 interviewed. This was noticeably different from the other types of exchange in spite of the fact that infrastructure like roads, railroads, power, communication, and pipelines are some of the most direct links connecting rural and urban places.

5.3 Institutionally-based interdependence

Institutional interdependencies are mentioned at least once by all interview participants although the type of institution showed some variation in relative frequency. Government and third-sector institutional interdependencies were mentioned at least once in the highest number of interviews (93 and 89 respectively out of 102 interviews) (see Table 8.5). Private sector and family issues were mentioned at least once (each) in 69 of the interviews. There was some variation in these figures across the provinces but the relative ranking of the institution type remained about the same. For example, the private sector was most often mentioned in BC and NL while family was mentioned relatively infrequently in Ontario. This is a case where the variation in interviews and coding may be responsible for such a difference, but it may also signal an occasion for additional analysis. A closer examination of each type of institutional interdependency follows.

5.4 Level of government

Rural and urban places are highly interdependent in terms of government policies, programs, and financing. Since this occurs via relations at a number

Table 8.5 Evidence of the presence of rural–urban interdependence by institution type from interview data

Characteristic	Kootenays BC (n=22)	Eastern ON (n=33)	Rimouski QC (n=19)	Kittiwake NL (n=28)	Total (n=102)
Government	H	H	H	H	H
Private	H	M	M	H	H
Third sector	H	H	H	H	H
Family	H	M	H	H	H
Other/unspecified	L	L	L	L	L

N = no mention of the concept was made in the interviews being considered; L (Low) = 1% to 33% of the interview participants indicated that the concept was present/taken into consideration in development and practice (low prevalence), M (Medium) = 34% to 67% of the interview participants suggested the concept was present; H (High) = 68% to 100% indicated presence.

Table 8.6 Evidence of the presence of rural–urban interdependence by level of government from interview data

Linkage Type	Kootenays BC (n=22)	Eastern ON (n=33)	Rimouski QC (n=19)	Kittiwake NL (n=28)	Total (n=102)
Local-local	H	H	H	H	H
Local-provincial	H	H	H	H	H
Local-federal	L	L	N	L	L
Local-international	M	M	L	M	M
Other/unspecified	L	L	L	L	L

N = no mention of the concept was made in the interviews being considered; L (Low) = 1% to 33% of the interview participants indicated that the concept was present/taken into consideration in development and practice (low prevalence), M (Medium) = 34% to 67% of the interview participants suggested the concept was present; H (High) = 68% to 100% indicated presence.

of different levels, we coded the responses with respect to their relative scale: local to local, local to provincial, local to federal, and local to international (see Table 8.6).

The most notable finding is the relatively low number of mentions regarding local–federal links (only 8 out of the 102 interviews). Even links of an international nature (43 out of 102) are more likely to be mentioned than those with the federal government or other national institutions, although several interview participants acknowledged that “the federal government is a major funder for initiatives” [Regional organization, NL]. This reflects findings from the *New Rural Economy* project that indicate rural communities tend to have only weak connections with federal agencies and policy-makers (Halseth & Ryser, 2006).

Interview participants mentioned local-to-local institutional relationships at least once in all of the interviews (but local–provincial rural–urban institutional

162 *Bill Reimer et al.*

relationships are also common—being mentioned at least once in 91 of the 102 interviews). Development activities at the regional level are often in response to provincial program initiatives designed by officials in urban headquarters. Provincial and (and to a far lesser extent) federal governments provide policy guidelines and regulations that enable and constrain regional initiatives, in part as important sources of finances for regional development.

One participant explains the influence of provincial (referred to in Québec as “national”) policy in the following way:

In the national policy on or around Québec this policy influences many organizations in the territory and the way that villages can ask for money within the rural areas of the territory. It is often from the top-down, which is something that could be from the bottom-up in my view.

[Community organization, Québec—author translation]

Well, if you look at the rural policy in Québec the answer is “yes” and if you look at agriculture policies, of course they influenced the development of agriculture at a regional level. It is certain.

[Municipal government, QC—author translation]

Interview participants in BC expressed the need for more appropriate policy for rural communities. Institutional interdependencies sometimes result in rural–urban tensions and a feeling that the contributions of rural resources to urban economies are not adequately recognized.

I think that government policy is not overly supportive of [little pockets of communities], I think there is more of an urban bias to a lot of the government policy that we see around economic development or community development.

[Regional organization, BC]

It is common for most rural areas to feel that the tendency at senior levels of government is to focus on more urban areas as opposed to the more favorable rural policies and recognize ... that the overall wealth, specifically as it pertains to resource management or natural resources, ... lie[s] within the rural areas not the urban.

[Regional organization, BC]

Rural–urban tensions also exist between larger and smaller local governments within regions (local–local relationships). Communities with larger or wealthier populations are often seen as having greater access to taxation revenues, for example, which can in turn lead to debates about which organizations or government departments should be responsible for the costs of regional services (see Case Study 8.1). In some cases, the larger populations of the regional centres are used to

justify their having greater representation or decision-making power on regional boards, like with the MRCs in Québec. One of our interview participants, for example, informed us that “With its demographic weight, the city [Rimouski] controls 85% of the budget of the MRC. So since the city has a right to veto the MRC and the city decides to say no, then the decision is no—it’s over” [Community organization, QC—author translation]. In other cases, distances between communities make it difficult for local governments to collaborate on a regional basis.

The dissatisfaction, because of the geographic division, is substantial. We cancelled meetings; it increases the cost of everything that we do. It does not make a whole lot of sense from very many angles.

[Regional organization, BC]

Case Study 8.1 The MRC of Rimouski-Neigette: Managing a large urban centre in a rural region

The regional county municipality (Municipalities Regionale de Comte—MRC) of Rimouski-Neigette is located about 300 km east of Québec City. It is bordered by the river to the north, the New Brunswick border to the south, the MCR La Mitis to the east, and the MRC of the Basques to the west. It is composed of one unorganized territory and nine municipalities (see Chapter 4, Map 4.4).

The MRC Council for Rimouski-Neigette is composed of the nine mayors of the municipalities within the region and one representative from the municipality of Saint-Anaclet-de-Lessard. The extra representative was added since the mayor of that municipality was elected as Prefect of the Council. The MRCs have two different sets of responsibilities. The first, land use planning, is imposed by the provincial government. This includes plans for the water management of the rivers within the MRC boundaries, the preparation of municipal evaluation rolls, the administration of non-organized territories inside the MRC, the establishment of a waste management plan, and a fire protection plan. The plans are reviewed by the provincial government to ensure they conform to provincial regulations and revised every five years.

The MRC can also establish its own set of responsibilities to facilitate regional and local development. These are optional for each municipality since they can ask to be withdrawn from any such contracts so long as they provide a resolution from their council. These optional contracts can include investment funds for private sector start-ups (see www.mamot.gouv.qc.ca/amenagement-du-territoire/guide-la-prise-de-decision-en-urbanisme/acteurs-et-processus/mrc/).

The Rimouski-Neigette MRC has taken on most of these responsibilities in an active manner, working with its constituent municipalities to share services, maintain its agricultural zone, support sustainable development objectives, and build opportunities for recreation, culture, and heritage (see www.mrcrimouskineigette.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Fonds-de-d%C3%A9veloppement-des-territoires-Priorit%C3%A9s-d'intervention-2017-2018.pdf).

With the agreement of the Québec government, the MRC also has established the Société de promotion de Rimouski (SOPER) to provide services for entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs. This responsibility is shared with a federal institution, the Société d'aide au développement des collectivités (SADC), which operates in the rural areas of the MRC. The agreement includes a rural development fund that is managed by SOPER.

These activities have not been without their challenges. One of the most pervasive has been the uneven population distribution between the city of Rimouski and the other municipalities in the MRC. In 2016, the city of Rimouski contained about 86% (48,664) of the MRC population of 56,650. The eight other municipalities and unorganized territory in the MRC had a combined population of 7,986. According to provincial regulations, this means that the city of Rimouski holds veto power on the Council since it comprises more than 50% of the population in the MRC.

Interview participants indicated that this imbalance had created tensions between the urban centre of Rimouski and the surrounding villages, but that it was diminished to some extent by more recent initiatives. This is reflected in the following quotes from our local interviews (our translation).

The city of Rimouski, when considering its size, is capable of paying for all services and also capable of sharing with people who are living in the surrounding rural communities. We have a recreation agreement with the city of Rimouski regarding an arena, pool, or other infrastructure that we could not have in [our village]. If a young person from our village wants to play a sport in Rimouski, he will pay the same price as a young person from Rimouski ... For example, it only costs a dollar for my sons to be members of the Rimouski Municipal Library whereas previously it cost \$100 when we did not have an agreement.

[Municipal government 1, QC—author translation]

I think one of the problems is not with the elected representative of the city, but with the citizens of Rimouski. For us, Rimouski is very close, while the rural territories (especially the remote villages like ours) are very very far and misunderstood by the citizens of Rimouski. Additionally, we feel that they are not aware of what happens in our village, while the opposite is not the case.

[Municipal government 2, QC—author translation]

I think that the situation in terms of the relationship between the MRC and the city of Rimouski was not good at all because over time the city of Rimouski was not comfortable with that thinking, so over the years it created an atmosphere of real confrontation which is hard to change.

[Municipal government 3, QC—author translation]

For now, I can say that the conflicts are resolved without lights and cameras. Exactly the opposite of what has happened before where the mayor decided to resolve everything publicly and through the media. Now we have a mayor and a municipal administration that is willing to settle issues without all the public attention.

[Municipal government 4, QC—author translation]

Our interview participants also pointed to the different conditions and approaches to decision-making that exist within the more formal bureaucracies of the MRCs and the smaller settlements in the region. This is reflected in the following quote:

I have to admit that for some people and some elected to the MRC, there is no understanding at all of how here in [small village] we can have close relationships between elected officials and municipal administration. Here, it is common for us to have meetings between elected officials and the municipal government at my home in an informal setting—and for many of the elected in other rural communities, they can't understand how that's done.

[Municipal government 1, QC—author translation]

At present, these tensions are managed by informal means (Reimer et al., 2008). Over the last few years, for example, the mayor of Rimouski has been reluctant to use the veto power since he considers it unfair to the smaller municipalities. This informal arrangement has sustained relatively congenial relationships on the Council although there is some public concern

expressed regarding the perceived lack of sensitivity to the rural municipalities and regions. It also relies on the personal sentiments of the Rimouski mayor, leaving long term consistency uncertain. As indicated in one of the quotes above, this concern is tempered by the many services that the city provides to the surrounding communities.

5.5 *Private sector*

Private sector institutions were implicated in rural–urban relationships in both positive and negative ways (see Table 8.5). The following quotations illustrate how urban centres both draw consumer dollars out of rural communities and provide markets as well as financial and other supports to rural businesses:

It is about an hour's drive to Walmart from Grand Forks, and people would still rather go there than buy local.

[Municipal government, BC]

Yes, we collaborate with every organization in the territory to help start new businesses and we collaborate in all the ways that we can. For example, by helping with the analysis of the business plan and meeting with the entrepreneurs to analyze the risk-taking of every organization around the table to make sure that the entrepreneur has the best services for him to start his businesses. The way we make decisions among ourselves, I mean all the organizations around the table, is by consensus.

[Regional organization, QC—author translation]

There is a public private partnership with the town of Gander to provide Destination Gander, which represents opportunities for tourism in the area.

[Regional organization, NL]

One small example of collaborations between the rural and the urban is the Local Food Economy Study which was done. This has led to a program where the rural farmers come to the city to personally sell their food to the city residents.

[Regional organization, ON]

5.6 *Third sector*

Third-sector institutional links were often mentioned with respect to public and private sector involvement (see Table 8.5). Each of these sectors plays a significant role in regional development as sources of financial capital, labour, knowledge, services, and, in the case of regional non-profit organizations, as facilitators of

rural–urban relationships. One respondent identified the important role of Community Futures Development Corporations (CFDC) that exist in two of the four provinces (ON and BC), for example:

There are all sorts of rural–urban partnerships. The CFDCs have an important role to play here. The public respect for the Board Members of the CFDC was an important element here in facilitating bridges between rural and urban interests. It was suggested that the EODP’s skills training initiatives were an important factor in reducing rural and urban differences.

[Regional organization, BC]

Non-government regional development organizations such as CFDCs can help to bring a range of institutional representatives together. Organizational representatives from BC explained this in the following ways:

We have also been involved with the Aboriginal BEST [Aboriginal Business and Entrepreneurship Skills Training] training program ... And on our board, we also have somebody from the First Nations. And we also have somebody from the Métis community as directors on our board. So we can link in there.

[Regional organization, BC]

When you have 60 or 65 community leaders that are all focusing on either smaller areas or greater areas of the whole, these types of projects and activities are bound to come up over the course of time. And then they just gather steam within the organization. And we have been fortunate enough where the local governments, even the province for that matter and our private enterprise, private sector partners in the community have also bought into this as well.

[Regional organization, BC]

5.7 Family

The role of family relationships was mentioned in 70 of the 102 interviews. All of the provincial interview participants reflected this level, except for Ontario (see Table 8.5). Migration, for example, creates family ties between rural and urban communities.

I know for example that the Stroud family claims to be the original European settler in Glovertown ... my point is there are fairly significant connections with St. John’s as I suppose there are with all towns in Newfoundland. Now there’s that little townie–outport friction, that’s changed, most people don’t pay any attention to it but you still won’t get many people from Glovertown who are very positive about St. John’s.

[Municipal government, NL]

168 *Bill Reimer et al.*

Several interview participants explained that family ties can also be a barrier to rural–urban mobility or collaboration within or among regions.

Many people who were born and raised in communities have started family businesses. As such, it is difficult for them to move elsewhere.

[Municipal government, BC]

... in several other villages you find families' lines and considerable confrontation and conflicts amongst them. And this greatly affects the participation of citizens because once you have one family participating in a social activity, you can bet that all the other families in conflict with that one will not participate.

[Municipal government, QC—author translation]

Another respondent identified several difficulties that families face when one or both parents work and their children's school is located in a different community from where they live.

5.8 Multiple institutional interdependence

An in-depth reading of the transcripts from our interviews provides some more nuanced impressions regarding the institutional contexts in which each region operates. Although our four field site regions involve all institutional sector types in their regional development relationships, rural–urban related interactions are described as more formal in the Kootenays and more informal in the Kittiwake/Gander-New-Wes-Valley than in other case study regions. In the Kootenays, the governance system is led by municipal and regional district governments, together with regional organizations (as indicated in the quotes above), with strong market and bureaucratic-based relationships and capacity relative to other regions (Reimer et al., 2008). Kootenay interview participants emphasized the role of the private sector and government agencies in fostering and managing rural–urban relationships. The Columbia Basin Trust (CBT) also has a significant funding base and dominant influence. The CBT provides programs, initiatives, and financial investments within the Columbia Basin to help enhance the socioeconomic status of residents and communities within the region (see <https://ourtrust.org/>).

In the Kittiwake/Gander-New-Wes-Valley region in NL, municipal governments and others seem to work more through third-sector groups than in other regions. Participants described strong capacities in associative (based on organizing and participating around common interest) and communal (based on respect for family, ethnic, or other identity-based loyalties) relationships in the region, but a weaker presence of market and bureaucratic (rational/legal) relationships, although the latter are enhanced via associative relationships (Reimer et al., 2008). Regional development practitioners and community

leaders tend to gain influence by using connections and networks to reach decision-makers (e.g., for lobbying)—possibly a reflection of relatively weak formal regional governance institutions. Meetings regarding regional concerns relevant to both urban and rural/small towns tend to focus on recreation, infrastructure, and economic development issues.

Eastern and Northern Ontario provide other examples of multi-institutional collaborations that contribute to the management of rural–urban interests. Eastern Ontario has very active CFDCs across the region, an active CFDC apex-organization, considerable rural–urban interactions via educational organizations (e.g., Trent and Queen’s universities, Loyalist College, Sir Sandford Fleming College), the trans-regional presence of Parks Canada and the Trent–Severn Canal system, multiple mentions of local foods systems as rural–urban connectors, and the urban-based cottage associations as powerful rural forces (see Case Study 8.2).

Case Study 8.2 Rural-urban engagement in Northern Ontario

At the height of the forestry crisis in the mid-2000s, the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association (NOMA) chose to target provincial decision-makers by getting support from mayors and Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) in nearly 200 southern Ontario communities. This included a letter campaign to cities like Mississauga, the City of Toronto, Oakville, and Burlington: cities that would be affected by a decline in the forest industry. The letter stated that: “The Forestry Industry in Ontario is in crisis and we need your help; otherwise we will all lose!”

This campaign was designed to put pressure on the provincial government by positioning the forest sector as an **Ontario** industry versus a **regional** one. As the NOMA president explained, “The more people—like southern mayors and MPPs from southern Ontario—who are aware of it and bring it to the attention to the premier and members of cabinet, the more likely we can get a hearing” (Fort Francis Times, 2005). One key informant spoke about this “tactic” to find “Southern allies” in detail:

One of the tactics we used was we ... went through the industry across Ontario that had a relationship to wood and we ... found out the dollar value of their part of the pie. So companies in Mississauga, companies in Toronto, actually multiple companies, we were able to quantify how much value there was from a stick of wood in Northern Ontario that went through their place of business and then we communicated that to every Member of the Legislature riding by riding and as well municipalities. We

got Hazel McCallion on side, we got the then Mayor of Oshawa on side, we got David Miller the Mayor on side, all of them helping to advocate for us because we recognized earlier on that even as Northern Ontario we're down to 10 seats okay? So we're still a small piece of the political pie at Queen's Park. So we needed some bigger clout. So we went and found some allies. And that's what we've had to do in Northwestern Ontario and in Northern Ontario for years. Find Southern allies. So we were able to quantify for all of those folks what the challenges in the forestry industry would mean to their community. [From Hall, 2012]

In response, the provincial government appointed the former president of Lakehead University in Northwestern Ontario as the Northwestern Ontario Economic Facilitator and introduced a number of initiatives for the forestry sector. The report recommended a development strategy with long-term structural impacts for Northern Ontario.

In 2012, the provincial government decision to divest the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission (ONTC) to manage provincial transportation also sparked a regionalism crisis in Northeastern Ontario. Municipal, business, and labour interests joined together under the moniker of the Northern Communities Working Group to demand a "New Deal for Ontario Northland" or ND4ON. This group consisted of the mayors from North Bay, Timmins, Cochrane, Englehart, Iroquois Falls, Kapuskasing, and Black River-Matheson along with broader municipal support from the North Eastern Ontario Municipal Association (NEOMA) and the Federation of Northern Ontario Municipalities (FONOM). It also included the North Bay and District Chamber of Commerce and the Ontario Northland General Chairpersons Association, which represents the interests of unionized employees at Ontario Northland.

In addition to the traditional approach of using television and print media to bring attention to their cause, this group launched a social media strategy including a website and a web-based postcard campaign to garner support. They also partnered with the Northern Regional Publishing Group of Sun Media to include advertisements and window inserts in eleven newspapers across Northern Ontario (ND4ON, 2012a). The North Bay District Chamber of Commerce took out a full-page ad in the *Ottawa Sun* to "inform residents of Premier McGuinty's home town that selling off Ontario Northland, a public

entity, isn't sitting well with businesses in the region" (ND4ON, 2012b: online). Like their counterparts in Northwestern Ontario, this Working Group transcended territorial boundaries to initiate support in more populous political ridings.

The Working Group also paid particular attention to the language surrounding the provincial decision to divest ONTC. The McGuinty Liberal government had referred to the transfer of government money to ONTC as a *subsidy*. However, similar transfers to government transportation agencies, like Metrolinx in the Greater Toronto Area, were identified as *investments*. This is reflective of the general view surrounding regional development: interventions in Northern Ontario are seen as *subsidies* or *handouts* while interventions in Southern Ontario are seen as *investments*.

These crises in Northern Ontario have, thus, generated a defense of traditional industries and rural economic development through rural–urban alliances. Their aim was to improve the provincial response to the forestry crisis and divestiture of regional assets by transcending regional boundaries and recasting the crisis as a provincial rather than a regional issue.

(Modified from: Hall, 2012)

Institutional relations affect other kinds of relationships. Financial exchanges, for example, are a critical component of relationships between local and senior governments.

The other challenge of course is that everything we do we're dependent—so dependent—on government to help us out with the financial resources so and that's where we've been arguing and debating with government about a new financial arrangement, a fiscal framework to give towns more, a more sustainable source of income.

[Municipal government, NL]

5.9 Environment

Table 8.7 identifies the specific topics mentioned in those interviews where environment-related comments with respect to rural–urban relations were made at least once. The most frequently referenced examples of environment-related relationships are associated with tourism and recreation (61 out of 102 interviews). Tourism is a large component of rural and regional economies. Visitors from urban centres are drawn by natural amenities based in rural areas such as “iceberg alley” in Kittiwake, NL, the Trent–Severn Canal system in Eastern Ontario, the rivers, lakes, and forests of Rimouski, or the

Table 8.7 Evidence of the environmental factor in rural–urban relationships from interview data

Topic	Kootenays BC (n=22)	Eastern ON (n=33)	Rimouski QC (n=19)	Kittiwake NL (n=28)	Total (n=102)
Recreation	M	M	M	H	M
Water	M	L	M	L	M
Waste	M	L	L	M	L
Land	M	L	M	L	L
Energy	M	L	L	L	L
Food	L	L	L	L	L
Air	L	N	N	L	L
Climate	L	N	N	N	L
Other/unspecified	M	L	L	L	L

N = no mention of the concept was made in the interviews being considered; L (Low) = 1% to 33% of the interview participants indicated that the concept was present/taken into consideration in development and practice (low prevalence), M (Medium) = 34% to 67% of the interview participants suggested the concept was present; H (High) = 68% to 100% indicated presence.

mountains and streams of the Kootenays. National parks and biosphere reserves also provide recreational opportunities to a wide range of communities across their regions, provinces, and even the country. The larger towns and cities in these regions offer a range of cultural and leisure activities for visitors and residents that supplement these natural assets. Further, communities often share the costs and use of recreational infrastructure, such as trail systems that cross through several communities or recreational complexes.

It was noted that people often treated natural environments as respites from their day-to-day activities. As such, many entities and organizations have capitalized on these locations for tourism strategies. Other aspects of the environment, such as extraction of natural resources and water quality, were also mentioned in the interviews, but were associated more often with other domains (e.g., commuting flows related to natural resources development or institutional relationships related to water management).

Watersheds and drinking water supplies provide a basis for regional efforts in all four provinces. The Columbia Basin Trust's Water Smart program in BC is one of several examples provided where water-related expertise is shared across a region—in this case to assist with water conservation efforts. In BC and NL, communities hire regional water operators and have established regional water systems (Breen & Minnes, 2014). A watershed committee in the lower St. Lawrence River, QC offers specific programs to reduce the ecological footprint of human activities and claims that they “have the highest standards in terms of environmental protection in the agricultural world” [Provincial government, QC—author translation]. In ON, shared concerns regarding the water condition of the Great Lakes, other lakes,

wetlands, and groundwater bring players together but also create conflicts, as one interview participant explains:

Rural municipalities and their constituents are very concerned with the additional costs of complying with the Ministry’s standards under the Clean Water Act. The people of the town of Lindsay do not want to pay for the rural areas’ well systems and the rural populations have resentment that they have to pay for Lindsay’s sewage system.

[Provincial government, ON]

Difficulties such as human resource challenges with regional water systems (e.g., training, technical knowledge), and the need for improved communication among communities when establishing policies to manage water systems were noted. Amalgamation was a controversial topic throughout the regions studied. Some interview participants referred to municipal and environmental protection amalgamation experiences as a barrier to regional efforts of all kinds while others suggested that after amalgamation, tackling issues with water and sewer seems much more feasible [Municipal government, NL].

In BC, interview participants cited cases of watershed plans created through partnerships among municipalities and the provincial government. However, formal control over the management of water resources by provinces has created difficulties. BC interview participants point to concerns about lack of consultation on water policy, while recognizing it is more effective to lobby the government as a group than just a single municipality. ON interview participants point to water quality disasters such as Walkerton, when provincial austerity measures contributed to seven deaths and 2,300 people falling ill in May 2000 (O’Connor, 2002).

Energy and climate change issues were less likely to be mentioned in our interviews (23 and once respectively out of 102 interviews), although they have the potential for considerable rural–urban collaboration. The Kootenays has taken a leadership role in this regard and was the only region where relationships related to climate change were discussed. Cranbrook, in the Kootenays, hosted a large bioenergy conference, for example, and communities within the region are working together to try and address climate change.

Communities have minimal time to deal with climate change issues. As a result, some organizations have hired specifically climate change advisors that go into communities and provide consultations, building relationships, and hold symposiums ... Climate change needs to be managed on a regional level. Many regions work together on housing issues—why not climate?

[Regional organization, BC]

Food access and quality issues were mentioned in only 17 of the 102 interviews. However, they have stimulated many rural–urban initiatives—especially in Ontario and Québec. The Québec Rural Pact has supported local food and

urban agriculture initiatives, and city–rural festivals (Jean & Reimer, 2015). Regional agriculture agencies also help to transfer knowledge, goods, and services across the agriculture sector. The Eastern Ontario region has also used local food movements as a vehicle for rural and urban integration. At the same time, regional interview participants called for more provincial policy and related supports to put local goods on the market. As one of our regional development interview participants said: “If I would write a policy for regions I would write it to help producers in regions put our products on the market. That is where I would put the money to help regions right now” [Regional organization, QC—author translation]. In BC, the Kootenay Lake Partnership works with government and non-government partners to promote agriculture and a number of agencies are working towards establishing an agricultural plan for the region (see www.kootenaylakepartnership.com/).

5.10 Identity

Although identity related to rural–urban relations was one of the least mentioned topics in our interviews (only 9% of the 5,431 mentions as discussed regarding Table 8.3), 92 of the 102 interview participants mentioned it at least once. A closer examination of the details of those mentions shows it is closely related to the more dominant themes of place attachment, types of employment, and culture (see Table 8.8).

Several interview participants indicated that they hold a strong sense of place-identity: using it as a justification for travelling for work instead of

Table 8.8 Evidence of the presence of rural–urban identity from the interview data

<i>Identity Type</i>	<i>Kootenays BC (n=22)</i>	<i>Eastern ON (n=33)</i>	<i>Rimouski QC (n=19)</i>	<i>Kittiwake NL (n=28)</i>	<i>Total (n=102)</i>
Place	H	M	H	H	H
Employment/tasks	M	M	M	M	M
Culture	H	M	L	M	M
Political	L	L	L	L	L
Family	N	L	L	L	L
Language	N	L	N	N	L
Ethnicity	L	L	N	N	L
Lifestyle	L	N	N	L	L
Religion	L	L	N	N	L
Other/unspecified	L	N	N	L	L

N = no mention of the concept was made in the interviews being considered; L (Low) = 1% to 33% of the interview participants indicated that the concept was present/taken into consideration in development and practice (low prevalence), M (Medium) = 34% to 67% of the interview participants suggested the concept was present; H (High) = 68% to 100% indicated presence.

relocating. It was also used as a rationale for moving back to a region after years of living elsewhere.

A lot of people like it here. I lived away for many, many years and I was drawn back. I was looking for a job to come back, it wasn't the job per se, I wanted to come back to the area. There are many people like me, a lot of people just within this organization are people that went away and came because they want to live here.

[Regional organization, BC]

A lot of our people have had to be transient. They travel to Ontario, Alberta, and wherever all over as we say as Newfoundlanders say all over God's creation to work and to make a living and yet they keep coming back to retire and they come home they come on a regular basis to their community and so I think there's a good sense of a strong sense of community pride and attachment to their community and to their extended families.

[Municipal government, NL]

Yes, there has been a significant awareness of and attention to “amenity migration”, as more and more ex-urban people come to rural and smaller communities for the amenities that they can access, on a daily basis. This is bringing highly qualified, highly skilled, often well connected, articulate, sometimes wealthy, and active new residents to particular parts of rural Ontario.

[Regional organization, ON]

These place-based attachments and identities are closely tied to employment and, in many cases, attachments to natural surroundings and related recreational opportunities. Tensions and conflicts have arisen as urban residents move to rural areas, often facilitated by access to internet-based communications technologies. Such tensions are often due to different perspectives regarding rural assets and activities and the kinds of services that might be reasonably expected in rural areas with limited tax bases.

Historical rivalries linked to community identities and a “heritage of independence from urban dominance” [Regional organization ON] create further barriers to urban–rural collaboration.

In my village certainly, the citizens have a very strong sense of belonging to the village. I can tell you that any merger with Rimouski will never pass there. It is like an old village because even though you have some new families that have been going there for many years, you still have four or five very strong families inside the village that transfer to themselves houses, land, etc.

[Regional business, QC—author translation]

176 *Bill Reimer et al.*

Each community has its own distinct culture.

[Municipal government, NL]

Interview participants suggest that a cultural change is needed to move from a dominant focus on competition to collaboration between rural and urban communities. Interview participants explained that language also influences rural–urban relations in Eastern Ontario:

The language divide is very evident for this part of Ontario. People are separated in clusters by language and do not work together ... Sometimes festivals in neighbouring towns collaborate, but many times they do not because of the anglophone vs. francophone rivalry.

[Regional business organization, ON]

6 Reflections and future directions

These results are encouraging in a number of ways. First, because they support the value of the framework proposing the four spheres of rural–urban interdependence. The interview responses provide useful information regarding the nature of rural–urban interdependence and they suggest that the four domains reflect quite different mechanisms through which this interdependence operates. By viewing this interdependence with respect to (at least) four spheres, it avoids the tendency to limit the focus to trade and exchanges, identifies key gaps in our analysis, and encourages new directions to advance our understanding of rural–urban relationships. Trade and exchanges, for example, seem to be important bases for interdependence within the private sector, with economic objectives serving as points of reference. As we have seen in the interview responses, this interdependence can have positive or negative outcomes for rural places (e.g. new markets for rural products or replacement of local services for urban ones, and economic leakage). Institutional interdependence, on the other hand, predominates in discussions about the public sector. These discussions are most often about the ways in which general policies and programs restrict local options for action either by misrepresenting the local conditions or by imposing requirements on local action for which capacity is inadequate. Our research also provides examples where more productive, collaborative relationships among institutions support rural and regional development (e.g., the Québec rural policy and the multiple collaborations in Eastern Ontario).

Second, our findings further demonstrate the ways in which these relationship types are interconnected (see also Chapter 7). The movement of people, for example, bridges several of the four domains—sometimes being treated as a labour exchange issue, sometimes as an issue of institutional servicing (e.g., for those employed in regional services), or as an interdependency driven by place identity. The importance of identity and the environment for rural–urban relationships receive relatively little attention, however, and the

potential of demographic shifts for these domains are seldom discussed, although the implications are obvious (e.g., the loss of local knowledge and identity through death and out-migration of the elderly; conflicts in the perception of nature and environment through the in-migration of urbanites) (Shucksmith & Brown, 2016b, Part I: Demographic Change).

Third, the framework appears to be sensitive to important variations in these four domains of interdependence. Among this sample, the predominance of institutional types of interdependence is clear, with trade issues second, and environment and identity relatively low in expressed saliency. This pattern is replicated across the four provinces and case study regions in each that were considered—raising questions about the source of this consistency. Is it the result of the methodology employed (e.g., the sample selected, the questions, or coding procedure) or the nature of the regions and/or the rural–urban interdependencies themselves? The question warrants further investigation through the application and development of the framework in other regions to allow for further comparison.

Finally, the framework and analysis hint at some important policy implications. The relatively low saliency of environment and identity-based interdependence, for example, suggest that these are under-recognized as important bases of rural–urban interdependence or represented in antagonistic ways. The contrast of rural and urban places and people that are often found within the urban fringe, for example, often focus on the differences and conflicts over land use rather than the ways in which these challenges confirm their interdependence. It may also be that the impacts of urban policies on rural environments are indirect and therefore largely invisible. Urban-focused policies and plans for an oil-based economy, all-climate and all-season food production, and inadequately processed pollution, for example, all have important environmental impacts on rural (and ultimately urban) regions. Without recognition of this interdependence, we are unlikely to develop the social and economic mechanisms to control their negative impacts, build on common interests, and appropriately distribute the costs and benefits.

The recognition of rural–urban interdependence becomes even more problematic with respect to identity issues. Perhaps the most important example can be found in the case of Indigenous peoples, where our insensitivity to the relationship between identity, community, health, culture, and well-being (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998) has created significant concerns for all Canadians. In more general terms, rural and urban place-based identity is often considered an antiquated issue in the relatively high-mobility context of contemporary Canada, but its manifestation in social action, social cohesion, and product branding suggests it remains an important consideration for policy and analysis. As we explore new frameworks for rural and urban interdependence, finding the place of shared, complementary, and cohesive identities will become an important objective (Bhattacharyya et al., 2004; Douglas, 2010).

These results are suggestive but preliminary. Although we have data from a wide range of places and people, they reflect the usual challenges of sampling, analysis, and interpretation found in mixed methods approaches. First, these data provide information regarding the interview participants' perception of the issues discussed—which will bear an indirect relationship to more objective measures we might use. They remain, however, useful when considering the conceptual context for policy development and action related to the issues of rural–urban interdependence. Second, they reflect the particular interview participants selected for this sample. We contacted people who are knowledgeable about their regions and are key players in it as well as those who represent a wide range of regional stakeholders, but the representativeness can always be improved by including a broader spectrum of participants (see Chapter 7). Finally, methodological differences across the provinces and provincial research teams and/or the structured coding framework used as a basis for our quantitative analysis have undoubtedly influenced our results.

In general, this research reinforces the importance of rural–urban interdependence, highlights opportunities, challenges, and tensions experienced within rural–urban relationships, and adds to our understanding of these relationships and interdependencies by providing a framework that is more expansive and structured than the usual research approaches addressing this topic. It suggests that looking beyond the exchanges and movement of goods and people will yield important insights on the complex ways in which the fates of rural and urban people are shared. It also directs policy-makers to pay attention to the ways in which policies and programs in one location have implications for those in others—while providing specific examples of the mechanisms and domains through which those interdependencies arise. The results reinforce the results of Chapter 7 and call for more collaborative and integrated policy and program development across rural and urban domains to recognize these interdependencies. We also hope it provides sufficient inspiration for researchers to investigate and elaborate these mechanisms so that our policies better match the conditions in which they are applied.

Note

- 1 This section is an excerpt from the project's Rural Urban primer, found on the project's website: <http://cdnregdev.ruralresilience.ca>.

References

- Alasia, A. (2004). Mapping the socio-economic diversity of rural Canada. *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin*, 5(2), Retrieved from http://nre.concordia.ca/_ftp2004/StatCan_BULLETINS/vol5_e/21-006-XIE2003002.pdf.
- Baxter, D., Berlin, R., & Ramlo, A. (2005). *Regions & Resources: The Foundations of British Columbia's Economic Base*. The Urban Futures Institute report 62. Urban Futures

- Institute: Vancouver, BC, Retrieved from www.donorth.co/appurtenancy/pdfs/baxter_bc_economy.pdf Accessed 2018-12-23.
- Beesley, K. B. (2010). *The Rural–urban Fringe in Canada: Conflict and Controversy*. Brandon, MB: Rural Development Institute, Brandon University.
- Bellini, N., Danson, M., & Halkier, H. (2012). *Regional Development Agencies: The Next Generation? Networking, Knowledge and Regional Politics*. Routledge.
- Bhattacharyya, D., Jayal, N. G., Pai, S., & Mohapatra, B. N. (eds) (2004). *Interrogating Social Capital: The Indian Experience*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Bosworth, G., & Venhorst, V. (2018). Economic linkages between urban and rural regions—What’s in it for the rural? *Regional Studies*, 52(8), 1075–1085. doi:10.1080/00343404.2017.1339868.
- Breen, S., & Minnes, S. (2014). *A regional approach to drinking water management: NL-BC comparative water systems study* [Unpublished report]. Corner Brook, NL: Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Breen, S. (2016). From staples theory to new regionalism: Managing drinking water for regional resilience in rural British Columbia. PhD Dissertation. Simon Fraser University.
- Bryant, C. (2003). *Where Are They Going? A Look at Canadian Rural in-Migration between 1991 and 1996*. Montréal: Concordia University.
- Buttel, F. H., & Flinn, W. L. (1977). The interdependence of rural and urban environmental problems in advanced capitalist societies: Models of linkage. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 17(2), 255–281. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9523.1977.tb00870.x.
- CANSIM. (2007). International merchandise trade by commodity, chained 2007 dollars. quarterly (12-10-0004-01).
- Careless, J. M. S. (1979). Metropolis and region: The interplay between city and region in Canadian history before 1914. *Urban History Review*, 3(78), 99–118. doi:10.7202/1019408ar.
- Castle, E. N., Wu, J., & Weber, B. A. (2011). Place orientation and rural–urban interdependence. *Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy*, 33(2), 179–204. doi:10.1093/aep/ppr009.
- Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. (1998). Cultural continuity as a hedge against suicide in Canada’s first nations. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35(2), 191–219. doi:10.1177/136346159803500202.
- Christaller, W., & Baskin, C. W. (1966). *Central Places in Southern Germany*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Cohen, M. J., & Garrett, J. L. (2010). The food price crisis and urban food (in)security. *Environment and Urbanization*, 22(2), 467–482. doi:10.1177/0956247810380375.
- Devine-Wright, P. (2009). Rethinking NIMBYism: The role of place attachment and place identity in explaining place-protective action. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 19(6), 426–441. doi: 10.1002/casp.1004.
- Devlin, J., Vinodrai, T., Parker, P., Clarke, A., Scott, S., Bruce, B., Lipcsei, R., Deska, R., Collins, D., Bangura, T., & Sanders, K. (2015). Evaluating regional economic development initiatives: Policy background. *Report for the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs*, 2.
- Douglas, D. (Ed.). (2010). *Rural Planning and Development in Canada*, Toronto: Nelson Education Ltd.
- Duranton, G. (2007). Urban evolutions: The fast, the slow, and the still. *The American Economic Review*, 97(1), 197–221.

- External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities. (2006). *From Restless Communities to Resilient Places: Building a Stronger Future for All Canadians*. Ottawa: Infrastructure Canada.
- Fort Francis Times. (2005). Forestry stakeholders band together to lobby government. Wednesday, July 13, 2005. Retrieved from www.ffmpeg.com/news/district/forestry-stakeholders-band-together-lobby-government Accessed 2018-08-03.
- Gallent, N. (2006). The rural–urban fringe: A new priority for planning policy? *Planning Practice and Research*, 21(3), 383–393. doi:10.1080/02697450601090872.
- Halfacre, K. (2007). Trial by space for “radical rural”: Introducing alternative localities, representations and lives. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23(2), 125–141.
- Hall, H. (2012). Stuck between a rock and a hard place: The politics of regional development initiatives in Northern Ontario. PhD Thesis, Dept. of Geography, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario, 272–277. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/7391>.
- Halseth, G., Markey, S., Reimer, B., & Manson, D. (2010). Introduction: The next rural economies. In G. Halseth, S. Markey, & D. Bruce (Eds.), *The Next Rural Economies: Constructing Rural Place in a Global Economy* (1–16). Oxfordshire, UK: CABI International. Retrieved from <http://billreimer.ca/research/files/HalsethChapter1Pre-publication02.pdf>]
- Halseth, G., & Ryser, L. (2006). Trends in service delivery: Examples from rural and small town Canada, 1998 to 2005. *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, 1(2), 69–90.
- Hamin, H. M., & Marcucci, D. J. (2008). Ad hoc rural regionalism. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24, 467–477.
- Hibbard, M., Senkyr, L., & Webb, M. (2015). Multifunctional rural regional development: Evidence from the John Day Watershed in Oregon. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 35(1), 51–62. doi:10.1177/0739456X14560572.
- Innis, H. A. (1995). *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays of Harold A. Innis*. Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Innis, H. A. (1999). *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Originally published in 1933.
- Irwin, E. G., Bell, K. P., Bockstael, N. E., Newburn, D. A., Partridge, M. D., & Wu, J. (2009). The economics of urban–rural space. *Annual Review of Resource Economics*, 1(1), 435–459. doi:10.1146/annurev.resource.050708.144253.
- Jean, B. (1997). *Territoires d’avenir. Pour une sociologie de la ruralité*. Québec: Presses de l’Université du Québec.
- Jean, B., & Reimer, B. (2015). Québec’s approach to rural development. A successful rural policy under budgetary pressure. Presented at the Water–Food–Energy–Climate Nexus: An Emerging Challenge for Rural Policy, Memphis, TN: RPLC. Retrieved from www.rupri.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/JeanReimerOECDQuébecRuralPolicyMemphis2015v06.pptx.
- Lichter, D. T., & Brown, D. L. (2011). Rural America in an urban society: Changing spatial and social boundaries. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37, 565–592. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150208.
- Lösch, A. (1954). *The Economics of Location* (2nd Revised edition). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lucy, J. (2008). The city in the country: Growing alternative food networks in Metropolitan areas. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24(3), 231–244. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2007.10.002.
- Markey, S., Breen, S.-P., Vodden, K., & Daniels, J. (2015). Evidence of place: Becoming a region in rural Canada. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(5), 874–891. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12298>.

- Milbourne, P., & Kitchen, L. (2014). Rural mobilities: Connecting movement and fixity in rural places. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 34, 326–336. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2014.01.004.
- Murdoch, J., & Pratt, A. C. (1993). Rural studies: Modernism, postmodernism and the “post-rural”. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 9(4), 411–427. doi:10.1016/0743-0167(93)90053-M.
- ND4ON. 2012a. Northern Communities Working Group and Northern Regional Publishing Group of Sun Media partner for ONTC. Press Release, May 15, 2012. Retrieved from <http://web.archive.org/web/20130308042531/http://nd4on.ca:80/> Accessed 2018-08-03.
- ND4ON. 2012b. Letter to McGuinty: Meet with Us in the North. Press Release, June 1, 2012. Retrieved from <http://web.archive.org/web/20130308042531/http://nd4on.ca:80/> Accessed 2018-08-03.
- O’Connor, H. D. R. (2002). *Report of the Walkerton Inquiry: The Events of May 2000 and Related Issues*. Toronto: The Queen’s Printer for Ontario. Retrieved from www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/english/about/pubs/walkerton/.
- OECD. (2010). Trends, perspectives and policies for rural Canada. In *OECD Rural Policy Reviews* (41–116). Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Retrieved from www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/chapter/9789264082151-4-en.
- OECD. (2013). *Rural–Urban Partnerships*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Retrieved from www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/book/9789264204812-en.
- Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing. (2002). *Oak Ridges Moraine Conservation Plan*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (1–73). Retrieved from www.mah.gov.on.ca/Page1707.aspx.
- Ortiz-Guerrero, C. (2013). The new regionalism. Policy implications for rural regions. *Cuadernos de Desarrollo Rural*, 10(70), 47–67.
- Overbeek, G. (2009). Opportunities for rural–urban relationships to enhance the rural landscape. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 11(1), 61–68. doi:10.1080/15239080902775058.
- Ozor, N., Enete, A., & Amaechina, E. (2016). Drivers of rural–urban interdependence and their contributions to vulnerability in food systems in Nigeria—A framework. *Climate and Development*, 8(1), 83–94. doi:10.1080/17565529.2014.998605.
- Partridge, M. D., Ali, K., & Olfert, M. R. (2010). Rural-to-urban commuting: Three degrees of integration. *Growth and Change*, 41(2), 303–335. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2257.2010.00528.x.
- Partridge, M. D., & Clark, J. (2008). *Our Joint Future: Rural–urban Interdependence in 21st Century Ohio* (White Paper Prepared for the Brookings Institution). C. William Swank Chair in Rural–Urban Policy, Ohio State University: Brookings Institution. Retrieved from http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/30825633/partridge-report.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A&Expires=1500912889&Signature=Gq4nFTVT03EMgpVHoxv%2BzCDBnxg%3D&response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DOur_Joint_Future_Rural-urban_Interdepend.pdf.
- Reimer, B. (2005). A Rural Perspective on Linkages Among Communities. *Prepared for Building, Connecting and Sharing Knowledge: A Dialogue on Linkages Between Communities*. Ottawa: Infrastructure Canada.
- Reimer, B. (2006). The rural context of community development in Canada. *Journal of Rural & Community Development*, 1(2), 155–175.

- Reimer, B. (2013). Rural–urban interdependence: Understanding our common interests. In J. R. Parkins & M. Reed (Eds.), *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collective Action* (91–109). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Reimer, B., & Bollman, R. D. (2010). Understanding rural Canada: Implications for rural development policy and rural planning policy. In D. J. A. Douglas (Ed.), *Rural Planning and Development in Canada* (10–52). Toronto: Nelson Education. Retrieved from www.nelsonbrain.com/shop/content/douglas00812_0176500812_02.01_chapter01.pdf.
- Reimer, B., & Brett, M. (2013). Scientific knowledge and rural policy: A long-distant relationship. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 53(3), 272–290. doi:10.1111/soru.12014.
- Reimer, B. (2011). Social exclusion through lack of access to social support in rural areas. In G. Fréchet, D. Gauvreau, & J. Poirer (Eds.), *Social Statistics, Poverty and Social Exclusion: perspectives Québécoises, Canadiennes et internationales* (152–160). Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- Reimer, B., Lyons, T., Ferguson, N., & Polanco, G. (2008). Social capital as social relations: The contribution of normative structures. *The Sociological Review*, 56(2), 256–274. doi:10.1111/j.1467-954X.2008.00787.x.
- Robinson, J., Berkhout, T., Burch, S., Davis, E. J., Dusyck, N., & Shaw, A. (2008). *Infrastructure & Communities: The Path to Sustainable Communities*. Victoria: Pacific Institute for Climate Solutions.
- Savoie, D. (2003). *Reviewing Canada's Regional Development Efforts*. St. John's: Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada (147–183). Retrieved from <http://www.gov.nl.ca/publicat/royalcomm/research/savoie.pdf>.
- Shucksmith, M., & Brown, D. L. (2016a). Framing rural studies in the global North. In *Routledge International Handbook of Rural Studies* (1–26). London: Routledge.
- Shucksmith, M., & Brown, D. L. (2016b). *Routledge International Handbook of Rural Studies*. London: Routledge. Retrieved from www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/book/9789264204812-en
- Tacoli, C. (1998). Rural-Urban Interactions: a guide to the literature. *Environment and Urbanization*, 10(1), 147–166.
- Tacoli, C. (Ed.). (2006). *The Earthscan Reader in Rural–Urban Linkages*. London and Sterling, VA: Routledge.
- Tandoh-Offin, P. (2010). The evolving rural and urban interdependence: Opportunities and challenges for community economic development. *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning*, 3(12), 339–345.
- Tsakamoto, T. (2011). Devolution, new regionalism and economic revitalization in Japan: Emerging urban political economy and politics of scale in Osaka-Kansai. *Cities*, 28(4), 281–289.
- Wallis, A. (2002). The new regionalism: Inventing governance structures for the early twenty-first century. Retrieved from [/www.miregions.org/Strengthening%20the%20Role/The%20New%20Regionalism%20Paper%20by%20Wallis%20at%20CUD.pdf](http://www.miregions.org/Strengthening%20the%20Role/The%20New%20Regionalism%20Paper%20by%20Wallis%20at%20CUD.pdf)
- Wheeler, S. (2002). The new regionalism: Key characteristics of an emerging movement. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 68(3), 267–278.
- Wilson, J., & Anielski, M. (2005). *Ecological Footprints of Canadian Municipalities and Regions* (Report for the Federation of Canadian Municipalities) (1–61). Edmonton, AB: Anielski Management Inc. Retrieved from <http://anielski.com/wp-content/documents/EFA%20Report%20FINAL%20Feb%20202.pdf>